
Discordant Evaluations of Blacks Affect Nonverbal Behavior

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Previous research suggests that automatic prejudice directly manifests in nonverbal behavior. The authors offer a more complex picture of the relation between automatic processes and nonverbal behavior by suggesting that any discomfort that appears in nonverbal behavior stems not from negative attitudes per se but from discordance between automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks and the specific evaluations being expressed. White participants for whom estimates of automatic prejudice were available provided videotaped evaluations of several individuals, including two matched Black and White males. Discordance between general racial attitudes and evaluations of specific targets manifested in discomfort-related nonverbal behavior. Moreover, naïve Black judges, but not White judges, doubted the sincerity of individuals characterized by discordance. The nature of the nonverbal “leakage” that automatic prejudice produces is discussed.

Keywords: *intergroup anxiety; implicit social cognition; prejudice; nonverbal behavior*

Intergroup relations research has largely focused on situations where there is contact—interaction—between members of different groups (e.g., Pettigrew, 1986). Indeed, contact is a critical determinant of intergroup attitudes and conflict (Allport, 1954), and it is in these contexts where prejudice is often reinforced or reduced. However, communication regarding members of out-groups involves talking not only *to* them but also *about* them. Questions about what happens when someone publicly talks about someone of a different group have been largely ignored in the literature, and the present research seeks to redress this imbalance.

When publicly discussing such complex topics as another person, spoken words compose only part of one’s total communication. Nonverbal behavior—from facial expressions to body posture—is an additional and rich source of information (DePaulo & Friedman, 1998). Interestingly, spoken words and nonverbal behavior can send conflicting signals. In the present research, we examine the intertwined channels of verbal and nonverbal behavior when discussing members of out-groups—specifically, when Whites talk about Blacks. The question we address is this: What is the nature of the information conveyed in the nonverbal channels when Whites talk about Blacks? We argue that nonverbal behavior might take on one of at least two distinct meanings. We elaborate each below, beginning with insight derived from research on actual Black–White interactions.

Automatic Prejudice and Interracial Interactions

The literature involving actual interactions between Blacks and Whites indicates that verbal and nonverbal channels may not cohere (e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). The hypothesis underlying much of this work, which we call the “direct leakage” hypothesis, is that automatic racial prejudice appears in more spontaneous, less regulated behavior

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(e.g., eye contact), and more controlled processes appear in more deliberate behavior (e.g., spoken words). In a typical design, researchers assess both automatic and controlled forms of prejudice and then assess the impact of each on race-related judgments and behavior. For example, Dovidio and colleagues (1997) found that Whites with more negative automatically activated attitudes exhibited less eye contact and more blinking in an interview with a Black confederate. Explicit assessments of attitudes, on the other hand, predicted Whites' juristic judgments in a simulated trial, a situation where controlled processes can have a greater effect.

Other research has yielded support for the notion of a relatively direct mapping of automatic prejudices onto less controllable nonverbal behavior. Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, and Williams (1995) demonstrated that a Black experimenter's impressions of participants related to their automatically activated racial attitudes as assessed by a priming measure: More negative impressions were formed of more prejudiced participants. Priming measures of prejudice against Blacks also corresponded with naïve judges' estimates of a White's friendliness when interacting with a Black (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002) and with the amount of physical contact a White made when sharing a pen with a Black partner (Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). McConnell and Leibold (2001) reported evidence that an Implicit Association Test measure of racial prejudice predicted less speaking time and more speech errors among Whites in an interracial interaction (also see Bessenoff & Sherman, 2000).

It is important to note that in all of this research, researchers assume that it is one's racial attitude per se—racial antipathy—that manifests in nonverbal behavior. Indeed, the term *leakage* refers to how affect is thought to appear in nonverbal channels, as though our bodies drip affect like a sink drips water. This assumption also provides a clear interpretation of differences observed in nonverbal behavior as a function of automatic prejudice (e.g., eye contact). For example, if a prejudiced White exhibits less eye contact than a nonprejudiced White with a Black interaction partner, it is implied that reduced eye contact reflects negativity; less eye contact is assumed to *mean* something negative. The implication for the present research is clear: If talking *about* a Black target is similar to talking *to* that individual, then we would predict that automatic prejudices should leak into the nonverbal channels when Whites publicly evaluate Blacks.

Further support for this prediction can be found in research demonstrating remarkable correspondence between nonverbal behavior when talking to a person versus when talking about the person. Such correspondence has been observed with respect to tone of voice among therapists talking to or about their clients (Rosenthal, Blanck, & Vannicelli, 1984) and with

respect to the nonverbal behavior of teachers talking to or about their students (Babad, Bernieri, & Rosenthal, 1989). Thus, talking to and talking about an individual appear to yield similar nonverbal behaviors.

In sum, there is evidence to suggest that talking about a Black target might be very similar to talking to a Black target. Coupled with findings from research on actual interracial interactions, it would be reasonable to predict that Whites' automatic prejudices toward Blacks would directly influence their nonverbal behavior while publicly evaluating a Black target. We initiated this experiment with exactly this hypothesis in mind. However, as we began the lengthy and time-consuming task of coding the nonverbal behaviors, another possibility occurred to us. Publicly evaluating a member of an out-group may have some unique qualities, ones that lead to the very different set of predictions we describe next.

