



Prejudice on the stage: Self-monitoring and the public expression of group attitudes

Olivier Klein^{1*}, Mark Snyder² and Robert W. Livingston³

¹ Université Libre de Bruxelles and Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique, Belgium

² University of Minnesota, USA

³ University of Wisconsin, Madison, USA

According to self-monitoring theory (Snyder, 1987), high self-monitors tailor their self-presentation for the sake of desired public appearances, whereas low self-monitors are relatively unlikely to practice such situationally guided impression management strategies. It was therefore predicted that, when asked to publicly express their attitudes regarding a social group, high self-monitors would modify their expressive behaviour in a direction consistent with the attitudes attributed to their audience. Conversely, low self-monitors would be unaffected by their audience's attitude towards this group. A study was conducted to test this hypothesis: participants, whose level of self-monitoring and prejudice towards homosexuals had been previously measured, were asked to report their thoughts regarding this group in an open-ended manner. They anticipated discussing these thoughts with an audience perceived as either prejudiced or tolerant, or they expected that their responses would remain private. In line with predictions, high self-monitors expressed more prejudice when the audience was perceived as prejudiced than tolerant, whereas low self-monitors were not affected by the audience's attitude.

Is it easier for men to make sexist jokes in front of an audience of long-time male friends than in front of their liberal (and female) supervisors? Will a French supporter of the anti-immigration party 'Front National' be more intolerant when addressing fellow members of the FN than when interviewed by a journalist from the mainstream public television channel? Will an Israeli leader express warmer thoughts for the Arab Israeli minority when addressing a fellow Jewish Israeli in Hebrew than when speaking to an American diplomat in English? While we will not provide a definite answer to all of these questions, the present paper will constitute an attempt to address the more general issue they raise: how does an audience's norms affect the expression of prejudice? In the past two decades, research, conducted mainly in the USA, has suggested that norms condemning the expression of prejudice have become

*Correspondence should be addressed to Olivier Klein, Service de Psychologie Sociale CP 122, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 50 av. F. Roosevelt, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium (e-mail: oklein@ulb.ac.be).

widespread (see e.g. Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986; Monteith, Deenen, & Tooman, 1996). Devine, Monteith, and their colleagues (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon Jones, & Vance, 2002; Monteith, 1993; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Plant & Devine, 1998; see also Dunton & Fazio, 1997) have conducted a programme of research suggesting that the prevalence of these norms may affect the expression of prejudice in two ways: people may internalize the norms proscribing the expression of prejudice and therefore abstain from expressing prejudice, especially if these norms are salient. They may also do so for external reasons: to protect their public self-image and gain approval from others. According to this view, the generalized standards prevalent in society guide prejudice expression either 'internally' or 'externally'.

Of course, proponents of this perspective acknowledge that, as a function of the situation, different norms may be applicable (e.g. as in the above examples). How may individuals respond to these norms, especially if they violate the egalitarian standards presumed to be prevalent? According to this perspective, their response to situational norms is a function of the degree of internalization of these standards. For example, Monteith *et al.* (1996) have suggested that low-prejudice individuals may show little sensitivity to external norms because of their well-internalized tolerant standards: in a situation in which they are asked to express their attitude towards an out-group, they may bring these standards to mind regardless of the situationally salient norm. By contrast, high-prejudice individuals should be more sensitive to external norms because they have not internalized generalized egalitarian standards. In a test of this hypothesis, Monteith *et al.* used a paradigm devised by Blanchard, Lily, and Vaughn (1991) and conducted two studies in which participants expressed their attitude towards a social group (homosexuals in Study 1, African Americans in Study 2) after hearing a confederate express either a tolerant or a prejudiced attitude. Contrary to the above hypothesis, they failed to observe an interaction between the confederate's norm and their participants' level of prejudice. Regardless of prejudice level, participants were more likely to conform to the tolerant than to the prejudiced norm. Monteith *et al.* interpret this finding as indicating that the tolerant source is more influential than the prejudiced source because it activates these prevalent egalitarian standards.

However, this conclusion should be treated cautiously: indeed, one of Blanchard's original studies using this paradigm (Blanchard *et al.*, 1991: Study 2) revealed precisely the opposite pattern, with participants conforming to the prejudiced, but not to the tolerant, source. In other studies using this paradigm, participants conformed to both norms (Blanchard *et al.* 1991: Study 1; Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994; Crandall, Eshelman, & O'Brien, 2002: Study 7): thus, overall, there does not seem to be a general tendency to conform more to a tolerant than to a prejudiced norm.

According to a different perspective (Blanchard *et al.*, 1991, 1994; Crandall *et al.*, 2002; Klein, Licata, Azzi, & Durala, 2003; Ryan, Turner, & Reynolds, 2002; Sherif, 1948; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), there are no general norms condemning the expression of prejudice. Rather, some prejudices are thought to be more acceptable than others as a function of the group one identifies with and of the social context. In this view, situational norms are the crucial determinant of prejudice expression. Prejudice expression is, in large part, a response to these situationally salient standards. Proponents of this perspective (Blanchard *et al.*, 1991, 1994; Crandall *et al.*, 2002) take the results obtained using the 'Blanchard paradigm' as strong

evidence in its favour: people express prejudice when they want to conform to important others perceived as condoning it and they abstain from doing so when these others condemn it.

To better understand the role of an audience's norm on the public expression of prejudice, we shall consider the interaction between personality factors and situational cues: this strategy has proved its usefulness in many domains of the study of personality and social behaviour (Snyder & Cantor, 1998; Snyder & Ickes, 1985). Confronting the two perspectives we have highlighted lends itself particularly well to this strategy because they offer different predictions as to which individual differences variables should moderate the impact of an audience's norms on the public expression of prejudice.

