

The Active Control of Prejudice: Unpacking the Intentions Guiding Control Efforts

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To date, there is little direct evidence that people who are motivated to respond without prejudice actively work to reduce their prejudice. The authors explored people's efforts to control prejudice for an upcoming interracial interaction. They proposed that people who were motivated to respond without prejudice should exert effort to control prejudice but that their efforts should reflect the intentions underlying their motivation. Behavioral evidence was provided across 3 studies supporting the contention that external motivation to respond without prejudice results in the intention to hide prejudice and that externally motivated people actively work to reduce detectable prejudice. In contrast, internal motivation gives rise to the intention to be free of prejudice, and internally motivated people actively work to eliminate any form of prejudice whether or not it would be apparent to others. The short- and long-term implications of these differential intentions are discussed.

Keywords: self-regulation, prejudice, motivation, control, interracial interactions

The hope of many people was that the civil rights movement and the changes in norms regarding the acceptability of prejudice would result in the elimination of prejudice from people's hearts, minds, and behavior. However, salient external pressure to avoid being seen as prejudiced also raises the concern that instead of eradicating prejudice, these normative changes have resulted in people actively hiding their prejudice from others. Increasingly, research shows that majority group members attempt to regulate expressions of prejudice. For example, theorists have pointed to the lack of correspondence between more easily controlled (e.g., explicit) and less easily controlled (e.g., implicit) measures of prejudice and differences between explicit reports in public versus private as evidence of the presumed regulation of prejudice (e.g., Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Plant & Devine, 1998). Other research has shown that following a prejudiced response, people who view prejudice as personally unacceptable devote regulatory effort to figuring out how to prevent future prejudiced responses (Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Viols, & Czopp, 2002). Still other research suggests that majority group members

expend considerable effort to regulate the expression of prejudice during interracial interactions (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2003).

It is difficult to glean from this previous work, however, the intentions underlying people's self-regulatory efforts. In addition, it is unclear whether people will exert effort to regulate prejudice when not in the face of failure and when their responses are not public. Will people put in the effort to reduce prejudice, and will they put in such effort even doing so comes at a cost? Given that prejudice reduction is likely a slow and arduous process (Devine & Monteith, 1993), consistent and dedicated efforts seem necessary for regulatory success.

When people are motivated toward a goal, they should put forth effort toward that goal, and they should pursue strategies that presumably would facilitate goal attainment. For example, a student who is highly motivated to do well in a class should attend lectures, do homework, and study for long hours in preparation for exams. What of people motivated to respond without prejudice? If people are motivated to respond without prejudice and perceive any disparity between this goal and how they typically respond, it should be possible to observe them working toward the goal. They should be willing to spend time and expend energy on strategies they believe would bring them closer to realizing the goal. A primary objective of the current work is to move beyond reasoning based on the presumed outcome of control efforts or self-regulation after prejudice has occurred and instead to directly assess people's exertion of effort toward the goal of responding without prejudice.

In addition, we propose that people who are motivated to regulate their prejudice vary in the intentions underlying their efforts to regulate, with some people being interested in freeing themselves from all forms of prejudice and others being focused on hiding prejudice from disapproving audiences. As illustrated in the broader self-regulation literature, the specific goals or intentions underlying individuals' self-regulatory efforts have important implications such as determining when self-regulation is likely to be

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engaged, organizing and guiding self-regulatory behaviors, and providing the criteria by which self-regulatory success is defined (Bandura, 1986; Carver & Scheier, 1998; Gollwitzer, 1999; Locke & Latham, 1990). Distinguishing between the intention to hide prejudice versus the intention to be free of prejudice is important because the existence of these alternative intentions is the fundamental reason that Whites' nonprejudiced self-reports are often met with suspicion and that the assessment of prejudice remains a difficult endeavor. In addition, from the perspective of the social perceiver, intentions bring order to the perception of behavior, providing a means by which to interpret others' behavior. For minority group members, clarifying the intentions underlying nonprejudiced responses is essential for issues of trust and knowing what to expect from outgroup members when not under public scrutiny (e.g., Crocker, Vokel, Testa, & Major, 1991).

Understanding why and how people actively work to regulate prejudice is also important for prejudice researchers interested in reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations. As prejudice researchers work to develop effective diversity training and prejudice reduction approaches, it is essential to know whether people will put effort into these techniques and what factors may increase the likelihood that people will put in effort. Long-term success in reducing prejudice is likely only if people are willing to put in the effort to "break the prejudice habit."

Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice and Regulatory Intentions

We argue that the reasons underlying people's motivation to respond without prejudice determine their intentions for the regulation of prejudice. In the context of prejudice toward Black people, one may be internally motivated to respond without prejudice in order to behave in accordance with personally held nonprejudiced beliefs or externally motivated to respond without prejudice to comply with nonprejudiced social norms and to avoid disapproval from others (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). We argue that external motivation gives rise to the intention to hide prejudice from others and results in control efforts that are initiated in the presence of external pressure to avoid public censure. In contrast, we maintain that internal motivation gives rise to the intention to be free of prejudice altogether. Unlike the desire to hide prejudice, this intention is experienced as a moral responsibility that cuts across situations, initiating efforts to control even the subtlest forms of prejudice and even in the absence of external pressure.

Using individual differences measures of internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) and external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS), Plant and Devine (1998) presented evidence that is generally consistent with these propositions. White participants who were primarily externally motivated (low IMS–high EMS) behaved in a manner consistent with regulating prejudice with the intention to hide prejudice; specifically, they reported high-prejudice beliefs when their responses were ostensibly anonymous and low-prejudice beliefs when their responses were public. In contrast, internally motivated participants (regardless of their EMS level) reported low-prejudice beliefs in private and in public, a pattern consistent with regulation with the intention to be free of prejudice. Participants who were largely unmotivated to respond without prejudice (low IMS–low EMS) gave moderately prejudiced responses across conditions, suggest-

ing that they did not regulate their responses. Although generally consistent with the current propositions, these findings are limited in that they demonstrate only the outcome of presumed regulatory efforts. The current studies were designed to establish direct behavioral evidence to test our arguments.

Before turning to the current studies, however, we consider an additional theoretical issue that focuses on how to interpret the intentions of individuals who possess high levels of both internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. One possibility is that these individuals regulate prejudice with the intention to hide it from others, as would be predicted by their level of external motivation. Alternatively, their regulatory efforts may be guided by the intention to be free of prejudice, as would be predicted by their level of internal motivation. Yet another possibility is that their intentions vary situationally, alternately reflecting the desire to hide prejudice and the desire to be free of prejudice depending on the context.

Previous work suggests that high IMS–high EMS individuals have concerns that extend beyond hiding prejudice from others. For example, as noted previously, these individuals report low-prejudice beliefs in private, when others are unlikely to be privy to their responses (Plant & Devine, 1998). In addition, these participants feel guilty when they respond with prejudice, whereas their low IMS–high EMS counterparts do not. These differential affective reactions are important because guilty affect is associated with self-punishment for violating personally accepted moral standards (Higgins, 1987). When responding without prejudice is accepted as a moral responsibility, this motivation, arising from within, takes precedence over motivation stemming from social conventions or norms. Plant and Devine (1998) made the somewhat provocative suggestion that for high IMS–high EMS individuals, internal motivation is primary. To the extent that this is true, in the present context, we would expect high IMS–high EMS people to possess both intentions but to prioritize the intention to be free of prejudice over the intention to hide prejudice. Such prioritization would have important implications for the consistency of control efforts across time and situation and, therefore, likely for the long-term success of prejudice reduction efforts. Another goal of the current work was to test this claim.

