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The Implications of Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice for Interracial Interactions

Babette M. Peruche



THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

**The Implications of Internal and External Motivation to Respond without
Prejudice for Interracial Interactions**

By

BABETTE M. PERUCHE

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The members of the Committee approve the thesis of Babette M. Peruche defended on July 25th, 2007.

E. Ashby Plant
Professor Directing Thesis

Jon Maner
Committee Member

Natalie Sachs-Ericsson
Committee Member

Approved:

Janet Kistner, Chair, Psychology

Joseph Travis, Dean, Arts and Sciences

The Office of Graduate Studies has verified and approved the above named committee members.

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ABSTRACT

The current work examined how the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice influences the strategies they use during an actual interracial interaction and what impact these strategies have on the quality of the interracial interaction. In interracial interactions, people motivated to respond without prejudice for internal, personal reasons (i.e., high IMS) should be focused on having a good interaction and therefore, should be more likely to exhibit approach-related behaviors (i.e., smiling) compared to low IMS people. In contrast, people highly motivated to respond without prejudice for external, social reasons (i.e., high EMS) should be focused on avoiding a bad interaction and therefore, should be more likely to exhibit avoidance-related behaviors (i.e., avoid eye contact) during an interracial interaction than low EMS participants. In the current study, participants had an interracial interaction with another person (a confederate). As anticipated, internally motivated people engaged in approach-related behaviors across various measures of approach and had more positive interactions than those less internally motivated. In contrast, externally motivated people engaged in avoidance-related behaviors across various measures of avoidance and had less positive interactions than those less externally motivated. These findings suggest that the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice can influence people's behavior during interracial interactions. The implications of these findings for intergroup relations are discussed.

The Implications of Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice for Interracial Interactions

In our diverse culture, interracial interactions are a common experience in most people's daily activities. Effective communication with others is a vital skill in the workplace and people's personal lives. Although, exhibiting bias toward Black people is strongly discouraged, prejudice still persists and many White people report feeling anxious about interacting with Black people (e.g., Stephan and Stephan, 1985; Plant and Devine, 2003; Britt, Boniecki, Vesio, Biernat, & Brown, 1996). White people who desire to respond without prejudice towards Black people may be genuinely interested in having positive interracial interactions because of personally important nonprejudiced beliefs. However, it is also possible that White people could be concerned about presenting themselves positively in interracial interactions in order to avoid appearing prejudiced and possibly eliciting social disapproval. The reasons *why* people are interested in having positive interracial interactions are likely to have important implications for the quality of their interactions. The current work considers how the source of White people's motivation to respond without prejudice may determine the strategies used when engaging in an interracial interaction with a Black person. In addition, this work examines the impact of these strategies on the quality of interracial interactions.

Previous research indicates that White people's motivation to respond without prejudice may be important for understanding how they regulate prejudice in interracial interactions. Plant and Devine (1998) argued that White people might be motivated to respond without prejudice towards Black people for internal reasons (e.g., responding without prejudice may be personally important to them). However, it is also possible for White people to be motivated to respond without prejudice towards Black people for external reasons (e.g., people do not want others to think they are racist). According to Plant and Devine, these sources of motivation to respond without prejudice are independent, such that White people can be motivated to respond without prejudice for both internal and external reasons, only one of these reasons, or they may not be motivated to respond without prejudice for either reason. People who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice indicate that responding without prejudice is vital to their self-concept, and they actively pursue prejudice reduction techniques even when they believe that others will not be aware of their efforts (Plant & Devine, 1998; 2006). People who are motivated to respond without prejudice for external reasons do so to avoid social disapproval and are

interested in maintaining public approval. Because of the differential implications of internal and external motivation for people's concerns for the control of racial bias, internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice are likely to have important and unique implications for the regulation of people's behavior during interracial interactions.