We have seen that, according to the generalized standards perspective (Devine *et al.*, 1991; Monteith *et al.*, 1996; Plant & Devine, 1998), prejudice level should be such a moderator. By contrast, the contextual norm perspective (Crandall *et al.*, 2002; Turner *et al.*, 1987) suggests that, since prejudice expression is a response to the variable norms that are salient in a specific social context, the internalization of generalized egalitarian standards (as revealed by a tolerant attitude) should not necessarily minimize the impact of an audience's norm on the public expression of prejudice. Rather, individual differences in sensitivity to situational cues, or in concerns with social appropriateness, should chiefly moderate the impact of a situational norm on prejudice expression.

Empirical evidence seems to favour this latter perspective. As we have seen, Monteith *et al.* (1996) observed in two studies using Blanchard *et al.*'s paradigm that convergence with the source of influence was independent of prejudice level. Data from a study by Crandall *et al.* (2002: Study 7) provide more direct support for the contextual perspective. These authors used three scales designed to measure an internal motivation to respond without prejudice:¹ according to the generalized standards perspective, such scales capture the extent to which internalized egalitarian standards motivate individuals to suppress prejudice expression. A few months after the administration of these scales, Crandall *et al.* asked participants to express their degree of tolerance towards racism using a manipulation comparable to Blanchard *et al.*'s (1991, 1994). The three prejudice suppression scales that they used predicted tolerance towards racism *negatively* when racism was condemned by the source but *positively* when racism was condoned by the source: thus, the more that people reported being motivated to suppress prejudice, the higher the level of prejudice actually expressed. These results suggest that these scales do not capture responses to internalized non-prejudiced standards but a general motivation to conform to contextual norms.

This study is interesting because it casts doubt on the validity of these scales and, more importantly, on the very idea that suppressing prejudice expression can be a general motivation independent of the social context. However, from an individual differences perspective, a strong test of the contextual norm hypothesis involves examining whether individual differences in the sensitivity to situational norms, rather than individual differences in prejudice level, moderate the impact of an audience's attitudes on prejudice expression. The self-monitoring construct (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000; Snyder, 1974, 1979, 1987; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986) was developed to tap differences in sensitivity to such situational norms. Specifically, high self-monitors

¹The Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998), the Concern With Appearing Prejudiced Scale (Dunton & Fazio, 1997), and their own Suppression Scale (Crandall *et al.*, 2002).

(identified by their high scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale; Snyder, 1974) strategically cultivate their public appearances. They use the cues available in their social environment to present public images that will gain them favourable outcomes (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000). In this respect, they are particularly likely to express attitudes and opinions consistent with those they attribute to their audiences, which they perceive as normative (McCann & Hancock, 1983; Snyder & Monson, 1975). On the other hand, low self-monitors are less likely to engage in such strategic impression management activities and, accordingly, their behaviour is less dependent on situational and interpersonal considerations (Snyder & Kendzierski, 1982; Snyder & Swann, 1976; Zanna, Olson, & Fazio, 1980).

In the present study, we examined the relation between self-monitoring and the expression of prejudice in public contexts. To do so, we used a procedure devised by Tetlock (1992), which has already been employed in previous studies on prejudice expression (Lambert, Cronen, Chasteen, & Lickel, 1996). Participants, whose level of self-monitoring had been previously assessed, either expected to discuss their thoughts about a target group with others, or they expected that their answers would remain confidential. For those who expected to have a discussion, the attitude of the audience regarding the target group was manipulated to be either positive or negative. This design allows us to independently assess effects due to the presence of audience and to this audience's attitude.

Hypotheses

In view of the analysis presented above, we expected participants to express a lower level of prejudice in the presence of a tolerant than in the presence of a prejudiced audience. More importantly, however, we predicted that the relation between self-monitoring and prejudice expression will differ as a function of the attitude attributed to the audience. Since high self-monitors tend to express attitudes that are consistent with their audience's, they should express more prejudiced attitudes in the presence of a prejudiced than in the presence of a tolerant audience. On the other hand, low self-monitors should not be affected by the audience's attitude. To the extent that self-monitoring essentially captures individual propensities to cultivate public appearances (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000), it should not be a strong predictor of prejudice expression when responses are private, especially if the communicator's actual level of prejudice is controlled for. Hence, for high self-monitors, the level of prejudice expression should have an intermediate value in this condition, whereas for low self-monitors, it should not differ from the two other conditions.

Finally, although we expect a participant's prejudice level to predict prejudice expression, this effect should be independent of the audience's attitude (cf. Monteith *et al.*, 1996).

Method

Participants and design

Participants were 98 undergraduate students (70 women, 24 men and 4 persons who did not specify their gender, mean age=19.10 years) taking an introductory psychology class at the University of Minnesota and receiving course credit for their participation. In view of the fact that the present study concerned the expression of attitudes regarding an *out-group*, nine participants were excluded from analyses because they

reported being homosexual or bisexual (for whom the attitudes at issue would not necessarily concern an out-group). The main predictor variables were self-monitoring and the audience's attitude towards homosexuals (positive, no audience, negative).

Initial phase

Embedded in other measures, the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974) and a measure of prejudice toward homosexuals (Heterosexuals' Attitude towards Homosexuality [HATH: Larsen, Reed, & Hoffman, 1980]), were administered in a group testing session; 56 participants also responded to the Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale (Plant & Devine, 1998) adapted to the context of prejudice toward homosexual targets.² Thanks to a confidential code, the answers were anonymous for all participants at this stage.