Study 1

The first study explored people's interest in a computer program that ostensibly would help them reduce prejudice in anticipation of an interracial interaction as a function of their motivation to respond without prejudice. To the extent that participants were motivated to respond without prejudice, we anticipated that they would spend time working on the program. However, in this study we manipulated the framing of the program such that participants in one condition learned that the program decreased detectable prejudice, a type of prejudice that because it is perceptible to others would put one at risk for others' disapproval. In the other condition, participants learned that the program was designed to decrease undetectable prejudice, a type of prejudice that, though not perceptible to others, would violate personal nonprejudiced standards. To the extent that externally motivated individuals seek to hide prejudice from others, we expected them to show interest in decreasing detectable forms of prejudice. In contrast, to the extent that internally motivated people seek to be free of prejudice, we

expected them to show interest in decreasing prejudice of any sort, regardless of its presumed perceptibility to others.

However, note that we expected participants' source of motivation to predict time spent on the program only to the extent that they lacked confidence in their ability to respond without prejudice in the upcoming interaction. That is, because the program was presented as an external tool that would facilitate efforts to control prejudice, only those who perceived a need for such help should show interest in the program. Previous research indicates that one subset of individuals, those who are primarily internally motivated, do not expect to be viewed as prejudiced during interracial interactions (Devine, Brodish, & Vance, 2005). Moreover, across several studies and a variety of measures, including difficult to control implicit and physiological measures, these people consistently exhibit less prejudice than others (e.g., Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, 2003; Devine et al., 2002). As such, we expected primarily internally motivated participants to spend relatively little time on the prejudice reduction program regardless of how it was framed, not because they are not interested in being free of prejudice, but because they believe they are effective in responding in goal consistent ways.

Among externally motivated participants, we expected interest in the program to vary as a function of the program framing and participants' internal motivation. In keeping with their intention to hide prejudice, those low in internal motivation (low IMS–high EMS) were expected to be interested in decreasing detectable but not undetectable prejudice. In contrast, we anticipated those with high levels of internal motivation (high IMS–high EMS) would be interested in decreasing both detectable and undetectable prejudice, reflecting their intention to be completely free of prejudice. Finally, participants low in both internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice were expected to exhibit little interest in the program across the framing conditions, simply because they intend neither to hide nor to be free of prejudice.

In the current study, we also assessed participants' attitudes toward Black people on a traditional measure of racial attitudes, the Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale (ATB; Brigham, 1993). Implicit in our argument is the idea that people's motivation specifically and not their attitudes more generally should determine their efforts toward the regulation of prejudice. Although people's attitudes are important in influencing their responses and intergroup behaviors, their motivation to respond without prejudice should be the key determinant of whether and when they work to control racial prejudice and, hence, should explain variance in participants' time spent on the prejudice reduction program beyond the general attitude measure.

Method

Participants and materials. A total of 108 White introductory psychology students (48% female, 52% male) participated in exchange for course extra credit. Participants completed the IMS ($\alpha = .80$) and EMS ($\alpha = .82$) during a mass testing session early in the semester. The IMS and EMS each consist of 5 items rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) scale. A sample IMS item is "Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept." A sample EMS item is "I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others." Participants were eligible for the study if

their responses fell into the top or bottom 30% of the IMS (high IMS, $M = 8.86$, $SD = 0.39$; low IMS, $M = 6.33$, $SD = 1.37$) and EMS (high EMS, $M = 6.88$, $SD = 1.23$; low EMS, $M = 2.36$, $SD = 0.80$) distributions. Participants also completed the ATB ($\alpha = .88$; Brigham, 1993) in the mass testing session. The 20 items of the ATB (e.g., "Black and White people are inherently equal.") were rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale and were averaged with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes.

Design and procedure. The design was a 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (prejudice description: detectable vs. undetectable) between-subjects factorial. Participants came to the lab individually and were told that they would interact with a same-sex Black student and that the interaction would be videotaped. Next, the experimenter explained that by virtue of growing up in American culture and being exposed to the media, most people develop automatic race biases whereby they associate positive qualities with White people and negative qualities with Black people. Participants were told that this automatic prejudice influences the impressions formed of Black people, even though an individual may not intend or even be aware of these effects. At this point, the instructions diverged to describe nature of the prejudice as being detectable or undetectable to others.

Detectable prejudice. In this condition participants were told the following:

These negative associations are also likely to influence people's behavior during interactions with Black people. These prejudiced responses are detectable by examining behavior in the interaction and can result in people coming across as prejudiced. These types of biases are of particular interest to us in the interactions today.

Recently researchers at Yale University discovered a computer program that can actually reduce these automatic negative associations. This program may actually allow people to avoid detectable prejudice during the interaction. Reducing these types of prejudice can actually improve the course of the interaction.

Undetectable prejudice. In this condition participants were told that the following:

Although these negative associations are unlikely to influence observable behavior during an interaction and are not detectable by other people, they can lead to subtle prejudice in our responses to others. We won't be able to identify this subtle prejudice by observing your behavior during the interaction nor is your interaction partner likely to be able to detect it. However, we wanted to make you aware of the possibility of such bias.

Recently researchers at Yale University discovered a computer program that can actually reduce these automatic negative associations. This program may not actually improve the course of the interaction, but it can have an impact on the kinds of biases that influence subtle responses to Black people. As a result, the program may actually help people approach lower levels of personal prejudice.

All participants were told that they could spend as much or as little time as they wished on the program and were told that the more time they spent on the program, the more likely they were to decrease detectable (undetectable) forms of prejudice. At this point, in both conditions, the experimenter explained that he or she would start the program for the participant and then leave to set up the interaction room. The experimenter further explained "You will probably finish the program before I return, so when you are

done, feel free to do some homework or read one of the magazines over there.” This part of the procedure was included to make the participants believe that the experimenter would be unaware of how much time they spent on the program. Participants were left alone for 5 min. When the experimenter returned, he or she explained that the interaction would not take place. As a manipulation check, participants reported whether they believed that there was going to be an interaction on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*very much so*). The participants were further probed for suspicion, and none of them expressed the belief that the time they spent on the program was measured. Finally, participants were debriefed, thanked, and awarded extra credit.

Computer program. The program, adapted from Dasgupta and Greenwald (2001), presented pictures of 10 famous Black (e.g., Martin Luther King Jr., Tiger Woods) and 10 infamous White (e.g., Al Capone, Timothy McVeigh) people with brief captions (e.g., *Tiger Woods is a famous golf champion*). Participants were told that they could examine each picture and caption for as long as they wanted and that the longer they spent on picture and caption, the more effective the program would be. They were instructed to hit the *H* key on the keyboard to move to the next slide. The amount of time that participants spent on the program was recorded.

Results

Manipulation check and basic correlations. A 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (prejudice description: detectable vs. undetectable) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the manipulation check item indicated that participants believed that the interaction would take place ($M = 7.65$, $SD = 2.00$). Responses did not differ as a function of IMS, EMS, or prejudice description ($ps > .13$).

As an initial step, we explored the correlation between ATB, IMS, and EMS (see Table 1). Replicating previous findings (e.g., Plant & Devine, 1998), the IMS and EMS had a nonsignificant negative correlation. In addition, the ATB and the IMS were strongly and positively correlated with each other, and the ATB and EMS were modestly negatively correlated. Thus, more positive attitudes toward Black people were associated with more internal motivation but less external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Time index. The amount of time, in seconds, spent on the program was summed to create a time index.¹ This index was submitted to a 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) \times

2 (prejudice description: detectable vs. undetectable) \times 2 (gender: female vs. male) between-subjects ANOVA. In this and subsequent studies, effects not mentioned were not significant. The analysis yielded a significant main effect of EMS ($p < .005$), which was qualified by the IMS \times EMS \times Prejudice Description interaction, $F(1, 92) = 4.88$, $p < .04$ (see Figure 1).

