

Using the Psychology of Immediate Rewards to Improve
Intergroup Contact Across the Political Divide

by

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ABSTRACT

The U.S. is experiencing high levels of political animosity. Whereas much of the intergroup contact literature has focused on improving intergroup relations by reducing anxieties associated with interacting with other groups, some of the motivation literature suggests a different approach: focusing on immediate rewards, such as fun in the moment. The present study investigated the effectiveness of instructing pairs of participants to focus on immediate rewards, relative to focusing on immediate (anxiety) prevention or a no-goal control condition, for increasing participants' willingness to interact with members of the opposite political party and making those interactions less aversive. Given prior work suggesting differences between conservatives and liberals in terms of threat aversion and openness, it also investigated whether these results differed for Republicans and Democrats.

Ninety-two same-sex Democrat-Republican dyads were recruited from the Sona pool at Arizona State University and randomly assigned to one of three instruction conditions. Before engaging in a 15-minute interaction, participants responded to questions about how well they expected the interactions to go, and after the conversation, they evaluated how they felt during the conversation, their perceptions of their partner's behaviors, and how willing they would be to interact with the outparty again. It was predicted that participants in the immediate rewards condition would report more positive expectancies of the interactions, more positive impressions of their partners, and greater willingness to interact with the outparty again. It was also expected that Democrats in the immediate rewards condition, and Republicans in the immediate prevention condition, would report more positive expectancies of the interactions, more positive impressions of

their partners, and greater willingness to interact with the outparty again relative to Republicans, and to Democrats, in the same conditions.

Results of 3 Between-Dyad Condition X 2 Within-Dyad Political Party mixed analyses of variance (ANOVAs) suggested that whereas the immediate rewards condition was associated with marginally more positive expectancies relative to the no-goal control condition, the immediate prevention condition was associated with more enjoyable interactions relative to the no-goal control condition. Although condition effects did not differ significantly by political party, Republicans exhibited some more positive outcomes relative to Democrats.

DEDICATION

I am deeply grateful for the support of my dear parents, colleagues, mentors, and students. Thank you also to the friends (and foes) who kept me motivated throughout the dissertation process. I'd also like to say a few special thank-yous. First, thanks to the best pair of advisors anyone could ask for: Dr. Douglas T. Kenrick and Dr. Lani Shiota, and to Dr. Steven L. Neuberg and Dr. Thao Ha, for their helpful comments on this dissertation project. Second, thank you to Dr. Robert B. Cialdini for his generous support for this project and its ongoing community data collection efforts with the Robert B. Cialdini Dissertation Project Prize in Social Psychology. Third, thank you to the 39 (!) incredible undergraduate research assistants that helped make this project possible, and to Dr. Steven L. Neuberg and Dr. Lani Shiota for letting me train and work with them. Fourth, thank you to Dr. Dan McNeish, Dr. Jake Patten, and Dr. Ryan Hampton for their advice on the analysis process and write-up. And, finally, thank you to every coffee shop that has tolerated my enthusiastic muttering about science over the years. I raise my mug to you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We are currently experiencing record levels of political animosity in the United States. For example, in 1978, both Republicans and Democrats felt relatively neutral toward one another; rating each other a 51, and a 53, respectively, on a feeling thermometer in which 0 corresponds to the coldest possible feelings and 100 corresponds to the warmest possible feelings (ANES, 2016). By 2016, however, those feelings had cooled precipitously, with Republicans rating Democrats a 26, and Democrats rating Republicans a 28 out of 100 (ANES, 2016). This salient, contemporary form of prejudice has been a cause of much growing concern, among scholars (e.g., Iyengar & Krupenkin, 2018; Iyengar, et al., 2012; Iyengar & Westwood, 2015; Már, 2020; Levendusky, 2018) and the broader public alike (e.g., Pew Research Center, 2019).

Intergroup Contact for Reducing Prejudice

One of the most established ways to reduce prejudice is through contact between groups (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Although intergroup contact theory was initially developed with racial relations in mind (Allport, 1954), the results of a meta-analysis of 515 studies on intergroup contact suggested that the prejudice-reducing effects of such contact may apply broadly across intergroup contexts, including age, sexual orientation, and physical and mental ability (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

More recent work has suggested that intergroup contact may also be useful in reducing political hostilities, in part because it increases perceptions of the similarity between members of the two political parties (Wojcieszak & Warner, 2020). Finally, although Allport (1954) initially posited a series of conditions for intergroup contact to be

successful, including equal status between two groups, cooperative settings, common goals, and support by institutions, Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) work suggested that although these conditions help make contact more successful at reducing prejudices, they may not be a necessary condition in practice.

Opportunities for Contact: Necessary, but Not Sufficient for Prejudice Reduction

Simply providing people with opportunities for contact does not seem to be sufficient for creating the type of contact necessary to reduce prejudice. This is because people often choose not to take outgroup contact opportunities (e.g., Kauff et al., 2021). For instance, despite living in the same city, Protestants and Catholics in Belfast, Northern Ireland have a long history of animosity toward one another. In fact, this city is somewhat segregated; whereas West Belfast is primarily inhabited by Catholics, East Belfast is primarily inhabited by Protestants (Dixon et al., 2020). Even in North Belfast, which is home to Protestant and Catholic residents alike, analyses of approximately 1,000 hours of GPS and GIS movement tracking data revealed that members of each sect rarely visit the other's parks, businesses, or pathways (Dixon et al., 2020).

Such intergroup contact avoidance has been observed on smaller scales, as well. In a study conducted at an ethnically heterogeneous high school in England, with 35% (South) Asian students and 59% White students, both ethnic groups were found to self-segregate in the school's cafeteria (Ramiah et al., 2015). Ethnic self-segregation has also been reported in schools in the United States (McCauley et al., 2001) and South Africa (Schrieff et al., 2010).

Intergroup contact avoidance is not limited to the religious or ethnic context; it has also been observed to occur with groups that vary in socioeconomic status and gender

(Bettencourt et al., 2019), suggesting that contact avoidance may be a relatively broad phenomenon. Collectively, this implies that the desire for intergroup contact may be important for fostering interactions that reduce prejudice (e.g., Kauff et al., 2021).

Why the Avoidance of Contact?

Why is it that individuals avoid intergroup contact? Explanations of intergroup contact avoidance typically center around different perceived threats (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005) or anxiety (e.g., Kauff et al., 2021; O'Donnell et al., 2019; Page-Gould et al., 2008; Stephan, 2014; Schultz et al., 2015). Such anxiety includes concerns about appearing prejudiced (Shelton et al., 2005; Shelton, 2003), and being rejected or disliked by the outgroup (Stephan, 2014; Shelton, 2003).

Some work has also focused on what makes people override these anxieties and engage with outgroup members, particularly when it comes to potential long-term benefits associated with intergroup interactions. After an exhaustive literature review, one study of over 1,000 German adults confirmed that, in addition to concerns about self and group-presentation, people were motivated to interact with cultural outgroups for four key reasons (Stürmer & Benbow, 2017). These were: interest in gaining more knowledge about other cultures and the self, interest in making one's own personal values (such as egalitarianism or tolerance) known, opportunities for professional advancement, and interest in making friends or becoming more socially integrated (Stürmer & Benbow, 2017; Kauff et al., 2021).

In addition, prior work has suggested that greater amounts of contact are associated with reduced contact anxiety (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). This suggests that

(positive) contact experiences are also useful for motivating further intergroup contact (e.g., Stephan, 2014).

The Importance of (Immediate) Carrots

What else might motivate desire for intergroup contact? Previous work in the motivation tradition suggests the motivational power of immediate rewards. These are in-the-moment benefits that are typically experiential rather than instrumental, and intrinsic to the experience at hand; examples include fun or enjoyment in the moment (Woolley & Fishbach, 2016). Such immediate rewards may be especially motivating and tied to persistence, as has been seen in academic and health contexts (Papies et al., 2020; Shiota et al., 2021; Turnwald et al., 2019; Woolley & Fishbach, 2016).

For example, in a multi-study empirical package, the results of one study suggested that making an in-class assignment more enjoyable, by playing music and allowing high school students to snack and work with colored pens or pencils, resulted in having these students complete more of an in-class assignment relative to students in a neutral control condition in which no such allowances were given (Woolley & Fishbach, 2016). Similarly, in another study in this package, participants who were asked to perform physical exercises that they found the most enjoyable completed more such exercises during a workout session than those who were asked to complete exercises that they found the most useful and effective. Notably, these workout sessions did not significantly differ in effort in terms of how much weight was used or in terms of how many minutes were spent exercising, suggesting that enjoyment did not lessen the quality of the workout. Finally, previous work has suggested that highlighting the immediate benefits (e.g., in terms of taste or texture) of healthy or plant-based foods leads to an

increase in their consumption relative to when these foods' longer-term health benefits are highlighted (Papies et al., 2020; Woolley & Fishbach, 2016).

Immediate, intrinsic rewards might be useful for increasing the quality of, and the desire for, intergroup contact, as well. The results of a within-subjects pilot study (Wiesel et al., in prep) suggested that across 16 diverse outgroup targets (e.g., a Muslim man in his early 20s, a middle-aged Republican man, and an elderly Jewish woman), U.S. participants' anticipated enjoyment of interacting with the targets was the strongest predictor of their willingness to have a conversation with them, even when compared to participants' intergroup anxiety.

The Role of Political Ideology

In addition to being a salient contemporary context for prejudice, the political domain may provide some important moderators when it comes to the effectiveness of highlighting immediate rewards in the intergroup context. This is because people's political stances may be associated with different propensities toward immediate rewards or threats/prevention goals. For instance, prior work suggests that liberals are, on average, higher on openness to experience (Cichocka & Dhont, 2018; Sibley et al., 2012), and conservatives are on average more threat-sensitive/fearful across a variety of stimuli, including disgust and physical threat (e.g., Altemeyer, 2004; Block & Block, 2006; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b; Oxley et al., 2008; Terrizzi et al., 2013).

Although it is anticipated that the effect of immediate rewards should be relatively robust to context, this evidence may suggest that liberals will be somewhat more responsive to immediate rewards than conservatives, and that conservatives may be somewhat more responsive to immediate prevention goals than liberals.

The Present Study

The present study has two aims. First, given that positive contact may be associated with greater desire for future contact (Stephan, 2014), it seeks to investigate the relation between different immediate goals during an interaction (i.e., immediate rewards, immediate prevention, or no goal instruction), and the anticipated and actual quality of those interactions—in terms of participants’ evaluations of their own affective experiences during the interaction, their conversation partner’s behaviors during the interaction, their overall impressions of their conversation partner, and their desire for (future) interactions with a member of the political outgroup.

To the author’s knowledge, this is the first time that immediate rewards have been examined, and compared to other interaction instructions, as a potential intervention in the intergroup context. Second, given differences in motivational profiles between political ideologues (e.g., Cichocka & Dhont, 2018; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b), this work also examines potential moderators by investigating whether these relations differ between liberals and conservatives.

Primary Hypotheses

It is expected that participants who are instructed to focus on immediate rewards will report significantly (1) more positive expectancies of how the conversation will go, (2) higher mean scores on positive affect, and lower mean scores on negative affect, experienced during the interaction, (3) higher mean scores on positive impressions of their conversation partners’ behaviors during the interaction, (4) higher mean scores on their positive overall impressions of their conversation partner, and (5) higher mean

scores on desire for future outparty interactions, relative to participants instructed to focus on immediate prevention, or to participants given no goal instruction.

Secondary Hypotheses

In addition, because prior work suggests that there are ideological differences in threat sensitivity (Cichocka & Dhont, 2018; Sibley et al., 2012; Altemeyer, 2004; Block & Block, 2006; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b; Oxley et al., 2008; Terrizzi et al., 2013), there are two secondary hypotheses. The first is that the immediate rewards goal effect may be somewhat stronger for liberals (Democrats) than conservatives (Republicans). Specifically, it is expected that Democrats in the immediate rewards condition will report significantly (1) more positive expectancies of how the conversation will go, (2) higher mean scores on positive affect, and lower mean scores on negative affect, experienced during the interaction, (3) higher mean scores on positive impressions of their conversation partners' behaviors during the interaction, (4) higher mean scores on their positive overall impressions of their conversation partner, and (5) higher mean scores on desire for future outparty interactions, relative to Republicans in the immediate rewards condition.

The second is that conservatives (Republicans) will be more responsive to immediate prevention than liberals (Democrats). Specifically, it is predicted that Republicans in the immediate prevention condition will report significantly (1) more positive expectancies of how the conversation will go, (2) higher mean scores on positive affect, and lower mean scores on negative affect, experienced during the interaction, (3) higher mean scores on positive impressions of their conversation partners' behaviors during the interaction, (4) higher mean scores on their positive overall impressions of

their conversation partner, and (5) higher mean scores on desire for future outparty interactions, relative to Democrats in the immediate prevention condition.

Hypothesis Testing

These primary and secondary hypotheses were tested using a dyadic interaction study between same-sex pairs of Democrat and Republican¹ strangers. Participants were recruited to same-sex dyads to provide an additional measure of control over interaction type. Before their interaction, each interparty pair was randomly assigned to one of three interaction instruction conditions, reflecting different interaction goals (immediate rewards, immediate anxiety prevention, or no goal instruction).

The same-sex, opposite-party participant pairs then had a 15-minute conversation, after which each participant responded to the majority of the dependent measures. This 15-minute conversation took place in an online computer-mediated environment with video, which was selected to maximize recruitment of Republicans and Democrats, who may live in different areas. In addition, prior research suggests no significant differences between in-person interactions and computer-mediated video interactions when it comes to many interpersonal impressions (e.g., Sprecher, 2014; Sprecher, 2021). Although aversion to some forms of contact—such as those characterized by a disease or physical threat—may be intensified by in-person versus online contact (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), given that members of different parties may pose a values threat to one another,

¹ Participants' political partisanship was used to proxy their political ideology because these two variables are highly correlated, and often used interchangeably in research, e.g., in terms of voting tendencies (Cichocka & Dhont, 2018), with Republicans representing conservatives and Democrats representing liberals. In addition, political partisanship is a nominal variable and often easier to use as a participation criterion on online survey platforms, making it a good choice for the current investigation.

this would not be expected to vary by in-person and online contact, further suggesting the suitability of the online modality for this interaction.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Participants

Across two semesters of data collection, 2,018 U.S. undergraduate students from the Sona pool at Arizona State University— who were age 18 or older and identified as male or female and Democrat or Republican—were contacted. Of these, a total of 188 participants met the technological pre-screen requirements, responded to outreach efforts, and scheduled a study session for compensation with one research credit each. These participants were run in 96 Democrat-Republican dyads (see Appendix A for further materials and details related to recruitment and attrition).

Of these initial 96 Democrat-Republican dyads, four dyads (two male and two female) run in Fall 2022 were removed due to protocol inconsistencies. One male dyad had a participant who stated a gender identity in the interaction session that did not match what they had listed in the prescreen; in another male dyad, both participants accidentally received their own introductory information rather than their partner's. One female dyad had two participants that did not appear to receive the instruction conditions due to experimenter error, and another female dyad had one participant that did not appear to view or complete the pre-interaction survey (and thus cannot be confirmed as having received the experimental stimulus).

With these four dyads removed, the recruitment process yielded a total of 92 correctly run same-sex Democrat-Republican dyads. Moreover, none of these participants knew their interaction partner, making them valid dyads for analysis purposes (as we were interested in interactions between strangers). This made up 93.9% of the pre-

registered target of $N = 98$ (see <https://osf.io/f2m9k> for preregistration details and a priori power analyses)². Of these 92 dyads, 47 were male and 45 were female; 30 (32.6%) were in the Immediate Rewards condition ($N = 15$ Male, $N = 14$ Female), 28 (30.4%) were in the Immediate Prevention condition ($N = 13$ Male, $N = 15$ Female), and 34 (37.0%) were in the No Goal control condition ($N = 18$ Male, $N = 16$ Female).³

Of this final sample of 184 participants, 51.1% identified as male, 48.9% as female. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 53, with a mean age of 19.13 ($SD = 2.77$ years). Approximately 53.8% of participants identified as White, 1.1% as Black; 15.2% as Hispanic, 1.1% as Native American; 7.1% as East Asian (e.g., Chinese, South Korean, Japanese); 4.3% as Southeast Asian (e.g., Thai, Vietnamese, Filipino); 9.2% as South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani); 0.5% as Pacific Islander; 3.3% as Middle Eastern; and 4.3% as “Other.” In terms of self-reported family SES, 2.2% of participants identified as lower class, 12.5% as lower middle class, 41.8% as middle class, 38.0% as upper middle class, and 5.4% as upper class.

² Two sensitivity power analyses on the collected sample were also conducted in G*Power version 3.1.9.7, using two repeated-measures, between factors ANOVA tests, each focusing on the focal between-subjects tests. The first focused on the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards and No Goal Control condition for positive expectancies, as a sample outcome measure. This effect, with $N = 64$ dyads ($N = 30$ in Immediate Rewards, $N = 34$ in No Goal Control), could detect an effect size of $f = 0.153$ ($partial \eta^2 = 0.023$), given $\alpha = .05$, an observed power of .524, a pairwise comparison between two groups at a time (here, Immediate Rewards vs. No Goal Control condition, between-dyad), two repeated measurements (Democrat and Republican, within-dyad), and an observed correlation of $r(62) = -.287$ between repeated measures. The second focused on the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards and No Goal Control condition for positive expectancies, as a sample outcome measure. This effect, with $N = 58$ dyads ($N = 30$ in Immediate Rewards, $N = 28$ in Immediate Prevention), could detect an effect size of $f = 0.035$ ($partial \eta^2 = 0.001$), given $\alpha = .05$, an observed power of .068, a pairwise comparison between two groups at a time (here, Immediate Rewards vs. Immediate Prevention condition, between-dyad), two repeated measurements (Democrat and Republican, within-dyad), and an observed correlation of $r(56) = -.101$ between repeated measures.

³ These condition numbers were unbalanced due to experimenter error; during data cleaning we noticed that one of the experimenters accidentally assigned the No Goal Control condition to three dyads that were intended to be assigned to other conditions. We have since collected five additional dyads who were over-assigned to the Immediate Rewards condition ($N = 1$ Female dyad, $N = 1$ Male dyad) and Immediate Prevention condition ($N = 3$ Male dyads) to correct for this imbalance.

In terms of political party, 50% of participants ($N = 92$) identified as Democrats and 50% ($N = 92$) of participants identified as Republicans, consistent with having 92 Democrat-Republican dyads. However, participants ranged in how central they considered their party to be to their identity, with 23.9% of participants indicating that their political party was “not at all important” to their sense of who they are (20.7% of Republicans, 27.2% of Democrats); 28.3% indicating it was “slightly important” (29.3% of Republicans, 27.2% of Democrats), 30.4% indicating it was “moderately important” (29.3% of Republicans, 31.5% of Democrats); 13.6% indicating it was “very important” (18.5% of Republicans, 8.7% of Democrats); and 3.8% indicating it was “extremely important” (2.2% of Republicans, 5.4% of Democrats).⁴ Participants’ economic and social political ideologies ranged from “Strongly Conservative” to “Strongly Liberal.” The modal Democrat participant considered themselves “Neutral (moderate)” in terms of economic issues (e.g., taxation, government spending) and “Strongly liberal” in terms of social issues (e.g., abortion, marijuana), and the modal Republican participant considered

⁴ Participants’ self-reported party centrality did not differ overall by party or by condition. Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of political party $F(1, 89) = .752, p = .388$, or condition, $F(2, 89) = .882, p = .417$; nor was there a significant interaction between the two $F(2, 89) = .143, p = .867$. However, there were some sex differences present. Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA indicated that there was a marginal overall effect of sex, $F(1, 86) = 2.79, p = .098$, such that females ($M = 2.60, SE = .12$) considered their political party marginally more important to their identity relative to males ($M = 2.32, SE = .12$). There was also a significant two-way participant party by sex interaction, $F(1, 86) = 8.64, p = .004$. Although there were no significant differences between how central male ($M = 2.63, SE = .16$) and female ($M = .244, SE = .16$) Republicans considered their political party ($p = .428$), female Democrats ($M = 2.75, SE = .16$) considered their political party significantly more central to their identities than did male Democrats ($M = 2.01, p = .002$). In addition, although there were no significant differences between female Democrats and Republicans in terms of political centrality ($p = .170$), Republicans males considered their party significantly more important to their identity than did male Democrats ($p = .007$). Collectively, this is consistent with other work suggesting that women are more likely to identify as Democrats whereas men are more likely to identify as Republicans (e.g., Center for American Woman and Politics, 2023).

themselves “Moderately conservative” in terms of economic issues (e.g., taxation, government spending) and “Moderately conservative” in terms of social issues (e.g., abortion, marijuana).

Procedure

The study procedure was approved by the Institutional Review Board at Arizona State University (see Appendix B for documentation) and included a recruitment process and a main Zoom study (see Appendix C for main study protocol). Study recruitment and completion took place using Arizona State University’s undergraduate Sona pool across two semesters, Fall 2022 (from October 2022 to December 2022) and Spring 2023 (from February 2023 to March 2023). As part of the recruitment process (see Appendix A for recruitment details and materials), male and female Democrats and Republicans were invited to participate in a brief pre-screening survey. During the pre-screen, prospective participants were asked whether they have a working webcam, microphone and speakers, a reliable internet connection, and a private place in which to complete study. They also indicated their age and three of their favorite hobbies/activities. The answers to these questions were used in a later part of the study, and any obviously partisan hobbies (e.g., hunting, advocating for liberal causes) were not included. Interested participants meeting the technological requirements were then contacted with a link to schedule a time slot for an approximately 40-minute online Zoom study “on how people generate impressions of others at various points in time and with various amounts of information.” Participants were also told that the study “will involve having a conversation with another person in a Zoom breakout room.”

Once logged into the session for the main Zoom study, participants were first greeted via audio and video by a female session host in a lab coat (who was constant across sessions), instructed to turn their videos and microphones off, and then renamed using internal four-digit study IDs for confidentiality. Next, participants completed a consent form via a Qualtrics survey, and confirmed their consent and indicated whether they were willing to be video recorded to the host via chat. Then, participants were prompted by the host to briefly turn on their videos to see if they knew anyone else in the “room,” after which they were assigned to a same-sex pair. Unbeknownst to the participants, this was a Republican-Democrat pair when possible, or a same-party pair if opposite-party pairings were not possible given the attendees. Any unpaired participants completed an alternative study for compensation.

After being paired, participants were sent to a Zoom breakout room with their interaction partner (who was a stranger) and an experimenter, with their videos and microphones off. Experimenters only interacted with participants via Zoom chat using the protocol script and were identifiable only by the name “Experimenter” and a number. Experimenters also kept their videos and audios off for the duration of the session.