Attitude expression phase and manipulations

Three weeks later, the same participants were invited to take part in an ostensibly unrelated study. This second part of the study was run in group sessions as well, but by different experimenters. The instructions and manipulations were written on a questionnaire distributed randomly to participants. To ensure that participants' levels of self-monitoring and attitude towards homosexuals were equivalent across experimentally created conditions, we conducted two one-way analyses of variance on these variables. These analyses suggest that random assignment was successful³ ($F(1, 88) < 0.5$, *ns* for both variables).

Cover story

This study was presented as concerning perceptions of couples using the following instructions:

The study you are going to participate in concerns your perception of couples. Of course, there are many different types of couples; heterosexual married couples but also boyfriend-girlfriend, best friends, gay couples and lesbian couples. In this study, you will be asked questions on your perception of a couple of one of these types.

You will be asked questions regarding ... couples.

Actually, for all participants, 'gay' was written by hand in the dotted line section of the instructions.

Manipulation of the audience's attitude

Two-thirds of the participants were told that, just after expressing their thoughts, they would discuss their answers with a group of people whose attitudes were described as favourable (for one-third of the participants) or unfavourable towards homosexuals (for the second third). In the tolerant-audience condition, the text read as follows:

In order to generalize the results of this study across various populations, half of the participants in this study are people between 26 and 70 years old coming from the greater

²The study was run in two sessions across two semesters. Plant and Devine (1998) had not yet been published at the time of the first session and we therefore could not introduce their measure until the second session of data collection.

³For self-monitoring, $M_s=14.08, 13.68$ and 13.77 , and for the HATH, $M_s=88.03, 91.10$ and 90.09 in the prejudiced-audience, no-audience and tolerant-audience conditions, respectively.

Minneapolis/St Paul area. After answering this questionnaire, you will go to another room to read and discuss your impressions and answers individually with one of those participants, who will read and discuss his/her answers with you.

You may want to know that these participants are people who hold mildly favourable to extremely favourable attitudes towards homosexuals.

For participants in the prejudiced-audience condition, 'unfavourable' was substituted in place of 'favourable' in this last paragraph.

Participants in the 'No-audience' condition were told that the answers that they provided to this questionnaire would remain anonymous and confidential.

After they had read this page, participants were asked to express their attitude towards homosexuals (instructions were borrowed from Devine, 1989):

Now we would like you to list all of the thoughts that come to your mind in response to the category 'Gays'. All of your thoughts (beliefs, feelings, expectations), flattering or unflattering, are welcome.

Participants wrote their thoughts in up to ten pre-formatted boxes.

Background information and manipulation checks

Participants in the two audience conditions were asked to evaluate on a 7-point scale the attitude towards homosexuals they expected from the people they were going to discuss with (1=very favourable, 7=very unfavourable). Participants were also asked to report their gender, age and sexual orientation.

Once all the questionnaires had been filled in, participants were informed that the second phase would not actually take place and that all their answers would remain confidential. They were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Independent ratings of prejudice

Thoughts were coded by three independent judges as tolerant (-1), neutral (0) or prejudiced (+1). The judges' ratings were reliable, Cronbach's $\alpha=.94$.

Results

Manipulation checks

Participants in the prejudiced-audience condition reliably expected their audience to be less favourable to homosexuals than participants in the favourable-audience condition ($M_s=5.37$ and 2.40 respectively, $t(30)=5.24, p < .001$).⁴

Correlations between self-monitoring, prejudice and prejudice control

The distribution of scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale and the HATH scale were within the typical ranges for these measures (for self-monitoring: $Min=6, Max=21, M=13.87, SD=3.90$, with higher scores indicating higher self-monitoring orientations; for HATH: $Min=20, Max=120, M=89.45, SD=23.39$, with higher scores reflecting more positive attitudes). For the purpose of the present study, it was important to determine

⁴The low degrees of freedom were influenced by a high number of missing values on this variable, due to an omission of the manipulation checks in the questionnaires distributed during the first experimental session.

whether any effect of self-monitoring could be attributed to variables known to moderate the expression of prejudice in public contexts, such as the level of prejudice (Devine *et al.*, 1991; Lambert *et al.* 1996; Monteith *et al.*, 1996) and the sources of motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998). Self-monitoring was uncorrelated with the attitude towards homosexuals ($r=.052$, *ns*), the internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS: $r=-.14$, *ns*) and the external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS: $r=-.14$, *ns*). This suggests that self-monitoring effects cannot be attributed either to prejudice level or to a general motivation to respond without prejudice.

Prejudice expression

The main dependent variable, prejudice expression, was the sum of the scores for all thoughts expressed by a participant averaged across judges. Higher scores indicated higher levels of prejudice expression: We assumed that a participant who expressed three positive thoughts should be considered as expressing a more positive view of the target group than a participant who expressed only one. Hence, both the valence and the number of thoughts are taken into account to compute this index, which ranged between -15 and $+15$, with higher scores indicating higher levels of prejudice expression. Note that one outlier was excluded from further analyses because of an extreme score ($+21$) on this variable ($M=-2.73$, $SD=6.83$). Participants expressed on average 4.82 thoughts, $SD=1.13$.

