# Instrumentality Boosts Appreciation: Helpers Are More Appreciated While They Are Useful

[In press, Psychological Science]

Benjamin A. Converse

University of Virginia

Ayelet Fishbach

University of Chicago

## Abstract

We propose that in social interactions, appreciation depends on the helper's instrumentality: The more motivated one is to accomplish a goal and the more one perceives a potential helper as able to facilitate that goal, the more appreciation one will feel for that helper. Three experiments support this instrumentality-boost hypothesis by showing that beneficiaries feel more appreciation for their helpers while they are receiving help toward an ongoing task than after that task has been completed or after the helper has been deemed no longer instrumental. This holds for the positive side of appreciation (gratitude) and the negative side (indebtedness), and across a range of relationships (complete strangers, new partners, and friends). This pattern of appreciation is counterintuitive for helpers, resulting in a mismatch between the time courses of experienced and expected appreciation.

Appreciation is the feeling of getting something from someone (Greenberg, 1980; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988). Its positive and negative components—gratitude and indebtedness, respectively—are the signature emotions of social exchange. If one considers social exchange to be societal glue, then appreciation is the polymers, the stuff that makes the glue sticky. Expressed appreciation affirms helpers, and experienced appreciation inspires repayment, builds trust, and strengthens relationships (Algoe, Haidt, & Gable, 2008; DeSteno, 2009; Grant & Gino, 2010; Lambert & Fincham, 2011). How people respond emotionally to social exchange often corresponds to the total subjective value of the help they received. For example, appreciation is stronger for bigger favors, involving intentionally incurred cost, out of warmth rather than calculation, and beyond social-role norms (Ames, Flynn, & Weber, 2006; Bar-Tal, Bar-Zohar, Greenberg, & Hermon, 1977; Tesser, Gatewood, & Driver, 1968).

We ask when, over the course of receiving help, beneficiaries feel most appreciative of their helpers. Beyond the overall magnitude of appreciation, the time-course matters because expressed-appreciation encourages continued efforts; and because the timing of commitments can affect future reciprocation. Beneficiaries' appreciation may peak after help is delivered, when they have received maximum benefit; or it may peak when help is still pending, while the beneficiary depends most on the helper.

To determine between these possibilities, we draw from motivation theory, which suggests that helpers are instrumental means for beneficiaries' active goals. During goal pursuit, people value means that help them achieve their goal (Aarts, Dijksterhuis, & De Vries, 2001; Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Fishbach & Converse, 2010; Moors, De Houwer, & Eelen, 2004). Moreover, in social relations, improved evaluations of instrumental others promote goal pursuit. People prioritize and approach others who can help them satisfy currently-active goals; and

withdraw after satisfactory progress (Fitzsimons & Fishbach, 2010; Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008). As a result of goal-based evaluation, appreciation may be subject to just such an instrumentality boost.

We thus propose that appreciation will peak while helpers are instrumental; that is, while they are perceived to be facilitating a goal one is currently motivated to complete. This instrumentality-boost hypothesis thus predicts that more help can sometimes lead to less appreciation. Taking the last few steps to help someone complete her goal provides more objective benefit; but upon completion, if the helper is no longer perceived as useful for an active goal, then the instrumentality boost disappears. Barring unexpected benefits, appreciation should thus decrease following task completion.

Although the positive experience of gratitude and negative experience of indebtedness respond differentially to various features of the helping situation (Tsang, 2006; Watkins, Scheer, Ovnicek, & Kolts, 2006), we expect that instrumentality increases both. This would support our contention that the effect represents an inflated appreciation of needed help rather than a general carryover of positive evaluations. We test gratitude, then indebtedness, and then both. Furthermore, our prediction should hold across varying help arrangements and relationships. Accordingly, we employ a range of tasks, involving beneficiaries fully dependent on strangers, newly-acquainted partners working interdependently, and partially-dependent friends.

## Experiment 1: Instrumentality Boosts Appreciation

The instrumentality-boost hypothesis predicts that beneficiaries will feel more appreciative while they are receiving help than after. To test this, we staged a trivia game styled after *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire*. Contestants could "phone-a-friend" for help and we

predicted that they would appreciate the helper more while that person was working (i.e., while instrumental) than after.