Once in the Zoom breakout room, experimenters sent each participant limited, but accurate information about their interaction partner, including about their partner’s political party affiliation via the Zoom chat feature. To make the interaction seem more natural, participants were provided other standard get-to-know you information, which would have become apparent during the interaction or was not particularly stereotype-inducing. Specifically, participants were told: “You will be interacting with participant (partner’s four-digit internal study ID): a (partner’s age) year-old (partner’s political party

affiliation) (partner's gender), and when asked about his/her hobbies, s/he said that s/he enjoys (one of the partner's hobbies)."

Once participants confirmed that they had read the information about their partner, the experimenter then sent both participants a link to a Qualtrics survey with instructions for their conversation (based on experimental condition), and a brief pre-interaction questionnaire. Experimenters were blind to condition, and the instructions for all participants read as follows "You and your partner will have some things in common, but also some things that are different between the two of you. Your goal in this conversation is to get to know each other, not just superficially, but also at a deeper level so that you can form a rich impression of this person."

This information was immediately followed by one of three focal instruction conditions (either an immediate reward, immediate anxiety prevention, or a no goal instruction control condition). Both participants received the same instruction set, each modeled after prior intergroup interaction intervention prompts (Schultz et al., 2015; Green et al., 2020). These instructions were also kept relatively generic to retain focus on the immediate goals at hand rather than on specific strategies for achieving them (c.f., Jacques-Hamilton et al., 2019), and worded to focus exclusively on reward or prevention. The instruction prompts also focused on participants' feelings during the interaction, as this is the aspect of the interaction that participants are most likely to leverage for making it immediately more rewarding or less aversive.⁵ Finally, prompts were designed to be similar in wording and in length (45, 45, 36 words, respectively).

⁵ Note that these instructions focus on participants' emotion regulation during the conversation. Although it was ambiguous whether such emotion regulation should occur merely for the self or for both partners, these instructions were less explicitly other-focused relative to prior work instructing participants to get their

Immediate Reward Condition

“When people are having a conversation with a new person, there are various approaches they can take. In this conversation, we encourage you to make it feel enjoyable and fun. Approach the conversation in a way that it’s likely to be entertaining, interesting, and pleasant.”

Immediate Prevention Condition

“When people are having a conversation with a new person, sometimes they are anxious. In this conversation, we encourage you to try to reduce any such anxiety or distress. Approach the conversation in a way that it’s **less** likely to feel unpleasant, upsetting, or agitating.”

No Goal Control Condition

“When people are having a conversation with a new person, there are various approaches they can take. In this conversation, we encourage you to get to know each other in whatever way comes naturally to you.”

After each member of the dyad was assigned to the same instruction condition, they were asked three items about how well they expected the interaction to go. Then, the experimenters instructed participants to turn on their video and audio, via chat, and checked that both participants’ video and audio were clear. Next, participants were asked to refer to their partner using only their four-digit study ID for confidentiality purposes, before beginning a 15-minute video conversation, which was recorded if both participants consented to recording. This 15-minute conversation duration was selected to be

partner to like them, e.g., “we’d like you to try to get the applicants to like you” (Neuberg et al., 1993, p 412).

approximately twice the typical length of a single dyadic interaction session (e.g., Schultz et al., 2015; Aron et al., 1997), which should have provided participants with enough time to run out of conversation topics if the conversation went poorly.

Then, once the 15 minutes had elapsed, experimenters notified the participants via chat, turned off participants' videos and microphones, and stopped the Zoom recording. Next, participants were sent a link to the post-interaction survey. In this post-interaction survey, participants were asked (1) three questions about how much they enjoyed the interaction, along with (2) the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule, (3) two questions about their partner's behaviors during the interaction, (4) three questions about their overall impressions of their conversation partner (in terms of favorability and perceived closeness), (5) two questions each about the extent to which they would be willing to interact with their conversation partner and other members of each political party again, as well as (6) 11 questions about stereotypes of their conversation partner, (7) whether they knew their conversation partner before the interaction, and (8) 11 questions about their stereotypes of each party. Participants were also asked two manipulation checks about the instructions they received and how well they felt they had followed them, as well as some demographic questions, including about their socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and how important their political party is to their sense of who they are (see Appendix D for all pre-interaction and post-interaction measures). Then, participants were debriefed and given information about compensation for participation in the main Zoom room, before being granted their participation credit.

Measures

Pre-Interaction Items

Expectancies of Interaction. After being assigned to one of the three instruction conditions, and before interacting with their conversation partner, each participant was asked three face-valid questions about their expectations for the interparty conversation, which were scored as a mean ($\alpha = .683$).⁶ These three items were “How enjoyable/fun do you think this conversation will be?”, “How distressing/unpleasant do you think this conversation will be?” (reverse-coded), and “How well do you think this interaction will go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Extremely).

Post-Interaction Items

After the interparty interaction, each participant responded to four sets of dependent variables, covering their (1) affective experiences during the interaction, (2) impressions of their conversation partner’s behaviors during the interaction, (3) impressions of their conversation partner (in terms of favorability and perceived closeness), and (4) desire for future outparty interactions.

Affective Experiences During the Interaction. Participants were asked about their affective reactions during the interaction in two ways. They were asked to respond to an affect schedule, and some questions about how enjoyable the interaction was.

Affect Schedule. Participants were asked to respond to the 20-item Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988) modified to be about the interaction, with a prompt that read: “Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during

⁶Note that one of these three items was reverse-coded, which results in a lower alpha level than would be expected with no reverse-coded items (Schriesheim et al., 1999; Barnette, 2000).

the interaction you just had,” and scored as a mean rather than a sum. Positive affect was scored using a mean of the following ten items ($\alpha = .832$): “Interested,” “Excited,” “Strong,” “Enthusiastic,” “Proud,” “Alert,” “Inspired,” “Determined,” “Attentive,” and “Active.” Negative affect was scored using a mean of the following ten items ($\alpha = .769$): “Distressed,” “Upset,” “Guilty,” “Scared,” “Hostile” “Irritable,” “Ashamed,” “Nervous,” “Jittery” and “Afraid.” Each item was measured on a five-point scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” – 5 = “Extremely”) (Watson et al., 1988).

Perceived Enjoyment. Participants were also asked about how much they enjoyed the interaction, which was scored as a mean of the following three items ($\alpha = .839$) taken from Sprecher (2021): “How much did you enjoy the interaction?”, “How much did you and the other laugh during the interaction?”, and “How much fun was the interaction?”, with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 = “A great deal”) (Sprecher, 2021).

Impressions of the Conversation Partner’s Behavior During the Interaction.

Participants were asked how engaged their partner was during the conversation, using two items adapted from Shelton and Richeson (2005), and treated separately in analyses.⁷

Perceived Partner Involvement. First, participants indicated how involved they thought their partner was during the interaction. This was measured using the item: “How involved was your conversation partner during the interaction?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”) (Shelton & Richeson, 2005).

⁷ These two items (How involved was your conversation partner during the interaction?” and “How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?”) were significantly correlated ($r(182) = .461, p < .001$). However, given that we pre-registered a correlation of $r = 0.5$ as the criterion for combining items (<https://osf.io/f2m9k>), the two behavioral impression measures were analyzed as separate outcomes.

Perceived Partner Elaboration. Second, participants indicated how much they felt their partner elaborated on their thoughts during the interaction. This was measured using the item: “How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”) (Shelton & Richeson, 2005).

Overall Impressions of the Conversation Partner. Favorable impressions of the conversation partner were evaluated in two ways, using two items from a favorable impressions index, and a modified Inclusion of the Other in the Self measure (Aron et al., 1992).

Favorable Impressions Index. Participants indicated how favorable they found their partner using two items, adapted from Shelton and Richeson (2005) and Shelton (2003), which were scored as a mean ($r(182) = .683, p < .001$). These two items were: “How much do you like your conversation partner?” and “How likely is it that you would become friends with your conversation partner?”, with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”) (Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Shelton, 2003).

Inclusion of the Other in the Self. Participants also completed a modified version of the Inclusion of the Other in Self (IOS) Scale (Aron et al., 1992). For this item, participants were asked “Which diagram most closely represents how close you feel to your conversation partner? (Please select only one option)” with a series of seven pairs of circles, in which the left circle was labeled “me” and the right circle was labeled “my conversation partner.” These pairs of circles increased in their degree of

overlap/closeness from entirely non-overlapping (1 = the first pair of circles) to nearly entirely overlapping (7 = the seventh pair of circles).

Desire for Future Outparty Interactions. Desire for future outparty interactions was measured in two separate ways, a face-valid index of two items measuring desire to interact with the participants' specific interaction partner again (which may be thought of as the more proximal outcome of the conversation) and a face-valid index of two items measuring desire to interact with other members of the political outgroup again (which may be thought of as the more distal outcome).

Desire to Interact with the Partner Again. Participants were asked two face-valid questions about their desire for future interactions with their partner, which were scored as mean ($r(182) = .779, p < .001$). These two items were "How willing would you be to interact with this person again?" and "How well do you think a future interaction with this person would go?", with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = "Not at all," 7 = "Extremely").

Desire to Interact with the Outparty Again. Participants were also asked two face-valid questions about their desire for future interactions with a member of the outparty (Democrats for Republican participants, and Republicans for Democrat participants), which were scored as a mean ($r(182) = .764, p < .001$). These two items were "How willing would you be to interact with a (Democrat/Republican) again?" and "How well do you think a future interaction with a (Democrat/Republican) would go?", with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = "Not at all", 7 = "Extremely").

Pre-Existing Relationship Exclusion Question. Following the procedure of Shelton and Richeson (2005), at the end of the study, participants were also asked if they

knew their partner. Given that the protocol checked for this early in the Zoom sessions, none of the paired participants were expected to know each other; nevertheless, this measure was included as a failsafe to exclude from analyses any participants who might have realized later in the session that they knew their partner, in order to hold relationship type (strangers) constant.

Condition Manipulation Checks. At the end of the post-interaction survey, participants were also asked two questions about their ability to identify and carry out the goal focus instructions they were given.

The first was: “What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner,” to determine how many participants correctly identified the condition to which they were assigned. This item had three response options, which were intended to be short summaries of the three instruction conditions: “Make it enjoyable and fun” (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition), “Reduce anxiety and stress” (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition), and “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you” (reflecting the No Goal Control condition).

The second pertained to how well the participants felt they had followed the instructions: “How well did you follow the instructions you received,” measured on a 7-point scale (1 = “Not at all,” 7 = “Extremely”).

Analyses

Mixed ANOVAs at the dyad level, with a between-dyads effect of condition and a within-dyad effect of political party, were used for the present investigation. This is because mixed ANOVAs at the dyad level separate the overall between-dyads condition effects from the overall within-dyad political party effects (Searle et al., 1980; McLean et

al., 1991). These analyses thus addressed the nested nature of the data,⁸ while still being well-suited to testing the focal hypotheses, which focused on the overall effects of condition, party, and the interactions between the two, on each of the ten focal dependent measures (Searle et al., 1980; McLean et al., 1991).

Although other, more sophisticated approaches for dealing with nested data could be considered, the estimates of mixed ANOVAs are typically equivalent to that of more sophisticated multilevel models when there is limited missing data on the outcome variables⁹ (Enders, 2011), as in the present results (in which participants reported no missing data on the outcome measures, see Table 1 in Results for details). Mixed ANOVAs also provide the benefit of ease of interpretability relative to more complex multilevel models, which have a variety of possible parameters and less standardized reporting guidelines for measures such as effect size (e.g., Lorah, 2018).

Notably, however, mixed ANOVAs are less well-suited to investigating more complex interactions in the data, including whether the effect of the conditions is stronger for some dyads than others, whether some other dyad-level variables (outside of condition assignment) influence individual participants, and whether some dyads differ for reasons other than condition assignment (e.g., Hox et al., 2017). Such questions would be better assessed using multilevel models, particularly those treating dyad as a

⁸ For reference, an average two-way mixed intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) was computed for consistency (as we did not expect perfect agreement between parties) for each of the dependent variables. They were as follows: Pre-interaction Expectancies: *Average ICC* = .435, $p < .001$, Positive PANAS: *Average ICC*: .777, $p < .001$, Negative PANAS: *Average ICC*: .675, $p < .001$, Perceived Enjoyment: *Average ICC*: .778, $p < .001$, Perceived Favorability: *Average ICC*: .584, $p < .001$, Inclusion of Other in Self: *Average ICC*: .286, $p = .055$, Behavioral Involvement: *Average ICC*: -.078, $p = .640$, Behavioral Elaboration: *Average ICC*: .499, $p = .008$, Willingness to Interact with Partner Again: *Average ICC*: .648, $p < .001$, Willingness to Interact with Outparty Again: *Average ICC*: .571, $p < .001$.

⁹ Equivalence also requires equally spaced intervals between measures in each of the dyads; given the closely matched protocols and surveys across participants and dyads, this condition was also met.

random effect,¹⁰ allowing for the further modeling of dyad as its own outcome. However, in the present analyses, we were not interested in differences between dyads (to which participants were randomly assigned) outside of their condition assignment; accordingly, such analyses were not necessary for the research questions at hand. Moreover, multilevel models typically require relatively large sample sizes (particularly at the group level) to produce unbiased estimates (McNeish & Stapleton, 2016). It is generally recommended that there be around 30 - 50 groups (here, dyads) for multilevel analyses (Maas & Hox, 2005; McNeish & Stapleton, 2016), particularly if estimated using random effects. Although this criterion was met in the present study (given $N = 92$ dyads), such multilevel models can also be sensitive to the number of units (i.e., participants) per group (i.e., dyad). Specifically, five or fewer units per group can yield unreliable estimates in a multilevel framework (Austin, 2010; Hoyle & Gottfredson, 2015). Given that the present analyses only included two participants (a Democrat and a Republican) per dyad, multilevel models were deemed less appropriate for the present purposes.

Accordingly, data were analyzed in SPSS version 28 using a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA, with repeated measures on the second factor, run separately for each of the following outcomes: (1) positive pre-interaction expectancies, (2) enjoyment of the interaction, (3) positive affect experienced

¹⁰ Random effects presume a larger underlying population distribution to which the results can be generalized. By contrast, fixed effects are limited to the sample of cases/stimuli used in the design (Searle et al., 1992). Thus, in general, random effects require more cases to estimate. In the present design, note that both condition assignment (Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, and No-Goal Control condition) and participant political party (Democrat or Republican) were fixed by design—dyads were assigned to one of three condition assignments, and participants were pre-selected to identify either as Democrats or Republicans.

during the interaction, (4) negative affect experienced during the interaction, (5) positive impressions of the conversation partners' behaviors during the interaction (in terms of perceived involvement and elaboration, considered separately), (6) positive overall impressions of the conversation partner (in terms of favorability and perceived closeness, considered separately), (7) willingness for future interactions with the conversation partner, and (8) willingness for future interactions with the opposite party.

Primary hypotheses involved pairwise contrasts between Goal Focus conditions; specifically, pitting the Immediate Rewards condition against each of the other conditions. Accordingly, pairwise follow-up tests were planned to test whether the means were significantly higher (at the $p < .05$ level) for all outcomes except negative affect, which was anticipated to be lower, in the Immediate Rewards versus the Immediate Prevention condition and in the Immediate Rewards versus the No Goal Control condition. Given the focal hypotheses, these pairwise tests were run regardless of the significance of the omnibus main effect of Goal Focus.

Secondary hypotheses were examined by seeing whether the two-way Goal Focus x Participant Party interaction was significant at the $p < .05$ level. If so, pairwise follow-up tests would be used to examine if Democrats reported a significantly higher mean (at the $p < .05$ level for all outcomes except negative affect, which was anticipated to be lower) in the Immediate Rewards condition relative to Republicans; and whether Republicans reported a significantly higher mean (at the $p < .05$ level for all outcomes except negative affect, which was anticipated to be lower) in the Immediate Prevention condition relative to Democrats.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Condition Assignment

Not all participants correctly indicated which instruction condition they had been assigned to by the end of the study. Of the 60 participants in the 30 dyads assigned to the Immediate Rewards condition, 35 participants (58.3%) correctly indicated that they were instructed to make the conversation “enjoyable and fun;” however, 24 participants (40.0%) indicated that they were instructed to “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you,” and only one participant (1.7%) indicated that they were instructed to “Reduce anxiety and stress.” Of the 56 participants in the 28 dyads assigned to the Immediate Prevention condition, 22 (39.3%) correctly indicated that they were instructed to “Reduce anxiety and stress,” another 22 (39.3%) indicated that they were instructed to “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you,” and 12 (21.4%) indicated that they were instructed to make the conversation “enjoyable and fun.” Of the 68 participants in the 34 dyads assigned to the No Goal Control condition, 62 (91.2%) correctly indicated that they were instructed to “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you,” and the remaining six (8.8%) indicated that they were instructed to make the conversation “enjoyable and fun.” This suggests that some participants, particularly in the Immediate Rewards and especially Immediate Prevention conditions, either did not recall which condition they were assigned to or did not view these instruction conditions to be mutually exclusive (recall that all participants were also instructed to get to know each

other at a “deeper level” immediately before being given one of the three instruction conditions).¹¹

How Well Participants Followed the Instructions

However, there was no significant variability in how well participants reported that they had followed the instructions. On average, participants felt they had followed the instructions well, with a mean score of 5.81 ($SD = 1.07$) on a 1-7 scale.

Moreover, analyses suggested that this did not differ significantly either by goal focus condition, participant party, or any combination thereof. Specifically, a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, within-dyad political party, and participants’ responses to the question “How well did you follow the instructions you received.” Results showed no significant main effect of between-dyad instruction condition, $F(2, 89) = 1.17, p = .32, partial \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards

¹¹ Note that the present analyses consisted of an intention-to-treat analysis, focusing on the actual condition to which participants were assigned (Tripepi et al., 2020), whether or not they correctly identified having been in that condition, as the effects may have not required accurate memory of condition assignment. This constituted a conservative test of our hypotheses due to potential attenuation on account of condition cross-over effects for participants who thought they were in a different instruction condition than assigned (Tripepi et al., 2020). An alternative analysis strategy would have been a per-protocol analysis (Tripepi et al., 2020), which would have focused only on the 119 participants who correctly recalled their assignment. This would have involved analyses on 41 dyads, with 10 dyads in the Immediate Rewards condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) dyads in the Immediate Prevention condition, and 29 dyads in the No Goal Control condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Due to low N and power, and the common practice of reporting per-protocol analyses these as secondary results (Tripepi et al., 2020), we did not focus on the per-protocol analyses here. However, descriptive graphs of these analyses are included in Appendix F for each of the ten focal outcome measures. We also provide descriptive graphs comparing the overall between-subjects mean scores (at the individual level, $N = 184$) for participants in each assigned condition by the condition they recalled being in for each of the ten focal outcome measures. A summary of these results, beginning with the individual-level analyses, is also available at the beginning of Appendix F.

condition ($M = 5.93$, $SE = .15$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 5.64$, $SE = .14$, $p = .16$), no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.88$, $SE = .15$, $p = .78$), and no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition. ($p = .27$). There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 1.67$, $p = .19$, $partial \eta^2 = .04$; nor was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party $F(1, 89) = 0.88$, $p = .35$, $partial \eta^2 = .01$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Descriptives of the Dependent Variables

Before reporting the mixed ANOVA results, it is worth noting that participants at the individual level ($N = 184$) reported mean scores for most dependent variables that were above the midpoint. Specifically, among the dependent variables measured on a seven-point scale, expectancies of the interaction, perceived enjoyment, perceived partner involvement, perceived partner elaboration, favorable impressions of the partner, desire to interact with the partner again, and desire to interact with the outparty again were each rated above the midpoint of the scale, on average. Inclusion of the other in the self was rated as approximately at the midpoint of the scale (see Table 1).

In terms of the two dependent variables measured on a five-point scale, positive affect (measured using the PANAS) was rated above the midpoint of the scale, on average. However, negative affect (measured using the PANAS) was rated as below the midpoint of the scale, on average (see Table 1). Collectively, this suggests that the pre-interaction expectancies, and quality of the conversations, were relatively high, overall.

Table 1*Descriptives for Dependent Variables.*

	N	Min.	Max.	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Expectancies of the Interaction	184	2.67	6.33	4.76	0.85
Affective Experiences During the Interaction					
<i>PANAS Positive</i>	184	1.40	5.00	3.35	0.71
<i>PANAS Negative</i>	184	1.00	3.10	1.31	0.37
<i>Perceived Enjoyment</i>	184	1.33	7.00	5.11	1.22
Impressions of the Partner's Behavior					
<i>Perceived Partner Involvement</i>	184	2.00	7.00	6.24	0.97
<i>Perceived Partner Elaboration</i>	184	1.00	7.00	5.78	1.25
Positive Impressions of Conversation Partner					
<i>Favorable Impressions Index</i>	184	1.00	7.00	5.39	1.18
<i>Inclusion of Other in the Self</i>	184	1.00	7.00	4.02	1.32
Willingness for Future Outparty Interactions					
<i>Desire to Interact with Partner Again</i>	184	1.50	7.00	5.56	1.11
<i>Desire to Interact with Outparty Again</i>	184	2.00	7.00	5.33	1.21

Expectancies of the Interaction

A 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, within-dyad political party, and positive expectancies of the interaction, using a three-item mean score. The primary hypothesis was that dyads in the Immediate Rewards condition would report significantly more positive expectancies of the interaction (on a scale of 1 – 7) relative to dyads in the Immediate Prevention or No Goal Control conditions. It was also hypothesized that Democrats in the Immediate Rewards condition would show significantly more positive expectancies of the interaction relative

to Republicans in the Immediate Rewards condition, and that Republicans in the Immediate Prevention condition would report significantly more positive expectancies of the interaction relative to Democrats in the Immediate Prevention condition.