Discordance Between Specific and General Evaluations

Interactions can involve a number of different topics and goals and, with the exception of employment settings and the like, do not necessarily involve overt evaluations of one of the interaction partners. That is, one can interact with someone without consciously evaluating him or her. In the research described above, interactions between Blacks and Whites did not involve goal-directed evaluations of one of the interaction partners. For example, the topic of conversation in Fazio et al.'s (1995) and McConnell and Leibold's (2001) research involved the experiment participants had just completed. Publicly talking about another person, on the other hand, often includes an evaluative component. When publicly evaluating an individual of another race in particular, a unique possibility arises—in particular, that one's evaluation of the specific individual might not agree with one's evaluation of the individual's race. In other words, a White's evaluation of a specific Black may be discordant with his or her attitude toward Blacks in general (Olson & Fazio, 2003; Sherman, Beike, & Ryalls, 1999); someone with a negative attitude toward Blacks might find a specific Black to be quite likeable, and someone with a positive attitude toward Blacks might happen to dislike a specific Black.

Discordance between one's general racial attitudes and one's evaluations of a specific individual has the potential to occur whenever racial attitudes (and stereotypes) are not the sole determinant of one's impressions of that individual. Given that impressions are typically driven by a combination of category-level and individuating information, discordance is probably not uncommon. According to the continuum model of impression formation (Fiske & Neuberg, 1999), to the extent that individuating information about a given social target is

available, category-level information (e.g., one's racial attitudes and accompanying stereotypes) will have less impact on one's impression. A prejudiced individual might, for example, learn that a particular Black individual is intelligent and warm, which might steer his or her impression in a direction that is more positive than his or her racial attitude would imply. Similarly, a nonprejudiced White might arrive at a relatively negative impression of a Black target on learning that the target was arrested for DUI. In short, racial attitudes can be a powerful influence on one's first impressions, but they certainly are not the only influence (e.g., Olson & Fazio, 2004). Thus, discordance between general and specific evaluations becomes increasingly likely as individuating information about the Black target is acquired.

We argue that the consequences of such discordance can be likened to those of cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance would be evoked in such situations because one finds oneself providing a public evaluation of a Black individual that runs counter to one's general racial attitudes. Ample evidence from the dissonance research tradition indicates that negative affect results from these discrepancies—people tend to not like it when they find themselves behaving in a way that is inconsistent with their attitudes (Cooper & Fazio, 1984; Stone & Cooper, 2001). Thus, discordance between evaluations of a specific Black and one's general attitudes toward Blacks might produce an affective consequence similar to the negative affect experienced through cognitive dissonance. People may wish to conceal such discomfort, but because nonverbal behavior is less controllable, we would expect that discordance-induced discomfort would appear in nonverbal channels.

It is worth reiterating that in the case of discordance, negative nonverbal behavior would be based not on racial antipathy but on the mismatch between one's evaluation of a specific Black and one's general attitudes toward Blacks. What this implies about the meaning of nonverbal behavior in such situations is that the nature of the information leaked into the nonverbal channels might differ from that implied by the research on interracial interactions. Instead of being a direct channel for racial prejudice, variations in certain nonverbal behaviors would reflect discomfort in the immediate situation as a result of the discordance.

Competing Predictions

We have derived two competing predictions regarding the meaning of nonverbal behavior in situations where Whites publicly evaluate Blacks. Interracial interaction research suggests that there should be a direct correspondence between Whites' prejudice—particularly automatic prejudice—and nonverbal behavior.

From this view, we would predict that participants with a greater degree of automatic prejudice toward Blacks should emit more negative nonverbal behavior when talking about a Black (e.g., reduced looking, increased speech errors). On the other hand, because public evaluations create the potential that one's evaluation of a specific Black individual might not agree with one's evaluation of that individual's race, the possibility of discordance-induced discomfort arises in these situations. From this perspective, we would predict that it is the interaction between one's evaluation of a specific Black and one's automatic prejudice toward Blacks in general that would lead to more negative nonverbal behavior. Specifically, greater nonverbal negativity should be apparent when one's general racial attitudes mismatch one's evaluations of the specific Black target.

To test these hypotheses, we assessed participants' automatic prejudice toward Blacks in general using a well-validated priming measure of automatically activated racial attitudes (Fazio et al., 1995) in an initial laboratory session. Participants returned for a second session where they evaluated two matched Black and White candidates for a volunteer position before completing videotaped public evaluations of each. A number of nonverbal behaviors were coded from the videotapes. Research on interracial interactions leads to the prediction that automatic prejudice will directly predict nonverbal behaviors. The discordance hypothesis predicts a crossover interaction between automatic prejudice and evaluations of the particular Black in predicting nonverbal indicators. The following experiment tests these competing hypotheses.

METHOD

Participants

Of several hundred students at a large university who took part in a mass survey to meet course requirements, many were asked to participate in two experiments for monetary compensation (\$20). Completing the two sessions were 55 females and 16 males (2 participants failed to complete the second session). Because of equipment malfunctions, data derived from videotapes, transcripts, and audiotapes were unavailable for 4, 5, and 8 participants, respectively.

Materials and Procedure

Session 1. Participants were contacted through information provided in the mass survey and asked to participate in a pair of experiments for monetary compensation. The first ostensibly concerned "word meaning as an automatic

skill.” In actuality, the participants were submitted to the priming measure of automatically activated racial attitudes (Fazio et al., 1995).

The procedure consists of five phases. In Phase 1, participants were instructed to respond to the valence of adjectives (e.g., *awful*, *exciting*) on a screen by pressing a key labeled “good” or “bad” as quickly and accurately as possible. Twelve adjectives of each valence were presented twice randomly throughout two blocks.