We had anticipated that low EMS participants would spend little time on the program across conditions but that high EMS participants would respond differently to the prejudice description manipulation as a function of their IMS level. Therefore, to decompose the three-way interaction, we examined the impact of prejudice description condition and IMS separately for high and low EMS participants. As anticipated, among low EMS participants, there were no main effects or interactions ($F_s < 1$). Among high EMS participants, there was a main effect of prejudice description ($p < .03$), which was qualified by an IMS \times Prejudice Description interaction, $F(1, 92) = 6.36$, $p < .02$. Among high EMS participants, as expected, low IMS participants spent more time on the program in the decrease detectable prejudice than in the decrease undetectable prejudice condition, $t(92) = 3.51$, $p < .002$. In contrast, high IMS participants spent extensive time on the program in both the detectable and undetectable prejudice conditions, $t(92) = 0.01$, *ns*. It is also worth noting that high IMS–high EMS participants spent more time on the program than low IMS–high EMS participants in the decrease undetectable prejudice condition, $t(92) = 2.07$, $p < .05$, but similar amounts of time in the decrease detectable prejudice condition, $t(92) = 1.49$, *ns*.

ATB analyses. Because of the relationship between ATB and both IMS and EMS, we thought it was important to see how ATB was related to the time spent on the program. When the analyses were conducted with ATB as a factor instead of IMS and EMS, ATB did not predict time spent on the program, $F(1, 99) = 1.77$, $p = .19$, nor did it interact with prejudice description condition to predict time on the program, $F(1, 99) = 1.61$, $p = .21$. In addition, when the ATB was used as a covariate, the findings on time spent on the program were unchanged, and the key IMS \times EMS \times Prejudice Description interaction remained significant, $F(1, 90) = 5.49$, $p < .03$.

Discussion

Central to the thesis of the present work, participants who were motivated to respond without prejudice and believed that they were likely to respond with prejudice spent time working on the prejudice reduction program in preparation for an interracial interaction. This is the first demonstration that those who claim to be motivated to respond without prejudice will put forth effort toward actively regulating prejudice. Note, however, that the findings from the current study revealed that interest in the program was jointly determined by participants' source(s) of motivation to respond without prejudice and whether the program would decrease detectable or undetectable prejudice. Consistent with the intention to hide prejudice, participants who were high in external motivation but lacked

Table 1
Intercorrelations Between IMS, EMS, and ATB

| Test | Study 1 | | | Study 2 | | | Study 3 | | |
|--------|---------|------|-------|---------|-----|-------|---------|-----|-------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1. IMS | — | -.13 | .71** | — | .03 | .68** | — | .11 | .65** |
| 2. EMS | | — | -.24* | | — | -.03 | | — | -.16* |
| 3. ATB | | | — | | | — | | | — |

Note. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice; ATB = Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

¹ Although response time data are often skewed, this was not the case in either Study 1 or Study 2. There was some skew in Study 3, but the results were virtually identical when the transformed data were used (e.g., transformed three-way, $F = 2.88$ vs. 2.71). Therefore, for clarity and consistency, we present the untransformed data for all three studies.

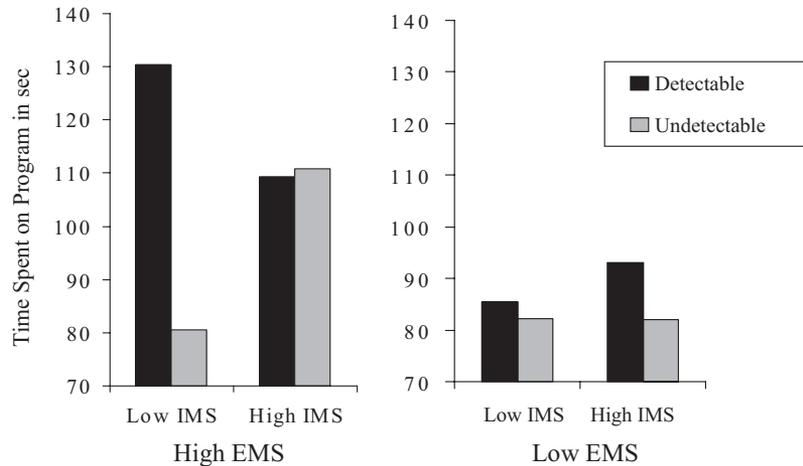


Figure 1. The amount of time participants spent on the program in Study 1 as a function of the prejudice description and the source of their motivation to respond without prejudice. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice.

personal motivation to respond without prejudice (low IMS–high EMS) showed interest in the program when it ostensibly decreased detectable prejudice but not when it decreased undetectable prejudice. In contrast, participants who were high in external motivation but who were also personally motivated to respond without prejudice (high IMS–high EMS) showed interest in the program in both conditions. This pattern of responses is consistent with the intention to be free of all forms of prejudice and supports Plant and Devine’s (1998) contention that internal motivation is primary.

As predicted, participants low in external motivation spent little time on the program, regardless of whether it would decrease detectable or undetectable prejudice. Among those high in internal motivation (high IMS–low EMS), we suggest that despite intending to be free of prejudice, they were unlikely to perceive a need for the program to help them successfully respond without prejudice (e.g., Devine et al., 2002) and, hence, expressed little interest in the program. Among those who were unmotivated to respond without prejudice (low IMS–low EMS), lack of interest in the program likely reflected overall disinterest in controlling prejudice.

It is also worth noting that a general measure of prejudice did not sensitively predict who actively worked on the prejudice control program and whether different people’s interest varied as a function of the program description. These findings indicate that attitudes alone do not determine whether and when people will actively pursue prejudice reduction and that knowing people’s motivation and specifically their levels of both internal and external motivation is important for uncovering their efforts and intentions regarding the control of prejudice.

Although the findings from Study 1 were consistent with our argument that internal motivation reflects the intention to be free of prejudice and external motivation (in the absence of internal motivation) reflects the intention to hide prejudice, two findings require further investigation. The first potentially puzzling finding is that high IMS–low EMS participants were not interested in the prejudice reduction program. We argued that this response was both theoretically sensible and anticipated, but we did not have

direct evidence that they perceived little need to regulate prejudice during interracial interactions. To explore this possibility, we conducted a follow-up study in which 73 White introductory psychology students were asked to “imagine that you are about to interact with a Black person you have never met before in a social setting.” They then responded to a seven-item questionnaire assessing the degree to which they anticipated difficulty responding without prejudice during the interaction (e.g., “I would be worried that my behavior might come across as prejudiced”). These items were combined to create a need to regulate scale ($\alpha = .80$). Participants also completed the IMS and EMS.

Hierarchical regression analyses of the need to regulate scale revealed main effects of IMS and EMS: $F(1, 70) = 18.19, p < .002, \beta = -0.40$, and $F(1, 70) = 18.92, p < .001, \beta = 0.41$, respectively. These main effects were qualified by the predicted $IMS \times EMS$ interaction, $F(1, 69) = 4.90, p < .04, \beta = -0.22$. Simple slopes analyses indicated that among the high IMS participants, there was a strong effect of EMS such that higher levels of EMS were associated with a greater anticipated need to regulate prejudice ($p < .001, \beta = 0.75$), suggesting a chronic awareness of their susceptibility to prejudice. For low IMS participants, EMS was unrelated to the anticipated need to regulate ($p = .09, \beta = 0.26$). Although these findings supported the contention that high IMS–low EMS compared with high IMS–high EMS people anticipate little need to regulate their behavior to respond without prejudice, consistent with our interpretation of Study 1, these findings did not provide direct evidence that the high IMS–low EMS people intend to be free of prejudice. If internal motivation reflects the intention to be free of prejudice, we would expect primarily internally motivated participants to show increased interest in the program if confronted with evidence that they respond with prejudice and, hence, may need help to successfully respond without prejudice. Study 2 tests this possibility.