Recent work suggests that the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice has significant implications for the effectiveness of the regulation of racial bias (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, and Vance, 2002; Amodio, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2003). For example, Devine et al. (2002) discovered that people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice but not externally motivated are able to respond without prejudice across a variety of implicit (difficult to control) and explicit measures (more easily controllable). The source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice may not only be essential for the effectiveness of their regulatory efforts, but also the regulatory strategies people employ. Considering the more general motivation and self-regulation literature may help clarify the implications of the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice for the behaviors and cognitions people engage in to regulate their behavior (i.e. their regulatory strategies).

Previous literature regarding motivation more generally suggests that two motivational systems exist: one system focusing on approaching a desired end-state and the other focusing on avoiding an undesired end-state (Carver & Scheier, 1990). The motivation to approach a desired end-state leads to the pursuit of the end-state and a modification of the behavior to diminish the inconsistency between the current behavior and the desired end-state. The motivation to avoid an undesired end-state makes people more inclined to avoid performing actions that are anticipated to produce the undesired end-state and an adjustment of behavior to increase the discrepancy between current behavior and the undesired end-state.

Previous work by Higgins (1997) distinguishes between self-regulation with a promotion focus (tendency to engage in strategies aimed at approaching desirable outcomes) from self-regulation with a prevention focus (tendency to engage in strategies aimed at avoiding undesirable outcomes). People who have a chronic promotion focus consistently seek to attain a desired end-state compared to those who do not have a chronic promotion focus (Higgins, 1997). People with a prevention focus are concerned with avoiding an undesired end-state compared to those who do not have a prevention focus. (Higgins, 1997). Further, people with chronic ideal goals (e.g., hopes and aspirations) have a promotion focus, whereas people who have goals that

they feel that they ought to do (e.g., duties and responsibilities) have a prevention focus (Higgins, Shah, & Friedman, 1997).

The distinction between an approach (or promotion) focus versus an avoidance (or prevention) focus may be applied to people's responses in interracial interactions. In interracial interactions, some White people may be primarily concerned with approaching the desired end-state of responding consistently with their nonprejudiced standards. Other White people may be primarily concerned with avoiding the negative end-state of overt bias that may result in social disapproval. A central premise of the current work is that whether White people are primarily concerned with approaching a desired end-state of egalitarianism or avoiding an undesired end-state of overt bias in interracial interactions depends on the source of their motivation to respond without prejudice. The current work posits that internal motivation results in approach-related behaviors during interracial interactions whereas, external motivation results in avoidance-related behaviors during interracial interactions.

Consistent with the current premise, Plant and Devine (2006) examined the source of White people's motivation to respond without prejudice toward Black people and its implications for their regulatory concerns in interracial interactions. The primary assumption was that White people's source of motivation to respond without prejudice would determine their regulatory concerns for interactions with Black people. They reasoned that internal motivation to respond without prejudice would result in a desire to approach a desired end-state of egalitarianism because responding without prejudice is personally important for these individuals. They demonstrated that internally motivated people are more likely to report that they would pursue goals and strategies for interracial interactions focusing on approaching a positive interaction (e.g., smiling, being friendly). In contrast, because external motivation results in an interest in avoiding an undesired end-state of appearing prejudiced that would bring about disapproval from others, externally motivated individuals are likely to be concerned about avoiding behaviors that may elicit social disapproval. Plant and Devine's (2006) work also demonstrated that externally motivated people are more likely to report that they would pursue goals and strategies in interracial interactions that focus on avoiding overt bias (e.g., avoid using stereotypes).

Pilot Study

As an additional early step, a pilot study was conducted to examine how the source of White people's motivation to respond without prejudice relates to the strategies they use in

interracial interactions with Black people. One hundred undergraduate students completed a questionnaire packet that included the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales (i.e. IMS/EMS) (Plant and Devine, 1998). The packet also included open-ended questions where participants read scenarios and provided a written description regarding how they would respond in the scenarios. For example, the scenarios asked them to imagine that a professor gave an assignment that required them to interact and share information with a student of another race or imagine that a friend invited someone of another race on a lunch date. The participants' open-ended responses to the scenarios were coded for whether they were approach-related behaviors (e.g., encourage meaningful conversation, provide personal information) or avoidance-related behaviors (e.g., be careful of what I say during interaction, avoid too much smiling during the interaction). Of interest was whether participants' source of motivation to respond without prejudice influenced their tendency to anticipate pursuing approach-related or avoidance-related behaviors in the scenarios.