To test our major hypothesis about the expression of prejudice, data were analysed using a multiple regression strategy (Aiken & West, 1991; Cohen & Cohen, 1983; Judd & McClelland, 1989; Judd, McClelland, & Culhane, 1995). This approach has all of the advantages of the analysis of variance; however, in addition, it also offers the added advantage of greater power by respecting the continuity of all predictors. According to our predictions, high self-monitors, but not low self-monitors, should display a tendency to express less prejudice in the tolerant-audience than in the prejudiced-audience condition, with intermediate levels of prejudice expression in the no-audience condition. Hence, the relation between self-monitoring and prejudice expression should decrease linearly as we move from the prejudiced-audience to the tolerant-audience condition though the no-audience condition.⁵

Testing this prediction requires the introduction of two sets of contrast terms in the regression and to examine their interactions with self-monitoring. Table 1 shows the two sets used for this purpose. The first set tests for a linear increase in prejudice expression from the prejudiced-audience to the tolerant-audience conditions. The second set tests for a quadratic (parabolic) relation between the audience factor and prejudice expression. The effect of the first contrast variable is independent of the mean level of prejudice expression in the no-audience condition (its weight being 0 in this condition): Hence, this variable may be a reliable predictor even when the level of prejudice expression is significantly higher (or lower) in the no-audience condition than in the two other conditions. The second contrast evaluates the latter possibility. Evidence for an exclusively linear trend is obtained if the first, but not the second, contrast variable has a significant effect on the dependent variable. A quadratic trend is evidenced if the second contrast variable is a reliable predictor. The products of

⁵Note that, although self-monitoring is theoretically believed to be a class variable (with two levels: high or low), the distribution of scores on the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974), which estimates this variable, is continuous (Gangestad & Snyder, 1985; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986) and our analytic strategy treats it as such.

Table 1. Contrast weights

	Prejudiced audience	No audience	Tolerant audience
Contrast 1 (linear)	-1	0	1
Contrast 2 (quadratic)	-1	2	-1

these terms with self-monitoring test for similar trends in the *relation* between self-monitoring and prejudice expression.

In view of the obviously important role that the level of prejudice plays in the expression of prejudice (Devine *et al.*, 1991; Monteith, 1993), the attitude towards homosexuals (averaged across items, Cronbach's $\alpha=.95$ with higher scores indicating more favourable attitudes) was entered in the regression as well. Not only did entering this variable in the regression increase the power of the analysis, but it also allowed us to evaluate (and to discard) the possibility that the effects of self-monitoring were actually due to variations in prejudice level among high and low self-monitors or in the three audience conditions. We also tested for possible interactions between prejudice level and audience by introducing the products between the two contrast terms and the attitude towards homosexuals. Finally, to test for the possibility that low self-monitors would be more consistent with their underlying attitudes than high self-monitors (see e.g. Gangestad & Snyder, 2000; Snyder, 1987), the interaction between prejudice level and self monitoring (in the form of the product between these two variables) was also entered in the model.⁶

In all, nine predictors were entered into the regression: attitude towards homosexuals (centred), self-monitoring (centred), the two contrast terms, the interaction between self-monitoring and the attitude towards homosexuals, the interactions between self-monitoring and the contrast terms, and the interactions between attitude towards homosexuals and the contrast terms.

The model accounted for 62% of the variance in prejudice expression, $F(11, 78)=14.32$, $p < .001$. Table 2 shows the regression coefficient for each of the predictors. As expected, we observed an interaction between audience and self-monitoring. Indeed, the predictor denoting the interaction between the first contrast term and self-monitoring was reliable. Conversely, the interaction between the second contrast term and self-monitoring did not reach significance. Taken together, these two results suggest that the linear decrease in the correlation between self-monitoring and prejudice expression as a function of the audience factor (prejudiced audience, no audience and tolerant audience, respectively) accounts for all interactions between self-monitoring and the audience's attitude.

Although the interaction between self-monitoring and audience is definitely consistent with our hypotheses, it is not clear whether the effect is driven by low self-monitors' or high self-monitors' sensitivity to the audience manipulation.

To gain a better sense of the interaction between self-monitoring and the audience factor, we followed Cohen and Cohen's (1983) recommendation and computed

⁶Note that the three-way interactions were included in a separate model. As these interactions were not relevant to the theoretical framework presented here, and did not make a significant increase in the percentage of variance explained by the model, they are not discussed here (following recommendations by, for example, Aiken and West [1991] and Finney, Mitchell, Cronkite, and Moos, [1984]).

Table 2. Multiple regression coefficients with prejudice expression as a function of self-monitoring, attitude towards homosexuals and audience's attitude

	Unstandardized coefficients (Bs)	Standard error	t(78)
Constant	-2.44**	0.480	5.06**
Attitude towards homosexuals	-0.223**	0.021	10.74**
Self-monitoring	0.119	0.128	0.93
Linear contrast	-0.65	0.549	1.13
Quadratic contrast	0.24	0.365	0.67
Attitude \times Self-monitoring	-0.006	0.006	0.11
Linear \times Self-monitoring	-0.30*	0.144	2.06*
Interaction			
Quadratic \times Self-monitoring	0.04	0.098	0.37
Interaction			
Attitude \times Linear	0.007	0.144	0.26
Attitude \times Quadratic	-0.018	0.015	1.17