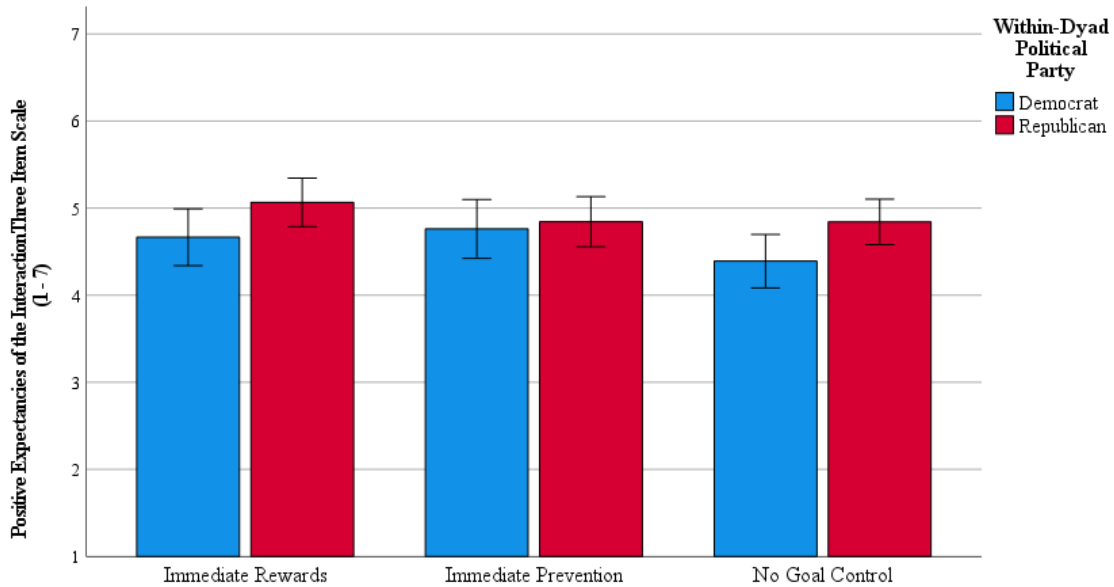
Results showed no significant main effect of instruction condition, $F(2, 89) = 1.82, p = .17, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .04$; nevertheless, pairwise comparisons suggested that participants in the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 4.87, SE = .10$) reported marginally higher expectancies than participants in the No Goal Control condition ($M = 4.62, SE = .09, p = .07$). However, there was no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 4.80, SE = .10, p = .66$), suggesting only marginal support for the primary hypothesis. Notably, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .18$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.73, p = .49, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 1). However, there was a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 5.16, p = .02, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .06$, such that Republicans within dyads ($M = 4.92, SD = .77$) reported significantly more positive pre-interaction expectancies on average than did Democrats within dyads ($M = 4.59, SD = .90$). In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 1

Positive Expectancies of Interaction by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of three items covering participants' positive expectancies of the interaction. These three items were "How enjoyable/fun do you think this conversation will be?", "How distressing/unpleasant do you think this conversation will be?" (reverse-coded), and "How well do you think this interaction will go?", with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Extremely).

Affective Experiences During the Interaction

Positive Affect Schedule

A 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, within-dyad political party, and positive affect experienced during the interaction, measured after the interaction using a 10-item mean score of the positive affect items from the PANAS. The primary hypothesis was that dyads in the Immediate Rewards condition would report having experienced significantly more positive affect during the interaction (on a scale of 1 – 5) relative to dyads in the Immediate Prevention or No Goal Control conditions. It was also hypothesized that Democrats in the Immediate Rewards condition would report having experienced significantly more positive affect during the interaction relative to Republicans in the Immediate Rewards condition, and that Republicans in the Immediate Prevention condition would report having experienced significantly more positive affect during the interaction relative to Democrats in the Immediate Prevention condition.

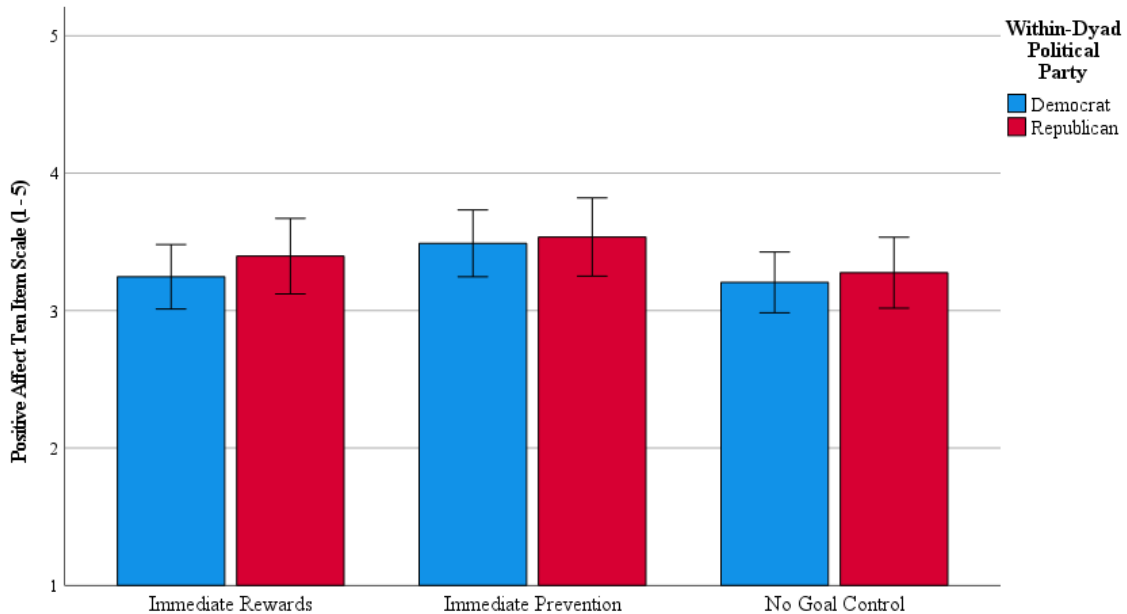
Results showed no significant main effect of instruction condition, $F(2, 89) = 2.20, p = .12, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .05$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 3.32, SE = .09$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 3.24, SE = .09, p = .53$), nor between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 3.51, SE = .10, p = .16$), suggesting no support for the primary hypothesis. However, there was a significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control

condition ($p = .04$), such that dyads in the Immediate Prevention condition reported more positive affect on average than the dyads in the No Goal Control condition.

There was no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.09, p = .91, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 2). There was also no significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 0.78, p = .38, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .009$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 2

Positive Affect Schedule by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition.

Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten items covering positive affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt “Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had,” and included “Interested,” “Excited,” “Strong,” “Enthusiastic,” “Proud,” “Alert,” “Inspired,” “Determined,” “Attentive,” and “Active,” rated on a five–point scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” – 5 = “Extremely”) (Watson et al., 1988).

Negative Affect Schedule

A 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, within-dyad political party, and negative affect experienced during the interaction, measured after the interaction using a 10-item mean score of the negative affect items from the PANAS. The primary hypothesis was that dyads in the Immediate Rewards condition would report having experienced significantly less negative affect during the interaction (on a scale of 1 – 5) relative to dyads in the Immediate Prevention or No Goal Control conditions. It was also hypothesized that Democrats in the Immediate Rewards condition would report having experienced significantly less negative affect during the interaction relative to Republicans in the Immediate Rewards condition, and that Republicans in the Immediate Prevention condition would report having experienced

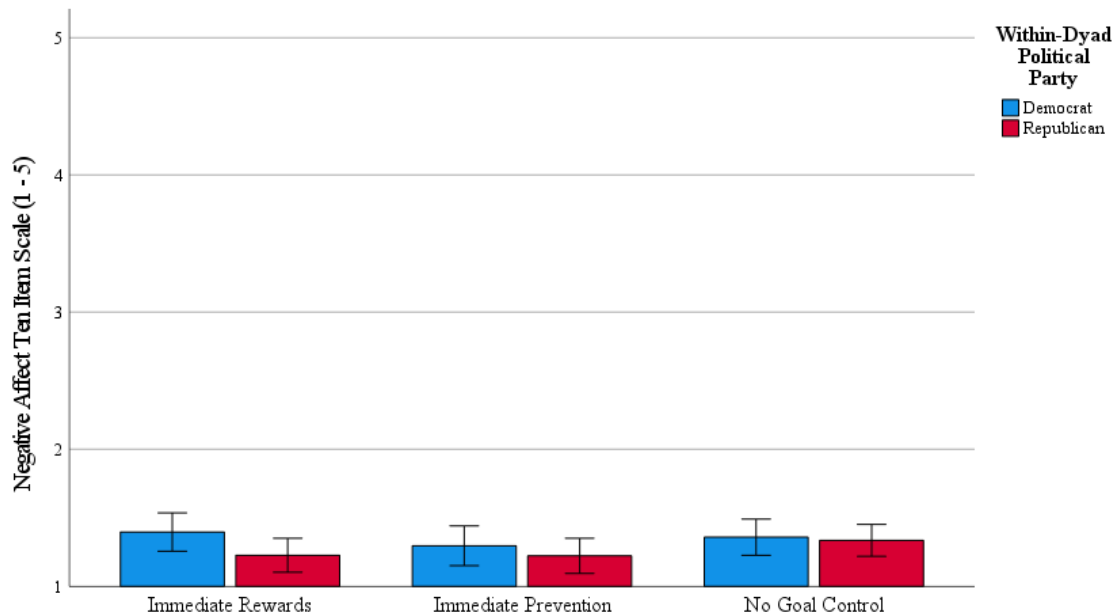
significantly less negative affect during the interaction relative to Democrats in the Immediate Prevention condition.

Results showed no significant main effect of instruction condition, $F(2, 89) = 0.89, p = .42, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 1.31, SE = .05$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 1.35, SE = .04, p = .59$), nor between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 1.26, SE = .05, p = .44$), suggesting no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .19$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.66, p = .52, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 3), nor was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 2.74, p = .10, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 3

Negative Affect Schedule by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten items covering negative affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt “Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had,” and included “Distressed,” “Upset,” “Guilty,” “Scared,” “Hostile” “Irritable,” “Ashamed,” “Nervous,” “Jittery” and “Afraid” rated on a five–point scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” – 5 = “Extremely”) (Watson et al., 1988).

Perceived Enjoyment of the Interaction

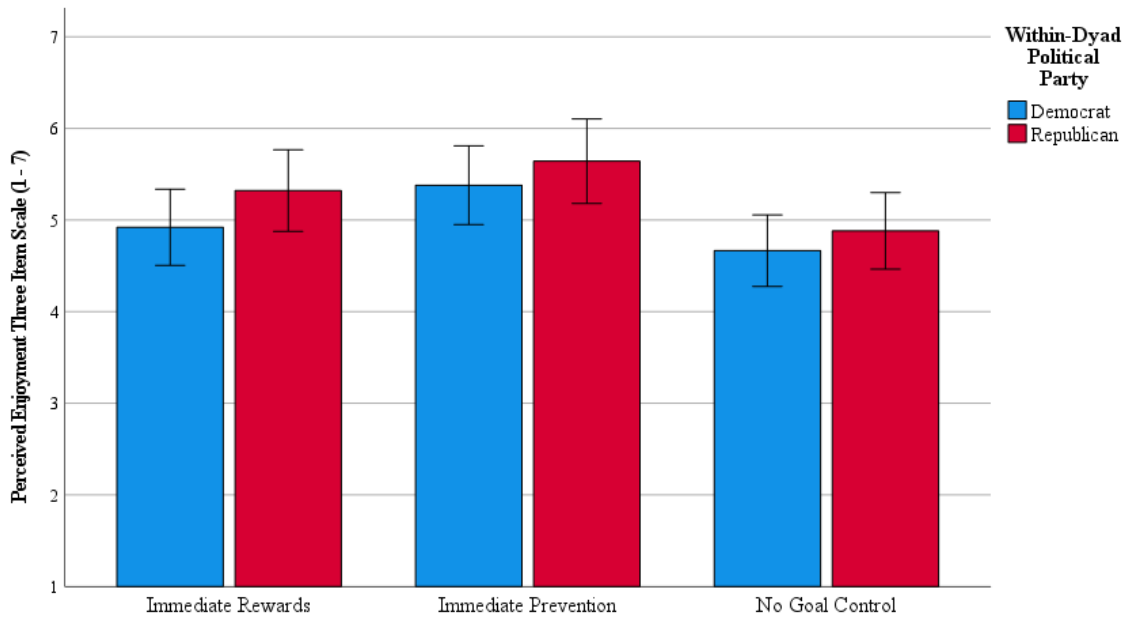
A 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad condition, within-dyad political party, and perceived enjoyment of the interaction as measured after the interaction with a three-item mean score. The primary hypothesis was that dyads in the Immediate Rewards condition would report significantly more enjoyment of the interaction (on a 1 – 7 scale) relative to dyads in the Immediate Prevention or No Goal Control conditions. It was also hypothesized that Democrats in the Immediate Rewards condition would report significantly more enjoyment of the interaction relative to Republicans in the Immediate Rewards condition, and that Republicans in the Immediate Prevention condition would report significantly more enjoyment of the interaction relative to Democrats in the Immediate Prevention condition.

Results showed a significant main effect of instruction condition, $F(2, 89) = 4.89$, $p = .01$, $partial \eta^2 = .10$. However, pairwise comparisons suggested no significant differences between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 5.12$, $SE = .17$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 4.78$, $SE = .16$, $p = .14$), nor between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.51$, $SE = .18$, $p = .11$), suggesting no support for the primary hypothesis. Rather, there was a significant difference between the Immediate Prevention Condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .002$), such that dyads in the Immediate Prevention condition reported significantly more perceived enjoyment on average than dyads in the No Goal Control condition.

However, there was no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.13, p = .88, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .003$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 4). There was only a marginal main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 3.51, p = .06, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .04$, such that Republicans ($M = 5.26, SD = 1.25$) reported enjoying the interaction marginally more than did Democrats ($M = 4.97, SD = 1.17$). In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 4

Perceived Enjoyment by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or

Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of three items covering perceived enjoyment of the interaction, “How much did you enjoy the interaction?”, “How much did you and the other laugh during the interaction?”, and “How much fun was the interaction?”, with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 = “A great deal”) (Sprecher, 2021).

Impressions of the Partner’s Behavior During the Interaction

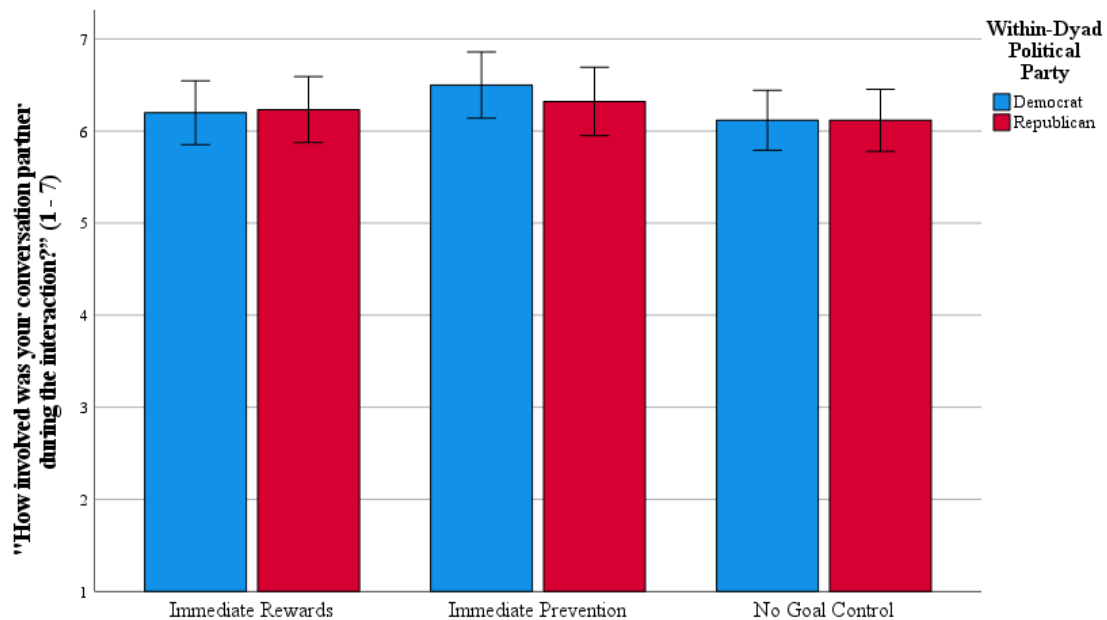
Perceived Partner Involvement

Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on perceived partner involvement, $F(2, 89) = 1.50, p = .23, partial \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 6.22, SE = .12$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 6.12, SE = .13, p = .56$), nor between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 6.41, SE = .13, p = .27$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in how involved participants perceived their partners during the interaction, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. However, there was a marginal difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .09$), such that dyads in the Immediate Control condition reported having marginally more involved partners than those in the No Goal control condition.

There was no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.19, p = .83, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .004$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 5), nor was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 0.11, p = .74, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .001$.

Figure 5

Impressions of Partner's Involvement During Interaction by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The

dependent variable was “How involved was your conversation partner during the interaction?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Notably, the marginally greater involvement effects in the Immediate Prevention condition may have been driven by female Democrats’ perceptions of their (female Republican) partners, in particular. A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and perceived partner involvement. Results suggested the presence of a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 3.30, p = .04, partial \eta^2 = .07$. This effect was such that only female Democrats ($p = .02$)—but, interestingly, not female Republicans ($M_{ImmediateRewards} = 6.50, SE_{ImmediateRewards} = .26; M_{ImmediatePrevention} = 6.27, SE_{ImmediatePrevention} = .26; M_{NoGoalControl} = 6.31, SE_{NoGoalControl} = .26; p = .80$), nor male Democrats ($M_{ImmediateRewards} = 6.38, SE_{ImmediateRewards} = .24; M_{ImmediatePrevention} = 6.08, SE_{ImmediatePrevention} = .26; M_{NoGoalControl} = 6.17, SE_{NoGoalControl} = .22; p = .67$), or male Republicans ($M_{ImmediateRewards} = 6.00, SE_{ImmediateRewards} = .25; M_{ImmediatePrevention} = 6.39, SE_{ImmediatePrevention} = .27; M_{NoGoalControl} = 5.94, SE_{NoGoalControl} = .23; p = .44$)—showed a significant difference between condition means. Specifically, female Democrats evaluated their (female Republican) partners as significantly more involved when they were assigned to the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 6.87, SE = .24$) than when they were assigned to

the Immediate Rewards ($M = 6.00$, $SE = .25$, $p = .02$) or No Goal Control conditions ($M = 6.06$, $SE = .24$, $p = .02$). There were no other significant sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

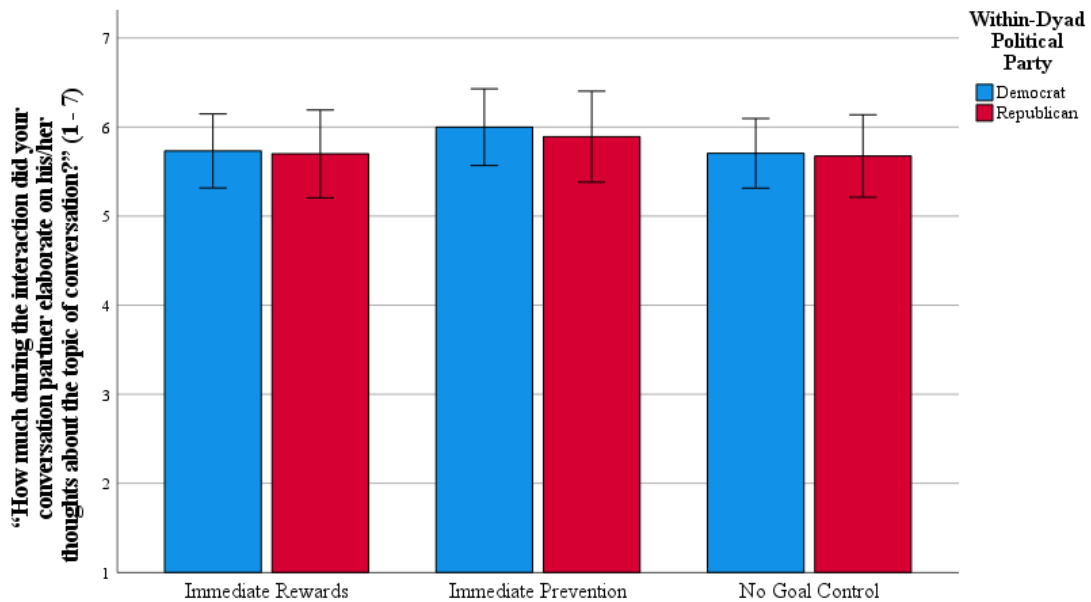
Perceived Partner Elaboration

Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on perceived partner elaboration, $F(2, 89) = 0.59$, $p = .56$, $partial \eta^2 = .01$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 5.72$, $SE = .18$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 5.70$, $SE = .17$, $p = .92$), nor between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.95$, $SE = .19$, $p = .38$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in how much elaboration participants perceived their partners as engaging in during the interaction, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .32$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.24$, $p = .98$, $partial \eta^2 = .004$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 6), nor was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 0.12$, $p = .73$, $partial \eta^2 = .001$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 6

Impressions of Partner's Elaboration During Conversation by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was “How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Positive Impressions of the Conversation Partner

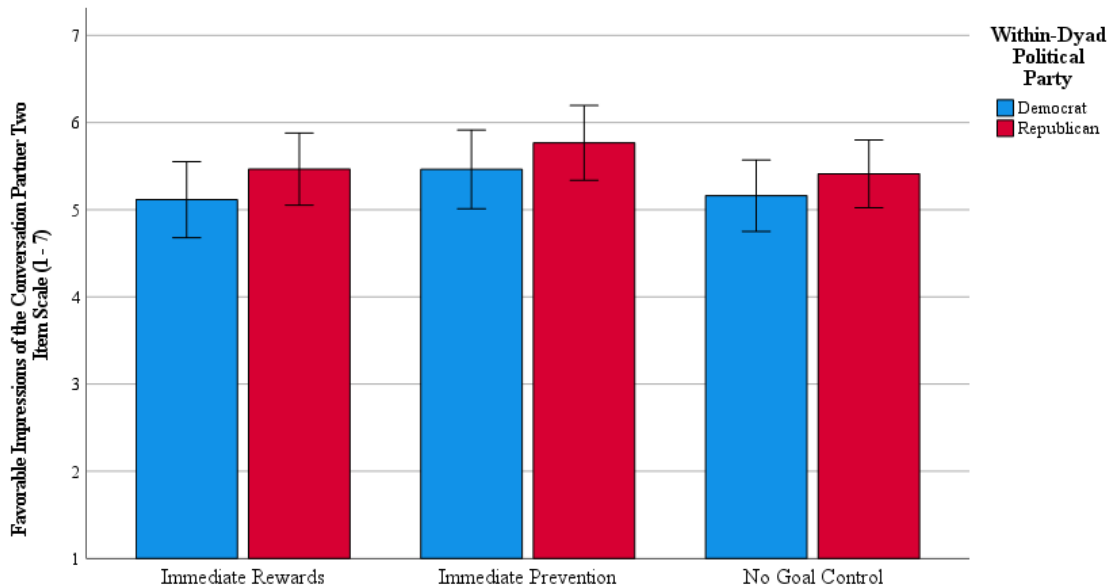
Favorable Impressions Index

Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on participants' favorable impressions of their partners, $F(2, 89) = 1.42, p = .25, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 5.29, SE = .16$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 5.29, SE = .15, p = .98$), and no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.62, SE = .16, p = .15$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in how favorable participants found their partners overall, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .14$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.03, p = .97, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .001$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 7). However, there was a marginal main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 3.23, p = .08, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .04$, such that Republicans within dyads ($M = 5.53, SD = 1.14$) had significantly more favorable overall impressions of their interaction partners on average than did Democrats within dyads ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.20$). In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 7

