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The Long, Steep Path to Equality: Progressing on Egalitarian Goals

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The present research examined the impact that perceived progress on egalitarian goals had on subsequent racial bias. In particular, a new bogus pipeline procedure was used to provide feedback to participants that they were becoming incrementally more egalitarian. The impact of this information on intergroup behavior and attitudes was tested. In particular, we looked at the effect of goal feedback on outgroup discrimination and ingroup favoritism, as well as implicit racial attitudes. Three studies found that participants demonstrated greater racial bias after receiving feedback that they were progressing on egalitarian goals versus either feedback that they were failing on egalitarian goals or no feedback. Specifically, participants who were told that they were progressively becoming more egalitarian sat farther away from Blacks and closer to Whites and demonstrated greater implicit racial prejudice. The implication of these findings for current theories on prejudice, intergroup relations, and social goals are discussed.

Keywords: goal progress, prejudice, ingroup bias, outgroup discrimination

There is no denying that explicit expressions of racial prejudice and discrimination have declined significantly in North America over the past 50 years (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Dovidio, Gaertner, Nier, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2004; Fiske, 2002). One example of this progress is that Blacks have fulfilled prominent leadership positions in the U.S. government in recent years. For instance, both Condelezza Rice and Colin Powell served as secretary of state under the Bush administration (2001–2009), and Barack Obama was elected as the first Black president in 2008. Although these facts suggest that progress has been made toward the goal of creating a truly egalitarian society, current theorizing and research has suggested that more-subtle contemporary forms of racism and discrimination continue to exist and impact people's lives in significant ways (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The primary goal of the present studies was to investigate empirically the consequences that perceiving personal progress on goals to be egalitarian can have on subsequent implicit behaviors and attitudes. In particular, we examined whether perceived progress toward egalitarianism leads to further progress and a reduction in racial bias or to disengagement from this goal.

Recent research has suggested that performing egalitarian acts may lead to less concern for being egalitarian and increased discrimination. For example, Effron, Cameron, and Monin (2009) found that after endorsing Obama as a presidential candidate, participants favored Whites over Blacks as police officers in an area marked by racial tension. Moreover, those who endorsed Obama were more likely to allocate money to a White over a Black neighborhood if they had greater preexisting bias against Blacks. Similarly, Kaiser and her colleagues (Kaiser, Drury, Spalding, Cheryan, & O'Brien, 2009) found that after voting for Obama compared with before voting for Obama, participants were more likely to suggest that racial inequality was not a significant problem in the United States, were less likely to endorse policies aimed at reducing racial inequalities, and were more likely to endorse meritocracy. Likewise, Monin and Miller (2001) found that participants who were able to select a Black person for a hypothetical job were more likely to choose a White person for subsequent jobs. Together, this evidence suggests that perceiving oneself acting in an egalitarian manner can lead to greater intergroup bias, as indicated by a preference for Whites and a reduction in the importance placed on issues associated with egalitarianism.

Notably, current theorizing related to modern forms of prejudice has suggested that people may be ambivalent toward Blacks. That is, at times people appear motivated by egalitarian values and at other times default prejudiced actions leak out (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). These findings and others indicate that people's commitment to the goal of being egalitarian may waver and be influenced by contextual factors (Castelli & Tomelleri, 2008; Correll, Wittenbrink, Park, Judd, & Goyle, 2011; Maddux, Barden, Brewer, & Petty, 2005). The primary objective of the current work was to utilize a social goal framework (Chartrand, Dalton, & Cheng, 2008; Fishbach & Ferguson, 2007; Glaser & Knowles, 2008) to investigate one factor that might influence when people disengage from the goal to be egalitarian—perceived goal progress.