The second finding that requires additional investigation is that the high IMS–high EMS participants showed equal and high levels of interest in the program in both the detectable and undetectable prejudice conditions. Although we suggested that their interest in

both prejudice reduction programs is driven primarily by their intention to be free of prejudice, an alternative possibility is that these individuals desire equally both to hide and to be free of prejudice. Study 3 was designed to provide more definitive evidence that high IMS–high EMS individuals prioritize the intention to be free of prejudice in their active control of prejudice.

Study 2

The primary purpose of Study 2 was to provide evidence that in the face of regulatory failure, high IMS–low EMS people would exert effort toward the control of prejudice. To this end, we confronted half of our participants with evidence of their own implicit prejudice prior to giving them an opportunity to work on a prejudice reduction program. Specifically, participants completed either a race-related (Black–White) or a race unrelated (Flower–Insect) version of the Implicit Attitude Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo (2001) demonstrated that the majority of White participants who completed the Black–White IAT were aware that their responses revealed racial prejudice and suggested that the Black–White IAT could be used “as a tool for providing people with self-insight into their subtle racial biases” (p. 413). As such, completing the Black–White IAT was expected to challenge high IMS–low EMS participants’ perceptions of themselves as invulnerable to prejudice and increase the perceived need to control prejudice. Because people tend to be aware that the Black–White IAT assesses prejudice even when they are not told of its purpose, we did not think it would be prudent to simply vary the description of the race IAT (e.g., describe it as a measure of covert prejudice or a word recognition task) in order to manipulate regulatory failure. Instead, we had the control group complete a different type of IAT task that had them categorize flowers and insects. Completing the Flower–Insect IAT was unlikely to affect perceptions of the need to control prejudice.

After completing the implicit association task but prior to the ostensible interaction, participants were given the opportunity to work on the undetectable prejudice reduction program from Study 1. We selected the undetectable prejudice condition because we believed that this condition provided the most stringent test of our hypothesis that high IMS–low EMS participants intend to be free of prejudice. That is, although they would likely also be interested in eliminating detectable prejudice, we wanted to show that following a regulatory failure, they would work to control prejudice even if it was subtle and would not be detected by others.

Method

Participants. A total of 100 White introductory psychology students (75% female, 25% male) completed two sessions in exchange for course credit. In the first session, participants completed the IMS ($\alpha = .81$; $M = 7.25$, $SD = 1.64$), EMS ($\alpha = .83$; $M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.83$), and ATB ($\alpha = .89$; $M = 5.27$, $SD = 0.97$) in groups of 5 to 10 participants. Approximately 1 week later, participants returned to the lab and completed the experimental session individually. In contrast to Study 1, participants were not preselected and their scores reflect the full range of IMS and EMS scores.

Procedure. Participants were told that after completing two computer tasks they would have an interaction with an African

American student. Participants were randomly assigned to complete the Black–White or Flower–Insect version of the IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998). The IAT is a dual categorization task. In the Black–White version, participants categorize individually appearing stimuli on the basis of whether they are pleasant or unpleasant words or Black or White faces by pressing keys on the left or right side of the keyboard. The assumption underlying the race IAT is that, to the degree that positive evaluation is associated with White people and negative evaluation with Black people, the dual categorization task should be easier when White faces and pleasant words are paired on the same response key and Black faces and negative words are paired together than with the reverse pairings. The Flower–Insect IAT was identical to the race IAT except that pictures of flowers and insects replaced the White and Black faces.

After completing the IAT, all participants were given the opportunity to complete the undetectable prejudice reduction program exactly as in Study 1. Participants were then informed there would be no interaction, debriefed, thanked, and awarded extra credit.

Results

As an initial step, we once again examined the correlations between ATB, IMS, and EMS (see Table 1). The IMS and EMS were basically unrelated in the current study. Consistent with Study 1, the ATB scale and the IMS were strongly and positively correlated with each other, with more positive attitudes associated with more internal motivation to respond without prejudice. The ATB and EMS had a small negative correlation.

IAT analyses. In order for participants in the Black–White IAT condition to experience regulatory failure, it was important that they respond with some degree of racial bias. However, on the basis of Devine et al. (2002), the amount of racial bias revealed on the IAT should be related to the source of the participant’s motivation to respond without prejudice. Specifically, Devine and colleagues (2002) found that high IMS–low EMS participants responded with racial bias on the Black–White IAT but their level of racial bias was lower than all other groups of participants. To determine whether we replicated the previous findings, we computed the IAT scores using the same method as Devine et al. and analyzed the IAT scores using linear regression with IMS, EMS, and their interaction as predictors.² The analysis revealed a marginal $IMS \times EMS$ interaction, $F(1, 47) = 3.47$, $p = .07$, $\beta = 0.27$. The pattern of this interaction was highly consistent with Devine and her colleagues. High IMS–low EMS participants responded with less racial bias on the IAT ($\hat{Y} = 42.78$) than the high IMS–high EMS ($\hat{Y} = 201.14$), low IMS–high EMS ($\hat{Y} = 121.62$), or the low IMS–low EMS ($\hat{Y} = 175.62$) participants. Thus, although high IMS–low EMS participants do not typically expect to respond with racial bias, a sensitive measure like the IAT reveals racial bias that may cue the need to regulate prejudice for the upcoming interaction (Monteith et al., 2001).

Time index. The time index was prepared for analysis as in Study 1 and was analyzed using hierarchical regression. IAT

² When the analyses were repeated with the IAT scored using the algorithm suggested by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003), the findings were similar in pattern but somewhat weaker in strength.

condition, IMS, EMS, and gender were entered in the first step. All two-way interactions were entered in the second step, and the three-way interaction was entered in the third step. Following Aiken and West (1991), continuous predictor variables were transformed into z scores, and the IAT condition and gender were dummy coded.

The analysis revealed a main effect of IMS ($p < .008$, $\beta = 0.29$). However, this lower order effect was qualified by the IMS \times EMS \times IAT condition interaction, $F(1, 81) = 4.84$, $p < .04$, $\beta = -0.92$ (see Figure 2). To decompose this interaction, the impact of IMS and EMS were examined in each IAT condition. The analysis in the Flower–Insect IAT condition revealed a marginal IMS \times EMS interaction, $F(1, 37) = 3.22$, $p = .08$, $\beta = 0.35$, which replicated the pattern observed in the undetectable prejudice condition of Study 1. Simple slopes analyses indicated that among low IMS participants, low and high EMS participants spent similar amounts of time on the program ($p = .46$). Among high IMS participants, high EMS participants ($\hat{Y} = 129.08$) spent marginally more time on the program than did low EMS participants ($\hat{Y} = 100.70$; $p = .06$). In contrast, the analysis in the Black–White IAT condition revealed only a main effect of IMS, such that high IMS participants ($\hat{Y} = 136.49$) spent more time on the program than did low IMS participants ($\hat{Y} = 87.89$), $F(1, 45) = 14.86$, $p < .001$, $\beta = 0.50$. Thus, when presented with evidence of their implicit prejudice, all high IMS participants spent extensive time on the program.