Favorable Impressions of Partner by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant’s overall positive impressions of their partner adapted from Shelton and Richeson (2005) and Shelton (2003): “How much do you like your conversation partner?” and “How likely is it that you would become friends with your conversation partner?”, with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

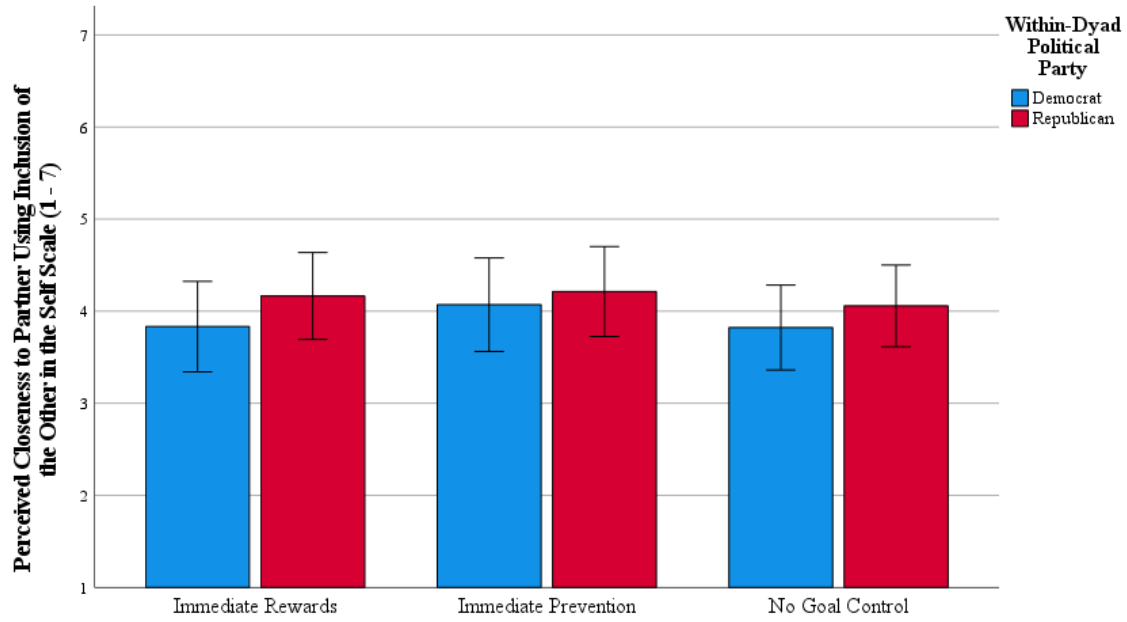
Inclusion of the Other in the Self

Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on inclusion of the other in the self, $F(2, 89) = 0.32, p = .73, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .007$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 4.00, SE = .19$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 3.94, SE = .17, p = .82$), and no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 4.14, SE = .19, p = .59$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in how close participants felt to their partners, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .44$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.09, p = .92, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 8), nor was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 1.75, p = .19, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 8

Inclusion of the Partner in the Self by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a measure of perceived closeness of the participant’s interaction partner, measured using a modified version of the Inclusion of the Other in Self (IOS) Scale (Aron et al., 1992): “Which diagram most closely represents how close you feel to your conversation partner? (Please select only one option)” with a series of seven pairs of circles, in which the left circle was labeled “me” and the right circle was labeled “my conversation partner.” These pairs of circles increased in their degree of

overlap/closeness from entirely non-overlapping (1 = the first pair of circles) to nearly entirely overlapping (7 = the seventh pair of circles).

Willingness for Future Outparty Interactions

Desire to Interact with the Partner Again

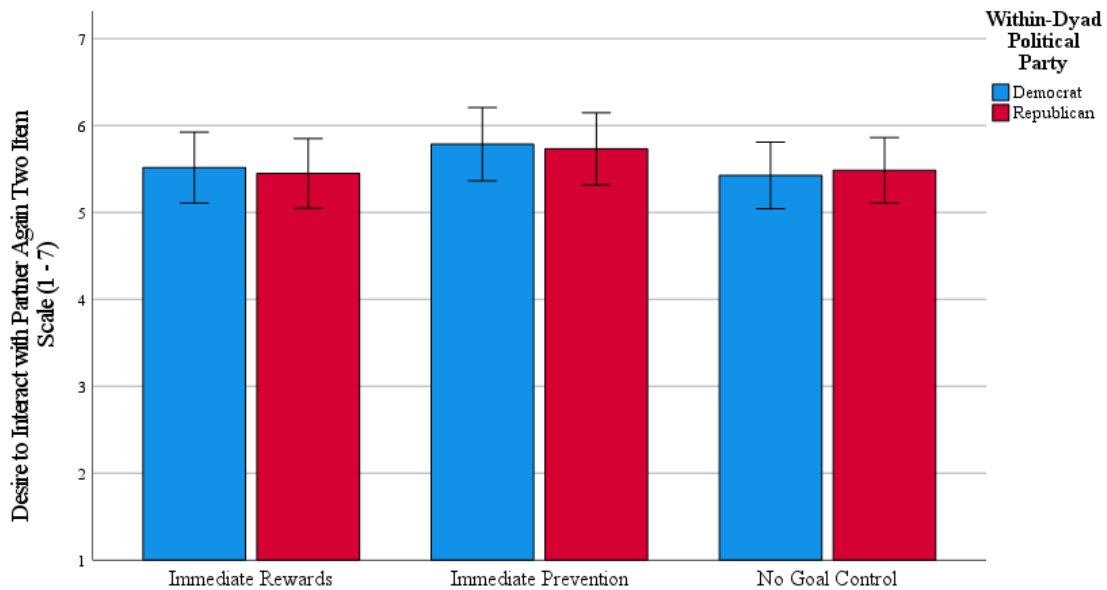
Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on desire to interact with the partner again, $F(2, 89) = 1.23, p = .30, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 5.48, SE = .15$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 5.46, SE = .14, p = .89$), and no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.76, SE = .16, p = .21$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in participants' desire to interact with their partner again, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .15$).

There was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.07, p = .94, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 9). Neither was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 0.02, p = .90, \text{partial } \eta^2 < .001$. In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects

(see Appendix E for details).

Figure 9

Desire to Interact with Partner Again by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant’s desire to interact with their partner again in the future: “How willing would you be to interact with this person again?” and “How well do you think a future interaction with this person

would go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = “Not at all”, 7 = “Extremely”).

Desire to Interact with the Outparty Again

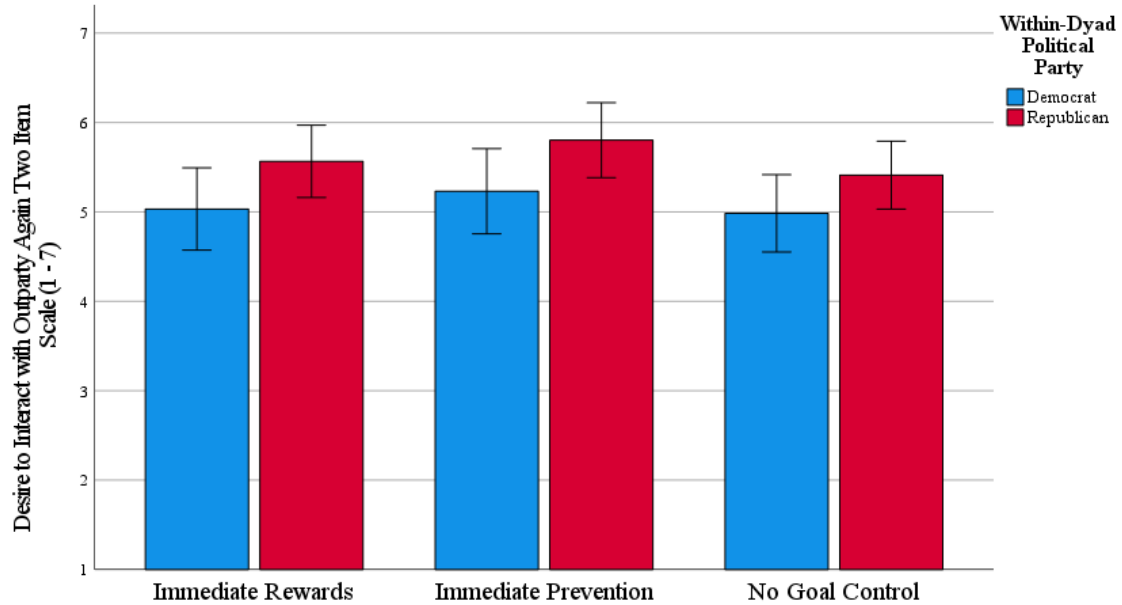
Results of a 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA showed no significant main effect of instruction condition on desire to interact with the outparty again, $F(2, 89) = 1.14, p = .33, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. There was also no significant difference in the pairwise comparison between the Immediate Rewards condition ($M = 5.30, SE = .15$) and the No Goal Control condition ($M = 5.20, SE = .14, p = .63$), and no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards condition and the Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.52, SE = .16, p = .33$). This suggested no significant differences by condition in participants’ desire to interact with a member of the outparty again, and thus no support for the primary hypothesis. Similarly, there was also no significant difference between the Immediate Prevention condition and the No Goal Control condition ($p = .14$).

There was no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad goal focus condition and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 89) = 0.06, p = .94, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .001$, suggesting support for neither of the two secondary hypotheses (see Figure 10). However, there was there a significant main effect of within-dyad political party, $F(1, 89) = 8.22, p = .005, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .09$, such that Republicans within dyads reported significantly greater desire to interact with an outparty member again ($M = 5.58, SD =$

1.12), on average, relative to Democrats within dyads ($M = 5.08, SD = 1.26$). In addition, there were no significant between-dyad sex effects (see Appendix E for details).

Figure 10

Desire to Interact with Outparty Again by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant's desire to interact with another member of the outparty (Democrats for Republican participants, and Republicans for Democrat participants) again in the future: "How willing would you be

to interact with a (Democrat/Republican) again?” and “How well do you think a future interaction with a (Democrat/Republican) would go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = “Not at all,” 7 = “Extremely”).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The present study was, to the authors' knowledge, the first to investigate the effectiveness of instructing pairs of opposite-party participants to focus on immediate rewards, relative to focusing on immediate (anxiety) prevention or a no-goal control condition, for increasing participants' willingness to interact with members of the opposite political party and for making those interactions less aversive. Moreover, it was also the first to investigate whether—given prior work suggesting ideological differences in threat-sensitivity (e.g., Altemeyer, 2004; Block & Block, 2006; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b; Oxley et al., 2008; Terrizzi et al., 2013)—Democrats might be more responsive to instructions to focus on immediate rewards, whereas Republicans might be more responsive to instructions to focus on immediate prevention goals.

First, it is worth noting that—perhaps contrary to expectations that people might avoid intergroup interactions (e.g., Kauff et al., 2021) because they are worried that these will go poorly, or that they will be disliked by their outgroup (Stephan, 2014; Shelton, 2003)—participants' expectancies and actual experiences of the interparty interactions were, on the whole, quite positive in the present study. Across conditions, participants reported above the midpoint averages when it came to their positive affective experiences, overall impressions of their partners' behaviors, and overall positive impressions of the partners themselves. Participants even reported above the midpoint means in terms of their willingness to interact with their partners (and other outparty members) again in the future. From this perspective, if people are avoiding outparty

interactions because they expect those interactions to go poorly, at least the present results might suggest otherwise.

One possible reason for these generally high evaluations may have been because the conditions of the study were in line with the four conditions for optimal intergroup contact. Specifically, participants were of equal status in the study, they were given the same instructions and thus goals, they were in a largely cooperative setting (e.g., they were not directly asked to discuss contentious political issues), and they were supported by the institution—the university granting them research credit (Allport, 1954). This may have set up an ideal environment for the success of the conversations in this study.

Another reason for these generally positive interactions may have come from the fact that all participants were instructed to get to know their partner at a “deeper level” in order to “form a rich impression of this person.” Such instructions may have encouraged participants to form accurate impressions of one another, an instruction that in prior work has been shown to reduce negative expectancies on account of greater information-gathering during interactions (Neuberg, 1989). Accordingly, such conditions and instructions may be useful for ensuring that other interparty interactions go smoothly in the future, as well.

Nevertheless, it is notable that some differences between instruction conditions were still observed, in spite of the overall positive ratings of the intergroup interactions. Specifically, regarding the primary hypotheses (see Table 2 for a summary of all results), results suggested that instructing participants to focus on immediate rewards such as fun and enjoyment may have led to somewhat greater willingness to engage in interparty conversations in the first place. Participant pairs who were instructed to make the

conversations fun and enjoyable in fact expected that these conversations would be marginally more enjoyable relative to participant pairs who were given no specific instructions.¹² In other words, the immediate reward focus instructions may have boosted participants' expectations that they could make the conversation go well. This would be consistent with prior work suggesting that participants' contact self-efficacy (i.e., their confidence in the ability to have positive intergroup interactions) is associated with more positive intergroup contact outcomes (Turner & Cameron, 2016), including the maintenance of intergroup friendships (Bagci et al., 2019; Kauf et al., 2021). Given that the intergroup interactions in the present study tended to go well on average, these results may suggest that immediate rewards could be somewhat helpful in motivating people to engage in intergroup contact in the first place, and perhaps maintain it (Bagci et al., 2019), thus potentially reducing prejudice over time (Allport, 1954, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

However, contrary to the primary hypotheses, the immediate rewards instructions did little to improve the quality of the intergroup contact, as experienced and reported by participants. Rather, instructing participants to avoid anxiety and being upset in the moment outperformed the no instruction condition when it came participants' self-reported positive affect and enjoyment of the interaction. This effect is somewhat puzzling, as it was expected that instructions to enjoy the interaction should have been

¹² Though note that these results did not replicate in the per-protocol analyses (with only participants who correctly identified their condition assignment) in Appendix F, and should perhaps be regarded with some caution, accordingly. In those analyses, there was no significant difference between the Immediate Rewards and No-Goal Control condition, nor between the Immediate Rewards and Immediate Prevention conditions in terms of expectancies. Rather, the Immediate Prevention condition was associated with significantly more positive expectancies relative to the No-Goal control condition. Note, however, that there were very few dyads ($N = 2$) in Immediate Prevention condition in the per-protocol analyses, and thus those results should also be regarded with caution.

more successful at promoting enjoyment in the moment. However, participants in the immediate prevention condition—for whom intergroup anxiety was made salient—may have overcompensated for the possibility that the interactions could have gone poorly. As, participants in the Immediate Prevention condition reported having been assigned to a broad variety of instruction conditions, suggesting that at least some participants in the immediate prevention condition may have engaged in multiple strategies during their conversations.

Moreover, at least some of the participants (female Republicans) in the Immediate Prevention condition seemed to be more involved in the interaction, at least as reported by their (female Democrat) partners. The possibility that female Republicans might have adjusted their behavior to seem more involved (and make the conversation go more smoothly) may be consistent with prior research suggesting that conservatives are more threat-sensitive than liberals (e.g., Altemeyer, 2004; Block & Block, 2006; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b; Oxley et al., 2008; Terrizzi et al., 2013), and that women may be more sensitive and responsive to emotional feedback than men (e.g., Chen et al., 2018; Goubet & Chrysikou, 2019).

Although one should exercise caution when interpreting null effects, this greater involvement may have been communicated in some other way than in terms of how much participants elaborated on their thoughts, as there were no significant differences in perceived conversational elaboration by condition, party, sex, or any combination thereof. Future research may thus benefit from investigating the behaviors of the participants (especially Republican women) in the immediate prevention condition to help develop more specific behavioral intervention recommendations.

Table 2 *Summary of Significant and Marginal Results*

Dependent Variable	Rewards v. Control	Rewards v. Prevention	Prevention v. Control	Political Party Effects	Sex Effects
Expectancies of the Interaction	Rewards marginally higher than No Goal Control	Null	Null	Republicans significantly higher than Democrats	Null
Affective Experiences in Interaction					
<i>PANAS Positive</i>	Null	Null	Prevention significantly higher than No Goal Control	Null	Null
<i>PANAS Negative</i>	Null	Null	Null	Null	Null
<i>Perceived Enjoyment</i>	Null	Null	Prevention significantly higher than No Goal Control	Republicans marginally higher than Democrats	Null
Impressions of the Partner's Behavior					
<i>Perceived Partner Involvement</i>	Null	Null	Prevention marginally higher than No Goal Control	Null	Female Democrats in Prevention condition perceived partners as significantly more involved than Female Democrats in Rewards or No Goal Control
<i>Perceived Partner Elaboration</i>	Null	Null	Null	Null	Null
Positive Impressions of Partner					
<i>Favorable Impressions Index</i>	Null	Null	Null	Republicans marginally higher than Democrats	Null
<i>Inclusion of Other in the Self</i>	Null	Null	Null	Null	Null
Willingness for Future Interactions					
<i>Desire to interact with Partner Again</i>	Null	Null	Null	Null	Null
<i>Desire to Interact with Outparty Again</i>	Null	Null	Null	Republicans significantly higher than Democrats	Null

Specifically, it may be wise to code video interactions and transcripts for both non-verbal cues such as (positive) tone and body language (e.g., smiling), as well as conversation content, such as the topic of conversation, the types of questions asked (e.g., Smith et al., 1998; Neuberg et al., 1993; Neuberg, 1989), coder-rated warmth of participant responses, and time spent listening (Neuberg, 1989; Neuberg et al., 1993), which have been associated with more positive interpersonal impressions in previous work.

Relevant to the secondary hypotheses, the effects of instruction condition were not significantly qualified by party (aside from the one party by sex by condition interaction discussed above, see also Table 2 for summary of all results), suggesting that the effectiveness of the instruction conditions did not significantly vary based on participants' political ideology. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that relative to the Democrats in the present study, Republicans seemed to have had generally more positive outcomes across a variety of variables. Specifically, Republicans had more positive expectancies of the conversations, indicated that they found the conversations marginally more enjoyable, had more positive impressions of their interaction partners.¹³ Moreover, Republicans reported being significantly more willing to have another conversation with a member of their political outparty. This seems somewhat inconsistent with prior work suggesting that liberals are higher on openness whereas conservatives are more threat-sensitive (e.g., Cichocka & Dhont, 2018; Sibley et al., 2012; Altemeyer, 2004; Block & Block, 2006; Jost et al., 2003a; Jost et al., 2003b; Oxley et al., 2008; Terrizzi et al.,

¹³ Though note that the party differences for the favorable partner impressions outcome did not replicate in the per-protocol analyses (conducted only with participants who correctly identified their condition assignment) in Appendix F, and should be regarded with some caution, accordingly.

2013), which might have led to the expectation that Democrats would be somewhat more willing to engage with the outparty than Republicans. However, these results are consistent with other work suggesting that outparty animosity may have become slightly higher among liberals than conservatives in recent years (e.g., in 2016, Iyengar & Krupenkin, 2018).

It is also worth noting that the Democrats in this (relatively young) reported being strongly socially liberal, but only neutral on economic issues. Thus, the Democrats in this sample could be seen as somewhat more ideologically libertarian, which is a position that combines socially liberal and economically conservative opinions. Notably, libertarianism is generally thought to be a more conservative orientation, overall. For example, libertarians tend to vote Republican in elections (Carmines & D'Amico, 2015; Carmines, Ensley, & Wagner, 2012), which may have also contributed to the conversations going more smoothly for the Republican partners. Future research should investigate what it was specifically about the Republicans in this sample (including their personality traits) that was associated with these more positive outcomes.

Limitations and Future Directions

One important limitation of the current research is that it was conducted with mostly young adults. Given that political attitudes tend to crystallize between ages 18 – 25 or 30 (Stoker, 2014), the present results may not be generalizable to older adults in the United States, who have more cemented political beliefs. Although we tried to collect data with an older sample of participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turk, these recruitment efforts were not successful. This may suggest that willingness to interact with

(outparty) others is lower among older adults; notably, in the one case in which we were able to successfully recruit a (female) Democrat-Republican MTurk dyad, one of the participants (the female Democrat) left after reading the information about her partner. Accordingly, future research should investigate whether these findings hold among older adults, an effort we will endeavor in the near future by attempting to use Craigslist to recruit an adult community sample.

Moreover, the present results rely on participants' self-reported impressions of their partners' behaviors; however, future work should aim to disentangle the extent to which the obtained behavior impression results were due to participants' perceptions of their partners' behaviors, their partners' actual behaviors, or some combination of the two. Given that the interactions between participants were video recorded, future research should code participants' behaviors and conversations to shed light on these different possibilities.

This may also help lead to more specific behavioral suggestions for future interventions; for example, female Republicans were perceived as more involved by their female Democrat partners. It may be worth investigating how this sub-group's behaviors might have differed from other sub-groups in the study, including in terms of their non-verbal behaviors and the content of their conversations (e.g., Smith et al., 1998; Neuberg et al., 1993; Neuberg, 1989).

Similarly, the current investigation focused on overall differences between conditions and parties (Searle et al., 1980; McLean et al., 1991) the addition of coded behavioral data may permit a more nuanced investigation of the ways in which

Democrats and Republicans in these interactions may affect one another. For example, actor-partner interdependence models (e.g., Kenny, 1996; Kashy & Kenny, 1999) could be used to disentangle the ways in which Republicans' behaviors influence their own later evaluations as well as those of their Democrat partners', and vice-versa.

Finally, participants in the present study were simply asked to get to know their partner at a deeper level, which is probably less likely to lead to conflict relative to a conversation that asks them to focus on more contentious issues, such as their political differences. Given that cooperation is a key tenet of optimal intergroup contact, future research should investigate how these interventions perform in less cooperative settings, as well.

Conclusion

Social psychologists have long pointed to the advantages of intergroup contact for reducing prejudices and have historically focused on promoting such intergroup contact by reducing anxieties. The present work suggested that a new intervention—focusing on immediate rewards such as fun and enjoyment in the moment—may lead to somewhat greater willingness to engage in political intergroup contact in the first place, but that, paradoxically, instructions to avoid anxiety may lead to more enjoyable conversations in the moment. Future work would do well to further examine the nature and implications of these nuances for intergroup contact in the political context and beyond.