Progressing on Social Goals

Classic work on goal progress has proposed that making significant advancement toward an important goal will increase moti-

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vation to work toward completing this goal. In particular, theorizing related to the goal gradient hypothesis and the goal looms larger effect (Brendl & Higgins, 1996; J. S. Brown, 1948; Hull, 1934; Lewin, 1938; Losco & Epstein, 1977) has suggested that progress toward specific goals will accentuate our drive to succeed and reach this target. Recent research related to self-regulation, however, has suggested that progress on a focal goal may lead to temporarily disengaging from this objective. This idea was first articulated as progress-induced coasting, whereby quicker-than-anticipated progress on a focal goal resulted in relaxed efforts (Carver, 2003). Notably, disengagement from focal goals after perceived progress can even lead to behaviors that may be inconsistent with this goal (Fishbach, Dhar, & Zhang, 2006; Fishbach & Zhang, 2008; Koo & Fishbach, 2008). For example, when female dieters were led to feel that they had progressed on their weight loss goals, they were more likely to disengage from this goal and choose a chocolate bar over an apple as a parting gift. Alternatively, those who felt they had made little progress remained committed to the goal of weight loss and more often chose the apple (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005). Such theorizing and findings suggest that the effort that is required when pursuing an activated goal is reduced during goal disengagement. Indeed, effort is one of the cardinal characteristics that distinguishes motivated from passive behavior (Martin & Tesser, 2009).

A further characteristic of social goal processes is that over the course of goal pursuit, one's evaluations of objects associated with the goal vary. Specifically, while these objects enjoy greater positivity before goal engagement, this evaluation decreases during the course of the goal pursuit (Brendl, Markman, & Messner, 2003; Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Förster, Liberman, & Friedman, 2007; Moors & De Houwer, 2001). For example, priming the goal to study initially enhanced the value of attitude objects such as library and college and diminished the value of temptations such as television or chatting (Fishbach, Zhang, & Trope, 2010).

In the present context, we applied this knowledge about general processes related to goal progress to our investigation of personal progress on egalitarian goals and bias. Although examining how incidental actions and choices related to Blacks increases one's understanding of when negative racial biases may occur (Effron et al., 2009; Kaiser et al., 2009; Monin & Miller, 2001), it is limited in its predictive power and scope. By placing research associated with negative or positive behaviors toward specific social categories into a larger theoretical framework, it allows one to make more-specific as well as broader predictions related to social goals processes. In the present context, we explicitly instructed people to be egalitarian and investigated the impact of progress toward this goal on subsequent intergroup processes. In accordance with current theorizing related to social goals, we expected that after perceived progress toward this social goal, participants would disengage from this goal and subsequently exert less effort to behave in positive ways toward Blacks and would also evaluate Blacks (i.e., the goal object) less positively.

It is important to note that recent research on implicit prejudice and discrimination has demonstrated that bias against Blacks is widespread and common (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald et al., 1998; Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000; Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009; Kawakami, Phills, Steele, & Dovidio, 2007; Phills, Kawakami, Tabi, Nadolny, & Inzlicht, 2011). Experiments by Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) and others (Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996; Kawakami et al., 2007) have provided strong evidence that in general, behavior toward Blacks is marked by nonimmediacy. For example, White participants sit farther from a Black than White confederate in a job interview (Word et al., 1974) and demonstrate greater avoidance behaviors (Kawakami et al., 2007; Phills et al., 2011). Furthermore, research has suggested that negative behavior toward Blacks goes unpunished and is implicitly condoned (Kawakami et al., 2009). A vast array of experiments related to implicit measures of prejudice has similarly provided strong evidence that most nonblack North Americans hold negative attitudes toward Blacks (Dovidio et al., 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, Smoak, Gaertner, 2008; Fazio et al., 1995; Greenwald et al., 1998; Kawakami & Dovidio, 2001; Kawakami et al., 2000, 2009, 2007; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Phills et al., 2011).