The findings from the pilot study revealed that people high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to generate goals and strategies for the hypothetical interracial interaction that reflected the desire to approach egalitarianism compared to those low in internal motivation. Specifically, people high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to report that they would introduce themselves, smile, maintain eye contact, encourage meaningful conversation, use humor, and make an effort to make their interaction partner feel comfortable during the course of the interracial interaction. The primary goals for these participants included focusing on having a good interaction, being friendly, and having a genuine interest in getting to know the other person.

The goals and strategies for participants high in external motivation to respond without prejudice suggested a desire to avoid social disapproval. Specifically, these participants reported that avoiding coming across as prejudiced was a fundamental concern for interracial interactions. These participants also reported that they would focus on not being viewed as biased toward Black people during the interaction.

The Current Work

The current work examined how the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice influences the strategies they use when engaging in an actual interracial interaction and

the impact these strategies have on the quality of the interracial interaction. Previous work indicates that internally motivated people are likely to endorse and generate goals and strategies for interracial interactions that focus on approaching a good interaction, whereas externally motivated people are likely to endorse and generate goals and strategies for interracial interactions that focus on avoiding overt bias. To date, however, there is no evidence demonstrating these goals and strategies in an actual interracial interaction. The current study examined whether internally motivated people actually engaged in approach-related behaviors and externally motivated people actually engaged in avoidance-related behaviors in an interracial interaction.

Another goal of this work was to examine how approach and avoidance goals and strategies influenced the quality of contact people experience during the course of an interracial interaction. We expected that the approach-related behaviors pursued by participants high in internal motivation were more likely to result in positive interactions as rated by both the participant and his/her interaction partner than the avoidance-related behaviors pursued by externally motivated people. Specifically, the results from the pilot study suggest that participants high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice are more likely to introduce themselves, smile, maintain eye contact, and encourage meaningful conversation during the course of an interracial interaction than those with low internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Approach-related behaviors should encourage a positive interaction and lead to a pleasant interaction for both the participant and the interaction partner. In contrast, the behaviors of people high in external motivation would likely result in an unpleasant interaction for both parties. Specifically, based on the pilot study, people high in external motivation were expected to exhibit behaviors such as to avoid eye contact, spend less time involved in an interaction, avoid sensitive topics, and engage in minimal self-disclosure. These avoidance behaviors would likely have negative implications for the course of interracial interactions.

Participants in the current study had an interracial interaction with another person (a confederate). Afterwards, participants completed a questionnaire packet examining the goals they had for the interaction, the strategies they used during the interaction, and the quality of the interaction. The confederates also completed a questionnaire assessing the quality of the interaction. These interactions were videotaped and were coded by undergraduate students for approach and avoidance-related behaviors.

Method

Participants

A total of 48 White undergraduate students (25 males and 23 females) from an Introductory Psychology class at Florida State University participated in this study. The mean age of participants was 18.9 years ($SD = .80$).

Procedure

Once participants arrived at the lab and provided consent, they were asked to supply demographics information including their race, gender, age, and current year in school. Next, participants were asked to complete the Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS) (Mattick & Clarke, 1998). All participants were then asked to take part in a 10-minute “getting to know you” interaction with a Black confederate. The experimenter brought the participant into a room in the lab where the interaction would take place. The confederate was already seated in the room. At this time, the experimenter introduced the participant and the confederate to one another and gave them the following directions:

Today we would like you to take part in a social interaction with another student. Your goal for this interaction will be to collect some basic information about your interaction partner.