Phase 2 ostensibly consisted of a face-learning task, where participants were instructed to attend to 16 faces (yearbook-style color photos) that briefly appeared on the screen. Each face appeared twice at random. Phases 3 involved a recognition test for the faces presented in Phase 2, where participants indicated whether they recognized the faces presented by pressing keys labeled “yes” and “no.”

Phase 4, the actual priming phase, was described to participants as the combination of Phases 2 and 3. On a given trial, a prime was presented for 315 ms, followed by a 135-ms interval, followed by the target adjective (2.5 seconds Inter-Trial Interval [ITI]). As in Phase 1, participants were to identify the valence of each adjective by pressing the appropriate key as quickly as possible. Participants were also told to attend to the faces because a recognition task would follow. Primes consisted of 48 yearbook-style color photos of Blacks, Whites, Asians, and Latinos and were different from those used in the first phases. Participants completed four blocks of 48 trials each. Critical trials involved the presentation of 16 Black and 16 White faces that were matched by gender and target. Phase 5 bolstered the cover story via the administration of the face recognition task participants were led to expect.

Sessions lasted approximately 45 minutes, after which each participant scheduled a time for the second session. They were informed that the second session involved videotaping and were given the option of participating in an alternative experiment. Participants were then thanked and dismissed.

Session 2. Participants returned for the second session between 2 and 5 weeks later (only 2 participants failed to complete the second session). On individually arriving at the lab, participants were shown to a room containing a table and chair at one end and a video camera at the other. Participants were given the option of not being videotaped.¹

Participants were told that the experiment involved group processes and that our goal was to better understand committees that reviewed applications for graduate schools and grant proposals. They were told that “primary reviewers” provide detailed assessments and that “secondary reviewers” provide shorter evaluations

to the greater committee. Participants were told that they were assigned the role of secondary reviewer and that they would be providing written and oral evaluations of four applications to the Peace Corps. They were also told that their videotaped evaluations would be shown to other participants who would play the role of the committee members.

Four application packets were assembled. The packets were contained within a single folder, on the inside cover of which was an “official” statement by the Peace Corps summarizing the rather stringent requirements for Peace Corps acceptance and a containing a description of the “grueling but gratifying” nature of their work.

Each application consisted of four pages. Page 1 provided the applicant’s demographic information, high school and college extracurricular activities, grade point averages, academic awards, volunteer or community activities, employment history, and a race-revealing color photograph. Page 2 was a college transcript, page 3 was a personal statement regarding why the applicant wished to join the Peace Corps, and page 4 was a summary report of a personal interview supposedly conducted by a Peace Corps official. It included ratings of the applicant’s general appearance, communication skills, warmth, expressiveness, intelligence, and knowledge of the Peace Corps, followed by short written statements describing the applicant’s criminal history, if applicable, whether the applicant was interested in a particular area of the Peace Corps, and whether the applicant possessed the requisite skills for that area.

Applicants 1 and 2 were included as practice for the participants. Applicant 1, a White female, was clearly of superior quality, and Applicant 2, also a White female, was clearly of low quality. Applicants 3 and 4 were the critical targets. Each was male, one was White (“Jason Heinrich”) and the other was Black (“Jamal Wills”). Their application packets were designed to appear neither strong nor weak. Both had average grades, a few volunteer activities, and some work experience. Their personal statements were written without errors but not very articulately, and the interviewer evaluated them both as average. Pilot testing verified that the critical Black and White applicants were judged as equivalently qualified.²

Participants individually evaluated each applicant, first taking unlimited time to review the application packet. They then completed a 10-item evaluation of the applicant, which consisted of estimates of the applicant’s honesty, likeability, trustworthiness, competence, intelligence, motivation, and concern for others. The last three questions were “Would you recommend the applicant?” “How does the applicant rank compared to other applicants?” and “Does the applicant seem likely to succeed?” All responses were made on a 7-point scale.

Next, participants were given unlimited time to prepare before completing the videotaped evaluation. In addition, a list of questions was provided as a tool to help organize the presentation, which invited participants to talk about the applicant's strong and weak qualities, academic performance, community activities, and so on. When the participant was ready, the video camera was switched on, and he or she provided an oral summary of the applicant. The participant's statement was also recorded onto an audio tape.

The order of presentation of Applicants 3 and 4 was counterbalanced such that half of the participants evaluated the Black applicant first, and half evaluated the White applicant first. In addition, the content of these application packets was counterbalanced across order. On completing the evaluation of all 4 applicants, the participant was thanked, debriefed, paid, and dismissed.

RESULTS

Data Preparation

Attitude estimates. Baseline latency data were gathered from the initial adjective connotation task and averaged across trials and then subtracted from response latencies to those same adjectives during the priming phase to produce facilitation scores (latencies were reciprocally transformed). A Race of Photo (Black vs. White) \times Valence of Adjective (Positive vs. Negative) within-subjects analysis of variance on the facilitation scores revealed an interaction indicative of prejudice, $F(1, 69) = 7.47, p < .01$. Participants were quicker to identify the connotation of positive adjectives following White ($M = -0.023, SD = 0.088$) relative to Black ($M = -0.011, SD = 0.094$) primes, $t(69) = 2.77, p < .01$, and they were somewhat quicker to identify the valence of negative adjectives following Black ($M = -0.034, SD = 0.087$) relative to White ($M = -0.027, SD = 0.094$) primes, $t(69) = 1.35, p = .18$. This interaction was individually computed for each participant, and its effect size was used as an indicator of the participant's attitude, where negative values indicate a relatively negative attitude toward Blacks, $M = -0.081, SD = 0.215, t(71) = -3.22, p < .01$.