ATB analyses. As in Study 1, analyses with ATB as a factor revealed no significant findings, with the key ATB \times IAT Condition interaction failing to reach significance, $F(1, 84) = 2.89$, $p = .09$, $\beta = 1.44$. However, the basic pattern of responses was reasonable. For example, in the race IAT condition, participants who had more positive attitudes toward Black people did spend marginally more time on the program than those with less positive attitudes, $r(34) = .31$, $p = .07$. It is worth noting, however, that the equivalent correlation for IMS was highly significant, $r(34) = .55$, $p = .001$. When the analyses were replicated with ATB as a covariate, it did not change the findings in form or magnitude. For example, the key IMS \times EMS \times IAT Condition interaction remained significant, $F(1, 80) = 4.48$, $p < .04$, $\beta = -0.89$.

Discussion

The findings from the current study complement the findings from Study 1. When not confronted with evidence of their own implicit prejudice (Study 1, Flower–Insect IAT condition of Study 2), high IMS participants who were low in EMS showed little interest in the prejudice reduction program, presumably because they did not anticipate needing its assistance to meet their intention to be free of prejudice. Critically, however, when participants completed the Black–White IAT, and thus were faced with evidence of their own implicit prejudice, high IMS individuals, regardless of EMS level, actively pursued the prejudice reduction program. It is impossible to know for sure whether their responses reflected the experience of racial bias or something specific about viewing Black and White faces because the control group viewed different stimuli. However, we suspect that these participants viewed their IAT performance as a regulatory failure and, therefore, were eager to take advantage of the assistance provided by the program. Taken together, these findings provide compelling evidence that internal motivation to respond without prejudice gives rise to active efforts to control prejudice with the intention of being free of prejudice.

The results for the other participants replicated the findings from the undetectable prejudice condition in Study 1. High IMS–high EMS participants showed high levels of interest in the program in both IAT conditions, consistent with their intention to be free of prejudice and their chronic awareness of their susceptibility to prejudice. Whether they were high or low in EMS, low IMS participants showed little interest in the program in either IAT condition.

Study 3

The evidence thus far supports our contention that people who are motivated to respond without prejudice will actively work to control prejudice and prefer approaches to prejudice control that help them to meet the intentions underlying their motivation. A major goal of Study 3 was to provide a critical test of our hypothesis that high IMS–high EMS individuals prioritize the intention to

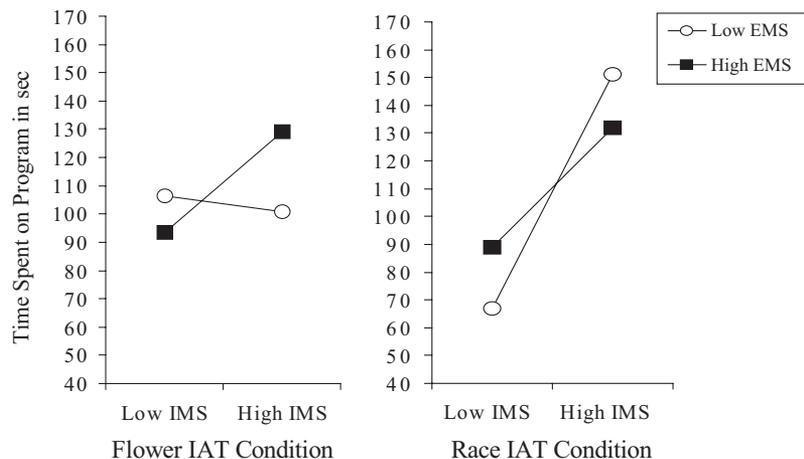


Figure 2. The amount of time participants spent on the computer program in Study 2 as a function of their source of motivation to respond without prejudice and Implicit Attitude Test (IAT) condition. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice.

be free of prejudice over the intention to hide prejudice. Although high IMS–low EMS participants' interest in the undetectable prejudice reduction program in the previous two studies suggests they intend to be free of prejudice, their interest in decreasing detectable prejudice (Study 1) could be taken as evidence of the intention to hide prejudice. Indeed, we argued that the same behavior when exhibited by their low IMS–high EMS counterparts reflects just this intention. In the current study, we wanted to push high IMS–high EMS participants to see how far they would be willing to go to meet their intention. For example, would high IMS–high EMS participants' dedication to being free of prejudice drive them to pursue this personally important goal in the long term even if it came with a significant short-term cost?

To test this hypothesis, we created a condition to pit the intention to hide prejudice against the intention to be free of prejudice. Specifically, we included a condition in which decreasing detectable prejudice came at the cost of increasing undetectable prejudice. In this condition, participants learned that the program would decrease detectable prejudice in the upcoming interaction but that over the long term it would increase undetectable prejudice. We anticipated that the high IMS–high EMS individuals would sacrifice the opportunity to appear less prejudiced in the upcoming interaction and risk short-term social sanction because the long-term costs of the program would be incompatible with the intention to be free of prejudice. In contrast, increasing undetectable prejudice in the future should not be of concern to low IMS–high EMS individuals, if their intention is to hide prejudice.³

The current study also included both the detectable and undetectable prejudice conditions from Study 1 and an additional new condition in which decreasing detectable prejudice produced a long-term effect of decreasing undetectable prejudice. In this final condition, participants were informed that the program would decrease detectable prejudice in the upcoming interaction and result in the long-term effect of decreasing undetectable prejudice. When described this way, we expected the program would not present a conflict for high IMS–high EMS participants because both the short- and long-term effects of the program would facilitate being free of prejudice.

Predictions for the low IMS–high EMS individuals were less certain. It was possible that their desire to hide prejudice in the upcoming interaction would lead them to spend time on the program, even though the long-term effects of decreasing undetectable prejudice are of little interest to them. Another possibility, however, was that these long-term effects would be so undesirable that they would forgo the chance to hide prejudice in the interaction if doing so meant becoming less biased (even in undetectable ways). Indeed, Plant and Devine (2001) showed that low IMS–high EMS individuals react with anger and reactance when they perceive that others are attempting to change or constrain their personal race-related attitudes. In light of these findings, it seems possible that low IMS–high EMS participants would find the prospect of the long-term decrease in undetectable prejudice to be highly undesirable. If this is the case, then the low IMS–high EMS participants should respond similarly to the decrease detectable and decrease undetectable prejudice conditions as they do to the decrease undetectable bias condition (i.e., with low interest in the program). Such a finding would indicate that they are open to actively controlling detectable bias only to the degree that they can maintain their biased personal beliefs, sug-

gesting that they prioritize the right to their personal views above hiding prejudice from a disapproving audience.

Finally, we expected low EMS participants to show little interest in the bias reduction program across all conditions, either because they are not motivated to appear nonprejudiced (low IMS–low EMS) or because they perceived themselves to be independently capable of nonprejudiced behavior in the interracial interaction (high IMS–low EMS).

Method

Participants. White introductory psychology students ($N = 223$; 61% female, 39% male) participated individually in exchange for course extra credit. Participants had completed the IMS ($\alpha = .82$), EMS ($\alpha = .80$), and ATB ($\alpha = .87$) during a mass testing session and were considered eligible for participation if their responses fell into the top or bottom 30% of the IMS and EMS distributions.

Design and procedure. The design was a 2 (IMS) \times 2 (EMS) \times 4 (prejudice description) between-subjects factorial. The procedure was identical to Study 1. Two of the prejudice description conditions replicated the decrease undetectable and decrease detectable conditions from Study 1. The current study included two new conditions (described below) in which the short-term and long-term putative effects of the program varied. The study also included a manipulation check question, which asked participants to describe the purported effects of the program in their own words.