*Method*

Forty-two Chicagoans (22 women) participated as contestants. They received $2 and could win $12 more by correctly answering four multiple-choice questions. Participants had three "lifelines" including a "friend" (i.e., helper) with internet access. We designed the first two questions to be easy, the third to compel use of a filler lifeline, and the fourth to prompt phone-a-friend.[1] Whenever participants chose phone-a-friend, the procedure diverged by condition. Participants reported their gratitude (single item, from Flynn & Adams' (2009) appreciation scale) either while the helper was working on the question or after the game ended but before learning results.[2] We thus manipulated helper-instrumentality while holding outcome information constant.

*Results*

Supporting the instrumentality-boost hypothesis, participants in the ongoing-game condition were more appreciative ($M$ = 5.72, $SD$ = 0.67) than those in the completed-game condition ($M$ = 4.84, $SD$ = 1.01), $t(35) = 3.10$, $p = .004$, $d = 1.03$. Despite having received more assistance from their helpers, beneficiaries who responded after the game felt less appreciation.

## Experiment 2: Indebtedness and the Mismatch Hypothesis

Experiment 2 extended the investigation in three ways. First, we tested indebtedness, the negative side of appreciation. Like gratitude, it is a feeling of getting something from someone and, by our account, should be subject to the instrumentality boost. Second, to test a different kind of helping interaction, we examined newly-acquainted partners working cooperatively.

Finally, this study also explored the helper's perspective: What do helpers conclude when they ask, "How appreciative is the beneficiary?"

Helpers are unlikely to construe themselves as means to others' goal pursuit, or to intuit others' motivational patterns. Therefore, whether they rely on naïve theories of how people respond to increasing benefits (Tesser et al., 1968) or simulate others' perspectives based on their own experiences of increasing costs (Zhang & Epley, 2009), they are unlikely to conclude that appreciation peaks before task completion. This would create a potentially consequential mismatch between the course of beneficiaries' experienced appreciation and the course of helpers' expectations.

*Method*

Forty Chicagoans (20 women) participated in a "Work Effectiveness" study in pairs. We employed a task (active vs. completed) × judgment (beneficiary vs. helper) mixed design. Participants collaborated on a data-entry task. We assigned participants to role: Assistants (helpers) read the data aloud and captains (beneficiaries) typed. During the task and a few minutes afterwards, participants moved to separate cubicles to report their indebtedness (captains: *How much do you feel you owe the assistant for his/her help?*) or expected indebtedness (assistants: *How much does the captain feel he/she owes you for your help*?) on a continuous line (*nothing—a lot*, translated to 100-point scale). We embedded these evaluations among filler questions.

*Results*

Supporting the primary prediction, beneficiaries felt more indebted to their helpers during than after the administrative task, *paired-t*(19) = 2.65, $p = .016$, $d = 0.59$. Although some aspects

of the helping situation affect gratitude and indebtedness differently, instrumentality influences these aspects of appreciation similarly.

Supporting the mismatch hypothesis, an ANOVA revealed the expected task × judgment interaction, $F(1, 38) = 12.71$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$ (Figure 1). Although task completion decreased beneficiaries' indebtedness, helpers expected them to feel more indebted after than before, *paired-t*(19) = 2.44, $p = .025$, $d = 0.55$. A main effect of judgment, $F(1, 38) = 15.70$, $p < .001$, suggested that beneficiaries valued the favor more than did helpers.

## Experiment 3: Instrumentality Mediates Appreciation in Ongoing Relationships

Helping often occurs within close relationships and chains of exchange. Experiment 3 tested the instrumentality boost in ongoing relationships. We examined students' appreciation for study-partners (tutors) as finals approached and after. We expected that students would have active academic goals when approaching finals, and that they would pick up new ones at the beginning of the next term. We further expected natural variation in the perceived-facilitation aspect of instrumentality: Only some students would continue to receive help from the same tutor in the following term. We could therefore test this aspect of instrumentality—tutors' current level of apparent helpfulness—as a mediator. We predicted (i) that students would appreciate their tutors more as exams approached than after, regardless of outcome satisfaction, and (ii) that appreciation would not decrease as sharply to the extent that students saw their tutors as remaining instrumental. We also tested for a mismatch between the time-course of helpers' expectations and beneficiaries' actual appreciation.