Specific evaluations. Responses to the 10 evaluation items were combined to form a single mean for each of the 4 applicants (α values = .90 to .94). Comparisons between these means conformed to the results of pilot testing. Importantly, there was no difference between the applicants' evaluations of the Black and White applicants, $t < 1$. The difference between participants' mean evaluations of the Black versus the White applicant was computed such that higher scores indicate a

greater preference for the Black applicant. This specific evaluation index was used in later analyses.

Nonverbal coding. The first 25 seconds of participants' public evaluations served as the "thin slice" of interest. Two research assistants, blind to applicant race, coded the slices. Coded behaviors included the frequency of self-touching (manipulation of any part of the body with the hand or hands; e.g., scratching head and face, playing with hair, and kneading the hands), total time spent looking at the camera, and total time spent smiling (correlations between coders ranged from .54 to .79). The mean of their estimates was computed for each variable for each video clip. Using the audiotapes, two coders counted the number of speech interruptions (initiating a word without finishing it or abandoning a sentence and beginning a new one) and the number of words spoken. Correspondence between these coders was also good (r values = .49 to .94), and so the mean of their estimates was computed for each clip. Total time spent talking about each applicant was computed for each clip using the audio tapes. A speech rate variable was then computed by dividing the total amount of time each participant spent talking about an applicant by the number of words spoken in that time.

Difference scores were computed for each of these variables such that higher numbers reflected relatively more of the behavior when talking about the Black relative to the White applicant. None of these variables differed from zero (all t values < 1.2 , all p values $> .2$), indicating that participants did not exhibit differences in these nonverbal behaviors as a simple function of applicant race.

Preliminary Analyses

We were interested in whether attitude estimates predicted participants' specific evaluations, and regression analyses revealed that they did, $b = .27, t(71) = 2.72, p < .05$. Racial attitudes appeared to guide impressions of the Black relative to the White applicant—those with more positive racial attitudes reported more positive evaluations of the Black applicant relative to the White. It is important to note that although the estimate of automatic attitudes predicted evaluations, the majority of the variance in participants' specific evaluations remained to be explained.

Primary Analyses

Our primary interest was in testing the two competing hypotheses described in the introduction. According to the direct leakage hypothesis derived from research on interracial interactions, we would predict a direct

relationship between racial attitudes and nonverbal behavior. According to the discordance hypothesis, we would predict an interaction between racial attitudes and specific evaluations in predicting nonverbal behavior. To test these hypotheses, multiple hierarchical regressions including racial attitudes and specific evaluations, and their interaction terms, were conducted predicting each verbal and nonverbal measure.

Contrary to the predictions of the direct leakage hypothesis, simple regression coefficients of racial attitudes predicting self-touching, speech interruptions, looking, smiling, and talking time did not differ from zero, t values < 1 . In contrast, consistent support was found for the discordance hypothesis. First, the two-way Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction was apparent for self-touching frequency, $t(67) = 3.30$, $p < .01$ (Figure 1; the figure displays predicted self-touching based on scores one standard deviation above [high] and below [low] the mean of the attitude estimate and private evaluations). More self-touching was evident among individuals whose racial attitude estimates were incongruent from their specific evaluations of the Black relative to the White applicant. In other words, those with relatively negative racial attitudes who relatively positively viewed the Black applicant self-touched more, as did individuals with relatively positive racial attitudes who relatively negatively viewed the Black applicant. Analyses of simple slopes confirmed that at 1 standard deviation below the mean of the specific evaluations difference score, racial attitudes positively related to self-touching, $b = .42$, $t(67) = 2.02$, $p < .05$, but at 1 standard deviation above the mean, that relationship was negative, $b = -.57$, $t(67) = 3.29$, $p < .01$.

The same Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction appeared regarding speech interruptions, $t(63) = 2.26$, $p < .05$. Discordance between general racial attitudes and evaluations of the Black applicant lead to a greater number of speech interruptions (Figure 2). Again, analyses of simple slopes indicated that at 1 standard deviation below the mean of the specific evaluations difference score, racial attitudes were positively related to speech interruptions, $b = .24$, $t(63) = 1.70$, $p = .07$, but the relationship was negative at 1 standard deviation above the mean, $b = -.22$, $t(63) = 1.60$, $p < .10$.

Speech rate showed a pattern of results consistent with the discordance effect in that individuals whose racial attitudes mismatched their evaluations of the specific Black talked about the Black at a faster speech rate, although it did not reach significance, $t(63) = 1.42$, $p = .16$. Again, contrary to the predictions of the direct leakage hypothesis, there was no direct effect of racial attitudes on speech rate.