In the present studies, we examined the impact that perceived progress on egalitarian goals had on both intergroup behaviors and attitudes. With regard to behaviors, we focused on both outgroup discrimination and ingroup favoritism. Theorizing and research has provided convincing evidence that intergroup bias can express itself not only as negative behavior toward an outgroup member but also as preferential treatment of members of one's own group (Brewer, 1979, 2007). While previous research related to the impact that endorsement of Obama has on support for policies favoring Whites (Effron et al., 2009; Kaiser et al., 2009) has suggested that ingroup favoritism may be influenced by egalitarian actions, these studies have focused on more-explicit measures and behaviors. The present research, alternatively, concentrated specifically on the impact of perceptions of goal progress on subtle, nonverbal behaviors that are normally considered to be outside of conscious control (Dovidio et al., 1997, 2008). In particular, we investigated how close participants sat to Black and White confederates. We expected that perceived progress toward being egalitarian would result in disengagement from this goal and therefore would increase seating distance from Blacks and decrease seating distance from Whites. A further goal of the current studies was to examine the influence that perceived progress on egalitarian goals has on intergroup attitudes. In accordance with research that has demonstrated a drop in evaluation of goal objects following goal completion (Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Förster et al., 2007), we expected that perceived egalitarian goal progress would result in less favorable attitudes toward Blacks in comparison with Whites.

Overview

In summary, the primary aim of the present research was to examine whether perceived progress on egalitarian goals would lead to an increase in biased behavior and negative racial attitudes. Three studies were conducted in which progress toward being egalitarian was manipulated by providing participants with feedback indicating that they were becoming incrementally more positive toward Blacks.

Specifically, in Study 1 we investigated the impact that perceived progress on the goal to be more egalitarian toward Blacks had on outgroup discrimination and prejudice. We proposed that

after receiving feedback that they were progressing on this goal, participants would disengage from this goal by distancing themselves from Blacks and by holding more negative implicit racial attitudes than would participants in a no-progress condition.

The purpose of Study 2 was to extend these initial findings by investigating ingroup favoritism rather than outgroup discrimination. In particular, in Study 2 we investigated whether perceived progress on an egalitarian goal would increase seating proximity to Whites and negative racial attitudes. A further goal of Study 2 was to include a control goal-progress condition. In particular, while half of the participants were given feedback that they were progressing on a goal to be positive toward Blacks (as in Study 1), the other half of the participants were given feedback that they were progressing on the goal to be positive toward Whites. While we expected goal instructions related to Blacks to impact racial attitudes and behaviors, we did not predict similar effects for Whites. In particular, because past research has demonstrated strong biases in favor of Whites, we assumed that for many of our participants the goal to be positive toward this category may be chronic (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998) and therefore less influenced by temporary goal processes (Bargh, Lombardi, & Higgins, 1988). For example, participants have not only been shown to have strong positive attitudes toward Whites but to demonstrate more-immediate and more-positive behavior toward Whites (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002; Kawakami et al., 2009, 2007; Word et al., 1974). We therefore predicted that only feedback on goal progress toward Blacks would increase seating proximity to a White confederate and increase negative implicit racial attitudes.

In Study 3, we investigated the impact of goal progress on both outgroup discrimination and ingroup favoritism within the same experiment. To examine positive and negative behavior toward both Blacks and Whites, we measured seating proximity toward both races after goal progress related to Blacks. A further step in Study 3 was to include an extra control condition. Specifically, while a third of the participants received feedback that they were progressing toward the goal to be egalitarian toward Blacks, another third received feedback that they were not progressing toward this goal, and a final third received no feedback related to their progress. In accordance with the findings in Studies 1 and 2, we predicted that feedback on goal progress toward Blacks would decrease seating proximity to a Black confederate and increase seating proximity to a White confederate relative to the no-progress and no-feedback conditions.

Study 1

Method

Participants and design. To investigate the impact that perceived progress on the goal to be egalitarian toward Blacks had on outgroup derogation and implicit racial prejudice, 43 non-Black (30 female and 13 male) undergraduate students were recruited to participate in this study for course credit. Forty-two percent of participants were Caucasian, 49% were Asian, and 9% were Hispanic. Upon arrival at the laboratory, these participants were randomly assigned to a goal-progress or no-progress condition in a between-subjects design.