### *Method*

Forty students (23 women) completed a 2-part study, employing a task (active vs. completed) × judgment (beneficiary vs. helper) mixed design. Before finals (~1 week), we

recruited students in active collaborations. Participants reported the partner and task, then received materials designed to manipulate their role as the beneficiary ("describe how another student helps you…") or the helper ("describe how you help another student…"). Beneficiaries reported appreciation with three items: *appreciation* and *desire to thank* (adapted from Flynn & Adams, 2009), and *indebtedness* ($\alpha_{beneficiaries}$ = .84). As a measure of instrumentality, they reported the extent to which their partner was currently helpful (7-point scales). Helpers predicted their partners' responses by completing a similarly-structured survey ($\alpha_{helpers}$ = .43). We emailed participants early in the following term with a reminder of the partner, class, and task, and the link to an online survey with similar measures. Beneficiaries reported how pleased they were with their grade (4-point scale), a measure of outcome satisfaction.

*Results*

As predicted, students appreciated tutors more before exams than after, *paired-t*(20) = 2.43, $p$ = .025, $d$ = 0.53 (Figure 2). They also reported that their tutors were more helpful when asked before exams than after ($M$ = 5.33 vs. 4.48, $SD$ = 1.32 vs. 1.44*), paired*-t(20) = 3.29, $p$ = .004, $d$ = 0.72.

We next examined the relationship between instrumentality and appreciation at each time point (Table 1). As expected, pre-exam instrumentality predicted pre-exam appreciation, but (controlling for pre-exam appreciation) did not predict post-exam appreciation. Moreover, (controlling for pre-exam instrumentality and appreciation) post-exam instrumentality predicted post-exam appreciation. Together, this suggests that appreciation was preferentially related to the current, not past, level of instrumentality.

We further examined if change-in-instrumentality mediated change-in-appreciation. We first note that neither pre- nor post-exam instrumentality, on its own, predicted changes in

appreciation, *t*s ≤ 1.44, *p*s ≥ .16. We regressed appreciation differences on instrumentality differences (and, to avoid biased estimation, on the centered sum of instrumentality scores). Greater decreases in instrumentality predicted greater decreases in experienced appreciation, $B$ = .69, $p$ = .002. The resulting intercept of this regression, $B$ = -.074, was not significant, $t < 1$, indicating that there was no appreciation difference unaccounted for by instrumentality, thus satisfying the criteria for full within-subjects mediation of the time-appreciation link by instrumentality (Judd, Kenny, & McClelland, 2001).

Finally, we examined the mismatch hypothesis. Because the reliability of the helpers'-expected-appreciation scale is low, we used MANOVA with repeated measures on each of the three appreciation items. A predicted task × judgment interaction, $F(1, 38) = 6.66$, $p = .014$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$, suggested a difference between how beneficiaries' appreciation changed and how helpers expected it to change. Although experienced appreciation decreased, expected appreciation did not change $F(1,18) = 1.24$, $p = .281$. The lack of item × task × judgment interaction, $F < 1$, suggests a similar mismatch across items.

*Discussion and Supplemental Experiment*

Theoretically, an instrumentality boost should operate independent of outcome satisfaction. Consistent with this proposal, appreciation decreased in Experiment 3 despite generally successful outcomes (4-point grade-satisfaction scale: $M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.80$; 90% selected *somewhat pleased* or *very pleased*). To further examine if the appreciation change depended on outcomes, we correlated change-in-appreciation with satisfaction. We are reluctant to interpret a null effect, but did not find evidence of this relationship, $r = .33$, $p = .140$. When entered as simultaneous predictors of post-exam appreciation, post-exam instrumentality is a significant predictor ($\beta = .74$, $p < .001$), but satisfaction is not ($\beta = .22$, $p = .19$). Thus,

appreciation was more a function of students' current reliance on their tutors than on their satisfaction with last semester's grades.

Participants in Experiments 1-2 indicated appreciation before knowing the outcome of the help. In Experiment 3, outcomes did not significantly predict appreciation. To further probe the potential effect of outcomes, we conducted an experiment in which we specifically directed participants ($N$ = 114) to describe past help that was successful or future help that was expected to be, before reporting appreciation (100-point scale).[1] Future help was more appreciated ($M$ = 94.13, $SD$ = 7.78) than past help ($M$ = 89.94, $SD$ = 13.19), $t(112) = 2.07$, $p = .041$, $d = 0.39$. It thus appears that even if assistance bears success, appreciation will decrease when new goals take priority.