Afterwards, the experimenter handed both the participant and the confederate a list of questions they could ask one another during the interaction (e.g., Where are you from? Why did you choose to come to Florida State University?). The experimenter explained that during the interaction one of them would be designated as the question selector and the other the question answerer. In a rigged drawing, the participants were always the designated question selector. As the question selector, participants were instructed to ask their partner questions in order to get to know their partner. After the partner answered the question, the participant was instructed to answer the same question. The participants were instructed to ask as many questions and talk as long as needed in order to get to know the partner. As the question selector, the participants were instructed to alert the experimenter when they felt that they were finished getting to know one another. The experimenter advised the participants that the interracial interaction would be videotaped. The videotape began just before the experimenter left the room. In order to measure

the length of time for the interaction, the experimenter began timing each interaction using a stopwatch as soon as he/she left the room.

After the interracial interaction, the participant went into the hallway to get the experimenter. At this time, the experimenter paused the stopwatch. The participant and confederate were then separated into different lab rooms and were asked to complete several questionnaires. The questionnaires assessed approach and avoidance behaviors during the interaction and the quality of the interaction.

Materials

Motivation to Respond without Prejudice. Participants completed measures of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (i.e., IMS/EMS scales, Plant & Devine, 1998) during a mass screening in their introductory psychology classes at the beginning of the academic semester. These scales were also included in the questionnaire the participants completed after the interaction. The IMS scale contained five items assessing whether people are internally motivated to respond without prejudice (e.g., “I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.”). The EMS scale contained 5 items, which measure whether people are externally motivated to respond without prejudice (e.g., “I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.”). For each of the items on the IMS and EMS, participants indicated their agreement on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). Participant scores were averaged within each scale after the reverse coding of items so that higher scores indicated stronger motivation (IMS $\alpha = .84$ and EMS $\alpha = .89$). Unfortunately, a relatively large percentage (21%) had not completed the IMS and EMS during the mass screening, so the IMS and EMS scores collected during the experimental session were used for all analyses.

Social Interaction Anxiety. Before the interracial interaction, participants completed the Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS) (Mattick & Clarke, 1998) which assessed general fears and avoidance behaviors concerning social interactions. These measures included 19-items that examined distress while initiating and maintaining conversations and anticipatory anxiety of interpersonal situations. Participants indicated their agreement on a scale ranging from 1 (*The statement is not at all characteristic of me.*) to 5 (*The statement is extremely characteristic of me.*).

Participant post-interaction Questionnaire. After the interaction, participants completed a measure intended to assess their experience during the interaction. Some of the questions examined their approach and avoidance-related behaviors during the interracial interaction. Using a 9-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) participants' responded to statements regarding the interaction. Twelve questions measured approach-related behaviors (e.g., "I smiled frequently during the interaction.") and were averaged to create an index of approach behaviors ($\alpha = .85$). Ten questions measured avoidance-related behaviors ($\alpha = .91$) and were averaged to create an index of avoidance behaviors (e.g., "I was concerned about making a bad impression."). Six of the questions from the post interaction questionnaire assessed overall quality of the interaction (e.g., "I enjoyed speaking to my partner during this interaction.") and were averaged to create a measure of interaction quality ($\alpha = .89$).

Confederate's post interaction questionnaire. Confederates received a questionnaire that included five questions assessing the quality of the interaction, evaluated by the confederate using a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*)) (e.g., Overall, I felt the interaction went smoothly."). These statements were combined to create the confederate's assessment of the overall quality of the interaction ($\alpha = .77$). In order to assess whether participants were perceived as being racially biased, confederates rated the perception of the racial bias of their interaction partner using a 9-point Likert-type scale. Five statements were created (e.g., "The participant appeared to be biased towards my ethnic group.") and averaged to create an index of perceived racial bias ($\alpha = .81$)

Videotaped Interaction. After the data were collected, it was important to ascertain how an objective observer would interpret the participant's behavior. A trained coder evaluated the videotaped interactions for the degree to which the participant engaged in approach behaviors overall and avoidance behaviors overall using a 9-point Likert-type scale 1 (*not at all*) to 9 (*very much*). A second coder rated a subset of the interactions. The coders' ratings of approach and avoidance were both moderately related to each other, $r(29)'s > .60, p's < .002$.