Procedure. Before beginning the experiment, participants were initially informed that they would be asked to complete three unrelated ministudies. Unbeknownst to the participants, the primary aim of the first study was to manipulate participants' perceptions of progress on egalitarian goals. The aim of the second study was to examine the effect of this goal manipulation on participants' nonverbal behavior during an interaction with a Black person. Although the final study was introduced as a cognitive task that was being pretested for future use, the actual purpose of this phase was to examine the effect of the goal manipulation on implicit racial attitudes.

Manipulation of perceived goal progress. Upon arrival at the laboratory, participants were outfitted with a LifeShirt system. The LifeShirt is a noninvasive ambulatory monitoring system that is able to assess multiple physiological parameters such as cardiac and respiratory parameters. Participants were asked to slip on the vest over their T-shirts, and two electrodes were placed on their left arm and one electrode on their right arm. Next, the electrodes were connected to wires that emanated from the vest. The vest was then connected to a recorder, which had a display case that the participants could readily read.

Participants were told that the LifeShirt was cutting-edge technology that provided physiological data related to current motivations. They were further informed that their task was to try to accomplish a specific goal that would be presented on a computer screen. Specifically, after the experimenter left the room, participants were instructed to try to have positive evaluations of Black people whenever they were presented with an image of Blacks. They were further informed that their progress toward this goal would be tracked by the LifeShirt system, which measured their physiological reactions. In particular they were told that the Lifeshirt would track their heart rate, blood pressure, galvanic skin response, vasodilation, and vasoconstriction, among other indices. The participants were asked to keep still during this phase of the study to minimize the error associated with movement. Furthermore, the screen of the recorder on the Lifeshirt system flashed the word *RECORDING* throughout the fake physiological feedback phase of the study.

In total, participants completed seven blocks of trials. In each block, 20 images of Blacks and 20 images of Whites were presented in a random order for 3 s each. The images of Blacks and Whites were closely matched. For example, participants saw happy Black and White families, Black and White doctors, Black and White athletes, Black and White musicians, and Black and White businessmen. After each block, participants received feedback about their progress on the goal to be positive toward Blacks. In both feedback conditions, a partly shaded horizontal bar was presented in the middle of the computer screen and the goal *Positive Black Evaluations* anchored the right end of the bar. Participants in the progress condition were initially presented with a bar that was shaded in blue to the half-way mark. After each successive block, the feedback trend generally indicated that they were drawing closer to their goal—with more of the horizontal bar being shaded toward the right. Participants in the control condition, alternatively, were presented with feedback after each block indicating that they were not progressing toward their goal. While these participants were also initially presented with a bar that was shaded in blue to the half-way mark, with each successive block,

the shaded area of the bar decreased and moved away from the anchor at the right, which said *Positive Black Evaluations*.

In both conditions, previous feedback was presented alongside their current feedback so that they could track their ostensible physiological changes. While participants in the progress condition could clearly see progress as the shaded section drew closer to their final goal with each new bar, participants in the control condition were presented with a shaded section that indicated that the distance from their final goal was steadily increasing. Just after starting the eighth block, participants were interrupted and informed that, because the experimenter's colleague required the room, they would have to stop this task. Participants were then escorted out of the room and ushered into the hall, where they were introduced to a second experimenter, who described a second ostensibly separate study on interpersonal processes.