## General Discussion

We found consistent evidence of an instrumentality boost: Beneficiaries' appreciation depends on the extent to which they perceive their helpers to be facilitating active goals. We found this pattern for both the positive and negative sides of appreciation, across various relationships and help arrangements, and even when helpers had objectively put in more work upon task completion. Helpers did not intuit these effects of task completion, expecting stable or even increasing appreciation.

These findings provide new insights into beneficiaries' emotional responses. We have focused on timing as a naturally dynamic operationalization of instrumentality, but expect the instrumentality boost is more general. Other factors that undermine instrumentality, including the presence of alternative means (Kruglanski et al., 2002), should similarly decrease appreciation.

It may also be informative to consider what factors will "reinvigorate" appreciation after task completion. To be clear, we do not find that appreciation disappears; only that it is relatively

lower following task completion. For appreciation to rise again as a function of instrumentality would require renewed goal activation and helper-facilitation potential. Appreciation could also rise again independent of instrumentality. For example, unexpected benefits (e.g., not just an 'A', but a commendation) could increase favor value more than the magnitude of the original instrumentality boost. This opposing effect of surprise benefits would not imply that the instrumentality boost had been absent; but it would suggest a potential boundary condition for the demonstrated time-course. We assume, however, that the standard case—and the one critical for testing the instrumentality-boost hypothesis—would be one in which the beneficiary has high expectations for achieving the goal with the helper's assistance. Otherwise the helper would not be seen as instrumental and our predictions would not hold.

In general, this work provides a richer understanding of emotional responses to prosocial action, documenting a specific (counterintuitive) time-course and the more general influence of instrumentality on appreciation. Whereas previous work demonstrated how post-task appreciation decreases over time (Flynn, 2003), we document that appreciation peaks before help is complete. Timing is important for understanding relationship dynamics, impression-management processes, and strategic interactions such as negotiations or social influence. If, in an attempt to extract commitments, strategic helpers plan to register requests at the peak of a beneficiary's appreciation, they should do so while they are useful. The demonstrated mismatch, however, suggests that helpers tend to mistake this timing.

*Conclusion*: We have accumulated support for an instrumentality boost that qualifies the classic conceptualization of appreciation as an assessment of benefits transferred. Beneficiaries' appreciation can increase, without additional benefits, as a result of instrumentality. As a consequence, people will sometimes be more appreciative for lesser benefits.

References

Aarts, H., Dijksterhuis, A., & De Vries, P. (2001). On the psychology of drinking: Being thirsty and perceptually ready. *British Journal of Psychology, 92*, 631-642.

Algoe, S. B., Haidt, J., & Gable, S. L. (2008). Beyond reciprocity: Gratitude and relationships in everyday life. *Emotion, 8,* 425-429.

Ames, D. R., Flynn, F. J., & Weber, E. U. (2004). It's the thought that counts: On perceiving how helpers decide to lend a hand. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30,* 461–474.

Bar-Tal, D., Bar-Zohar, Y., Greenberg, M. S., & Hermon, M. (1977). Reciprocity behavior in the relationship between donor and recipient and between harm-doer and victim. *Sociometry*, *40*, 293–298.

DeSteno, D. (2009). Social emotions and intertemporal choice: "Hot" mechanisms for building social and economic capital. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 18,* 280-284.

Ferguson, M. J., & Bargh, J. A. (2004). Liking is for doing: The effects of goal pursuit on automatic evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(5), 557-572.

Fishbach, A. & Converse, B. A., (2010). Identifying and battling temptation. In K. D. Vohs, & R. F. Baumeister (Eds.), *Handbook of Self-Regulation: Research, Theory and Applications* (2nd edition; pp. 244-260), New York: Guilford.

Fitzsimons, G. M. & Fishbach, A. (2010). Shifting closeness: Interpersonal effects of personal goal progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *98*(4), 535-549.

Fitzsimons, G. M. & Shah, J. (2008). How goal instrumentality shapes relationship evaluations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(2), 319-337.

Flynn, F. J. (2003). What have you done for me lately? Temporal adjustments to favor evaluations. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *91*, 38-50.

Flynn, F. J. & Adams, G. S. (2009). Money can't buy love: Asymmetric beliefs about gift price and feelings of appreciation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *45*, 404-409.