Results

Participants' high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) were expected to use approach-related behaviors during the interaction, which would result in a relatively pleasant interaction. In contrast, participants high in external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) were expected to respond with avoidance-related behavior during the

interaction, which was expected to result in a relatively awkward interaction. For each of the key dependent variables, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with participants' degree of IMS, EMS, and their interaction as well as participant gender included as predictors. Participants' interaction anxiety scores were also included as a covariate to control for individual differences in social anxiety that were unspecific to interracial interactions.

Length of interaction. The analysis of the length of the interaction revealed an effect of IMS, whereby high IMS participants elected to interact with the confederate for a longer length of time compared to low IMS participants $t(42) = 2.27, p < .03 (\beta = .34)$.

Participants' responses to interactions. An analysis of participants' self-reported approach behaviors revealed a tendency for those who were highly socially anxious in general to be less likely to report having used approach strategies during the interaction than people who were less socially anxious in general $t(42) = -2.63, p < .02 (\beta = -.34)$. In addition, there was an effect of IMS, with high IMS participants reporting they were more likely to have used approach strategies during the interaction than those low in internal motivation, $t(42) = 3.48, p < .002 (\beta = .46)$.

An analysis of participants' self-reported avoidant responses revealed a tendency for those who were highly socially anxious in general to be more likely to report they had used avoidance-related strategies during the interaction compared to those who were less socially anxious in general, $t(42) = 1.96, p < .06 (\beta = .21)$. In addition, the analysis of participants' self-reported avoidant responses revealed an effect of EMS, whereby people high in external motivation were more likely to report the use of avoidance-related strategies during the interaction compared to those low in external motivation, $t(42) = 5.96, p < .001 (\beta = .64)$. An effect of gender was found whereby female participants were less likely to report using avoidance strategies than male participants, $t(42) = -2.46, p < .02 (\beta = -.27)$.

An analysis of the quality of the interaction indicated that people high in internal motivation reported having a better interaction than those low in internal motivation, $t(42) = 3.82, p < .001 (\beta = .53)$. A follow-up analysis was conducted to determine if the reason why the high IMS participants had a better interaction was because they used more approach strategies than the low IMS participants. Thus, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with IMS, EMS, gender, and IAS entered in the first step and the approach strategies entered in the second step. Consistent with the analysis reported above, the first step revealed an effect of IMS such

that people high in internal motivation reported having a better interaction than those who were low in internal motivation. In the second step, approach strategies was a significant predictor of quality of the interaction, $t(42) = 6.41, p < .01 (\beta = .73)$. However, when approach strategies were included in the regression, internal motivation had a far weaker effect, $t(42) = 1.72, p < .10 (\beta = .19)$. A Sobel test indicated that approach strategies was a significant mediator of the effect of IMS on quality of the interaction, $z = 3.28, p = .001$. Thus, high IMS participants were more likely to report a positive interaction because they had reported using more approach strategies than people low in IMS.

Confederate's Responses to Interaction. For the quality of the interaction from the confederates viewpoint, results revealed that confederates who interacted with a participant who was high in IMS rated the interaction as more positive than confederates who interacted with participants who were low in IMS, $t(36) = 2.65, p < .01 (\beta = .40)$.

An analysis of the confederates' evaluation of the participants' racial bias revealed an effect of EMS such that confederates who interacted with a participant who was high in external motivation to respond without prejudice interpreted the behavior of the participant as being more biased compared to those who interacted with a participant that was low in external motivation, $t(42) = 2.09, p < .05 (\beta = .32)$.