Nonverbal behavior. To examine the effect of goal feedback on behavior toward Blacks, all participants were asked to engage in an interpersonal closeness task based on a paradigm by Aron and colleagues (Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, & Bator, 1997; Kawakami et al., 2007). Specifically, participants were informed that their task was to get close to a partner by asking a series of questions. The questions called for self-disclosure on intimate topics. Participants were paired with a Black male confederate who was unaware of the goal-feedback condition of the participant. To begin this task, participants were asked to join the confederate, who was introduced as another participant and was waiting in a small cubicle. Participants were instructed to move a chair into the cubicle to participate in the interaction. Both the participant and the confederate were told that "this is a study of interpersonal closeness and your task is simply to get close to your partner by answering a set of questions provided on a sheet." The confederate was instructed to answer the first question, after which the participant was expected to answer the same question. Next, the participant was instructed to answer the second question, followed by the confederate. The partners were expected to continue working through the set of questions, each taking turns at being the first to answer. The questions concerned intimate details related to the person's life. Examples of these questions are, "Your house containing everything you own catches fire. After first saving your loved ones you have time to safely make a final dash to save any one item. What would it be? Why?" and, "If you were going to become close friends with someone, please share what would be important for him or her to know." The confederate was instructed to respond in a pleasant but not overly friendly fashion to all participants. Extensive training and a specific script were used to standardize the confederate's responses. To limit the impact of socially desirable responses or demand characteristics, we focused on the subtle nonverbal behavior of seating distance. Importantly, these types of immediacy behaviors have been shown to enhance closeness during interactions and be influenced by race (Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996; Kawakami et al., 2007; Word et al., 1974). After the participants had positioned their chair for the interaction, the confederate estimated the distance from the front of the participants' chair to the front of his own chair on a scale from 1 to 9. A rating of 9 on this scale indicated the farthest possible distance from the confederate in the cubicle, and a rating of 1 indicated the closest distance.

Implicit racial attitudes. To examine the effects of goal progress on implicit racial prejudice, participants were presented with an implicit association test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998). In this task, participants were instructed to categorize photographs of Black and White faces according to race and positive and negative concepts according to valence. In particular, black-and-white photographs of six Black faces and six White faces as well as six positive words (i.e., *love, cheer, rainbow, peace, happy,* and *caress*) and six negative words (i.e., *evil, pain, grief, vomit, hate,* and *filth*) were utilized.

In accordance with standard race IAT procedures (Greenwald et al., 1998; Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001), after completing several practice blocks, participants were presented with two critical blocks. In one set of critical trials, participants were instructed to use the same key when categorizing Black faces and positive words and another key when categorizing White faces and negative words. In the other set of critical trials, participants were instructed to use the same key when categorizing Black faces and negative words and another key when categorizing White faces and positive words. Each critical block consisted of 72 trials, and the order of the blocks was counterbalanced across participants. Participants were instructed to make their responses as quickly and accurately as possible. If the response was correct, the next trial was presented immediately. If the response was incorrect, however, a red *X* appeared on the screen for 800 ms before the next trial was presented.

The main premise underlying the IAT is that a person will be faster at pairing concepts that are conceptually associated than concepts that are unrelated (Greenwald et al., 1998; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). In the present context, for example, if a person associated Blacks more with negativity than Whites, they would be faster during the block when Blacks and unpleasant concepts shared the same key than during the block when Blacks and pleasant concepts shared a key.

After completing the IAT, participants were carefully probed for awareness (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000) and extensively debriefed about the feedback manipulation. Responses indicated that none of the participants were aware of the main hypotheses, and no one suspected any relationship between the three parts of the study.

Although previous research has demonstrated that negative behaviors and attitudes toward Blacks are common (Greenwald et al., 1998; Kawakami et al., 2007; Phills et al., 2011), we expected that participants who received feedback that they had progressed on the goal to be egalitarian would demonstrate more-negative immediacy behaviors by sitting farther away from the Black confederate and stronger associations between Blacks and negative concepts on the IAT than would participants in the no-progress feedback condition.