Decrease detectable–increase undetectable prejudice. After participants learned that the program would decrease detectable expressions of prejudice in the upcoming interaction, the experimenter described recent research findings suggesting that the program had been shown to produce long-term effects. Specifically, participants were told that the program caused individuals to become more sensitive to the negative societal associations about Blacks. It was stressed that this increased awareness of negative associations was unlikely to contribute to detectable prejudice in interracial interactions, but it could increase undetectable forms of prejudice toward Blacks.

³ There were other conditions that we could have included in the current studies, but we selected specific conditions that we believed would be most informative regarding our specific hypotheses about the intentions guiding prejudice control efforts. For example, it might have been interesting to examine reactions to a program that reduced undetectable prejudice in the short term but increased detectable prejudice in the long term. If people spent little time on the program, however, it would be unclear whether it was because they were more focused on reducing detectable than undetectable prejudice or because having any form of prejudice for the long term conflicts with the intention to be free of prejudice. Similarly, we could have included a condition in which the program increases detectable bias in the short term but reduces undetectable bias in the long term. Although this condition would seemingly pit the hide prejudice and be free of prejudice intentions against each other, it would also force participants to choose to knowingly take steps that could make the interaction more unpleasant for the Black interaction partner. If participants avoid this program, would they do so because it would put them at risk for social sanction or because it could make the experience worse for an outgroup member? We concluded that having the long-term effect of increasing a form of prejudice that others could not be privy to would provide the clearest test of our ideas.

Decrease detectable–decrease undetectable prejudice. In this condition, the experimenter explained that a long-term effect of the detectable prejudice reduction program was that the program caused individuals to become less sensitive to the negative societal associations about Blacks and, thus, could ultimately decrease undetectable forms of prejudice toward Blacks.

Results

Manipulation check and correlations. Responses to the manipulation check question were evaluated for accuracy. Of 223 participants, 5 (2%) failed to accurately report the critical aspects of the program instructions, and their responses were omitted from further analyses. Among these participants, 2 were in the decrease detectable–decrease undetectable prejudice condition and 3 were in the decrease detectable–increase undetectable prejudice condition.

The correlations between ATB, IMS, and EMS were highly consistent with the first two studies (see Table 1). The IMS and EMS were not significantly correlated with each other. Once again, the ATB scale and the IMS were strongly and positively correlated with each other, and the ATB and EMS were modestly negatively correlated.

Time index. The time index was submitted to a 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (gender: female vs. male) \times 4 (prejudice description: decrease detectable vs. decrease undetectable vs. decrease detectable–decrease undetectable vs. decrease detectable–increase undetectable) between-subjects ANOVA. The analysis yielded an EMS main effect, $F(1, 185) = 6.97, p < .01$, and an IMS \times Prejudice Description interaction, $F(3, 185) = 3.04, p < .05$. These lower order effects were qualified by the IMS \times EMS \times Program Description interaction, $F(3, 185) = 2.71, p < .05$ (see Figure 3).

To decompose the three-way interaction and test our specific predictions, we examined the implications of participants' source of motivation to respond without prejudice within the prejudice description conditions. First, we examined the decrease detectable condition. A 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) between-subjects ANOVA revealed a main effect of EMS, $F(1, 185) = 4.96, p < .05$. Specifically, replicating Study 1, high EMS participants spent more time on the decrease detectable prejudice program than did low EMS participants.

Second, we examined the condition in which reducing detectable prejudice led to increases in undetectable prejudice. The 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) between-subjects ANOVA revealed a main effect of IMS such that the high IMS participants spent less time on the program than their low IMS counterparts, $F(1, 185) = 5.48, p < .03$. Although the IMS \times EMS interaction did not reach conventional levels of significance, $F(1, 185) = 2.37, p = .13$, low IMS–high EMS participants spent significantly more time on the program in this condition than did all other groups of participants, $t(46) = 3.06, p < .005$.

We examined the remaining two conditions together. We had predicted that high IMS–high EMS participants would respond similarly in the decrease undetectable condition and in the condition in which decreases in detectable prejudice led to decreases in undetectable prejudice. To test this prediction, we conducted a 2 (IMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (EMS: high vs. low) \times 2 (prejudice description: decrease undetectable vs. decrease detectable–decrease undetectable) between-subjects ANOVA. As expected, there were no effects involving

prejudice description, indicating that participants responded similarly to these conditions. The analysis yielded a main effect of IMS, $F(1, 185) = 4.69, p < .04$, and the predicted IMS \times EMS interaction, $F(1, 185) = 5.03, p < .03$. As expected, low EMS participants, regardless of their level of IMS, spent little time on the program ($t < 1$). In contrast, among the high EMS participants, those high in IMS spent far more time on the program than their low IMS counterparts, $t(58) = 2.81, p < .008$.

The previous analysis showed that participants responded similarly to the two decrease undetectable prejudice conditions. The key predictions for the current study, however, focused on how participants would respond when the long-term outcomes were framed as decreasing versus increasing undetectable prejudice. As expected, high IMS–high EMS participants spent more time on the program framed as decreasing undetectable prejudice than on the program framed as increasing undetectable prejudice, $t(45) = 2.06, p < .05$. The low IMS–high EMS participants, however, were more interested in the program framed as increasing undetectable prejudice than in the program framed as decreasing undetectable prejudice, $t(37) = 2.13, p < .05$. Also as expected, the other groups of participants did not respond differently to these conditions ($ts < 1$).

ATB analyses. As in the previous studies, analyses with ATB as a factor revealed no significant findings (e.g., Prejudice Description Condition \times ATB, $F < 1, p = .69$). When ATB was included in the primary analyses, it did not change the findings in form or magnitude. For example, the key Prejudice Description \times IMS \times EMS interaction remained significant, $F(3, 179) = 2.68, p < .05$.

Discussion

A primary purpose of this study was to provide evidence that individuals possessing both internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice prioritize being free of prejudice over hiding prejudice. Consistent with this notion and replicating our previous results, high IMS–high EMS participants showed interest in the program when it was described as decreasing undetectable and/or detectable prejudice. However, note that when decreasing detectable prejudice came at the cost of increasing undetectable prejudice over the long term, these participants spent little time on the program. The fact that they were willing to risk coming across as prejudiced in the interaction if it would mean they would increase prejudice that others could not be privy to in the long term, provides compelling evidence that they prioritize the intention to become free of prejudice over the intention to hide prejudice.

In addition, in the current study, low IMS–high EMS participants showed high levels of interest in the program when it led to decreases in detectable prejudice, even if the program also led to long-term increases in undetectable prejudice. We suggest that the increase in undetectable prejudice was not troubling to these participants because they lack personal motivation to reduce prejudice. Equally important, these participants showed little interest in the program when the short-term decrease in detectable prejudice was offset by the long-term cost of decreasing undetectable prejudice. We suggest that these participants risked coming across as prejudiced in the upcoming interaction even though they express a strong motivation to avoid appearing prejudiced to others because doing so was associated with unpalatable long-term out-