No effects were found for looking and smiling. Neither the regression coefficient of racial attitude nor the Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction

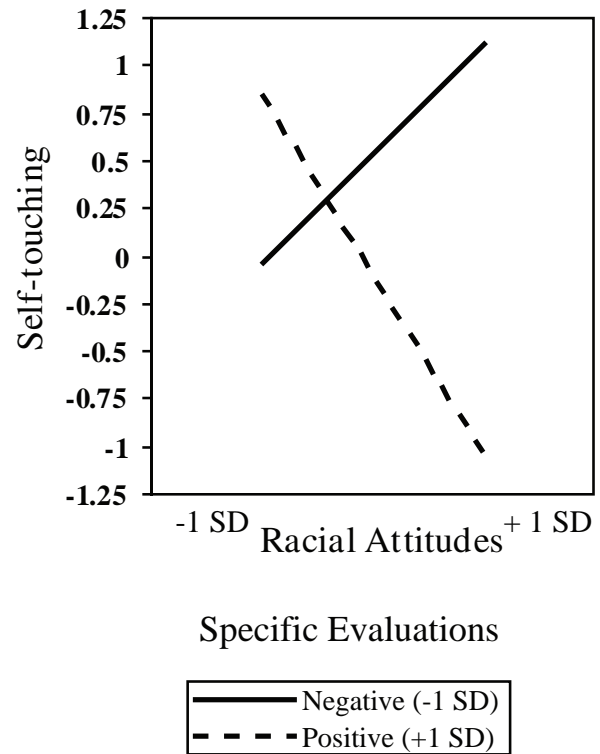


Figure 1 Differences in self-touching for the Black versus the White as a function of differences in the evaluations of the specific applicants and general racial attitude estimates.

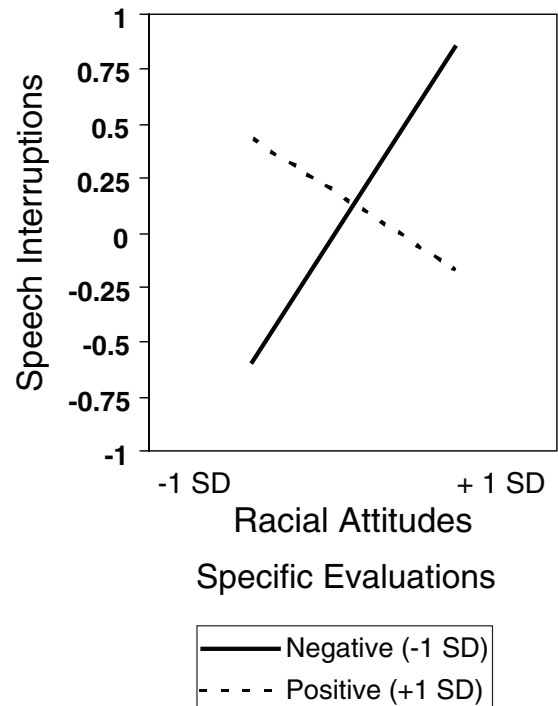


Figure 2 Differences in speech interruptions for the Black versus the White as a function of differences in the evaluations of the specific applicants and general racial attitude estimates.

predicting looking and smiling differed from zero, t values < 1.1 .³ Finally, no effects were apparent for time spent talking about the Black relative to the White.

DISCUSSION

We tested competing predictions—one suggesting that racial antipathy directly leaks into nonverbal channels and the other suggesting that discordance between general attitudes toward Blacks and evaluations of a specific Black creates discomfort, which in turn appears in nonverbal channels. The discordance hypothesis was supported, but the direct leakage hypothesis was not. Specifically, we found that discordance between automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks and specific evaluations of the individual Black applicant related to more self-touching and more speech interruptions when discussing the Black applicant. Thus, it appears that the pattern of nonverbal behavior we observed is not simply the result of negative racial attitudes leaking into the nonverbal channels, as previous research has argued. Instead, we believe that it is most accurately described as discomfort in the immediate situation, in this case from discrepant evaluations of Blacks as a group and the particular Black target under consideration. It is important to note that discordance-induced discomfort was not simply driven by individual differences in intolerance of inconsistency, ambiguity, or any sort of personal volatility, as the patterns we observed in participants' nonverbal behavior were driven by differences between the Black and White candidates, which controls for such individual differences.⁴ It is also worth noting that our participants did not, as a whole, exhibit different behaviors simply as a function of target race.

The collection of nonverbal behaviors that appeared to characterize discordant evaluations—fidgeting and speech dysfluencies—seems to intuitively connote discomfort, but we did not provide direct evidence that discomfort is the emotion underlying the behaviors. Nonverbal behavior can indicate a number of things depending on the circumstances (Mason, Tatkow, & Macrae, 2005). Eye contact, for example, can indicate dominance, but it can also indicate interest, respect, or liking (for a review, see DePaulo & Friedman, 1998). Despite our attempts to capture what we thought would be the best indicators of discomfort, there is no dictionary of nonverbal behaviors that defines each in terms of the emotion it signifies. This ambiguity led us to pursue a follow-up experiment in which we rely on naïve judges' impressions so as to eliminate the need to interpret the meaning of specific nonverbal behavior ourselves.

In considering the use of judges' impressions, however, an important question occurred to us. Who should the

judges be? Evidence suggests that Blacks might be better at detecting race-related bias in Whites. First, research on social power indicates that people in subordinate positions (as Blacks are accustomed to being) pay closer attention to those in power than those in power pay to subordinates (e.g., Fiske & Depret, 1996). More directly related to the present purposes, a recent meta-analysis found that minority members are better at judging the emotional expressions of majority members than the reverse (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). Finally, Richeson and Shelton (2005) demonstrated that Black judges were superior to White judges in detecting racial prejudice among Whites in interracial interaction settings.

But is it racial prejudice per se that Black judges are superior at detecting in these situations? The direct leakage hypothesis would suggest so. On the other hand, it may be that Black perceivers are just generally sensitive to any discomfort exhibited by Whites. If so, they may be detecting not racial attitudes but Whites' discomfort in the immediate situation, which itself could stem from discordance. Such discomfort is probably common in the modern era, where Whites often attempt to conceal their racial sentiments in race-relevant settings (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). In cases where Whites' racial attitudes are misaligned with their public behaviors, Blacks may view them as insincere. We suspect that Black judges will see such insincerity in the nonverbal manifestations of discordance among Whites.