Results and Discussion

To examine the effect of goal progress on participants' behavior toward a Black confederate, we performed a *t* test on seating distance as a function of goal feedback (progress vs. no progress). As predicted, participants who were given feedback that they were progressing on the goal to be positive toward Blacks ($M = 7.90$, $SD = 1.18$) sat significantly farther away from the Black confed-

erate than did participants in the no-progress condition ($M = 6.86$, $SD = 1.93$), $t(41) = 2.12$, $p = .04$, $d = 0.65$.[1]

Before analyzing the data related to the attitude IAT, response latencies in which participants gave incorrect answers (8.5%) were excluded and a cutoff strategy (as determined by the percentage of trials) was used to reduce outlier effects (Ratcliff, 1993). Specifically, response latencies that were less than 300 ms or more than 2,000 ms (4.1%) were identified as outliers and recoded to 300 and 2,000. IAT scores were created by calculating the difference between mean response latencies for the two critical blocks such that higher IAT scores represented stronger associations between unpleasantness and Blacks relative to Whites.

We then performed a *t* test on the IAT scores as a function of goal feedback (progress vs. no progress). As predicted, participants who were given feedback that they were progressing on the goal to be positive toward Blacks demonstrated greater implicit prejudice on the IAT ($M = 160$, $SD = 140$) than did participants in the no-progress condition ($M = 52$, $SD = 120$), $t(41) = 2.70$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.82$.[2] Notably, seating distance was not significantly related to the IAT scores, $r(43) = .18$, $p = .16$.

In summary, in accordance with recent theorizing on processes related to social goals (Fitzsimons & Fishbach, 2010; Förster et al., 2007), the results from Study 1 demonstrate that perceiving progress on egalitarian goals can lead to disengagement from this goal. Participants who received feedback that they were successfully nearing the goal of being positive toward Blacks subsequently demonstrated increased racial bias. In particular, these participants sat farther away from a Black confederate and demonstrated higher implicit racial prejudice than did participants whose feedback indicated that they were not progressing toward this goal.

These initial findings are noteworthy for several reasons. First, the present research is the first to demonstrate that personal progress on egalitarian goals can lead to increased bias both in terms of behavior toward Blacks and racial attitudes. According to current theorizing on social goals, when participants perceive that they have progressed toward their focal goal, they disengage from that goal, reduce their efforts, and become less positive toward the goal object (Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Förster et al., 2007). This process has significant implications for race relations because it results in less immediate behaviors toward Blacks and more prejudice. Second, the focus of the present work on nonverbal behaviors and implicit attitudes indicates that the impact of these types of goals are not related to explicit reactance processes or controlled responses to experimental manipulations. By demonstrating that perceived progress in being positive toward Blacks influences subtle discriminatory behavior and attitudes, this study provides new information on the importance of advancing toward egalitarian goals for intergroup relations.

While Study 1 investigated the impact of goal progress on reactions to Blacks, the primary aim of Study 2 was to examine its impact on behavior toward Whites. Although the procedure in this study was similar to that in Study 1, there were two main modifications. First, to examine the impact that progress on egalitarian goals had on ingroup favoritism, we focused on responses to a White rather than a Black target. Second, in addition to the goal to be positive toward Blacks, we also included a condition in which participants were instructed to be positive toward Whites.

Study 2

Method

Participants and design. Ninety-three (59 female and 34 male) undergraduate students were recruited to participate in the experiment for course credit. Fifty-two percent of the participants were Caucasian, 41% were Asian, 6% were Hispanic, and one participant did not identify his/her ethnic/racial background. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (goal feedback: progress vs. no progress) × 2 (type of goal: Black goals vs. White goals) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Upon arrival at the laboratory, participants were informed that they would be involved in three unrelated ministudies. The purpose of these phases was to manipulate perceptions of goal progress and to measure nonverbal immediacy behaviors and implicit prejudice.

Perceived goal progress manipulation. To manipulate perceptions of goal progress, we used the same procedure as in Study 1 with one exception—we added a White goal condition. In particular, while half of the participants were provided with the instructions to be positive toward Blacks, the other half of the participants were instructed to be positive toward Whites. These latter participants were specifically instructed to try to have positive evaluations of Whites whenever they were presented with an image of Whites. As in the Black goal condition, they were further informed that their progress would be tracked by the LifeShirt system. These participants were presented with progress bars with *Goal: Positive Evaluations to Whites* anchoring the right side. While half of the participants in both the Black and White goal conditions were presented with the same type of feedback in the progress condition as was used in Study 1, in which the graph indicated that they were drawing closer to their goal, the other half of the participants were presented with the same type of feedback as in the no-progress condition used in Study 1, in which the graph indicated that the distance from their goal was steadily increasing.