Videotaped Interactions. An analysis of the coder's evaluation of participants' overall approach-related behaviors revealed that, as predicted, people high in internal motivation were rated as more likely to use approach-related behaviors during the interaction compared to those low in internal motivation, $t(36) = 3.54, p < .002 (\beta = .50)$. The analysis of the coder's evaluation of participants' avoidant behaviors revealed an unexpected effect of internal motivation, $t(30) = -2.31, p < .03 (\beta = -.38)$, such that the coders rated people high in internal motivation as less likely to utilize avoidant behaviors during the interaction compared to those low in internal motivation. In addition, the analysis revealed an effect of gender, $t(30) = -2.27, p < .04 (\beta = -.38)$, such that male participants were rated as less likely to use avoidant behaviors compared to female participants.

A follow-up analysis was conducted to determine if the reason why the confederates had a better interaction with high IMS participants was because high IMS participants engaged in approach-related behaviors during the interaction as rated by the confederate than the low IMS participants. This analysis paralleled the mediation analysis of the participants' responses to the

interaction but focused on the external observer ratings. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted with IMS, EMS, gender and IAS entered in the first step and the approach behaviors of the participant evaluated by a coder entered in the second step. Consistent with the analysis reported above, the first step revealed an effect of IMS such that confederates who interacted with people high in internal motivation reported having a better interaction than those who interacted with people low in internal motivation. In the second step, coded approach-related behaviors was a significant predictor of the confederates' perception of the quality of the interaction, $t(31) = 3.86, p < .002 (\beta = .61)$. When coded approach-related behaviors were included in the regression, internal motivation had a far weaker and no longer significant effect, $t(31) = 8.62, p < .40 (\beta = .13)$. A Sobel test indicated that coded approach-related behaviors was a significant mediator of the effect of IMS on quality of the interaction, $z = 2.61, p = .009$. Thus, confederates who interacted with high IMS participants were more likely to report a positive interaction because the participant engaged in more approach-related behaviors that were apparent to an outward observer as compared to participants low in IMS.

Discussion

In our culture, most people experience multiple interracial interactions daily and understanding how to communicate effectively with people of another race is critically important. Contemporary theories of prejudice suggest that some White people are concerned about responding with prejudice and are likely to strive to avoid prejudiced responses in interracial interactions (Crandall & Eshelman, 2003; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Monteith, 1993; Plant & Devine, 1998). The central premise of the current work was that the strategies people use to prevent the expression of prejudice in interracial interactions are influenced by the reasons underlying their motivation to respond without prejudice. Indeed, previous research has demonstrated that people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice are more likely to report that they would pursue goals and strategies for interracial interactions that focus on approaching a positive interaction (e.g., smiling, being friendly) (Plant & Devine, 2006). In contrast, individuals who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice are more likely to report being concerned with avoiding behaviors in interracial interactions that may elicit social disapproval from others (Plant & Devine, 2006). The goal of the current work was to extend previous work by examining whether White people's source of motivation to respond without prejudice would determine their regulatory strategies during real interracial interactions with

Black people and how these strategies may influence the quality of the interactions. Specifically, the present work investigated whether internally motivated people would actually engage in approach-related behaviors and whether externally motivated people would in fact engage in avoidance-related behaviors during an interracial interaction. Also of interest, was how White people's motivation to respond without prejudice and the strategies they employ during an interracial interaction would influence the quality of the interaction.

Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

The findings from the current study generally supported the hypotheses that the source of White people's motivation to respond without prejudice would determine their regulatory strategies for real interactions with Black people and that these strategies have an affect on the quality of the interaction. First, people high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to have longer interactions with the confederate than those who were low in internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Persisting in the interaction and spending more time with the interaction partner is consistent with the desire to approach a positive interaction and get to know the partner. Also, consistent with predictions, internally motivated participants were more likely to report that they used approach strategies (i.e., maintained eye contact, smiled, and shared personal information) during the interaction compared to those who were less internally motivated. It was expected that these types of behaviors would result in interactions that are more positive. Consistent with this idea, people who were high in internal motivation were more likely to rate the interaction positively compared to people low in internal motivation. Further, mediation analyses revealed that when the participants' self-reported approach strategies were included in the analysis predicting participants' evaluation of the interaction quality, the influence of internal motivation on quality was significantly reduced. These findings indicate that people high in internal motivation were more likely to report a positive interaction, in part, because they perceived that they had used more approach-related strategies than people low in internal motivation. This suggests that drawing upon the approach strategies in the interracial interaction may have helped those who are internally motivated to communicate effectively with an interaction partner of another race and enjoy the interaction.