Grant, A. M. & Gino, F. (2010). A little thanks goes a long way: Explaining why gratitude expressions motivate prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 98* (6), 946-955.

Greenberg, M. S. (1980). A theory of indebtedness. In K. J. Gergen, M. S. Greenberg, & R. H. Willis (Eds.), *Social exchange: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 3-26). New York: Plenum.

Judd, C. M., Kenny, D. A., & McClelland, G. H. (2001). Estimating and testing mediation and moderation in within-subjects designs. *Psychological Methods*, *6*(2), 115-134.

Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Fishbach, A., Friedman, R., Chun, W. Y., & Sleeth-Keppler, D. (2002). A theory of goal systems. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 331-378).

Lambert, N. M. & Fincham, F. D. (2011). Expressing gratitude to a partner leads to more relationship maintenance behavior. *Emotion, 11* (1), 52-60.

Moors, A., De Houwer, J., & Eelen, P. (2004). Automatic stimulus–goal comparisons: Support from motivational affective priming studies. Cognition and Emotion, 18, 29–5

Ortony, A., Clore, G. L., & Collins, A. (1988). *The cognitive structure of emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tesser, A., Gatewood, R. & Driver, M. (1968). Some determinants of gratitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9*, 233-236.

Tsang, J. (2006). The effects of helper intention on gratitude and indebtedness. *Motivation and Emotion, 30,* 199-205.

Watkins, P. C., Scheer, J., Ovnicek, M., & Kolts, R. (2006). The debt of gratitude: Dissociating gratitude and indebtedness. *Cognition and Emotion, 20,* 217-241.

Zhang, Y., & Epley, N. (2009). Self-centered social exchange: Differential use of costs versus benefits in prosocial reciprocity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97,* 796-810.

## Footnotes

[1]See methodological details in supplemental materials online.

[2]Three participants did not use phone-a-friend. One ignored the suggested answer. Further, helpers are only instrumental if expected to facilitate success: We asked participants who used helpers if they expected it to prove helpful. One expressed doubt (>3 SDs below mean). Excluding these five participants left 37 instrumental helpers.

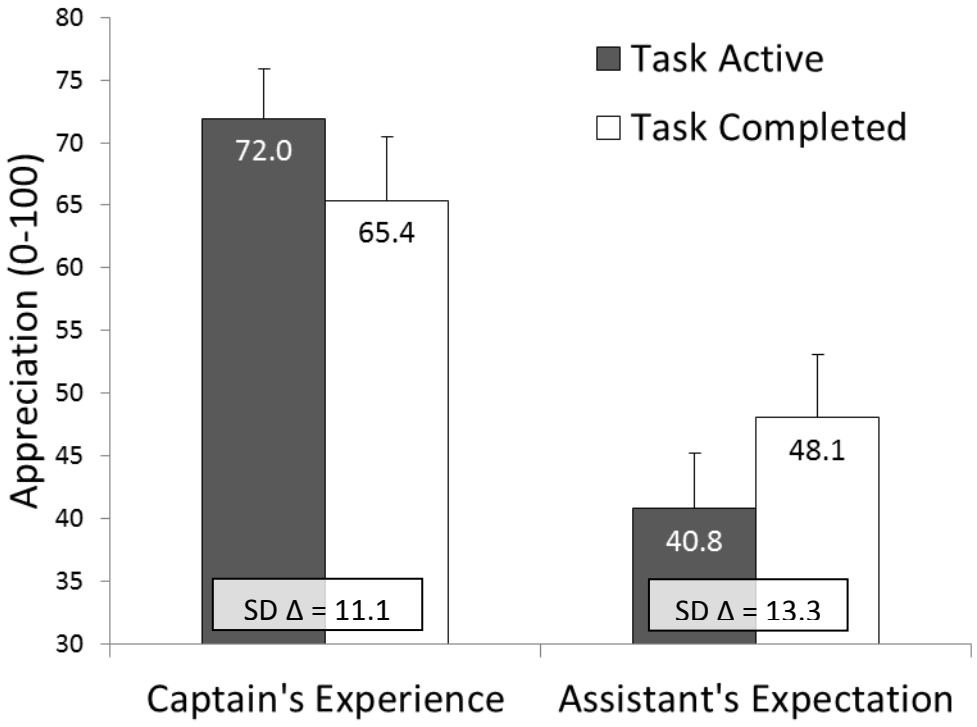
Table 1

*Correlations and Partial Correlations between Pre- and Post-Exam Appreciation and Pre- and Post-Exam Instrumentality*

| | Pre-Exam Appreciation | Post-Exam Appreciation (Controlling for Pre-Exam Appreciation) |
|---|---|---|
| Pre-Exam Instrumentality | $r$ = .61* | $pr$ = -.17 |
| Post-Exam Instrumentality (Controlling for Pre-Exam Instrumentality) | $pr$ = .23 | $pr$ = .67* |