Note. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

expected levels of prejudice expression in each condition for values of self-monitoring one standard deviation below and above the mean level of self-monitoring. The outcome of these computations is depicted in Figure 1. Descriptively, it appears from this figure that high self-monitors express less prejudice when addressing a tolerant than a prejudiced audience. In the no-audience condition, they express an intermediate level of prejudice. On the other hand, low self-monitors seem relatively unaffected by the audience's attitude or presence. This pattern is consistent with our predictions. In order to examine whether it was statistically reliable, we used the values reported in Figure 1 as criteria and performed pairwise comparisons between the three audience conditions for low- and high self-monitors separately (in line with the method recommended by Aiken and West [1991]). For low self-monitors, no reliable difference emerged (all t s < 1 , ns). In contrast, high self-monitors expressed lower levels of prejudice in the tolerant-audience than in the prejudiced-audience condition, $t(78)=2.28$, $p=.029$ and in the no-audience condition, $t(78)=1.64$, $p=.10$. The no-audience and prejudiced-audience conditions did not differ significantly, $t < 1$, ns . Hence, as expected, only the high self-monitors seemed to be sensitive to the audience's presence and attitudes.⁷

The next question we addressed was whether self-monitoring had an effect within each condition of the experiment. Consistent with predictions, the simple slope for prejudice expression on self-monitoring was negative ($B=-.20$, ns) in the tolerant-audience condition and positive in the prejudiced-audience condition ($B=.37$, $p < .1$); however, it was also positive in the no-audience condition ($B=.22$, ns). Thus, descriptively, high self-monitors were more likely to express prejudiced attitudes than low

⁷Note that our measure of prejudice expression is sensitive to the number of thoughts expressed. Could high self-monitors differ from low self-monitors in the number of thoughts they express as a function of the audience? A regression on the number of thoughts expressed revealed that this variable was itself unaffected by any of the predictors (all $ps > .1$), indicating that the effect of self-monitoring on prejudice expression cannot be attributed to a variation in the number of thoughts expressed.

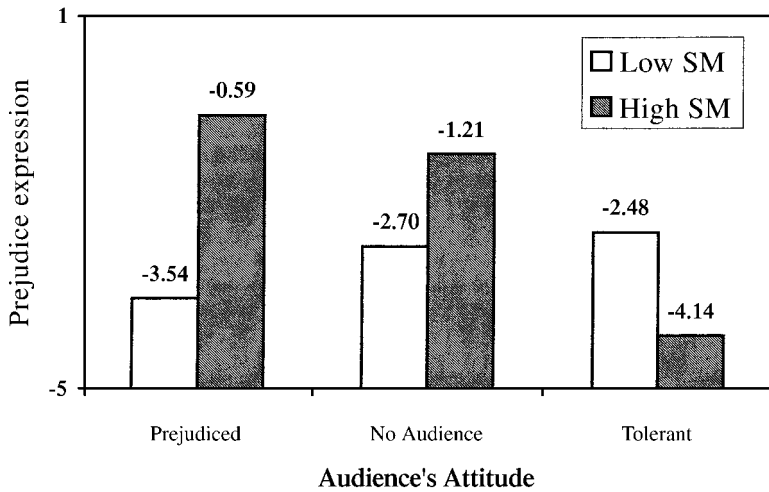


Figure 1. Prejudice expression as a function of self-monitoring and audience's attitude.

self-monitors in the prejudiced-audience and the no-audience conditions, whereas the reverse pattern occurred in the tolerant-audience condition. However, these results must be treated with some caution as only in the prejudiced-audience condition did the simple slope approach significance.

Although the main focus of our analyses was the interaction between self-monitoring and audience, the other terms included in the multiple regression provide useful information as well.

Consistent with earlier research (Devine *et al.*, 1991; Monteith, 1993; Monteith *et al.*, 1996), we found that attitudes towards homosexuals are the main determinant of the expression of prejudice (see Table 2); the more negative their attitudes, the more that participants expressed prejudice. None of the interactions between these attitudes and the contrast terms reached significance: participants were equally consistent with their attitudes when anticipating an encounter with a prejudiced audience ($B=.21, p < .01$), a tolerant audience ($B=.20, p < .01$), or no audience at all ($B=.26, p < .01$).⁸

Did the audience's attitude affect prejudice expression in and of itself? Although participants expressed higher levels of prejudice in the prejudiced-audience ($M=-1.55$) than in the tolerant-audience condition ($M=-3.31$), this difference was not significant, as revealed by the lack of significance of the coefficient associated with the first contrast term. This suggests that, in general, people did not express different levels of prejudice as a function of whether they addressed an audience perceived as tolerant or prejudiced.

Another issue of interest is whether the presence of an audience in and of itself would affect the expression of prejudice. The second quadratic term precisely tests for an impact of publicity *per se* on the expression of prejudiced attitudes. This contrast

⁸Another way to investigate these interactions is to compute predicted values for high- and low-prejudiced individuals using Cohen and Cohen's method (1983). Using this method, we observe that (if anything) high-prejudiced individuals seem to report more prejudiced thoughts in the absence of an audience ($M=-4.00$) than either in the presence of a tolerant ($M=-1.22$) or a prejudiced audience ($M=-2.03$). For low-prejudiced individuals, we observed a tendency to report more prejudice in the presence of a prejudiced ($M=-6.91$) than in the presence of a tolerant audience ($M=-7.88$) or in the absence of an audience ($M=-7.90$). Unsurprisingly however, pairwise comparisons between audience conditions failed to reach significance for both high- and low-prejudiced participants, all $ps > .10$.

was not a reliable predictor, indicating that there does not seem to be a general tendency to express less prejudiced attitudes in the presence than in the absence of an audience.