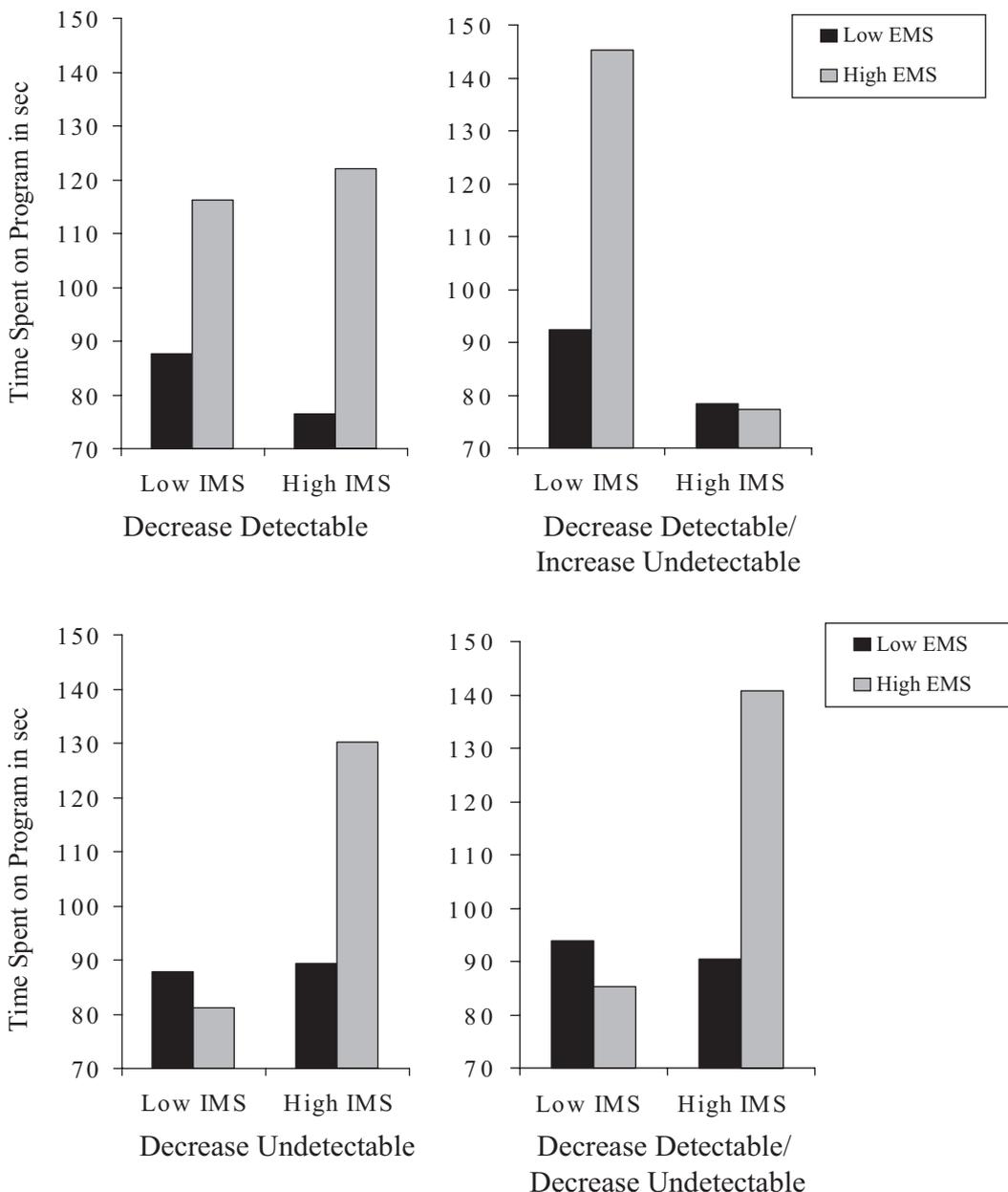


Figure 3. The amount of time participants spent on the program in Study 3 as a function of the prejudice description and the source of their motivation to respond without prejudice. IMS = internal motivation to respond without prejudice; EMS = external motivation to respond without prejudice.

comes that they do not sanction personally and cannot monitor (i.e., undetectable forms of prejudice).

This latter finding is consistent with Plant and Devine’s (2001) work showing that even though low IMS–high EMS individuals often conform to social pressure to respond without prejudice, they resent this pressure and respond with reactance when others attempt to change or constrain their personal race-related attitudes and beliefs. In the current study, in order to reduce detectable bias in the short term, these participants had to relinquish their personal freedom regarding their race-related responses in the long term.

The fact that they eschewed the program under these conditions indicates that their resentment of the restriction of their personal freedom may have outweighed their desire to avoid disapproval. In short, these participants appear to be open to actively controlling detectable prejudice only to the degree that they can maintain their prejudiced personal beliefs and retain control over their outcomes.

Across conditions, the findings for low EMS participants replicated the previous studies. Low EMS participants showed little interest in the prejudice reduction programs, presumably because they believe they do not need help to respond without prejudice

(high IMS–low EMS) or because they are not motivated to respond without prejudice (low IMS–low EMS).

General Discussion

The major goals of the present work were to explore whether White people who are motivated to respond without prejudice actively work to control prejudice and whether their efforts are guided by the intention to hide prejudice or the intention to be free of prejudice. To explore these possibilities, we developed a paradigm in which active prejudice control efforts reflect these alternative intentions. Across the three studies, we found evidence that White people who were motivated to respond without prejudice for either internal or external reasons and believed they had prejudice to be controlled actively worked to reduce prejudice in anticipation of an interracial interaction. However, consistent with our conceptual analysis, the regulatory strategies that were of interest to the motivated participants reflected the intentions theorized to underlie their motivation to respond without prejudice.

As anticipated, highly internally motivated participants showed interest in ridding themselves of both undetectable and detectable forms of prejudice. That is, those who believe that they have prejudice to regulate (i.e., high IMS–high EMS) expended effort to overcome detectable prejudice (Studies 1 and 3), undetectable prejudice (Studies 1, 2, and 3), and both forms of prejudice (Study 3). It is important to note, however, that when reducing detectable prejudice was associated with long-term increases in undetectable prejudice, high IMS–high EMS participants showed little interest in the program. Indeed, their choice to forgo the opportunity to hide prejudice, which presumably could facilitate a good interracial interaction, suggests that they perceived the cost to be too steep. These findings strongly support the contention that among high IMS–low EMS individuals, internal motivation is primary.

These studies also suggest that the high IMS–low EMS participants, who believe that they do not need help to respond without prejudice, possess the intention to be free of prejudice. When confronted with evidence of their own prejudice, they showed high levels of interest in a program that would reduce undetectable prejudice (Study 2). These findings support notion that highly internally motivated people's control efforts are guided by the intention to be free of prejudice.

In contrast to those internally motivated to respond without prejudice, as expected, low IMS–high EMS participants showed high levels of interest in the program if it decreased detectable prejudice (Studies 1 and 3) but showed little interest in the program if it decreased undetectable prejudice (Studies 1–3). Further, whereas their interest in the program was not diminished when the long-term outcome was described as increasing undetectable prejudice, they eschewed the program when the long-term outcome was described as decreasing undetectable prejudice. Increasing undetectable prejudice is not problematic for these individuals (i.e., it is unlikely to elicit disapproval), but reducing this form of prejudice is an outcome they actively avoided. This latter outcome is stunning in that spending time on the program would have been strategic in helping them to hide prejudice in the upcoming interaction. Finally, consistent with their general lack of motivation to respond without prejudice, low IMS–low EMS participants spent little time on the program, regardless of how the program was

framed and whether they were made aware of the presence of prejudice in their responses.

Taken together, the present findings have a number of theoretical and practical implications. First, this research takes an important step beyond previous work focusing on the outcome of presumed regulation (e.g., Devine et al., 2002) or regulatory efforts following expressions of prejudice (e.g., Monteith, 1993) to provide the first behavioral evidence that people who are motivated to respond without prejudice will actively and proactively work to overcome prejudice. Providing behavioral evidence of people's efforts is important because it demonstrates that people who are motivated to respond without prejudice do not only refrain from expressing prejudice in public situations or respond to instances of regulatory failure but also commit time and energy toward improving their future ability to regulate prejudice. Understanding whether, how, and when people will actively work to reduce their prejudice is critical for those interested in reducing prejudice in society. Although on one level these findings may seem intuitive, it becomes evident in considering the intricate pattern of responses across the current studies that the complexity of people's regulatory efforts are revealed only by considering the joint implications of both their level of internal and their level of external motivation to respond without prejudice. Appreciating these complexities is critical if we are going to understand the distinct and varying challenges that people face in their efforts to regulate prejudice.