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APPENDIX A
RECRUITMENT MATERIALS

Recruitment Details

To recruit an adequate number of participants, male and female Republicans and Democrats with computer video cameras were initially over-sampled using pre-selected sex and political party criteria on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) via CloudPrime and in ASU's undergraduate Sona pool. However, MTurk recruitment was unsuccessful. When we attempted to recruit an online sample of self-identified Democrat and Republican adults on MTurk for \$15 compensation, we reached out to a sample of 357 potential participants using a brief 2-minute prescreen. Of these, 181 were Democrats, with $N = 62$ identifying as male and $N = 115$ identifying as female in the pre-screen, and 176 were Republicans, with $N = 61$ identifying as male and $N = 114$ identifying as female in the pre-screen. Of these 357 participants, only 37 ($N = 5$ Democrat men, $N = 6$ Republican men, $N = 11$ Democrat women, $N = 15$ Republican women) who had qualified for the study based on their prescreen responses reached out to schedule a study session. However, none of them completed one. Accordingly, data collection proceeded with undergraduate Sona samples only (as preregistered on OSF: <https://osf.io/f2m9k>).

In the Sona recruitment pool, potential male Democrat participants were recruited for study SP23-10-G (and were assigned an odd four-digit internal study ID, ending in an "A") and potential male Republican participants were recruited for study SP23-10-H (and were assigned an odd four-digit internal study ID, ending in a "B"). Study SP23-10-G and SP23-10-H had matched time slot calendars in the Sona system, and a slot was confirmed as soon as at least one valid male Democrat-Republican pair would sign up for it. Potential female Democrat participants were recruited for study SP23-10-J (and were

assigned an even four-digit internal study ID, ending in an “A”) and potential female Republican participants were recruited for study SP23-10-K (and were assigned an even four-digit internal study ID, ending in a “B”). Study SP23-10-J and SP23-10-K had matched time slot calendars in the Sona system, and a slot was confirmed as soon as at least one valid female Democrat-Republican pair would sign up for it. Participants would also receive a confirmation of their session (or a reschedule request) via the Sona system and via email 24 hours in advance of their session.

Given that political attitudes begin to crystallize between ages 18 – 25 or 30 (Stoker, 2014) one concern we had about recruitment in the Sona pool was that participants may not identify with their political party as strongly as older adults. Accordingly, after our first wave of data collection from October 2022 to December 2022 (N = 47 dyads), we investigated participant’s responses to a question they were asked during the post-interaction survey: “How important is your political party to your sense of who you are?” (1 = “Not at all” – 5 = “Extremely important”). Results were consistent with prior evidence that many at this age have not yet developed strong party affiliations: 27.7% of participants scored a 1, 26.6% scored a 2, 31.9% scored a 3, and 13.8% scored a 4. We wished to retain variability in party affiliation strength as an exploratory moderator, while also ensuring the upper range was well-represented. Thus, in the second semester of data collection, we also added the “How important is your political party to your sense of who you are?” item as a pre-screen measure, and over-sampled participants who scored a “4” and a “5”, aiming for a total sample with approximately 20% of

participants reporting each level of party affiliation strength on this 1-to-5 scale. This modification to the initial protocol was also preregistered on OSF (<https://osf.io/f2m9k>).

In Fall 2022, N = 1,201 participants were contacted on SONA, N = 221 were Democrat males, N = 253 were Republican males, N = 535 were Democrat females, and N = 192 Republican females. In Spring 2023, N = 817 potential participants were contacted on SONA, N = 173 were Democrat males, N = 218 were Republican males, N = 286 were Democrat females, and N = 140 were Republican females. Of these, 188 participants completed the study in a valid opposite-party dyad, resulting in a recruitment yield rate of approximately 9.5%, with some variability by participant party, sex, and semester of data collection (see Table A1 for details).

Table A1

Recruitment Yield Rates by Participant Party, Sex, and Semester of Data Collection

Party and Sex	Participants in Democrat-Republican Dyads					
	Fall 2022		Spring 2023		Total	
	<i>N</i>	<i>% Yield from First Contact</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% Yield from First Contact</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>% Yield from First Contact</i>
Democrat Male	26	11.76%	22	12.72%	48	12.18%
Republican Male	26	10.28%	22	10.09%	48	10.19%
Democrat Female	26	4.86%	22	7.69%	48	5.85%
Republican Female	26	13.54%	22	15.71%	48	14.46%
Total	104	8.66%	88	10.77%	192	9.51%

Note. N indicates the final number of participants in each party and sex category that

participated in a same-sex, opposite-party dyad within a given semester (in the “Fall 2022” and “Spring 2023” columns) or across both semesters combined (in the “Total” column). “% Yield from First Contact” indicates the percentage of the total participants from each party and sex category within a given semester (in the “Fall 2022” and “Spring 2023” columns), or across both semesters combined (in the “Total” column), that ultimately participated in an interaction in same-sex, opposite-party dyad.

This relatively high drop-off rate (of 90.5%, $N = 1,830$) occurred for various reasons, including participants never following up on recruitment outreach despite multiple such attempts ($N = 1,583$, or 86.5% of the drop-off rate), and either not scheduling a session after being recruited or not showing up for their scheduled session ($N = 150$, or 8.2% the drop-off rate). Moreover, given these no-schedule and no-show rates, some Democrat participants were run in same-party dyads ($N = 46$, or 2.5% of the drop-off rate) and, when an odd number of participants were present, some were run in a separate study for credit ($N = 51$, or 2.8% of the drop-off rate).

Initial Outreach Email

Subject: Reaching out about 1 SONA credit opportunity (SP23-10-J/K/G/H: Interpersonal Impressions -- ONLINE)

Body: Hello,

We are Michelle N. Shiota and Douglas T. Kenrick, professors, and Adi Wiesel, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Arizona State University. We received your contact information from the SONA pre-screen survey.

We are conducting a study (SP23-10-J/K/G/H: Interpersonal Impressions -- ONLINE) on how people generate impressions of others at various points in time and with various amounts of information. The study sessions will be held online via the web meeting software Zoom and will involve having a conversation with another person in a Zoom breakout room. The entire session will take approximately 40 minutes. You would be provided with a 1 SONA research credit compensation at the end of the session.

If you are interested, please see if the following apply to you:

- **You have access to a computer with a webcam, microphone, and speakers/headphones.**
- **You have access to a reliable internet connection.**
- **You can set aside 40 minutes in a quiet, private environment for a video call sometime next week or so.**

If **all three** are true of you, please **respond to this email** with **three hobbies/activities that you enjoy doing in your spare time:**

- **Hobby 1**
- **Hobby 2**
- **Hobby 3**

And we will get back to you shortly.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Adi Wiesel, Michelle N. Shiota, and Douglas T. Kenrick

Follow-Up Email

Body: Hello,

Thank you for reaching back out. We are pleased to inform you that you are eligible for our study! This study investigates how people generate impressions of others at various points in time and with various amounts of information. The study sessions will be held online via the web meeting software Zoom, and the entire session will take approximately 40 minutes. You will be provided with a 1 SONA research credit compensation at the end of the session.

DETAILS FOR THE SESSION:

During the study session, you will need to be at a **computer with a working web camera, microphone, speakers/headphones, as the study will use both Zoom's chat and audio/video features**. You will be having a conversation with another person in a Zoom breakout room, and you will also need to be in a **private, quiet location with a reliable internet connection**.

SCHEDULING YOUR SESSION:

Please visit the following **SONA link to schedule a session that works for you: [LINK](#)**. You will need the following **Invitation Code** to be able to sign up for time slots:

INVITATION CODE.

Note that session options in SONA are limited, so please reserve your session soon to secure your slot. If you don't see any slots during times you are available, but are still interested in participating, please email me, so we can invite you to participate in the next batch.

In addition, this study involves multiple people. So, you will receive a **confirmation email once enough people schedule to confirm the time slot** (or you will receive a note asking you to reschedule if more times are available), **approximately 24 hours in advance of your study session time**.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

For this study, we will be providing you with a **unique 4-digit identification number 4-DIGIT ID NUMBER**. Please keep this as you will need it throughout the study.

Thank you also for providing us with your **name**. This will only be seen by the main session host and will be used to pair your unique 4-digit ID number during the session, and to help with compensation, and any information connecting your name and ID will be deleted at the end of the study to protect your confidentiality.

Thank you!

APPENDIX B
IRB APPROVAL DOCUMENTATION

APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Michelle Shiota
CLAS-NS: Psychology
480/727-8628
Lani.Shiota@asu.edu

Dear Michelle Shiota:

On 10/10/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Interpersonal Impressions
Investigator	Michelle Shiota
IRB ID:	STUDY00016683
Category of review:	
Funding:	Name: Arizona State University (ASU), Funding Source ID: Dr. Douglas T. Kenrick's President's Professor Fund
Grant Title:	
Grant ID:	
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appendix A: Recruitment Forms, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Appendix B: Consent Forms, Category: Consent Form; • Appendix C: Measures, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Appendix D: Debriefing Materials, Category: Other; • Appendix E: Study Protocol, Category: Other; • IRB Form, Category: IRB Protocol;

The IRB approved the protocol effective 10/10/2022. Continuing Review is not required for this study.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

REMINDER - - Effective January 12, 2022, in-person interactions with human subjects require adherence to all current policies for ASU faculty, staff, students and visitors. Up-to-date information regarding ASU's COVID-19 Management Strategy can be found [here](#). IRB approval is related to the research activity involving human subjects, all other protocols related to COVID-19 management including face coverings, health checks, facility access, etc. are governed by current ASU policy.

Sincerely,
IRB Administrator

APPENDIX C
MAIN STUDY PROTOCOL

Interpersonal Impressions Protocol

Personnel:

Each session consists of a maximum of 8 participants (4 Democrats and 4 Republicans), 4 experimenters, and one host.

You Will Need:

- Participants' participant numbers and pairing information
- A copy of this protocol (host script in **green**, experimenter script in **orange**. Orange or green text in *italics* should be sent in chat.)
- From the Google doc, each participant's age/sex/party/hobby information and instruction link/pre-interaction link each RA's assigned breakout room (as well as the screw-up log): **LINK**
- A timer (phone is fine)
- Link to the consent survey
 - o **SONA: LINK**
- Link to post-interaction survey: **LINK**
- A DropBox folder for your specific session, a link to this will be provided in the Google spreadsheet
- **If there are any issues, text Adi (Phone Number) and note them in your screw-up log**

Overall Session Structure:

- Beginning the session, main Zoom room:
 - **Experimenters and the host should show up to the Zoom session 10 minutes early. Experimenters should be sure to remove any profile pictures they may be using in Zoom.**
 - In the Zoom room, before participants enter, the main host will change the chat to be **only to hosts and co-hosts** and have all **experimenters mute and turn off video** but leave her own video on. The main host will also make **each experimenter a co-host** and rename all experimenters and hosts.
 - When the eight participants are brought into the **main Zoom room**, the host will **read the first set of instructions**, and then mute and turn off video for the participants, proceed to rename **participants in Zoom using only their participant numbers** using an internal list of names and IDs only accessible by the meeting host, and send a private chat note telling each participant what their private ID number is, and to please acknowledge receipt.
 - **After this, the host will send a Consent form link** to all participants via chat and receive **video preference** confirmations via chat.

- Breakout rooms:
 - Then, pre-assigned pairs will be sent by the main host to one of four breakout rooms; making sure that their video and sound remains off
 - The experimenter will go their assigned breakout room, send **the second set of instructions via chat** and **privately share the information from the Google Spreadsheet about partner A to partner B**, and vice-versa.
 - Once the experimenter confirms receipt of this information, they will send the participants' assigned **instruction and pre-interaction survey link** (same for both participants) from the **Google spreadsheet** to both participants via chat. In the chat, experimenters will also notify participants that the experimenter is unaware of the instructions that the participants are provided in the link.
- The interaction:
 - Once the participants return to the Zoom room, the experimenter will **then unmute and enable video for the participants** and check the quality of their video and audio before giving them the final instructions before the interaction.
 - The experimenter will then hit "start record," start and time the 15-minute conversation, and then let participants know when their time is up via chat, then the experimenter will hit "stop record"
 - While the video is going on, the experimenter will make any notes about the session in **Google Spreadsheet** in the "screw up log" column.
- Finishing the session:
 - Finally, experimenters will send the **fourth set of instructions** and send the **post-interaction survey link** via chat.
 - Once experimenters confirm the participants have completed the study, they will text Adi Wiesel to close their breakout rooms. Once participants back are the main Zoom room, the *experimenters* will then exit the Zoom session. Participants in the main Zoom room will be debriefed and given instructions for compensation by the main host.
 - Once experimenters exit the Zoom session, they should save the breakout room recording and .txt chat log locally onto their desktop using a file name that consists of participant A's ID_ participant B's ID_ the day's date in MMDDYYYY format (e.g., "101A_102B_09112022.mp4").
 - Then they should save the **recording onto** the designated **online DropBox folder**.
 - Once the experimenter confirms that they have **saved the recording onto the Dropbox folder, they should delete the video recording from their desktop**.

SESSION SCRIPT:

1) Beginning the session, Host, main Zoom room:

*All experimenters and the host should show up 10 minutes early to the session. The host should make sure participants are set to enter with voice and video off, and **make sure that none of the experimenters have a profile picture on their Zoom account.***

*In the Zoom room, before participants enter, the host should set the main chat to be **only to hosts and co-hosts** and have all **experimenters mute and turn off video** (using the “...” in the top right corner of each participant’s video and clicking “Mute” and “Stop Video”). The main host will also use this feature to make the **experimenters co-hosts**, and rename everyone to be either “host” or “experimenter 1”, “experimenter 2,” “experimenter 3,” or “experimenter 4.” The host will also select the **security** feature and **hide profile pictures**. Experimenters should still be sure to remove their profile pictures during the study.*

*When the eight participants are brought into the **main Zoom room**, the main host will ensure she is unmuted, have her video on, and read the **first set of instructions**.*

Main Host, out loud:

Hi, thanks so much for joining us for this study! We really appreciate you taking the time to be here today. We are studying how people form impressions of one another, and how those impressions vary at different time points and with different amounts of information.

My name is Adi Wiezel, and I will be the host for this session. I’m joined by two/three/four research assistants who will help me run the study today. To keep from distracting you, they will be keeping their videos and microphones off for the duration of the study, but they will be sending you instructions via the chat feature.

Now, I’m going to start with some practical details as we work our way through the study. You’ll notice that your video and microphone are currently off, to preserve confidentiality. We will start by renaming you to your 4-digit participant ID number for confidentiality during this session. Please give me a few minutes to rename each of you.

The main host renames participants in Zoom to their participant ID numbers using an internal list of names and IDs only accessible by the meeting host and reaches out via chat individually to participants if names are needed to find participants ID numbers. After renaming, the host sends a private chat to each participant with their number:

Your 4-digit unique ID number is ____, which is what your display name will be for the duration of the study. You will also need to enter this number in questionnaires during the study. Please confirm by typing “got it.” Thanks!

Main Host, out loud:

Next, I will ask you to fill out a consent form by following a link that I will send you in the chat. Consent is needed to continue the study. Please send me a private chat message when you have finished, and also confirm whether you are okay with having your video recorded.

In the chat, the main host sends the following to participants:

Consent is needed to continue the study. Please follow this link to the online consent form. If you have questions after reading the consent form, please send me a private chat.

SONA: [LINK](#)

When you are done with the form, please let me know and indicate if you are okay with having your session video-recorded, by typing “done -- video recording okay” in the chat.

Main Host, out loud:

Thanks! Now I will prompt you to turn your videos on briefly.

The main host asks participants to turn videos on.

Please let me know if you know any other participant in the study in any kind of substantive way, beyond seeing them in passing. We are about to assign you to pairs and it is important that you **not** know the person you are about to interact with well.

If you know one of the people in the room, please send me a chat message with their participant number. Or type “no” if you do not. I will send this via chat as well.

In chat, the main host sends the following to participants:

If you know one of the people in the room, please send me a chat message with their participant number. Or please type “no” if you do not.

The main host re-assigns pairs of partners as needed if participants know each other.

Great. Thanks! I will now turn your video back off.

The main host asks participants to turn videos off

And I will send you to a separate Zoom breakout room in a pair. Each room will have an experimenter who will be muted and have their video and microphone off. At first, your video and microphone will be turned off as well. In the breakout rooms, you will first receive some instructions from the experimenter, via chat, and then have a conversation with your partner in the room.

*The main host turns videos back off and assign pairs of partners (typically “A” and “B”) and the **RA experimenters** to **breakout rooms 1-4**. If one of the participants does not wish to be recorded in a given experimenter’s session, the host will text/chat the experimenter RA’s in question not to record the Zoom breakout session. If no such notice is received, the experimenter RA should plan to record the Zoom breakout session. Breakout rooms will correspond to experimenter number.*

2) Breakout Rooms, Experimenter RAs:

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone (once both participants are in the breakout room):

Hello, I am your experimenter for this session, and I will be walking you through this part of the study with instructions sent by chat. I will now give you some information about the person you are about to interact with. Please read that information. Once you have read the information, please type “got it” to me in the chat. Thank you!

Experimenter, via chat, to EACH PARTICIPANT SEPARATELY:

*Use the Google Sheet to send each participant **THEIR PARTNER’S** information via private chat from (**Participant Info to Copy & Send to Their Assigned Partner (Edited by Host)**). Select, copy, and paste **Participant A’s information in a note to Participant B**; and **Participant B’s information in a note to Participant A: (LINK)***

Once participants confirm via chat, send the following.

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

Great, thanks! Next, I will ask you to follow a link to receive some instructions for your conversation, as well as answer some questions before your conversation. You should know that I am not supposed to be aware of the instructions you receive, which is why the link is needed. Once you have read the information and answered the questions, please type “done” in a note to me in the chat. Thanks!

Use this spreadsheet to send participants the appropriate instruction link (from “Instruction & Pre-Interaction Survey Link (for both)”) for your breakout room: (LINK)

Once both participants have indicated they are done:

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

Great, thanks! I will now prompt you to unamute yourself and turn on your video. Before we start the conversation, please make sure you are clearly visible in the frame and that your audio is working.

Please say “1, 2, check” so I can check your audio. I will let you know in chat if there are any issues.

Unmute and enable video for participants, and/or prompt them to do so using Zoom, using the “...” in the top right corner of each participant’s video and clicking “Ask to unmute” and “Ask to start video”. Let them know if they need to “turn up the volume” or “turn on their video” or “move closer/further away from the camera.” In the chat, type:

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

Mute participants again.

Thank you. To maintain confidentiality in this session, please only refer to one another using the ID numbers on your video screen.

Make sure you have your video settings under “Gallery View” (under “View” in the right hand corner) so that you can see yourself and all participants during the recording.

Hit record (to your desktop) for the Zoom breakout room, unless the host has notified you not to record via text/chat.

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

Now, please begin your conversation. You will have 15 minutes to talk with your partner, keeping in mind the instructions given in the last link. I will video record the session but will be silent. I will let you know when your time is up in the chat.

Unmute participants again.

Once both participants are unmuted, start a timer for 15 minutes.

*During the conversation, make any **notes** about **issues** (e.g., if a participant froze/left etc.) in the “**Screw Up Log**” column of the spreadsheet for each of the two participants (If something is wrong with participant A’s video, list it in participant A’s row; if something is wrong with participant B, list it in participant B’s row. If something is wrong with both, list it in both): [LINK](#)*

Then, when the 15 minutes are up:

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

Thanks, your time is up. I will now prompt you to turn off your video and ask you to mute yourself again, before asking you to do one more thing.

Turn off video for the participants and then mute them, using the “...” in the top right corner of each participant’s video and clicking “Stop Video”

Hit stop record.

Experimenter, via chat, to everyone:

In a minute, you will get an invitation to join the main Zoom room, where the host will tell you a little more about the study, express our thanks, and explain how to receive compensation for taking part in the study. First, we have one more task for you. I have pasted a link below to an online survey with a few remaining questions about the conversation you just had. Please take a few minutes to complete them. Please type “done” in the chat when you are finished. Thank you!

[LINK](#)

Once both participants confirm completing the study, send the following:

Experimenter, via chat:

Thanks! In a moment, you will be prompted to join main room with the host, who will tell you a little bit more about the study and about how to receive compensation for taking part in the study. It was great working with you today!

Text Adi which breakout room number to close (Phone Number). It will correspond to your experimenter number (e.g., Experimenter 1: Breakout Room 1). After the participants leave your breakout room, you will exit the Zoom

*session, and will be prompted save the breakout room **video recording (.mp4)**, which you should save onto your Desktop first, using a file name that consists of participant A's ID_participant B's ID_the day's date in MMDDYYYY format (e.g., "101A_102B_09112022.mp4").*

*Then, you will upload the Zoom **recording** using the same name **to the DropBox designated for your session, which you can find a link to in the Google Document: [LINK](#)***

*Remember to also make any **notes about issues** (video problems, etc.) in the "**Screw Up Log**" column of the spreadsheet: [LINK](#)*

*Once you are sure the Zoom video recording is correctly saved on the online DropBox folder, **delete the Zoom recording** from your desktop.*

3) Wrap-up, Host, Main Room

Host, spoken as Zoom breakout rooms close:

Thank you for participating in this study! Now that we are done with the session, we'd like to tell you a little bit more about what we are investigating. In this study, you received information about your conversation partner, and then read some instructions on how to approach your conversation with that partner. Some pairs of conversation partners had different instructions. When we look at the data, we are interested in investigating whether the instructions altered how people experienced and engaged with those conversations. The ultimate aim of this study is to increase the quality of the conversations between people coming from different perspectives – especially different political parties - and increase people's willingness to engage in them.

We hope you found this to be an interesting experience! Because data collection in this study is ongoing, please DO NOT discuss your experience with this study with other potential participants. We appreciate your help in keeping the study fresh for our future participants.

I will now send instructions for your compensation via chat and am available to answer any questions you may have. Thank you!

Host, in Chat:

SONA:

Thank you for participating in our study! This concludes the session.

*To receive your 1 SONA research credit, please **type your unique 4-digit participant ID in the chat.***

Once you do so, you may exit the Zoom meeting.

Once participants leave the Zoom room, the main host will stop the Zoom meeting.

APPENDIX D
MEASURES

Pre-Interaction Measures

Before we begin, please enter your unique **4-character participant identification number** (which should be 3 numbers and a letter, and your name in the Zoom session):

You and your partner will have some things in common, but also some things that are different between the two of you. Your goal in this conversation is to get to know each other, not just superficially, but also at a deeper level so that you can form a rich impression of this person. In addition...”