Another aspect of this work considered how the interaction partners evaluated the quality of the interaction. Consistent with predictions, confederates who interacted with participants who were internally motivated to respond without prejudice reported that they enjoyed the interaction

more than confederates who interacted with participants who were low in internal motivation to respond without prejudice. This suggests that people high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice and their interaction partners both perceived the interaction as positive. To understand how an objective observer would interpret White people's behavior in the interaction, coders evaluated the interactions for approach and avoidance behaviors. Consistent with their self-ratings, internally motivated participants were coded as behaving in a more approach-related manner and interestingly, they were also rated as less avoidant than participants who were not internally motivated. The effect on avoidance may reflect a difficulty among the coders to distinguish between the presence of approach-related behaviors and the absence of avoidance-related behaviors. At the same time, this could also signify that the participants high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were only drawing off approach-related behaviors and purposely not drawing off avoidance-related behaviors.

Finally, mediation analyses were conducted to determine if the reason why the confederates had a better interaction with participants high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice was that participants high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to engage in approach-related behaviors compared to participants low in internal motivation to respond without prejudice. These analyses revealed that confederates who interacted with participants who were high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to report a positive interaction because the participant engaged in more approach-related behaviors as evaluated by an objective observer (i.e., a coder) than people who were low in internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

Consistent with the hypothesis that external motivation to respond without prejudice would be related to avoidant behavior in interracial interactions, people high in external motivation were more likely to report using avoidance strategies during the interaction compared to those low in external motivation to respond without prejudice. Interestingly, confederates who interacted with participants who were high in external motivation to respond without prejudice were more likely to interpret the behavior of the participants as being biased compared to participants low in external motivation to respond without prejudice. External motivation to respond without prejudice seems to have a paradoxical effect whereby focusing on avoiding prejudice may lead people high in external motivation to respond without prejudice to come

across as more racially biased to the confederate. This is certainly detrimental to one who is externally motivated to respond without prejudice. People who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice are actively trying not to appear biased, but most unfortunately, this is how their interaction partner perceived their behavior. It may be that the confederates construe avoidant behavior as suggestive of bias that their interaction partner is trying not to reveal. To the confederate, this would mean that their interaction partner is biased and is trying to perhaps hide it.

Implications of the Current Research

The current work suggests that people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice indicate that they make efforts to have positive interracial interactions, as do those who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice. However, both types of people utilize different strategies to meet their goal of having positive interracial interactions. People high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice have longer interracial interactions, which allow them more time to get to know outgroup members as individuals. Increased familiarity with multiple outgroup members may then provide those who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice with clear evidence that all people in that particular racial group are not similar, which may result in a decrease in the likelihood that stereotypes would be activated during interracial interactions. Even more importantly, people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice use approach-related strategies during interracial interactions that make the interaction more pleasant for all involved. As a result, the potential for those who are internally motivated to form friendships with people outside of their own group is strengthened. This is critically important because intergroup friendships are related to improving intergroup attitudes (e.g., Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Tropp and Pettigrew, 2000). Further, it is also important to consider that people who are more internally motivated to respond without prejudice may have better interactions because they practice more effective strategies over time (i.e., strategies that lead to more positive interactions) than people who are less internally motivated to respond without prejudice. Finally, it indicates that unlike people who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice, people who are internally motivated to respond without prejudice meet their goal of having a positive interaction, which may occur because they are focused on having a positive interaction.