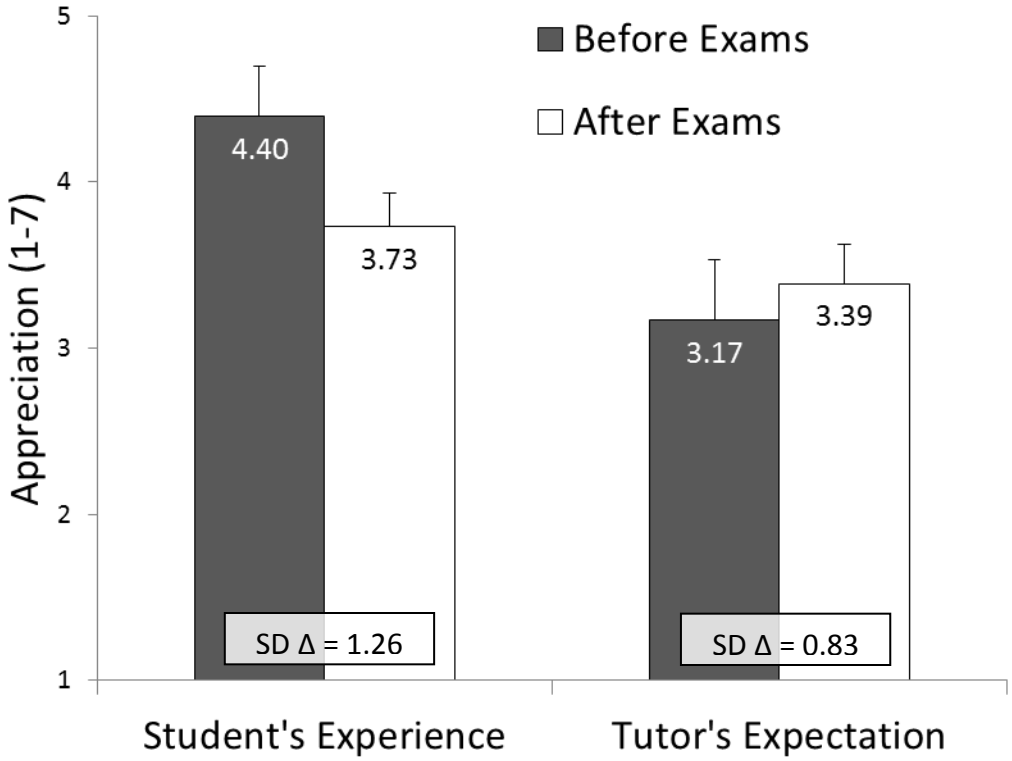
*Note*. In the upper-left cell, $r$ is a Pearson correlation. Cells with $pr$ are partial correlations. We control for the pre-exam score when conducting a correlation with a post-exam score because pre- and post-exam appreciation are correlated ($r$ = .67, $p$ = .001), and pre- and post-exam instrumentality are correlated ($r$ = .63, $p$ = .002).
*$p$ < .005. Non-significant partial correlations both $p$s > .2.

Figure 1. Appreciation ratings as a function of task status and judgment type (Experiment 2).




Note. Captains were the beneficiaries and reported experienced appreciation. Assistants were the helpers and reported expected appreciation. Numbers inside bars represent means. Error bars represent standard error of the mean. SDΔ = Standard deviation of the difference between active and completed conditions.

Figure 2. Appreciation ratings as a function of task status and judgment type (Experiment 3).




Note. Students were the beneficiaries and reported experienced appreciation. Tutors were the helpers and reported expected appreciation. Numbers inside bars represent means. Error bars represent standard error of the mean. SDΔ = Standard deviation of the difference between before and after conditions.