Thus, in a follow-up study, judges who were naïve to the race of the targets viewed the videotaped evaluations (without any accompanying audio). As in the experiment just reported, we predicted that Black judges would be more sensitive to discordance-induced nonverbal behaviors than would White judges. Specifically, we reasoned that Black judges would be suspicious of participants discussing the Black applicant when participants' general attitudes toward Blacks did not match their evaluations of the specific Black applicant and that this suspicion would appear in the form of doubt about the sincerity of whatever the Whites were saying about the Black candidate. Hence, we predicted a three-way interaction involving racial attitudes, specific evaluations, and judge race.

FOLLOW-UP EXPERIMENT

Participants

Ten White (7 females, 3 males) and 11 Black judges (6 females, 5 males) were recruited from a student newspaper advertisement and from various student organizations. All were college-aged students and were paid \$15 for participating.

Materials and Procedure

Judges entered the lab in groups of 1 to 4 and were seated in individual cubicles equipped with computer monitors. They were told that they would be assessing the nonverbal behavior of people on videotape. To retain the judges' naïvety of target race and to focus their attention on nonverbal behavior, we removed the audio channel. Black judges were told that we were actively recruiting minority students to ensure that they were adequately represented in the sample to reduce suspicion that the study was race related.

On being seated, judges were provided with most of the details of the procedure from the original experiment, except that they were given no information about the applicants, and race was not mentioned at all. They were told that they would view short segments of the original participants talking in succession about two targets and that their task would be to make judgments about the people on the videotape. Whether the clip regarding the White or the Black applicant was played first was randomly determined.

After viewing the clip of a given participant talking about the first target, judges responded to the question, "To what extent did the speaker's nonverbal behavior lead you to doubt the sincerity of what they might have said about applicant one?" on a scale of -3 (*the speaker's nonverbal behavior would make me totally trust their spoken words*), 0 (*the subject's nonverbal behavior told me nothing about their spoken words*), and 3 (*the speaker's nonverbal behavior would make me seriously doubt their spoken words*). The clip of the participant talking about the second target was then played, and judges then responded to the same question with respect to the second applicant.⁵ This process was repeated for all 71 original participants for whom videos were available, after which judges were debriefed, thanked, paid, and dismissed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reliability estimates for the two questions were relatively high for both sets of judges (α values = .75, and .67 for the Black judges, and .73 and .67 for the White judges), so the mean of each question was computed across participants within each judge set. A difference score was computed such that higher numbers indicated more doubt when a participant was talking about the Black relative to the White applicant. Neither Black nor White judges were more doubtful when participants were talking about the Black relative to the White (t values < 1), and responses from the two-judge sets were weakly correlated, $r = .20$, $p = .10$.

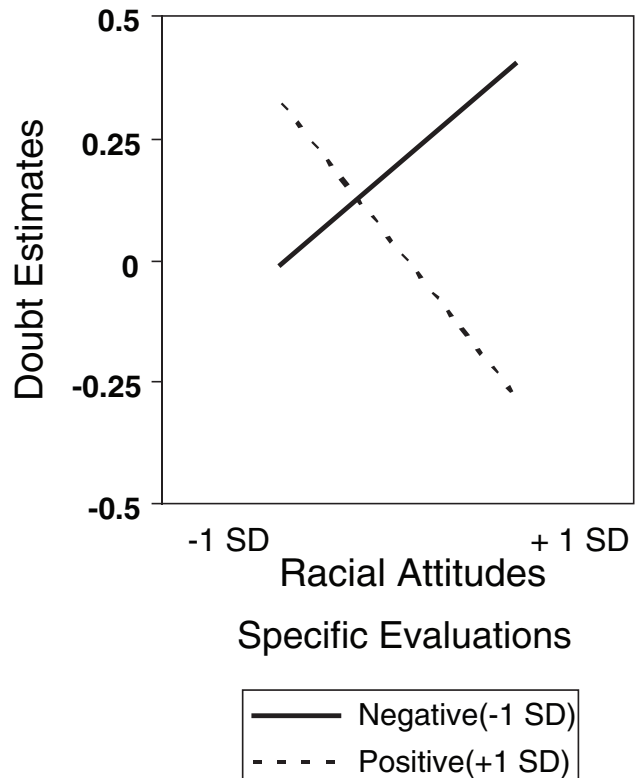


Figure 3 Black judges' doubt estimates for the Black versus the White as a function of differences in the evaluations of the specific applicants and general racial attitude estimates.

Our primary interest was to uncover whether Black relative to White naïve judges would be sensitive to the discordance-induced discomfort we observed in the nonverbal behavior from the original experiment. Regression analyses were performed predicting the judges' doubt estimates from the original participants' automatically activated racial attitudes and the specific evaluation difference score, just as in the original experiment, but with judge race as a within-subjects variable. This analysis revealed only the predicted Judge Race \times Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction, $t(69) = 1.86$, $p = .06$.

Follow-up analyses were separately conducted on each judge set. For Black judges, the predicted Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction emerged, $t(69) = 2.45$, $p < .05$. Black judges were most doubtful in cases where participants' specific evaluations of the Black applicant were inconsistent with the automatically activated racial attitudes (Figure 3). Analyses of simple slopes confirmed that at 1 standard deviation below the mean of the specific evaluations difference score, racial attitudes were positively related to doubt estimates, $b = .37$, $t(67) = 1.75$, $p < .08$, but at 1 standard deviation above the mean, that relationship was negative, $b = -.45$, $t(67) = 2.53$, $p = .01$. Neither the main effects of racial attitudes and specific evaluations nor their interaction was significant for White judges.