- **(1) Immediate Reward Condition:**
 - when people are having a conversation with a new person, there are various approaches they can take. In this conversation, we encourage you to make it feel enjoyable and fun. Approach the conversation in a way that it’s likely to be entertaining, interesting, and pleasant.
- **(2) Immediate Anxiety Avoidance Condition:**
 - when people are having a conversation with a new person, sometimes they are anxious. In this conversation, we encourage you to try to reduce any such anxiety or distress. Approach the conversation in a way that it’s **less** likely to feel unpleasant, upsetting, or agitating.
- **(3) No-Goal Instruction Condition:**
 - when people are having a conversation with a new person, there are various approaches they can take. In this conversation, we encourage you to get to know each other in whatever way comes naturally to you.

Pre-Interaction Survey

Before you start your conversation with your partner, we'd like to ask you a few questions.

- How enjoyable/fun do you think this conversation will be? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How distressing/unpleasant do you think this conversation will be? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How well do you think this interaction will go? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)

Post-Interaction Measures

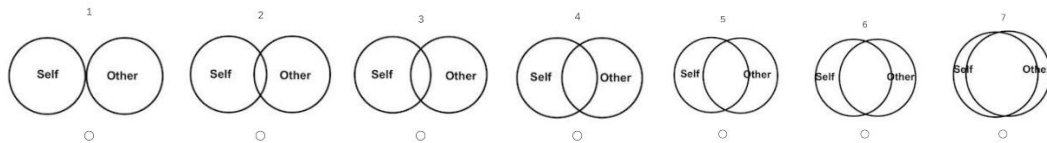
- Before we begin, please enter your unique **4-character participant identification number** (which should be 3 numbers and a letter, and your name in the Zoom session):

Now, we would like to ask you a few questions about how you felt about the conversation you just had.

- Please indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had (1 = Very slightly/Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
 - Interested
 - Excited
 - Strong
 - Enthusiastic
 - Proud
 - Alert
 - Inspired
 - Determined
 - Attentive
 - Active t
 - Distressed
 - Upset
 - Guilty
 - Scared
 - Hostile
 - Irritable
 - Ashamed
 - Nervous
 - Jittery
 - Afraid
- How much did you enjoy the interaction? (1= Not at all – 7 = A great deal)
- How much did you laugh during the interaction? (1= Not at all – 7 = A great deal)
- How much fun was the interaction? (1= Not at all – 7 = A great deal)

Next, we would like to ask you a few questions about your impressions about your conversation partner.

- How involved was your partner during the interaction? (1= Not at all – 7 = Very much)
- How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation (1= Not at all – 7 = Very much)
- How much did you like your conversation partner? (1= Not at all – 7 = Very much)
- How likely is it that you would become friends with your conversation partner? (1= Not at all – 7 = Very much)
- Which diagram most closely represents how close you (labeled “self”) feel toward your conversation partner (labeled “other”)?



- How willing would you be to interact with this person again? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How well do you think a future interaction with this person would go? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- The following questions inquire about your impressions of your conversation partner.

In general, I feel that my conversation partner... (1 = Strongly disagree – 7 = Strongly agree)

- Takes economic opportunities away from people like me
 - Takes and/or damage the personal property or resources of people like me
 - Limits the personal freedoms of people like me
 - Increases the risk of physical illness for people like me
 - Endangers the physical safety of people like me
 - Disrupts everyday social functioning for people like me
 - Makes it difficult for things to run smoothly for people like me
 - Cannot really be trusted by people like me
 - Possesses values that directly oppose the values of people like me
 - Chooses to take more from people like me than they give back
 - Is unable to contribute to people like me as much as they take
- Did you know your conversation partner before the beginning of this study?
(Yes/No)

Now, we have some more general impression questions for you.

- How willing would you be to have another conversation with a Democrat? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How well do you think a future interaction with a Democrat would go? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How willing would you be to have another conversation with a Republican? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- How well do you think a future interaction with a Republican would go? (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)
- The following questions inquire about your impressions of about Republicans.
In general, I feel that Republicans as a group... (1 = Strongly disagree – 7 = Strongly agree)
 - Take economic opportunities away from people like me
 - Take and/or damage the personal property or resources of people like me
 - Limit the personal freedoms of people like me
 - Increase the risk of physical illness for people like me
 - Endanger the physical safety of people like me
 - Disrupt everyday social functioning for people like me
 - Make it difficult for things to run smoothly for people like me
 - Cannot really be trusted by people like me
 - Possess values that directly oppose the values of people like me
 - Choose to take more from people like me than they give back
 - Are unable to contribute to people like me as much as they take
- The following questions inquire about your impressions of about Democrats.
In general, I feel that Democrats as a group... (1 = Strongly disagree – 7 = Strongly agree)
 - Take economic opportunities away from people like me
 - Take and/or damage the personal property or resources of people like me
 - Limit the personal freedoms of people like me
 - Increase the risk of physical illness for people like me
 - Endanger the physical safety of people like me
 - Disrupt everyday social functioning for people like me
 - Make it difficult for things to run smoothly for people like me
 - Cannot really be trusted by people like me
 - Possess values that directly oppose the values of people like me

- Choose to take more from people like me than they give back
- Are unable to contribute to people like me as much as they take

We would like to ask you a few questions about the instructions you received before interacting with your partner.

- What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?
 - Make it enjoyable and fun
 - Reduce anxiety and stress
 - Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you
- How well did you follow the instructions you received?
 - (1 = Not at all – 7 = Extremely)

Finally, we would like to know a bit more about you.

- What is the highest amount of education you have completed? (1 = Less than high school – 8 = Doctoral degree [including JD, MD])
- Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in your country.



At the top of the ladder (10) are the people who are the best off - those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs.

At the bottom (1) are the people who are the worst off - those who have the least money, the least education, and the least respected jobs or no job.

The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Where would you put yourself on the ladder? (1 = Worst off – 10 = Best off)
 In terms of income, how would you describe your family's socioeconomic status

while you were growing up? (1= Lower class – 5 = Upper class)

- What race/ethnicity do you most identify with?
 - White
 - Black
 - Hispanic
 - Native American
 - East Asian (e.g., Chinese, South Korean, Japanese)
 - Southeast Asian (e.g., Thai, Vietnamese, Filipino)
 - South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani)
 - Pacific Islander
 - Middle Eastern
 - Other

- Approximately how many years have you been speaking English? (1= Less than 1 year – 8 = 7 or more years)

- What is your primary religious affiliation?
 - Christian: Roman Catholic
 - Christian: Protestant Mainline
 - Christian: Other
 - Other Religion (non-Christian)
 - Atheist, Agnostic, or no religion or spirituality
 - Spiritual but not religious

- Which political party do you identify with?
 - Democrat
 - Republican
 - Libertarian
 - Independent
 - Tea Party
 - Green
 - Other

- How important is your political party to your sense of who you are? (1= Not at all important – 5 = Extremely important)

- Which of the following best describes your **overall** political ideology or leaning? (1 = Strongly conservative – 7 = Strongly liberal)

- How conservative/liberal do you consider yourself in terms of **economic** issues (e.g., taxation, government spending)? (1 = Strongly conservative – 7 = Strongly liberal)
- How conservative/liberal do you consider yourself in terms of **social** issues (e.g., abortion, marijuana)? (1 = Strongly conservative – 7 = Strongly liberal)
- Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you

agree or disagree with that statement. (1= Disagree strongly – 5 = agree strongly)

- Tends to be quiet.
- Is compassionate, has a soft heart.
- Tends to be disorganized.
- Worries a lot.
- Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.
- Is dominant, acts as a leader.
- Is sometimes rude to others.
- Has difficulty getting started on tasks.
- Tends to feel depressed, blue.
- Has little interest in abstract ideas.
- Is full of energy.
- Assumes the best about people.
- Is reliable, can always be counted on.
- Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.
- Is original, comes up with new ideas.
- Is outgoing, sociable.
- Can be cold and uncaring.
- Keeps things neat and tidy.
- Is relaxed, handles stress well.
- Has few artistic interests.
- Prefers to have others take charge.
- Is respectful, treats others with respect.
- Is persistent, works until the task is finished.
- Feels secure, comfortable with self.
- Is complex, a deep thinker.
- Is less active than other people.
- Tends to find fault with others.
- Can be somewhat careless.
- Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.
- Has little creativity.

APPENDIX E

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES BY DYAD SEX

How Well Participants Followed the Instructions

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and participants' responses to the question "How well did you follow the instructions you received." Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.04, p = .96, partial \eta^2 = .001$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 1.01, p = .37, partial \eta^2 = .02$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.58, p = .45, partial \eta^2 = .007$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.62, p = .43, partial \eta^2 = .007$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Expectancies of the Interaction

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and positive expectancies of the interaction using a three-item mean score. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal

Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.21, p = .81, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .005$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.93, p = .40, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.23, p = .63, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .003$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 1.12, p = .29, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Positive Affect Schedule

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and positive affect experienced during the interaction, measured after the interaction using a 10-item mean score of the positive affect items from the PANAS. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.10, p = .91, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.42, p = .66, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 2.11, p = .15, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.74, p = .39$,

partial $\eta^2 = .009$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Negative Affect Schedule

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and negative affect experienced during the interaction, measured after the interaction using a 10-item mean score of the negative affect items from the PANAS. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.24, p = .79, \textit{partial} \eta^2 = .006$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 1.95, p = .15, \textit{partial} \eta^2 = .04$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.30, p = .86, \textit{partial} \eta^2 < .001$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 2.42, p = .12, \textit{partial} \eta^2 = .03$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Perceived Enjoyment of the Interaction

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the

relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and perceived enjoyment of the interaction as measured after the interaction with a three-item mean score. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.58, p = .57, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.23, p = .79, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .006$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.006, p = .94, \text{partial } \eta^2 < .001$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 1.59, p = .21, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Perceived Partner Involvement

There was no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex $F(2, 86) = 0.32, p = .73, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .007$; no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.26, p = .61, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .003$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 1.57, p = .21, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$.

Perceived Partner Elaboration

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad

political party, and perceived conversational elaboration of the participants' conversation partner, as measured after the interaction on a 1-7 scale. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.51, p = .61, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.43, p = .65, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 2.07, p = .15, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.20, p = .66, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Favorable Impressions Index

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and positive overall impressions of the conversation partner using a two-item mean score of the favorable impressions index items. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.57, p = .57, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.03, p = .97, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .001$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-

dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.02$ $p = .89$, *partial* $\eta^2 < .001$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.27$, $p = .60$, *partial* $\eta^2 = .003$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Inclusion of the Other in the Self

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and perceived closeness to the conversation partner measured using a modified Inclusion of the Other in the Self scale. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.40, p = .67, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .009$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 0.40, p = .67, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .009$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 1.29, p = .26, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.50, p = .48, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .006$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Desire to Interact with the Partner Again

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and participants' desire to interact with their partner again using a two-item mean score. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the

between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.78, p = .46$, $partial \eta^2 = .02$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 1.34, p = .27, partial \eta^2 = .03$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 0.23 p = .63$, $partial \eta^2 = .003$, nor was there a significant main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 2.26, p = .14, partial \eta^2 = .03$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

Desire to Interact with the Outparty Again

A follow-up 3 Between-Dyad (Goal Focus: Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, No Goal Control) x 2 Between-Dyad (Sex: Male, Female) x 2 Within-Dyad (Participant Party: Democrat, Republican) mixed ANOVA was conducted to examine the relation between the between-dyad goal focus condition, between-dyad sex, within-dyad political party, and participants' desire to interact with and participants' desire to interact with a member of the outparty again using a two-item mean score. Results suggested no significant two-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition and between-dyad sex, $F(2, 86) = 0.41, p = .66, partial \eta^2 = .009$, nor was there a significant three-way interaction between the between-dyad Goal Focus condition, between-dyad sex, and within-dyad political party, $F(2, 86) = 1.34, p = .27, partial \eta^2 = .03$. Finally, there was also no significant two-way interaction between between-dyad sex and within-dyad political party, $F(1, 86) = 2.66 p = .11, partial \eta^2 = .03$, nor was there a significant

main effect of between-dyad sex, $F(1, 86) = 0.15, p = .70, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$, though note that the study was not designed to be powered to detect between-dyad sex effects.

APPENDIX F

CONDITION ASSIGNMENT DESCRIPTIVE GRAPHS AND PER PROTOCOL

DESCRIPTIVE GRAPHS FOR EACH FOCAL OUTCOME MEASURE

Summary of Condition Assignment and Per Protocol Descriptive Analyses

The descriptive graphs that follow are organized by dependent measure and visualize two types of analyses within each of these ten dependent variables. First, odd figures compare the overall between-subjects mean scores (at the individual level, $N = 184$) for participants in each assigned condition by the condition they recalled being in for each of the ten focal outcome measures. Second, even figures display graphs of the per-protocol analyses (at the dyad level for the $N = 41$ dyads who correctly reported condition assignment). In the sample, only 119 out of the 184 participants correctly reported their condition assignment, this resulted in a complete set of 41 dyads, with 10 dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female).

Individual Level Results

The individual-level results ($N = 184$) depicted in the odd figures further below in Appendix F suggested that there was some variability in the means on the dependent variables depending on whether participants correctly identified their assigned condition, but looking at the graphs descriptively, only some of these seemed to show notable differences (and note that some conditions showed large error bars at least partly due to low N). Most notably, for positive expectancies of the interaction, participants in the Immediate Rewards condition showed a significant difference between conditions ($p = .016$), such that participants who correctly self-reported being in the immediate rewards condition ($M = 5.06$, $SE = .14$) reported significantly higher expectancies than those who

incorrectly self-reported being in the prevention condition ($M = 3.33$, $SE = .83$; $p = .026$), or the control condition ($M = 4.55$, $SE = .18$; $p = .026$).

For the positive affect schedule, participants in the Immediate Prevention condition who incorrectly self-reported that they were in the control condition reported significantly higher means ($M = 3.75$, $SE = .15$) than those who correctly reported that they were in the immediate prevention condition ($M = 3.26$, $SE = .16$, $p = .027$).

Finally, for desire to interact with the outparty again, participants in the Immediate Prevention condition who correctly self-reported being in the immediate prevention condition ($M = 5.95$, $SE = .26$) reported significantly higher means than those who incorrectly self-reported being in the immediate rewards condition ($M = 4.94$, $SE = .35$; $p = .021$), and marginally higher means than those who incorrectly self-reported being in the control condition ($M = 5.34$, $SE = .26$; $p = .099$).

Dyad-Level Per-Protocol Results

The dyad-level per-protocol results ($N = 41$ dyads) depicted in the even figures were largely similar in pattern to the intention-to-treat analyses reported in the main text, with some exceptions. A visual inspection of the graphs suggested some differences between the intention-to-treat analyses and the per-protocol results for the pre-interaction expectancies and favorable impressions outcomes.

Specifically, for the pre-interaction expectancies, the marginal difference between the immediate rewards and no goal control effect from the intention-to-treat analyses did not seem to replicate in the per-protocol results. In the per-protocol results, there was no significant difference in expectancies between the Immediate Rewards ($M = 4.85$, $SE =$

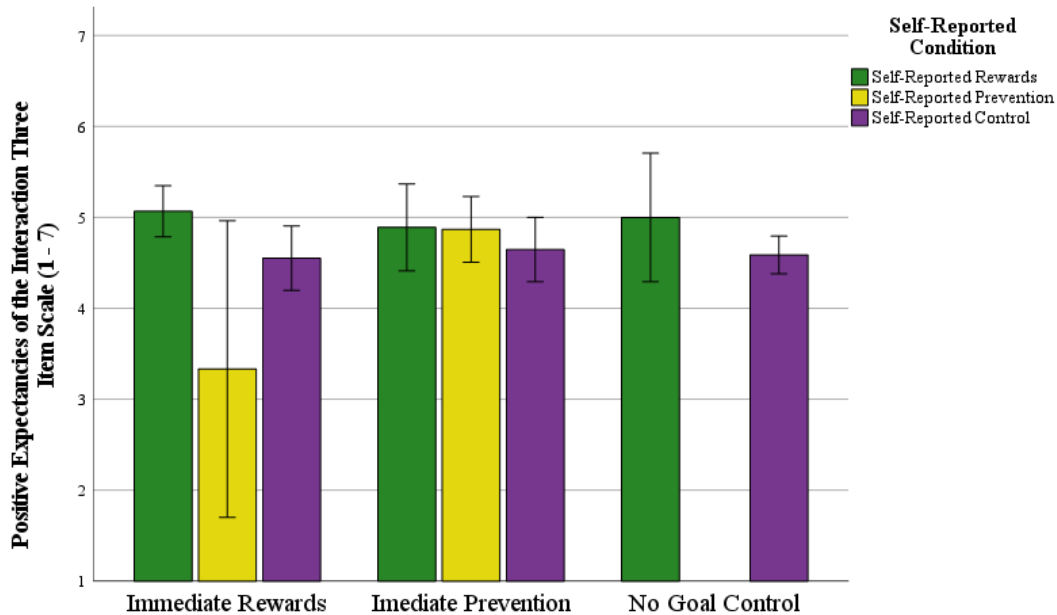
.16) and No-Goal control condition ($M = 4.58$, $SE = .10$; $p = .150$), nor between the Immediate Rewards and Immediate Prevention condition ($M = 5.33$, $SE = .36$; $p = .223$). Rather, participants in the Immediate Prevention condition reported significantly more positive expectancies relative to participants in the No-Goal Control condition ($p = .047$). However, it is worth noting that the Immediate Prevention condition also had the lowest number of dyads ($N = 2$) in the per-protocol analyses, and thus these results should be taken with some caution.

Second, unlike in the intention-to-treat analyses, Republicans in the per-protocol analyses no longer reported marginally more favorable impressions of their partners; rather, these party differences appeared to be considerably reduced and no longer significant in the per-protocol analyses ($M_{Republican} = 5.35$, $SD_{Republican} = 1.20$, $M_{Democrat} = 5.28$, $SD_{Democrat} = 1.12$, $p = .34$).

Expectances of the Interaction

Figure F1

Positive Expectancies of Interaction by Actual Condition Assignment and Self-Reported Condition (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



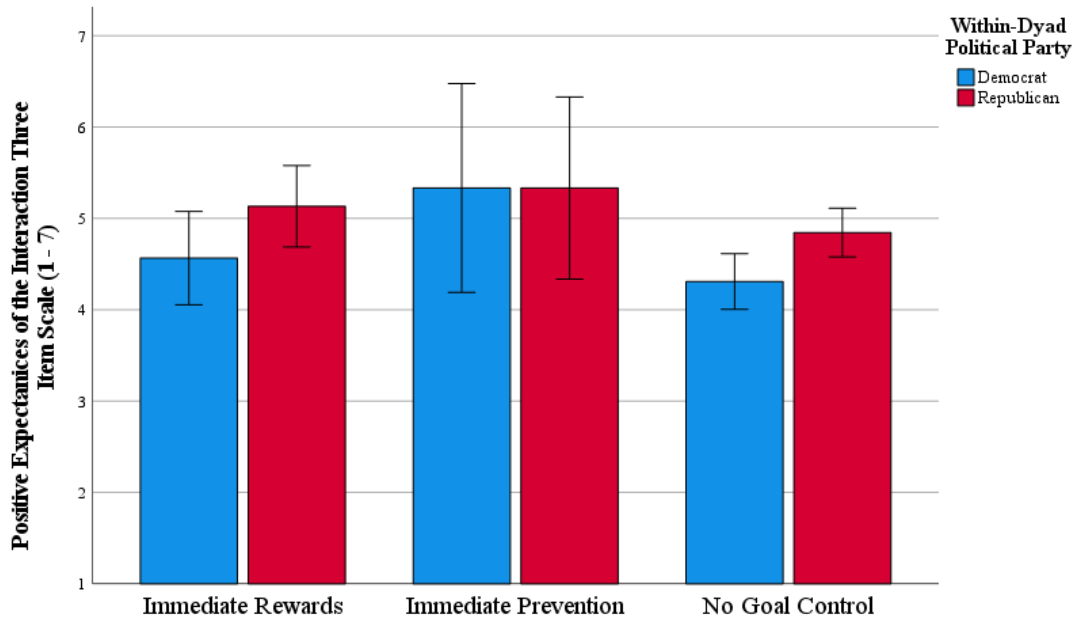
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it

enjoyable and fun” (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled “Self-reported Rewards”), “Reduce anxiety and stress” (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled “Self-Reported Prevention”), or “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you” (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled “Self-Reported Control”). N’s per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of three items covering participants’ positive expectancies of the interaction. These three items were “How enjoyable/fun do you think this conversation will be?”, “How distressing/unpleasant do you think this conversation will be?” (reverse-coded), and “How well do you think this interaction will go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Extremely).

Figure F2

Positive Expectancies of Interaction by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



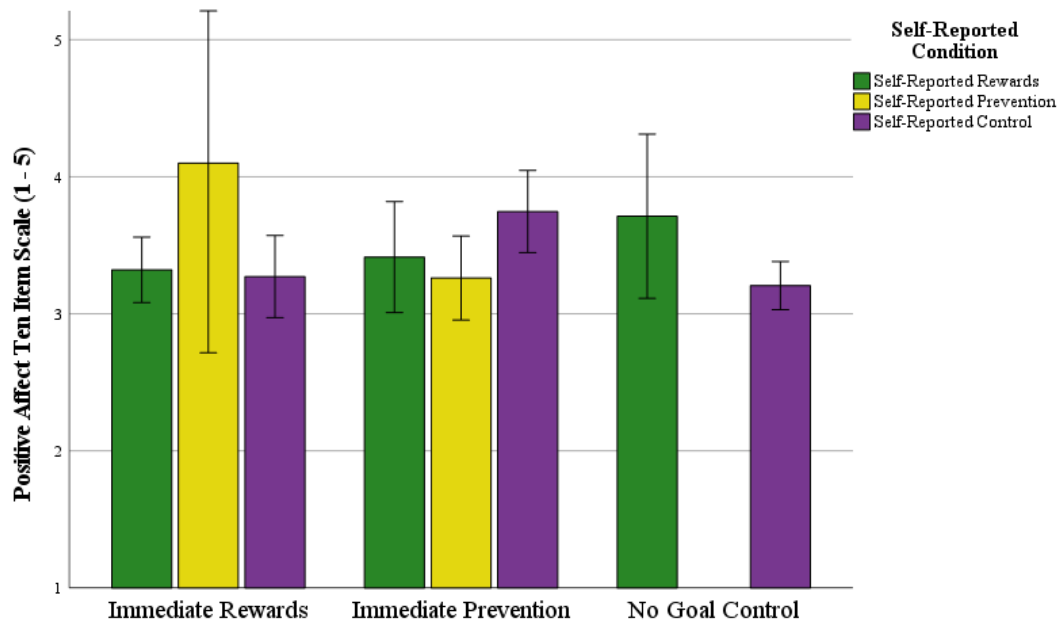
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of

three items covering participants’ positive expectancies of the interaction. These three items were “How enjoyable/fun do you think this conversation will be?”, “How distressing/unpleasant do you think this conversation will be?” (reverse-coded), and “How well do you think this interaction will go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Extremely).