# Instrumentality Boosts Appreciation: Helpers Are More Appreciated While They Are Useful

## SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIALS:

## Methodological Details and Supplementary Analyses for Experiments 1 and 4

Benjamin A. Converse

University of Virginia

Ayelet Fishbach

University of Chicago

## Additional Methodological Details for Experiment 1

Participants met their helper briefly, before moving to separate rooms for the duration of the study. They learned that the purpose of the game was to answer 4 progressively-difficult trivia questions correctly. If they succeeded, they would win a $12 grand prize.

Participants had three possible "lifelines" to use along the way, and could use more than one on the same question if desired. Once they used a lifeline, they could not use it again.

We designed the first two questions to be easy, so participants could complete them without a lifeline. Question 1 was, *What is the home city of the Yankees baseball team?* with answers *Chicago, Los Angeles, New York* (correct), and *Boston*. Question 2 was, *In what year did Neil Armstrong become the 1st person to walk on the moon?*, with answers *1876, 1910, 1969* (correct), and *1981*. All participants answered these two questions correctly without a lifeline.

We designed the third question to compel use of the dictionary: *Complete this sentence: The cause of her anger did not warrant such* _____, with answers, *asperity* (correct), *kellick, somnambulist, and zebu*. All participants answered this question correctly. Six answered correctly without using a lifeline, and the remaining participants all used the dictionary. We designed the fourth question to prompt phone-a-friend: *Which list is properly ordered from the largest to the smallest country, in square miles?* followed by the correct answer, *Canada, China, Congo, Chad*, and three incorrect orders of the same countries. Participants had one minute to complete Question 1, two minutes for Question 2, and five minutes for Questions 3 and 4. Items were designed to be visually similar to *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire* and the experimenter crossed off each lifeline as the participant used it.

In the appreciation survey, we also assessed how challenging participants found each question (0 = *extremely easy*, 6 = *extremely difficult*), how much they enjoyed the game, and how

confident they were while playing the game. Confirming that participants found the questions progressively more challenging, there was a significant linear trend from the first to the last question (respectively, *M*s = 0.51, 0.95, 2.81, 4.49), $F$ (1, 36) = 367.69, $p < .001$. As intended, all those who used the phone-a-friend lifeline used it on the final, most difficult question. The timing of administration of the appreciation survey did not affect perceived difficulty of any question, *p*s > .14, nor reported enjoyment of the game, reported confidence during the game, or expected effectiveness of the help, *p*s > .18.

**Additional Methodological Details for Supplemental Experiment 4**

One hundred fourteen people (64 women, 11 unspecified) completed the online survey. In the past condition, participants responded to the following prompt:

> *What was the most recent thing that you got help on? It can be anything, big or small: All that matters is that another person made it somewhat easier for you to successfully accomplish your goal at the time.*

Most participants answered briefly, in a word (e.g., "moving") or short phrase (e.g., "building a shed in my backyard"). The longest responses were a couple of sentences. Participants then gave the first name of the person that helped them. In the active task condition, participants responded to a slightly different prompt:

> *What is the soonest upcoming thing that you expect to get help on? It can be anything, big or small: All that matters is that you expect another person will make it somewhat easier for you to successfully accomplish your goal at the time.*

We structured the manipulation to focus participants in both conditions on successful help. In the past condition the help was known to have been successful, and in the future condition it was expected to be successful.

For the measure of appreciation, we adapted items from Flynn and Adams (2009). We asked participants to indicate how they felt, "right now, at this moment," about the help. The

scale was a 100-point slider scale, and asked "*To what extent do you appreciate the help?*," "*…feel grateful for the help?*," and "*feel thankful for the help?*" ($\alpha = .95$). Participants also indicated when the help occurred [or would occur; *within the hour*, *sometime today*, *sometime this week*, *sometime this month*, *sometime this year*, or *more than a year ago* / *more than a year from now*]. In addition to the analysis reported in the main text, we found no difference in the reported importance (11-point scale) of the favors participants reported in the past ($M = 6.64$, $SD = 2.49$) versus future condition ($M = 6.98$, $SD = 2.08$), $t < 1$, nor any difference in how far away (temporally) the favors were in the past ($M = 3.24$, $SD$ 0.87) versus future condition ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(112) = 1.50$, $p = .14$.