Although it was not the primary focus of this research, this data collection also offered us an opportunity to examine the often studied attitude-behaviour relation and its moderation by self-monitoring. In line with the empirical literature on self-monitoring (for a recent quantitative review, see Gangestad & Snyder, 2000), the attitudes and behaviours of low self-monitors should be more highly correlated than those of high self-monitors. In the absence of an interaction between self-monitoring and attitude towards homosexuals, the model does not support this hypothesis (see Table 2). However, this outcome may be due to the very high correlation between the attitudinal measure and the measure of prejudice expression ($r_s = -.75, -.82$ and $-.81$ in the prejudiced-audience, no-audience and tolerant-audience conditions, respectively): these correlations may have posed a ceiling effect for observing variations in attitude-behaviour relations.⁹

Finally, our data also offered us an opportunity to determine whether, as suggested by Crandall *et al.* (2002), the relation between the internal motivation to respond without prejudice and prejudice expression was a function of the normative context. Using the same analysis procedure as these authors, we found that the correlations between the IMS and prejudice expression were high across conditions ($r = -.83, -.67$ and $-.57$, all $p_s < .01$ in the no-audience, tolerant-audience and prejudiced-audience conditions, respectively) and did not differ reliably from each other (using Fisher's Z , all $t_s < 1$, ns). Even when using a more powerful regression strategy the attitude towards homosexuals, the IMS, the two contrast terms and their interactions with the IMS as predictors, we failed to observe an interaction between the manipulation and scores on the IMS ($t(41) < 1$, ns , and $t(41) = 1.30$, $p = .19$ for the interactions involving the first and second contrast terms, respectively). The same conclusion holds if a similar strategy is employed using the EMS and its interactions with the audience factor as a predictor of prejudice expression ($t(41) < 1$, ns and $t(41) = 1.38$, $p = .18$ for the interactions involving the two contrast terms) with $r_s = .30, -.01$ and $.25$ (all $p_s > .10$) in the no-audience, tolerant-audience and prejudiced-audience conditions, respectively. Thus, the EMS does not differentially predict prejudice expression as a function of the normative context and, if anything, seems to be positively related with this variable.¹⁰

Discussion

The results of the present study suggest that the extent to which people are willing to express positive or negative attitudes regarding a social group may simultaneously

⁹The values of these correlations may seem extreme in view of the literature on attitude-behaviour relations (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, 1998; Fazio, 1986, for reviews). Nevertheless, one should consider several factors that may explain these high values. First, both the HATH scale and the measure of prejudice expression had a very high level of internal reliability (item-total correlations for the 20-item HATH ranged between .48 and .83, $M = .68$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$; while correlations between individual thought scores and the total score ranged between .59 and .73, $M = .67$); thus attenuation of the observed attitude-behaviour correlation due to unreliability of the measures would be minimized in this case. Second, one should keep in mind that the behavioural measure of prejudice expression is very similar, both conceptually and in its presentation, to the HATH measure of attitudes (both involve written statements about homosexuals), which may have the effect of increasing the observed correlations between the attitude and behaviour measures. And, third, high correlations between this attitude measure and related constructs have been observed in earlier research (see Larsen *et al.*, 1980). Note also Crandall *et al.*'s (2002) report of a correlation of .97 between the normative appropriateness of prejudice and prejudice expression itself.

¹⁰The direction of these correlations does not change if the attitude towards homosexuals is controlled for.

depend on their audience's norms and on general features of personality. Specifically, the higher the level of self-monitoring, the more likely communicators were to express attitudes consistent with those of their anticipated audiences; in relative terms, the relation between self-monitoring and prejudice expression was most negative when the audience was perceived as tolerant, intermediate when there was no audience, and most positive when the audience was perceived as prejudiced. This pattern of results, which was obtained on open-ended answers more reminiscent of the expression of prejudice as it occurs in naturalistic contexts (Van Dijk, 1987) than the questionnaire responses used in previous studies on this topic (Blanchard *et al.*, 1994; Klein *et al.*, 2003; Monteith *et al.*, 1996), supports the view that, out of a concern for social appropriateness, high self-monitors adapt the group attitudes they are willing to publicly endorse to fit their audience's attitudes.¹¹

The present study failed to detect a general tendency to express less prejudice when the audience espoused a tolerant than a prejudiced norm. However, descriptively, the results observed in the present study were consistent with this trend. The failure to detect a main effect of the audience's norm may be due to differences in manipulations of the situational norm: in earlier studies (e.g. Blanchard *et al.*, 1991, 1994; Monteith *et al.*, 1996), a source of influence expressed a strongly tolerant or intolerant view in the immediate presence of the respondent. In the present case, participants only anticipated interacting with an audience perceived as varying on a continuum of tolerance (or prejudice). Our manipulation may therefore have been less powerful.

How do these results speak to the contextual vs. general view of the role of norms in prejudice expression? The absence of interaction between prejudice level and the audience's attitude is consistent with earlier results (Monteith *et al.*, 1996) and suggests that the absence of well-internalized standards among highly prejudiced individuals does not make them more sensitive to an audience's attitudes than individuals low in prejudice. In contrast, the observation that high self-monitors conform more to the audience's attitude than low self-monitors is consistent with Crandall *et al.*'s suggestion (Crandall *et al.*, 2002) that concerns for social appropriateness partially determine the expression of prejudice. These two results therefore support the contextual perspective.

Nonetheless, individual differences in prejudice level, and in the motivation to respond without prejudice, remained potent predictors of prejudice expression. Contrary to the findings of Crandall *et al.*, this study does not question the validity of the internal motivation to respond without prejudice scale¹² (Plant & Devine, 1998). Just as with prejudice level, it reliably predicted prejudice expression across conditions. Our results should therefore not be taken as evidence that the internalization of generalized standards does not influence prejudice expression. Rather, they suggest that the influence of an audience's norms on prejudice expression is independent of these generalized standards or of a general, internal or external, motivation to suppress prejudice.