Positive Affect Schedule

Figure F3

Positive Affect Schedule by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



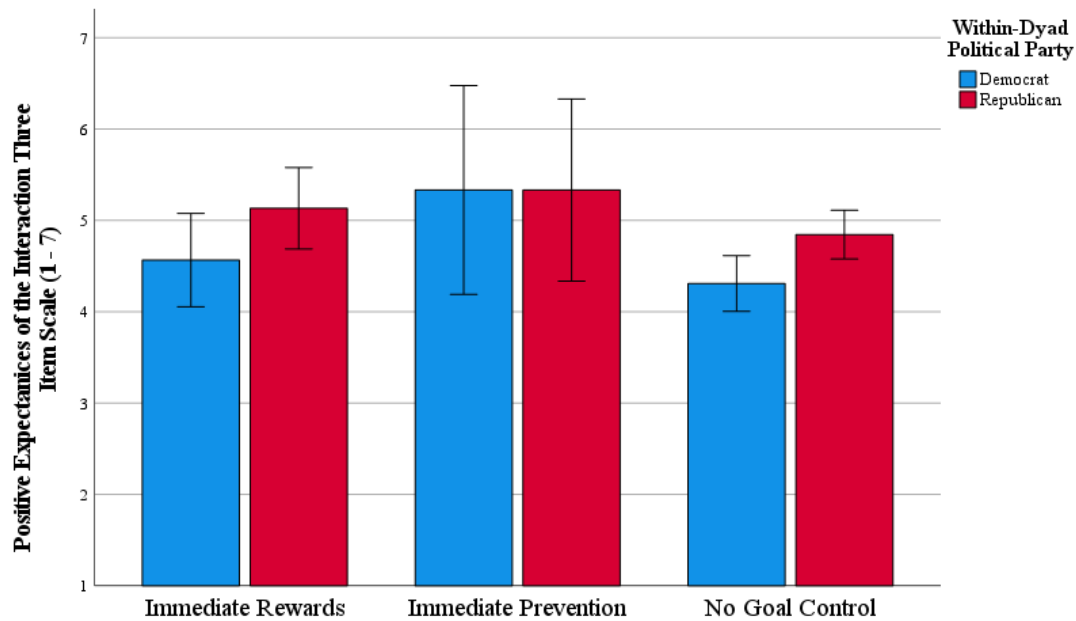
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in

this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten items covering positive affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt "Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had," and included "Interested," "Excited," "Strong," "Enthusiastic," "Proud," "Alert," "Inspired," "Determined," "Attentive," and "Active," rated on a five-point scale (1 = "Very slightly or not at all" – 5 = "Extremely") (Watson et al., 1988).

Figure F4

Positive Affect Schedule by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party

(Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



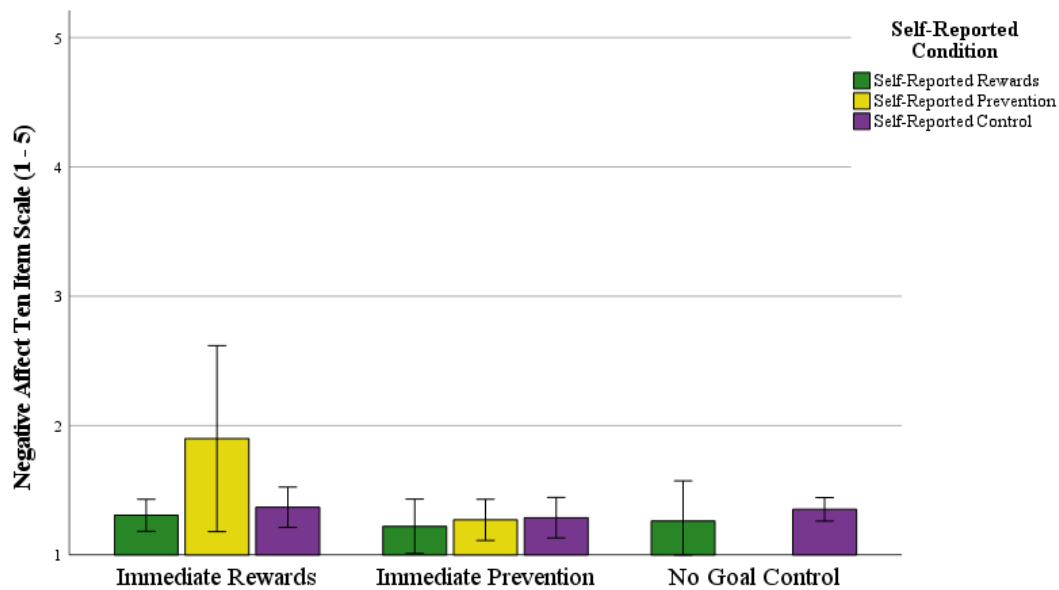
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten

items covering positive affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt “Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had,” and included “Interested,” “Excited,” “Strong,” “Enthusiastic,” “Proud,” “Alert,” “Inspired,” “Determined,” “Attentive,” and “Active,” rated on a five–point scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” – 5 = “Extremely”) (Watson et al., 1988).

Negative Affect Schedule

Figure F5

Negative Affect Schedule by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



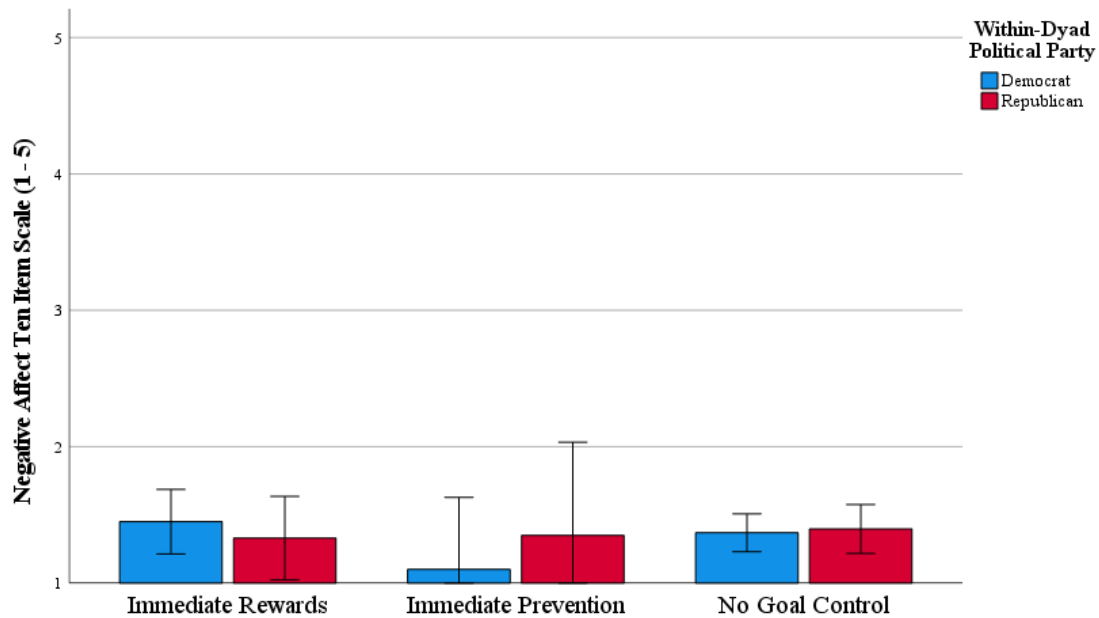
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which

they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten items covering negative affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt "Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had," and included "Distressed," "Upset," "Guilty," "Scared," "Hostile" "Irritable," "Ashamed," "Nervous," "Jittery" and "Afraid" rated on a five-point scale (1 = "Very slightly or not at all" – 5 = "Extremely") (Watson et al., 1988).

Figure F6

Negative Affect Schedule by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party

(Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



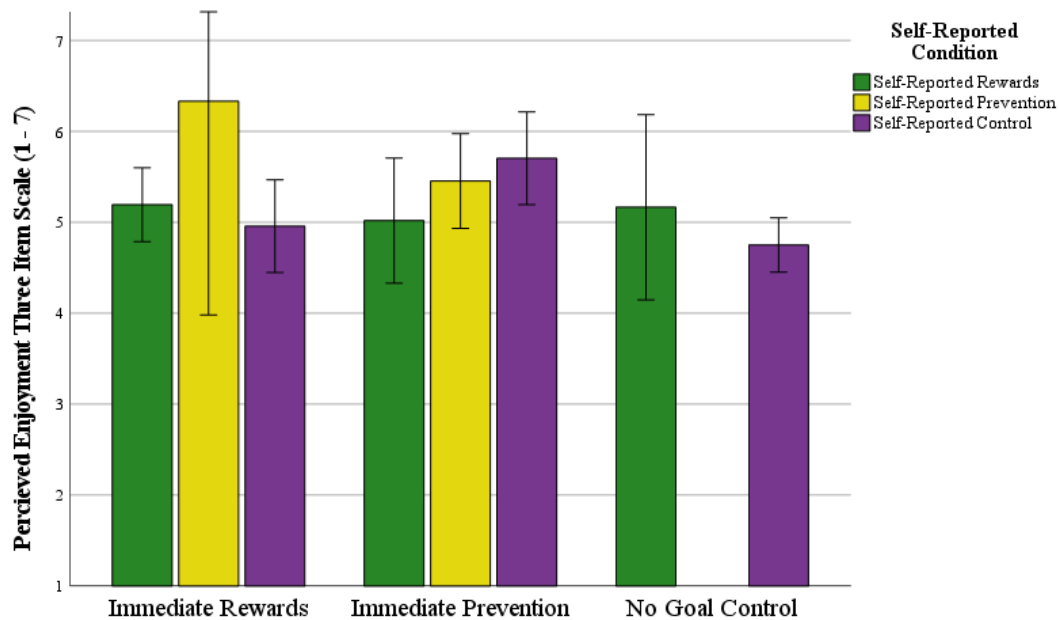
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of ten

items covering negative affect in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1988). Each item started with the prompt “Indicate the extent to which you felt this way during the interaction you just had,” and included “Distressed, “Upset,” “Guilty,” “Scared,” “Hostile” “Irritable,” “Ashamed,” “Nervous,” “Jittery” and “Afraid” rated on a five–point scale (1 = “Very slightly or not at all” – 5 = “Extremely”) (Watson et al., 1988).

Perceived Enjoyment of the Interaction

Figure F7

Perceived Enjoyment by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



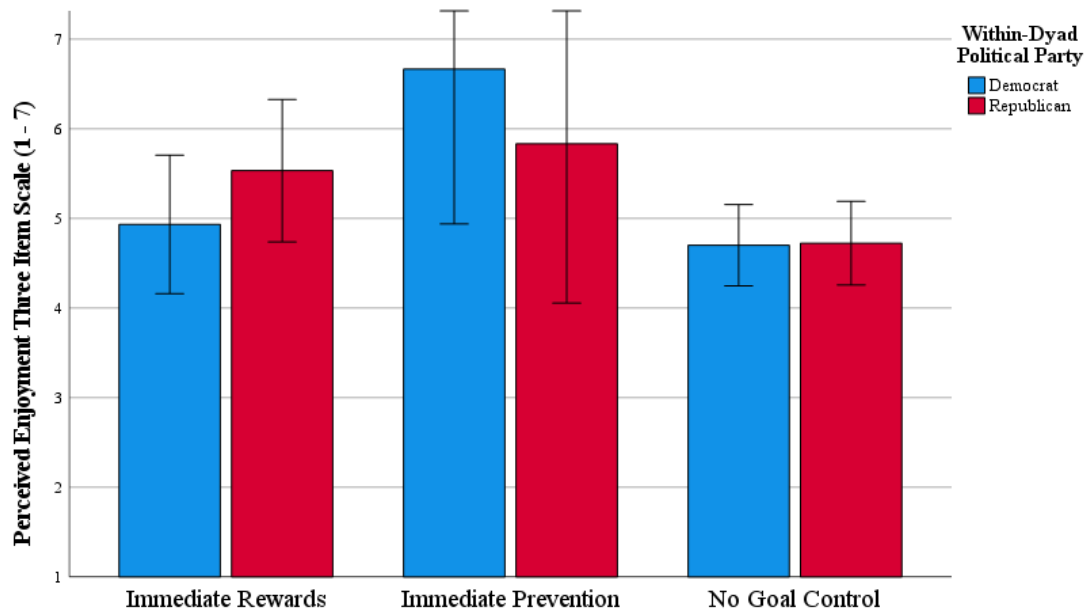
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in

this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of three items covering perceived enjoyment of the interaction, "How much did you enjoy the interaction?", "How much did you and the other laugh during the interaction?", and "How much fun was the interaction?", with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = "Not at all" – 7 = "A great deal") (Sprecher, 2021).

Figure F8

Perceived Enjoyment by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party

(Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



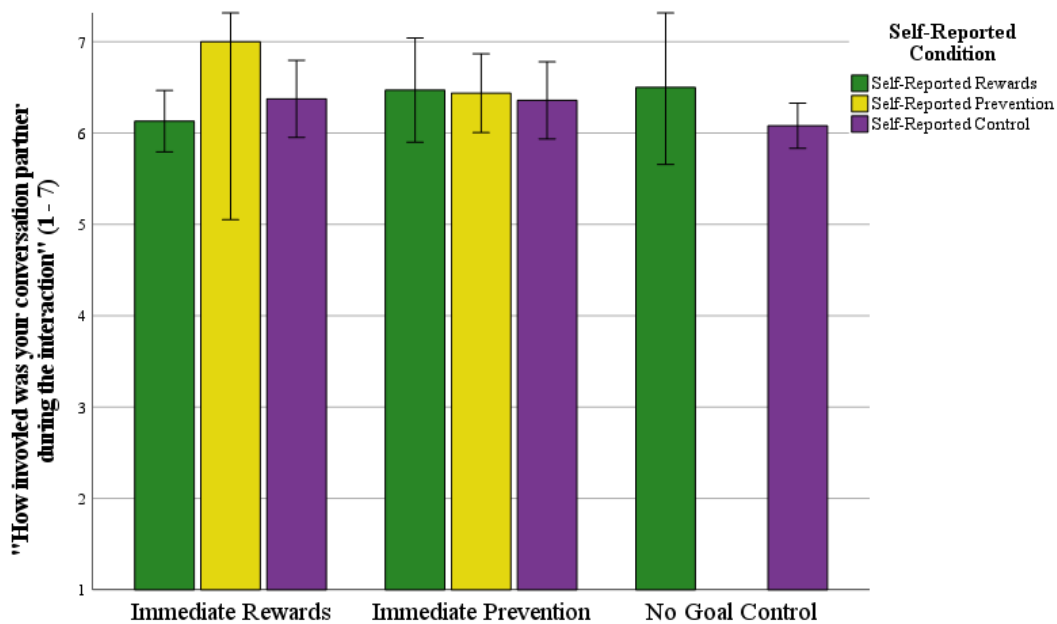
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of three items covering perceived enjoyment of the interaction, “How much did you enjoy

the interaction?”, “How much did you and the other laugh during the interaction?”, and “How much fun was the interaction?”, with each item measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 = “A great deal”) (Sprecher, 2021).

Perceived Partner Involvement

Figure F9

Impressions of Partner’s Involvement by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



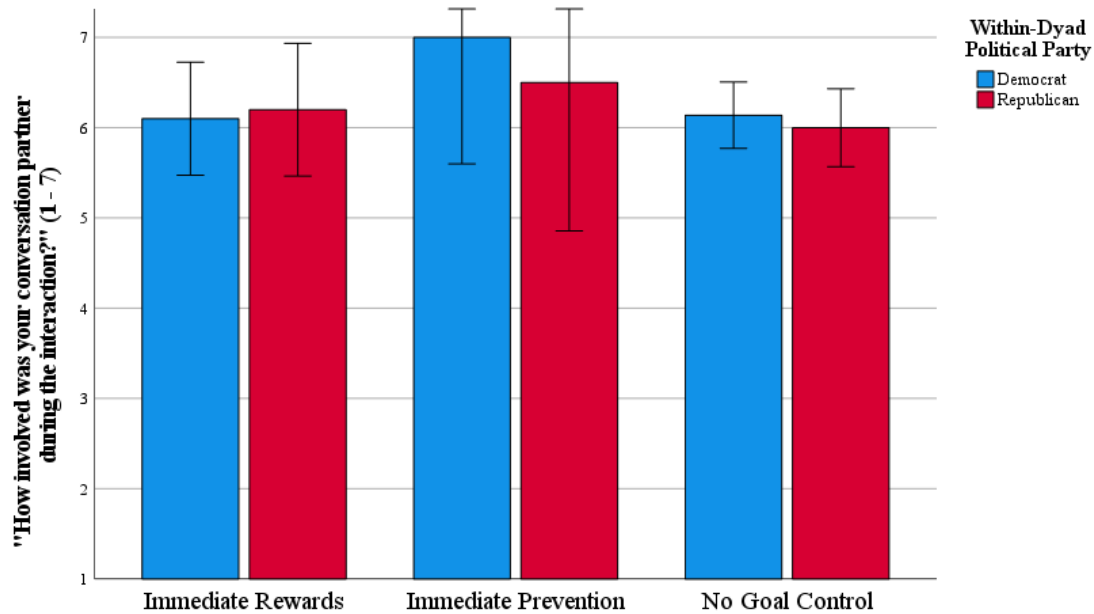
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded

and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was "How involved was your conversation partner during the interaction?", measured on a seven-point scale (1 = "Not at all" – 7 "Very much").

Figure F10

Impressions of Partner's Involvement by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



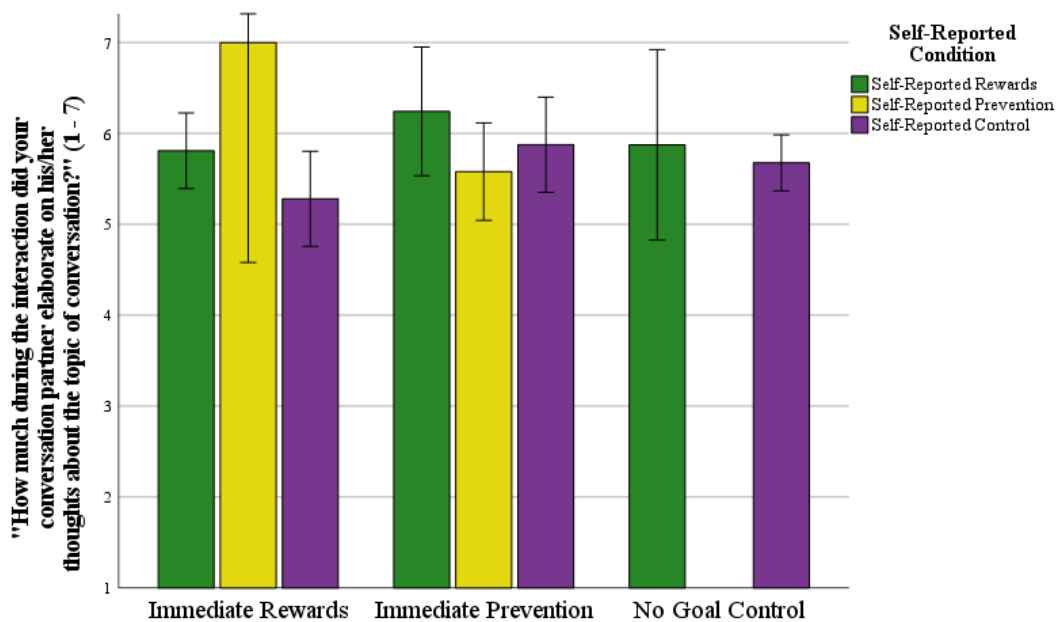
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was “How involved was

your conversation partner during the interaction?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Perceived Partner Elaboration

Figure F11

Impressions of Partner’s Elaboration by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)

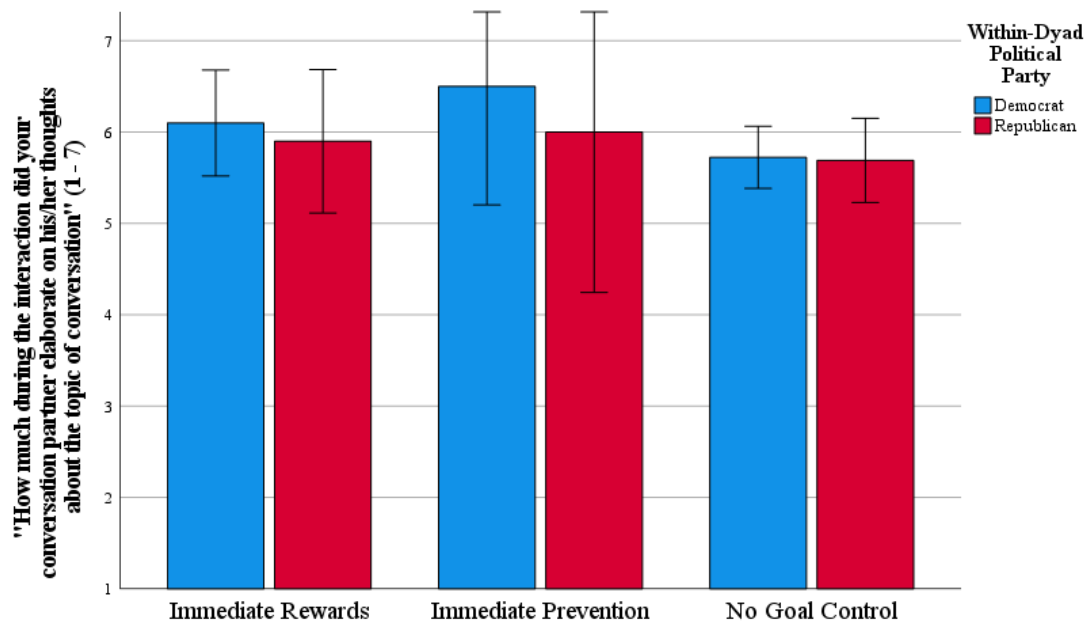


Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants’ responses to “What did the instructions

tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?”, which were either “Make it enjoyable and fun” (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled “Self-reported Rewards”), “Reduce anxiety and stress” (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled “Self-Reported Prevention”), or “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you” (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled “Self-Reported Control”). N’s per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was “How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Figure F12

Impressions of Partner’s Elaboration by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)