These findings also provide valuable insight into White people's ongoing efforts to regulate prejudice toward Black people. The fact that White participants high in both internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice actively pursued a strategy to regulate prejudice toward Black people even if the strategy was likely to reduce only subtle, undetectable prejudice is encouraging. In addition, in Study 3, their lack of interest in reducing detectable prejudice when it was associated with long-term increases in undetectable prejudice reveals a focus on enduring, meaningful change. These people seem to be working hard to break the prejudice habit (Devine, 1989). Further, the fact that their regulation efforts are guided primarily by the intention to be free of prejudice is likely to have important implications for their likelihood of successful long-term prejudice reduction. That is, consistently pursuing the goal of being free of prejudice eliminates any negative implications of shifting goals across social situations. Consistent efforts across situations and over time should also increase the likelihood of long-term success.

Such consistency and dedication may be necessary to overcome prejudice. Recall that internally motivated participants who were low in external motivation were actually less likely to respond with prejudice across a range of implicit and explicit measures (e.g., Amodio et al., 2003; Devine et al., 2002). It may be, in part, their determination to overcome prejudice that helped them to develop the skills necessary to respond consistently with their personal beliefs. In addition, when these people were provided with evidence that they failed to meet their intention of being free of prejudice (Study 2), they showed elevated interest in the program that could reduce prejudice. From a practical standpoint, these findings highlight the value of increasing awareness of even subtle prejudice when encouraging prejudice reduction efforts among those personally dedicated to responding without prejudice (Monteith et al., 2001).

In contrast, participants who were primarily externally motivated to respond without prejudice were interested in the program only if they believed it would help them to hide their prejudice and, thereby, avoid social disapproval. This approach likely has implications for their long-term efficacy at controlling prejudice. These people are likely to make efforts to control prejudice only when in the presence of an audience assumed to be nonprejudiced (Plant & Devine, 1998). When not under direct surveillance, these people may freely express prejudice (Plant & Devine, 2001). Indeed, in Study 3, these participants refrained from the opportunity to eliminate overt prejudice in the short term if doing so was at the cost of reducing subtle prejudice for the long term. Even though these individuals will hide their prejudice to avoid social sanction in some circumstances, these findings indicate that they prioritize preserving their personal freedom to maintain their preferred racial attitudes. Thus, it seems unlikely that the low IMS–high EMS people’s efforts to regulate prejudice will result in true prejudice reduction in the long term. Their regulatory efforts seem focused on preserving their freedom to personally endorse prejudiced beliefs while, if possible, avoiding social sanction. This focus is fundamentally distinct from the high IMS–high EMS participants’ willingness to face social sanction if it would result in the long-term eradication of subtle prejudice.

Second, we believe the current work has important implications for people’s behavior and strategies in interracial interactions and, as a result, the quality of these interactions. Consider, for example, if one’s intention is to hide prejudice, then avoiding interracial interactions altogether would be an effective means to meet this intention. However, if one’s intention is to be free of prejudice, then avoiding the interaction would not be a viable approach. We further speculate that in ongoing interracial interactions, people would use behaviors and strategies that are suited to their intentions. For those primarily externally motivated, for example, their strategies may focus on avoiding topics of conversation that would put them at risk for exposing their prejudice. Constantly monitoring one’s behavior during interracial interactions may lead to awkward responses and, possibly, self-regulatory depletion (Richeson & Shelton, 2003). In contrast, we suspect that in interracial interactions, those who are internally motivated will focus on intimacy building behaviors (e.g., warm, interactive behaviors), the goal of which is to foster a positive interaction (Vorauer & Turpie, 2004).

Finally, the fact that the participants’ responses on a general attitudinal measure of prejudice did not predict their responses across the three studies indicates that people’s motivation to respond without prejudice is more than a proxy for attitudes. We believe motivation to respond without prejudice is a more proximal and, hence, better predictor of interest in regulating prejudice than their attitude. Thus, in order to know whether and when people are willing to put in effort toward prejudice reduction, it is not enough to know their attitudes toward the outgroup; rather, one must know the source of their motivation to respond without prejudice.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the findings across our studies were quite consistent with the predictions derived from our framework, there are clear limitations to the current work, and additional research is necessary to fully understand these issues. For example, all of the

participants in the current studies were undergraduates at state universities. In addition, we should note that the present research focused on only one type of prejudice (i.e., White people’s prejudice toward Black people). It will be important in future work to examine other types of prejudice and other populations. It is also worth noting that in the current work, participants were offered a means to eliminate racial prejudice that produced little cost and required minimal effort. The primary purpose of this somewhat artificial approach was to provide a clean measure of effort that would allow testing of theoretical hypotheses concerning the intentions guiding people’s regulatory efforts. To this end, the time measure was useful. In addition, the prejudice reduction program we used has been shown to reduce implicit prejudice for periods up to 2 days (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001). Nevertheless, future research should explore whether similar responses would be observed if the route to prejudice reduction was more time-consuming and effortful.

An alternative interpretation for participants’ efforts on the prejudice reduction program suggested by a reviewer is that participants are interested in proving to others or themselves that they have positive intentions. However, we took steps in our procedure to guard against such concerns (i.e., we assured privacy when completing the program). Further, this impression management interpretation does not account well for the fact that high IMS–low EMS participants showed interest in the program only when confronted with evidence that their behavior belied their intentions (i.e., regulatory failure). This interpretation also does not account for the behavior of low IMS–high EMS individuals who worked to regulate only detectable prejudice. It is not clear, for example, why such impression management concerns would not extend to conditions in which undetectable prejudice could be reduced.

One could also question whether the time spent on the prejudice reduction program and the IMS and EMS are measuring the same thing. We do not believe this is the case. Consider that the items assessing internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice do not mention the form of prejudice to avoid but focus on the reasons people try to respond without prejudice (e.g., because it’s important to the self-concept or to avoid negative reactions from others). Moreover, if the motivation scales and time spent on the program were simply measures of the same thing, we do not believe it would have been possible to obtain such nuanced patterns of interest in working the prejudice reduction program. In Study 2, for example, high IMS–low EMS individuals showed interest in reducing undetectable prejudice only following evidence of their implicit racial bias. In Study 3, when there were strings attached to the reduction of detectable forms of prejudice, participants showed selective interest in working on the program that was driven by the intentions they brought to the situation. For instance, low IMS–high EMS individuals eschewed the program when it would reduce prejudice in the short term and decrease subtle prejudice in the long term. This pattern could not be anticipated from knowing these participants EMS level alone.

Conclusions

The current work demonstrates that people who are motivated to respond without prejudice will actively work to reduce their prejudice. This finding is extremely promising as researchers increasingly discover that the regulation of prejudice requires and depletes energy

(e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2003) and that procedures to reduce stereotyping and prejudice require extensive time and effort (e.g., Devine, 1989; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hersen, & Russin, 2000). Identifying that some people will commit time and energy when given the option and that some will exert this effort even when others are unlikely to ever be privy to their efforts is heartening and indicates that if given the option, many people will commit themselves to the reduction of prejudice. These findings further bring to light the central role that individual differences in motivation to respond without prejudice play in the prejudice reduction process. The present findings clarify that people's approach to eliminating prejudice is influenced by the source of their motivation to respond without prejudice and the resulting intentions underlying their control efforts. We believe that being able to distinguish between these different intentions is critical because these intentions will have differential long- and short-term implications for the regulation of prejudice and the quality of interracial interactions.

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