The absence of correlation between the Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scales and Self-Monitoring Scale (already observed by Plant & Devine, 1998) suggests

¹¹Note that the results obtained in the no-audience condition were much closer to the prejudiced-audience condition than to the tolerant-audience condition. This may indicate that, at least in the context in which this study was conducted, a moderate level of prejudice expression is perceived as acceptable.

¹²The divergence between our results and theirs may be partly due to the fact that their dependent variable is a measure of "tolerance towards racism". This scale can be viewed as measuring the normative appropriateness of racism rather than prejudice *per se* and may therefore be more sensitive to the normative context than our measure.

that, unlike the self-monitoring scale, these scales may not capture a general sensitivity to the normative context (as suggested by Crandall *et al.*, 2002). High self-monitors' behavioural flexibility may not be adequately captured by these measures because these individuals respond to different norms as a function of the situation, rather than to generalized standards. In this regard, high self-monitors may be truly seen as being motivated by external standards but these standards may be flexible and depend on the situation. Generally, conformity with an audience's attitude may be a promising strategy for obtaining social approval, but when the expression of a dissenting perspective is considered as preferable, and more rewarding, high self-monitors may purposefully display anti-normative behavior (Snyder & Monson, 1975). In such a context, high self-monitors might actually express fewer prejudiced thoughts in the presence of an intolerant than a tolerant audience. Thus, high self-monitors may not be particularly sensitive to general standards of tolerance unless the violation of these standards has consequences on social adjustment in specific social contexts.

Our results also offer some information on the impact of identifiability to an audience on the expression of prejudice. Early studies have suggested that people refrain from expressing directly, or publicly, the anti-normative attitudes they privately endorse (Crosby *et al.*, 1980; Sigall & Page, 1972; Zimbardo, 1969). The present findings did not reveal any general effect of identifiability on prejudice expression. If the publicity of responses induced behaviour consistent with general norms, participants should have been less affected by the audience's attitude than by publicity *per se*. On the contrary, the different effects obtained as a function of whether the audience was perceived as tolerant or prejudiced suggest that the impact of public versus private contexts on the expression of prejudice depends on situationally salient norms, rather than on general norms. This finding is consistent with the recent literature on deindividuation (Postmes & Spears, 1998; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995).

When considering the comparability of the present findings to earlier studies of audience effects on the expression of prejudice, it is important to keep in mind that research investigating audience effects has relied on very different manipulations of this factor. An important difference between various manipulations of audience concerns the actual presence of the audience. For example, in Blanchard *et al.*'s (1991) and Monteith *et al.*'s (1996) studies, the audience was physically present as the participant responded. By contrast, in this study, as in previous research investigating audience effects on prejudice expression (Klein *et al.*, in press; Lambert *et al.*, 1996; Noel, Wann, & Branscombe, 1995), participants did not directly interact with the audience but only expected to do so. Hence, our results suggest that high self-monitors not only use cues that are directly available in the actual social interaction, but that they modify their expressive behaviour to become consistent with that of an anticipated audience. Such a capacity to anticipate the appropriate behaviours may help them adapt to different social contexts. Although it may be too early to generalize these results to situations in which the audience is actually present, other studies (e.g. McCann & Hancock, 1983; Snyder & Monson, 1975) suggest that high self-monitors tend to conform to a physically present audiences as well.

Moreover, our results suggest that individuals high and low in prejudice are not differently affected by the presence or absence of an audience. These findings replicate earlier research (Blanchard *et al.*, 1991; Monteith *et al.*, 1996; Plant & Devine, 1998) and extend it by disentangling the impact of the audience's actual attitude from the

mere impact of its presence. However, they are inconsistent with a recent set of studies (Lambert *et al.*'s, 1996) which showed that anticipating to encounter an audience leads to a greater consistency with initial attitudes. This discrepancy may be due, in large part, to the use of very different measures of prejudice expression. Actually, Lambert *et al.* used measures of stereotyping rather than prejudice *per se*. Stereotypes are probably much more acceptable expressions of prejudice and may therefore be more amenable to variations in the direction of greater prejudice expression.

In conclusion, this study provides evidence that individual differences in the monitoring of expressive behaviour, as captured by the self-monitoring scale, can moderate the impact of situational norms on the expression of prejudice. More specifically, we have shown that, when expressing their attitudes about an out-group, high self-monitors tend to converge more with their audience's perceived attitude than do low self-monitors. Generally, our data suggest that studying the cognitive and motivational underpinnings of prejudiced attitudes, in and of themselves, may not be sufficient for understanding their expression, as social and contextual factors such as the presence of a social audience and an actor's perceptions of what is normative from the perspective of that audience may critically influence the public expression of prejudiced attitudes.

Acknowledgements

This research and the preparation of this report have been supported in part by a postdoctoral fellowship from the Belgian American Education Foundation to Olivier Klein, and by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to Mark Snyder. We would like to thank Layla Stevenson, Austin Baldwin and Anne-Laure Rousseau for their very generous assistance in data collection. We are also grateful to Clifton Oyamoto and Lorella Lepore for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

Portions of this article were presented at the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the American Psychological Society, Toronto, 14–17 June 2001.