In sum, results were as predicted. Black judges were more doubtful of Whites whose automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks were discordant from their evaluations of the specific Black applicant.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present findings support the notion that nonverbal behavior can indicate race-related affect, but what leaked through the nonverbal channels in the present cases appears to differ from what has been seen in past research. In the majority of behaviors we considered, automatically activated racial attitudes interacted with evaluations of a specific Black target in their effects on nonverbal behavior. When automatically activated attitudes toward Blacks in general were discordant with evaluations of a specific Black target, discomfort was apparent in participants' nonverbal behavior when discussing a Black relative to a White target. In other words, discomfort was evident in Whites' nonverbal behavior if they were characterized by negative automatic prejudices against Blacks in general but happened to like a particular Black target or if they were characterized by positive automatic responses to Blacks in general but happened to dislike a particular Black target. This pattern was apparent across several nonverbal indicators, including increased self-touching and speech interruptions and, to some extent, speech rate. In addition, Black judges' ratings of the sincerity of the participants displayed this same pattern.

Some nonverbal behaviors such as looking and smiling exhibited neither the discordance pattern nor a direct relation to the automatic racial attitude estimate (although they were implicated in higher-way interactions involving motivational factors, as described in Note 4). We suspect that looking and smiling, although they probably do have the potential to reveal discomfort, are not as tightly linked to it as, say, self-touching and speech interruptions. Smiling, for example, can be indicative of a variety of affective states, and our coding of it probably was not refined enough to distinguish between genuine versus false varieties (Ekman, Friesen, & O'Sullivan, 1988). Despite the lack of perfect consistency across all of the nonverbal behaviors we investigated, that a similar pattern was clearly apparent across measures involving speech and body movement suggests that discordance-induced discomfort can manifest in socially significant ways that we elaborate below.

Social Consequences of Discordance

Discordance-induced discomfort not only produced noteworthy changes in participants' nonverbal behavior but also affected the impressions of Black judges who

viewed the videos of participants discussing each target. They were more doubtful about the sincerity of speakers whose evaluations were discordant. This interaction between specific evaluations of individual Blacks and general attitudes toward Blacks might have some unexpected social implications. It suggests that prejudiced individuals whose evaluations of a particular Black are also negative may be relatively successful in presenting themselves as comfortable in race-salient situations. Moreover, because these individuals' nonverbal expressions resembled those of nonprejudiced individuals who positively evaluated the particular Black target, it is likely that their interracial interactions go smoothly. Equally interesting is the case of truly nonprejudiced individuals who happen not to like a particular Black individual for reasons unrelated to race. Despite their lack of prejudice, these individuals still appeared uncomfortable because of discordance, and Black judges were more doubting of them. Moreover, one might speculate that these are the same sorts of behaviors that social perceivers could easily take to indicate negativity toward Blacks, an interpretation that could create the impression of animosity toward Blacks. Such miscommunications would obviously have severe social consequences.

Reconciliation With Previous Research

Given that the present results appear to be inconsistent with previous research demonstrating a direct relationship between automatic prejudice and nonverbal behavior (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Richeson & Shelton, 2005), it is important to reiterate how actual interactions differ from public evaluations. We have argued that the latter draws attention to the possibility that one's evaluation of the specific target might differ from one's evaluation of the target members' group. That is, one's evaluation of the particular Black might be discordant from one's evaluation of the category "Blacks," a phenomenon that we have likened to cognitive dissonance. The discomfort that results from these processes, and not racial prejudice per se, is argued to then appear in the nonverbal channels. Thus, "talking about" has unique features compared to "talking to"—ones that we argue produced the patterns of nonverbal discomfort revealed in the present study.

However, we believe that another factor may not only explain these apparent discrepant findings but also reduce the sense in which they are actually discrepant from previous research. The research on interracial interactions that we reviewed employed White and Black social targets who behaved in a consistent manner, typically a positive one. These targets were nearly always experimenters or confederates trained to treat participants with courtesy

and respect and, thus, appear likeable. Consider the present results with an eye toward participants who liked the particular Black target: Those with negative attitudes self-touched more, committed more speech errors, and so on. That is, they resemble the participants of previous research. This raises the possibility that participants with negative automatic prejudice against Blacks in previous research were not simply unable to prevent leakage of negative affect. They may have also experienced discordance-induced discomfort because their attitudes toward Blacks in general contradicted their evaluation of the relatively pleasant Black experimenter with whom they were interacting. Thus, our findings are consistent with previous research if one assumes that the Black targets used in this research were relatively likeable. However, it is worth reiterating that previous research may have indeed demonstrated direct leakage of attitudes and that other differences (e.g., talking to vs. talking about) are responsible for the apparent discrepancies.

Detecting Bias

Other interesting findings emerged from this research. Recall that automatically activated attitudes directly predicted participants' evaluations of the Black target—Whites with more positive attitudes toward Blacks tended to prefer the Black relative to the White. In effect, an automatic process mediated the outcome of a potentially controllable one. Given the ample opportunity that participants had to adjust their reported preferences, an explanation as to why such automatic influences occurred in controllable behavior is wanting. Indeed, this outcome might appear inconsistent with other research demonstrating effects of motivated processes on more controllable responses such as explicitly recorded first impressions of Black social targets (e.g., Olson, & Fazio, 2004). We believe that because of the wealth of individuating information provided about the applicants, participants may not have construed the Peace Corps applicant evaluation task as race relevant. This would prevent any motivation to control prejudiced reactions among participants from being evoked, let alone from having any effect on their specific evaluations.⁶ This point—that controllable responses can be affected by automatic prejudices—is important to note given how researchers often argue that motivation can prevent the application of prejudice if opportunity exists. Encouraging people to be aware of bias may be at least as foreboding as encouraging them to correct for it (Wegener & Petty, 1995).