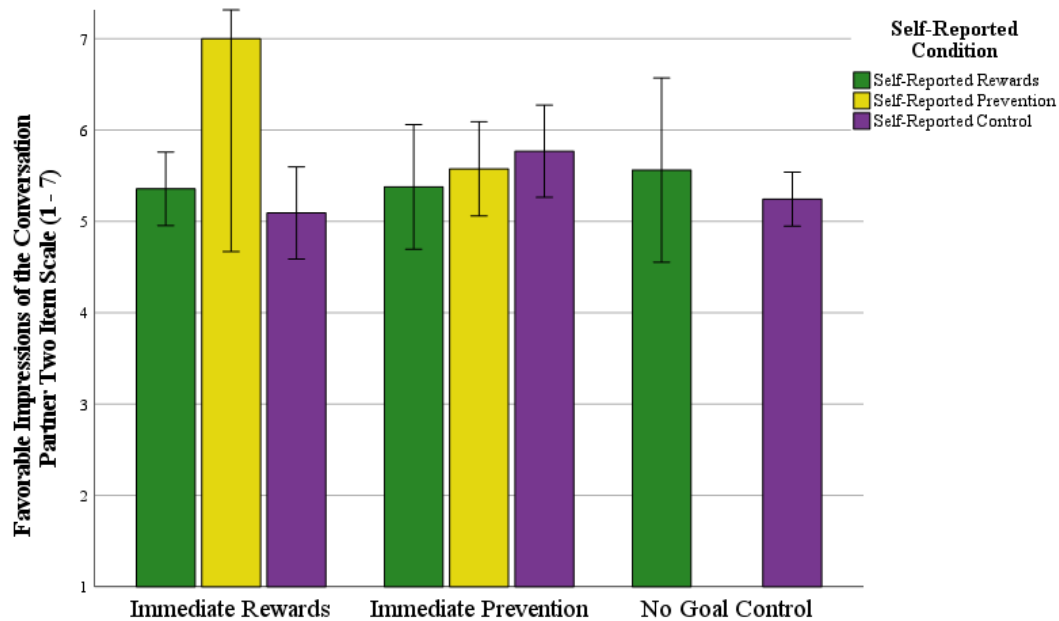


Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was “How much during the interaction did your conversation partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?”, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Favorable Impressions Index

Figure F13

Favorable Impressions of Partner by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)

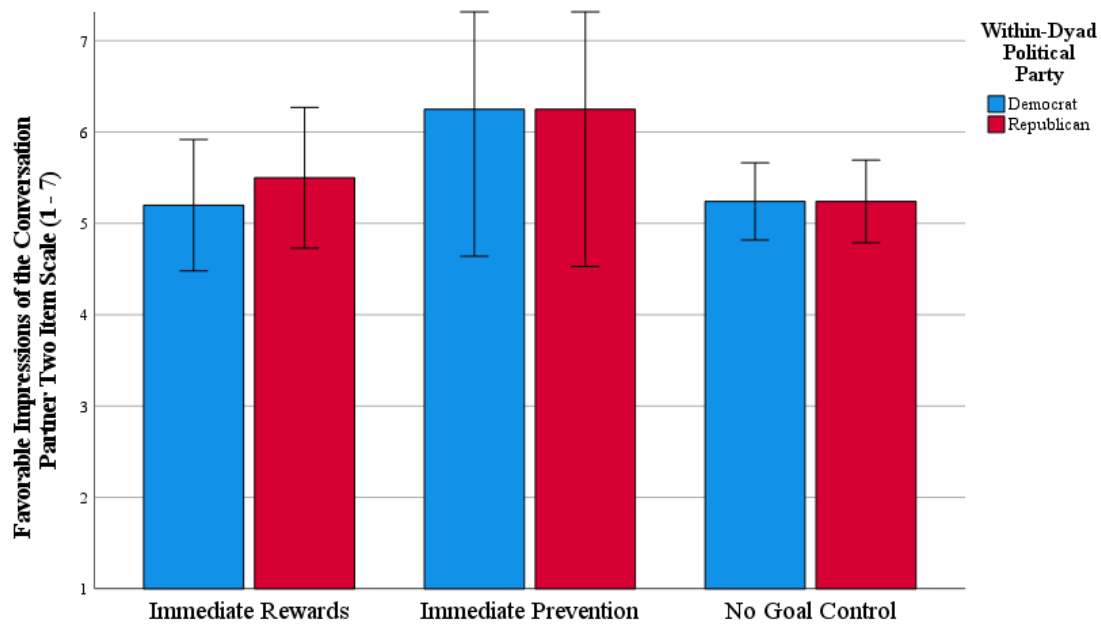


Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and

labeled “Self-reported Rewards”), “Reduce anxiety and stress” (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled “Self-Reported Prevention”), or “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you” (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled “Self-Reported Control”). N’s per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant’s overall positive impressions of their partner adapted from Shelton and Richeson (2005) and Shelton (2003): “How much do you like your conversation partner?” and “How likely is it that you would become friends with your conversation partner?”, with each item measured on a on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Figure F14

Favorable Impressions of Partner by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



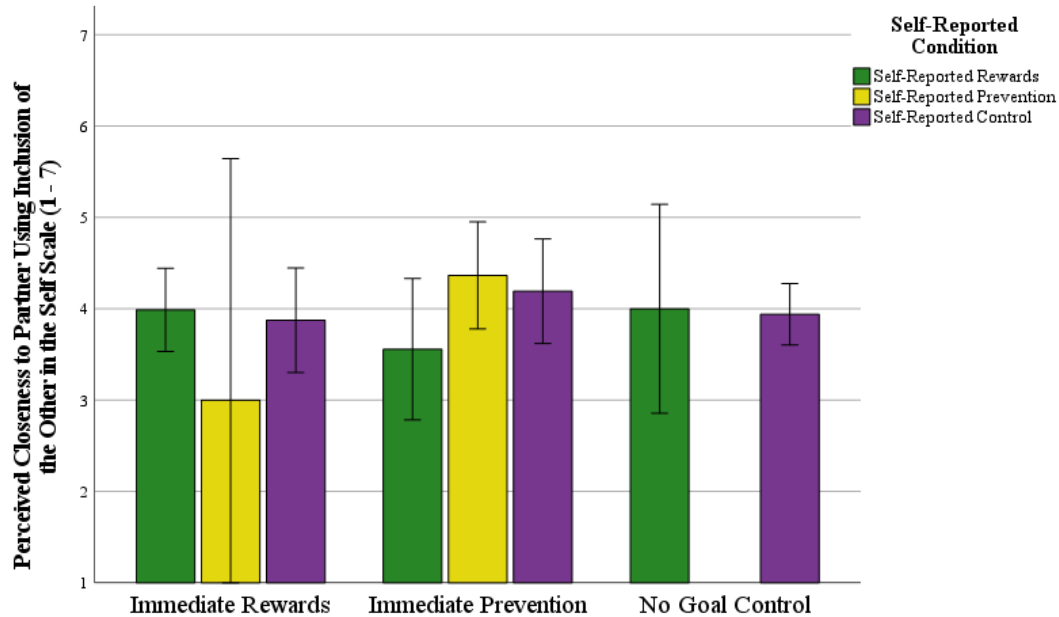
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant’s overall positive impressions of their partner adapted from Shelton and Richeson (2005) and Shelton (2003): “How much do you like your conversation partner?” and “How likely is it that you would become friends with your

conversation partner?”, with each item measured on a on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all” – 7 “Very much”).

Inclusion of the Other in the Self

Figure F15

Inclusion of the Partner in the Self by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



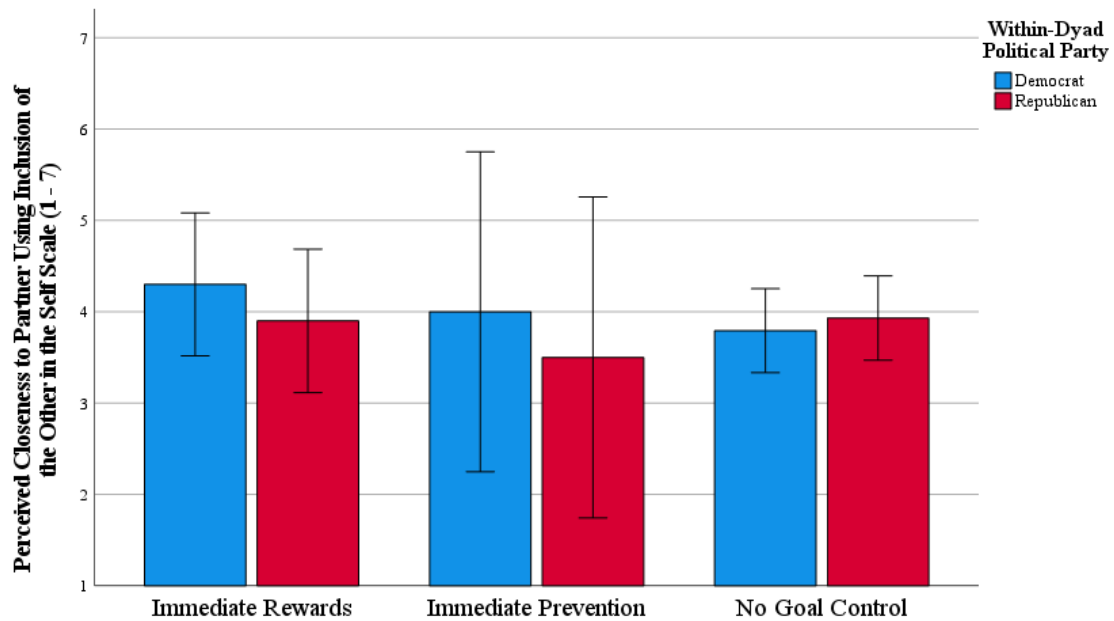
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and

labeled “Self-reported Rewards”), “Reduce anxiety and stress” (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled “Self-Reported Prevention”), or “Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you” (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled “Self-Reported Control”). N’s per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a measure of perceived closeness of the participant’s interaction partner, measured using a modified version of the Inclusion of the Other in Self (IOS) Scale (Aron et al., 1992): “Which diagram most closely represents how close you feel to your conversation partner? (Please select only one option)” with a series of seven pairs of circles, in which the left circle was labeled “me” and the right circle was labeled “my conversation partner.” These pairs of circles increased in their degree of overlap/closeness from entirely non-overlapping (1 = the first pair of circles) to nearly entirely overlapping (7 = the seventh pair of circles).

Figure F16

Inclusion of the Partner in the Self by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



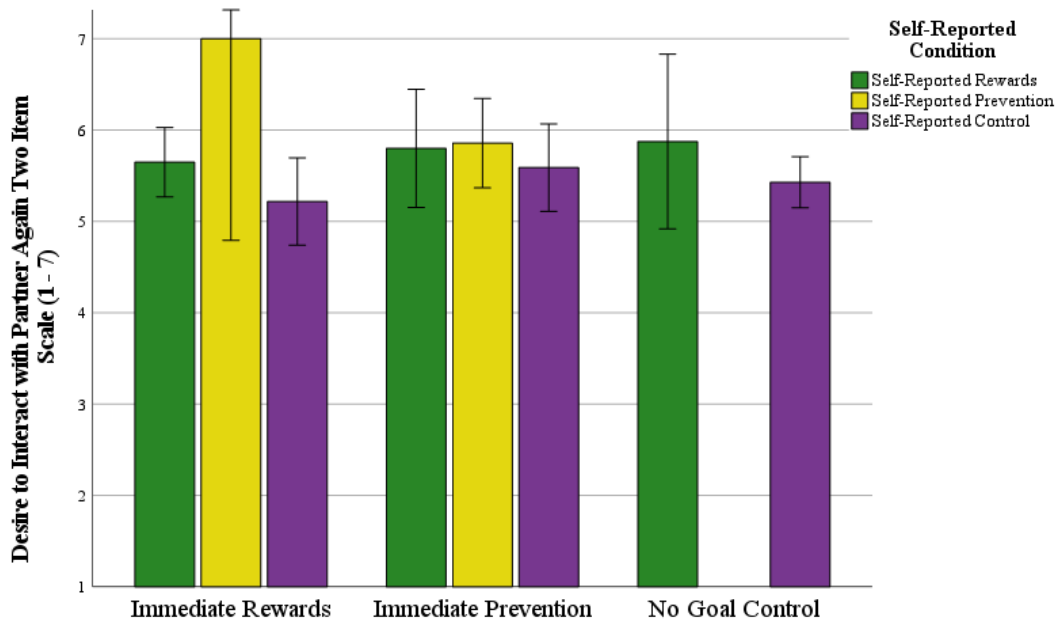
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a measure of

perceived closeness of the participant’s interaction partner, measured using a modified version of the Inclusion of the Other in Self (IOS) Scale (Aron et al., 1992): “Which diagram most closely represents how close you feel to your conversation partner? (Please select only one option)” with a series of seven pairs of circles, in which the left circle was labeled “me” and the right circle was labeled “my conversation partner.” These pairs of circles increased in their degree of overlap/closeness from entirely non-overlapping (1 = the first pair of circles) to nearly entirely overlapping (7 = the seventh pair of circles).

Desire to Interact with the Partner Again

Figure F17

Desire to Interact with Partner Again by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)

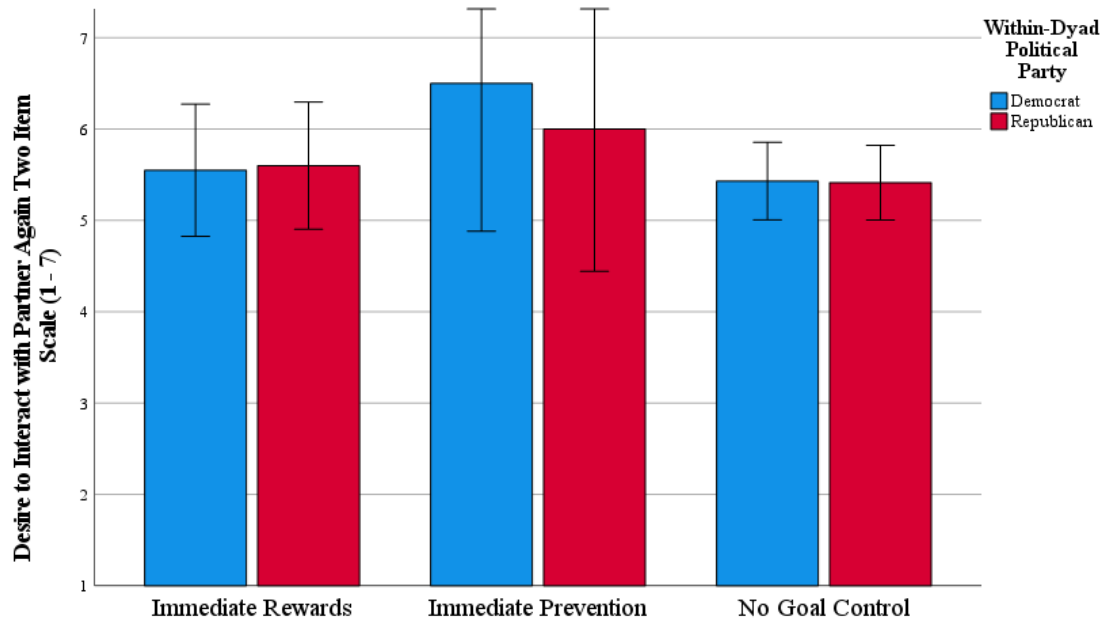


Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant's desire to interact with their partner again in the future: "How willing would you be to interact with this person again?" and "How well do you think a future interaction with this person would go?", with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = "Not at all", 7 = "Extremely").

Figure F18

Desire to Interact with Partner Again by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



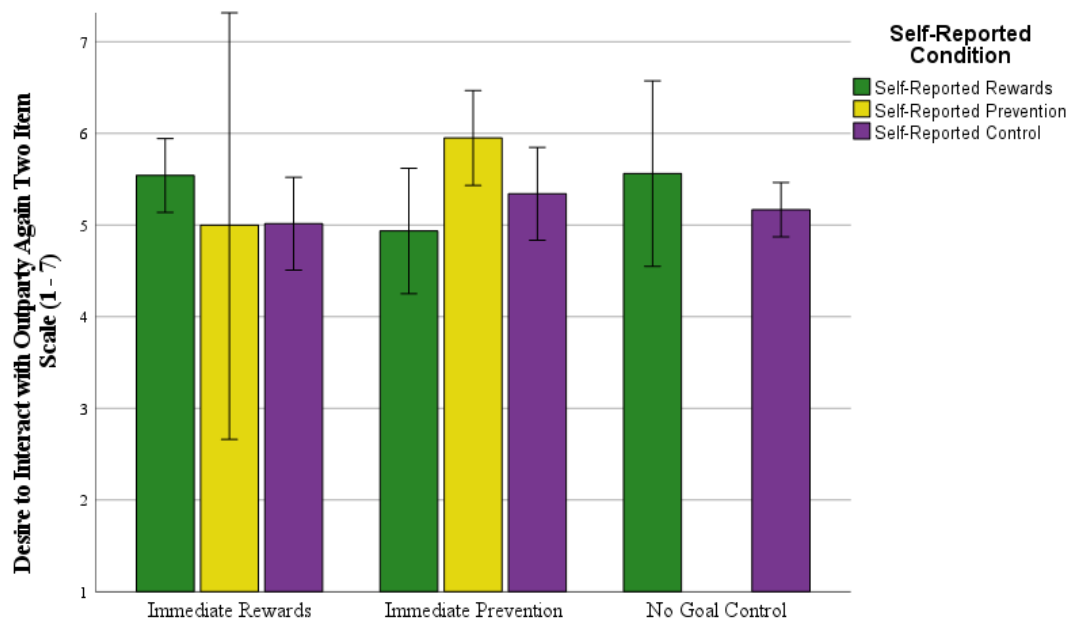
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant’s desire to interact with their partner again in the future: “How

willing would you be to interact with this person again?” and “How well do you think a future interaction with this person would go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = “Not at all”, 7 = “Extremely”).

Desire to Interact with the Outparty Again

Figure F19

Desire to Interact with Outparty Again by Self-Reported Condition Assignment and Actual Condition Assignment (Individual Level Analyses, N = 184)



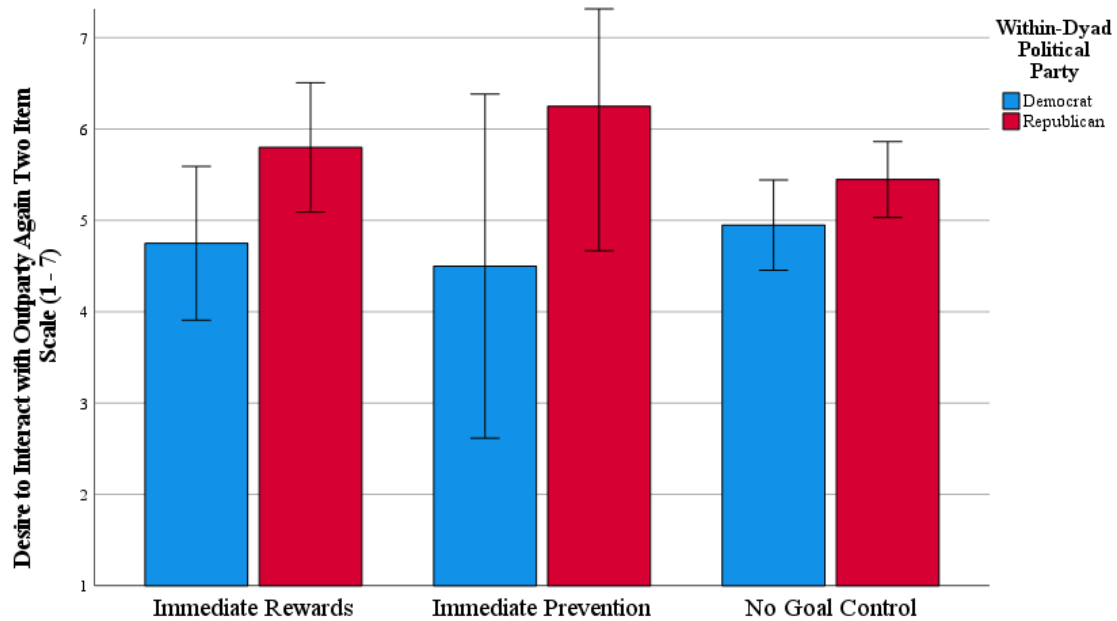
Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Results reflected between-subjects ANOVAs at the individual level for all participants (N = 184) assigned to dyads in which they did not know each other. Participant political party was also entered as a variable in this model but not displayed here. Each set of bars represents one of three instruction conditions to which participants were actually assigned: the Immediate Rewards,

Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Self-reported condition is color-coded and corresponds to each individual participants' responses to "What did the instructions tell you to do during the interaction with your partner?", which were either "Make it enjoyable and fun" (reflecting the Immediate Rewards condition, indicated in green and labeled "Self-reported Rewards"), "Reduce anxiety and stress" (reflecting the Immediate Prevention condition, indicated in yellow and labeled "Self-Reported Prevention"), or "Get to know each other in a way that feels natural to you" (reflecting the No Goal Control condition, indicated in purple and labeled "Self-Reported Control"). N's per condition are available in the Results. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant's desire to interact with another member of the outparty (Democrats for Republican participants, and Republicans for Democrat participants) again in the future: "How willing would you be to interact with a (Democrat/Republican) again?" and "How well do you think a future interaction with a (Democrat/Republican) would go?", with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = "Not at all," 7 = "Extremely").

Figure F20

Desire to Interact with Outparty Again by Between-Dyad Condition and Within-Dyad

Political Party (Dyad-Level Analyses for Per-Protocol Analyses, N = 41 Dyads)



Note. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Participants were the 41 dyads who correctly recalled the condition to which they were assigned. There were 10 such dyads in the Immediate Rewards Condition (4 Male, 6 Female), 2 (Female) such dyads in the Immediate Prevention Condition, and 29 such dyads in the No Goal Control Condition (16 Male, 13 Female). Each set of bars represents one of three between-dyad instruction conditions; both participants in each dyad were either assigned to the Immediate Rewards, Immediate Prevention, or No Control condition. Participants within each dyad were either a Democrat (displayed in blue bars) or Republican (displayed in red bars) of the same sex as their interaction partner. The dependent variable was a mean score of two items covering participant's desire to interact with another member of the outparty

(Democrats for Republican participants, and Republicans for Democrat participants) again in the future: “How willing would you be to interact with a (Democrat/Republican) again?” and “How well do you think a future interaction with a (Democrat/Republican) would go?”, with each item measured on a 7-point scale (1 = “Not at all,” 7 = “Extremely”).