References

- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Blanchard, F. A., Crandall, C. S., Brigham, J. C., & Vaughn, L. A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 993–997.
- Blanchard, F. A., Lilly, T., & Vaughn, L. A. (1991). Reducing the expression of racial prejudice. *Psychological Science, 2*, 101–105.
- Cohen, J., & Cohen, P. (1983). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Crandall, C. S., Eshelman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 359–378.
- Crosby, F., Bromley, S., & Saxe, L. (1980). Recent unobtrusive studies of Black and White discrimination and prejudice: A literature review. *Psychological Bulletin, 87*, 546–563.
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*, 5–18.
- Devine, P. G., Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink, J. R., & Elliot, A. J. (1991). Prejudice with and without compunction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60*, 817–830.

- Devine, P. G., Plant, E. A., Amodio, D. M., Harmon Jones, E., & Vance, S. L. (2002). The regulation of explicit and implicit race bias: The role of motivations to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*, 835-848.
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *23*, 316-326.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1993). *The psychology of attitudes*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (1998). Attitude structure and function. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey, (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology*, Vol. 2 (4th ed., pp. 269-322). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fazio, R. H. (1986). How do attitudes guide behavior? In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (pp. 204-243). New York: Guilford.
- Finney, J. W., Mitchell, R. E., Cronkite, R. C., & Moos, R. H. (1984). Methodological issues in estimating main and interactive effects: Examples from coping/social support and stress field. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *25*, 85-98.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61-89). New York: Academic Press.
- Gangestad, S., & Snyder, M. (1985). "To carve nature at its joints": On the existence of discrete classes in personality. *Psychological Review*, *92*, 317-349.
- Gangestad, S., & Snyder, M. (2000). Self-monitoring: Appraisal and reappraisal. *Psychological Bulletin*, *126*, 530-555.
- Judd, C. M., & McClelland, G. H. (1989). *Data analysis: A model-comparison approach*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt.
- Judd, C. M., McClelland, G. H., & Culhane, S. E. (1995). Data analysis: Continuing issues in the everyday analysis of psychological data. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *46*, 433-465.
- Klein, O., Licata, L., Azzi, A. E., & Durala, I. (2003). How European am I? Prejudice expression and the presentation of social identity. *Self and Identity*, *2*, 251-264.
- Lambert, A. J., Cronen, S., Chasteen, A. L., & Lickel, B. (1996). Private vs. public expressions of racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *32*, 437-459.
- Larsen, K. S., Reed, M., & Hoffman, S. (1980). Attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexuality: A Likert-type scale and construct validity. *Journal of Sex Research*, *16*, 245-257.
- McCann, C. D., & Hancock, R. D. (1983). Self-monitoring in communicative interactions: Social cognitive consequences of goal-directed message modification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *19*, 109-121.
- McConahay, J. R. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91-126). New York: Academic Press.
- Monteith, M. J. (1993). Self-regulation of prejudiced responses: Implications for progress in prejudice-reduction efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *65*, 469-485.
- Monteith, M. J., Deenen, N. E., & Tooman, G. D. (1996). The effect of social norm activation on the expression of opinions concerning gay men and Blacks. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *18*, 267-288.
- Monteith, M. J., Sherman, J., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Suppression as a stereotype control strategy. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*, 63-82.
- Noel, J. G., Wann, D. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (1995). Peripheral ingroup membership status and public negativity toward outgroups. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *68*, 127-137.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *75*, 811-832.
- Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (1998). Deindividuation and antinormative behavior: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *123*, 238-259.

- Reicher, S. D., Spears, R., & Postmes, T. (1995). A social identity model of deindividuation phenomenon. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 6, 161-198.
- Ryan, M. K., Turner, J. C., & Reynolds, K. J. (2002, June). *The importance of self-categorization in understanding implicit and explicit prejudice*. Paper presented at the 13th General Meeting of the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology, San Sebastian, Spain.
- Sherif, M. (1948) The necessity of considering current issues as part and parcel of major problems: Illustrated by the problem of prejudice. *International Journal of Opinion Research*, 2, 63-68.
- Sigall, H., & Page, R. (1972). Reducing attenuation in the expression of interpersonal affect via the bogus pipeline. *Sociometry*, 35, 629-642.
- Snyder, M. (1974). Self-monitoring of expressive behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 30, 526-537.
- Snyder, M. (1979). Self-monitoring processes. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 85-128). New York: Academic Press.
- Snyder, M. (1987). *Public appearances/Private realities: The psychology of self-monitoring*. New York: Freeman.
- Snyder, M., & Cantor, N. (1998). Understanding personality and social behavior: A functionalist strategy. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology: Vol. 1*. (4th ed., pp. 635-679). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Snyder, M., & Gangestad, S. (1986). On the nature of self-monitoring: Matters of assessment, matters of validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 125-139.
- Snyder, M., & Ickes, W. (1985). Personality and social behavior. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 883-948). New York: Random House.
- Snyder, M., & Kendzierski, D. (1982). Acting on one's attitudes: Procedures for linking attitude and behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 18, 165-183.
- Snyder, M., & Monson, T. C. (1975). Persons, situations, and the control of social behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32, 637-644.
- Snyder, M., & Swann, W. B. (1976). When actions reflect attitudes: The politics of impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34, 1034-1042.
- Tetlock, P. E. (1992). The impact of accountability on judgment and choice: Toward a social contingency model. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 26, pp. 331-376). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Re-discovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1987). *Communicating racism: Ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Zanna, M. P., Olson, J. M., & Fazio, R. H. (1980). Attitude-behavior consistency: An individual difference perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 432-440.
- Zimbardo, P. G. (1969). The human choice: Individuation, reason, and order vs. deindividuation, impulse, and chaos. In W. J. Arnold (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (pp. 237-307). Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Received 4 December 2001; revised version received 22 November 2002