Limitations and Conclusion

This research was limited in ways that future research should address. An experimental manipulation of applicant

quality in lieu of relying on participants' own evaluations would provide a more stringent test of the discordance hypothesis. Also, the hypothesis should be tested in the context of actual interracial interactions. One potential criticism of the present work is that we did not provide direct evidence that it was discomfort and not racial prejudice that leaked into the nonverbal channels. Two points can be made in response to this criticism. First, the consistent pattern we observed among individuals characterized by discordance (self-touching, speech errors) maps onto most conceptions of the behaviors associated with discomfort at least as well as it does conceptions of the behaviors associated with negativity. Second, we observed no simple relationships between the measure of racial prejudice and the nonverbal behaviors of interest; knowledge of both general racial attitudes and evaluations of the specific Black was required to predict the various nonverbal behaviors. Thus, the pattern of findings we observed clearly contradicts the hypothesis that racial prejudice is what leaks into nonverbal behaviors. In short, the direct leakage hypothesis cannot explain the present results. Instead, we offer that discomfort as a function of discordance between general and specific attitudes is what leaked into the nonverbal channels. However, we acknowledge that future research should provide more direct evidence of this.

In conclusion, we have argued that the assumption that automatic prejudice directly manifests in nonverbal behavior leaves some of the story untold. Instead, automatic prejudices can interact with other factors in interesting ways, resulting in unique social emotions that then manifest in nonverbal behavior. This is not to suggest that automatic prejudices do not sometimes appear directly in nonverbal behavior. Indeed, we believe the present findings supplement, not supplant, existing research. However, we also believe our approach illuminates interesting questions regarding how automatic processes and motivational variables might interact in race-related contexts, what kinds of affective consequences they produce, and how judgments and behaviors are affected by such interactions (e.g., Mackie & Smith, 2002). It appears that automatic prejudice does express itself in behavior, but perhaps not as unswervingly as previously reported. Instead, the present research suggests that although the leaky faucet of automaticity often drips despite our best intentions, it sometimes does so in unexpected ways.

NOTES

1. One male participant decided not to be videotaped and was still fully paid.

2. Applicants were evaluated by pilot participants in the same manner as described in the procedure using specific responses, only without race-revealing information. Applicant 1 was preferred to

Applicant 2, $t(21) = 24.84, p < .001$, Applicant 3, $t(21) = 15.54, p < .001$, and Applicant 4, $t(21) = 16.40, p < .001$. Applicant 2 was viewed as inferior to Applicant 3, $t(21) = 2.66, p < .02$, and Applicant 4, $t(21) = 2.96, p < .01$. There were no significant differences in participants' evaluations of Applicants 3 and 4, $t(21) < 1$.

3. We took advantage of the availability of participants' scores on Dunton and Fazio's (1997) Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale (MCPR), collected in a mass survey session earlier in the semester, to investigate the possibility that relatively high scores on the Restraint factor of the MCPR would exacerbate the discomfort caused by discordance because such individuals are already prone to race-related discomfort. Consistent with this reasoning, the three-way Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation \times Restraint interaction was marginally apparent for self-touching, $t(67) = 1.88, p = .06$, speech interruptions, $t(67) = 2.00, p < .05$, and looking time, $t(67) = 1.88, p = .06$. Follow-up analyses indicated that the two-way Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation interaction was significant for high Restraint for self-touching, $t(67) = 3.32, p < .01$, speech interruptions, $t(67) = 2.66, p = .01$, and looking time, $t(67) = 1.94, p = .06$, but was not significant for low Restraint, t values < 1 . Thus, a motivation to avoid controversy may lead to the ironic consequence of intensifying the very behavior that is likely to evoke it. The three-way Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation \times Restraint interaction was also apparent for smiling time, $t(67) = 2.61, p < .01$. However, the Racial Attitude \times Specific Evaluation appeared for low Restraint participants, $t(67) = 2.15, p < .05$, but only marginally so for high Restraint participants, $t(67) = 1.60, p = .11$. The pattern for smiling time might then be described as one of concordance for low levels of Restraint, which shifted toward a pattern of discordance as Restraint increased.

4. Analyses involving the nonverbal indicators prior to the computation of the Black-White difference scores indicated that the pattern of effects was not driven by participants' behavior regarding only one of the two critical targets.

5. After viewing each of the two videos and providing sincerity estimates for each in turn, participants made direct comparisons of the two ("Which applicant did the subject seem to prefer?"; "Which applicant did the subject appear more comfortable talking about?"; and "Which applicant did the subject appear more genuine and sincere about?"). Perhaps because these relied more on participants' memories of the video presented first in each pair, these questions exhibited much lower reliability (α values $< .40$, compared to $.67$ to $.75$ for the sincerity questions) and, hence, will not be discussed.

6. Indeed, analyses involving participants' MCPR scores (see Note 4) indicated that motivation did not moderate the effect of the automatic racial attitude estimate on participants' specific evaluations, $t_s < 1$.

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