In the current work, in contrast to the internally motivated, those who were externally

motivated to respond without prejudice used avoidance strategies in interracial interactions, which unfortunately led to them coming across as racially biased to their partners. Because their strategies in interracial interactions may not be successful, in some cases, externally motivated people may simply choose to avoid interracial interactions altogether. However, such avoidance does not facilitate the development of the skills necessary to have good interracial interactions, which may only exacerbate the desire to avoid intergroup contact. Further, if people who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice avoid interracial interactions, it may lead outgroup members to feel as if they are being avoided.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although participants in this work were involved in a real interracial interaction, future work should examine people's responses during more natural interactions compared to interactions with a confederate. In the current work, confederates were given a list of answers that corresponded with the questions the participants were allowed to ask. This certainly helped with consistency across interactions, however, interracial interactions are complex, and both parties in a dyadic interaction bring various emotional states and cognitions to the interaction. Thus, it will be important for future work to tease apart the complexities of interracial interactions by allowing people to interact in the most natural setting allowed for in a lab setting.

Another limitation of the study was that participants' responses to the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales were collected at the study session. This is problematic because being in an interracial interaction may influence how participant's respond questions about their motivations to respond without prejudice. Although the internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice scales are not influenced by social desirability and have been shown to be stable individual differences (Plant & Devine, 1998), ideally it would have been helpful to collect this information well before the participants came into the lab. In addition, because these data were collected during the experimental session, it is difficult to make any solid claims regarding causality.

The current work revealed that using approach strategies resulted in positive interactions. In the future, it would be important to ascertain whether it is possible to train White people to use approach strategies during interracial interactions. Perhaps training White people to reframe their approach to interracial interactions and providing them with practical concrete strategies to use in interracial interactions would increase the possibility that future interactions would be

positive. In addition, White people who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice may not realize that they are coming across as biased. Therefore, it may be helpful to give White people who are high in external motivation the opportunity to read an evaluation of their behavior as it was interpreted by their interaction partner or watch a video of themselves in an interracial interaction. Afterwards, it may be helpful to discuss some of the behaviors that they see and then explain other strategies that could be used during an interracial interaction (i.e., approach strategies) that would increase the likelihood of having a positive interaction. It may be that once externally motivated people are made aware of their behaviors, receive unambiguous feedback, and learn specific strategies to employ, that they may opt to use strategies that may help to improve future interracial interactions.

Another important issue to consider is how this work can help improve interracial interactions for outgroup members. With outgroup members, explaining that White people can be motivated to respond without prejudice for different reasons and that these motivations lead to different behaviors in interracial interactions may help them understand that what may appear to be biased behavior by an externally motivated interaction partner is truly not biased behavior. Those who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice do not want to come across as biased but because they use avoidance strategies their behavior can sometimes be interpreted as such. Being interpreted as biased is undesirable and completely counter to their goals for the interaction. Gaining a greater understanding about the source of people's motivation to respond without prejudice may help outgroup members increase their accuracy about the intentions of an interaction partner and allow them to develop strategies of their own to improve their interracial interactions.

It may also be helpful to outgroup members to watch videotaped interactions of White people who are internally motivated and of White people who are externally motivated so they could actually observe some of the differences in White peoples' behaviors during interracial interactions. Providing minority group members with information about internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice may help to increase peoples' understanding of the dynamics of interracial interactions regardless of whether they may be a target of prejudice or if they are somebody who does not want to respond with prejudice towards others.

Conclusion

This work examined whether the reasons why people are interested in having positive interracial interactions have important implications for how people they respond in these interactions and the quality of interracial interactions. The present findings indicate that the strategies people employ during dyadic interracial interactions can influence the quality of the interactions for both people involved. Improving our understanding of how and why some people behave in different ways during interracial interactions may serve to provide valuable information so that people may improve their intergroup communication skills, which are essential both in the workplace and people's personal lives.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author is originally from Miami, Florida and currently resides in Crystal River, Florida. The author earned a Bachelor's of Science degree from Florida State University in Psychology and graduated with honors in 2002. Several professional papers in the area of stereotypes and prejudice and the teaching of psychology have been published by the author.