Nonverbal behavior. To investigate the effect of egalitarian goal progress on ingroup favoritism, we examined reactions to a White target. In particular, after the goal feedback manipulation, participants were asked to wait in the hall while the experimenter set up the next task. The experimenter then casually mentioned that another participant named Brad was already waiting outside. The name *Brad* had been identified by initial piloting in our laboratory and in other studies as a stereotypical White name (Greenwald et

[1] Initial analyses investigated the impact of participants' sex and race/ethnicity in Study 1. In particular, a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress) × Participant Sex × Participant Race/Ethnicity (Caucasian vs. non-Caucasian/Hispanic) analysis of variance was performed on seating distance and IAT scores. Neither the sex of the participant nor the race/ethnicity of the participant interacted with the main effect of goal feedback on seating distance, Fs(1, 35) $< .03$, ps $> .86$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, or the IAT, Fs(1, 35) $< .77$, ps $> .39$, $\eta_p^2 < .02$.

[2] The same pattern of results was found using an alternative IAT scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). Specifically, participants who were given feedback that they were progressing on the goal to be positive toward Blacks demonstrated greater implicit prejudice on the IAT ($D = .31$) than did participants in the no-progress condition ($D = .09$), $t(41) = 3.31$, $p = .002$, $d = 1.01$.

al., 1998). In the hall, eight chairs were lined up against a wall. A jacket and backpack, ostensibly belonging to Brad, was placed on the farthest chair. Participants were told, "Brad must have gone to the washroom and should be back at any time." The experimenter asked participants to take a seat to wait for the next study. The experimenter took note of the participants' seating choice. In particular, the chair closest to the seat with Brad's jacket was recorded as *1* and the chair farthest from the seat with Brad's jacket was recorded as *7*. Lower scores, therefore, represented a closer proximity and more immediacy toward the White confederate (Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994).

Implicit racial attitudes. After waiting in the hall for 5 min, participants were brought back into the laboratory and placed in front of a computer in a small cubicle. They were then presented with the same measure of implicit racial attitudes, the IAT, used in Study 1.

After completing the IAT, participants were carefully probed for awareness (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000) and extensively debriefed about the feedback manipulation. None of the participants' responses indicated that they were aware of the main hypotheses, and no one suspected any relationship between the three parts of the study.

In accordance with the findings in Study 1, we hypothesized that perceived progress on the goal of being positive toward Blacks would result in more racial bias. In particular, we expected that participants who received feedback that they had progressed on the goal to be positive toward Blacks would sit closer to the White confederate and demonstrate stronger associations between Blacks and negative concepts on the IAT than would participants in the no-progress feedback condition. Because past research has demonstrated strong biases in favor of Whites, we assumed that for many participants, this goal would be chronic and less influenced by temporary goal manipulations (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990). We therefore did not expect goal progress toward being positive toward Whites to influence seating distance or attitude.

Results and Discussion

To examine the effect that progress on goals to be positive toward Blacks or Whites had on nonverbal behavior, we performed a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress) × Type of Goal (Black goal vs. White goal) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on seating distance to a White confederate. A significant main effect of type of goal was found, with participants sitting closer to the White confederate when instructed to be positive toward Whites (M = 5.15, SD = 1.59) rather than Blacks (M = 5.86, SD = 1.34), $F(1, 86) = 5.53$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. This effect, however, was qualified by the predicted Goal Feedback × Type of Goal interaction, $F(1, 87) = 5.91$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. As expected, when examining goals related to Blacks, simple effects analyses demonstrated that participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks subsequently sat closer to the White confederate (M = 5.41, SD = 1.47) than did participants in the no-progress condition (M = 6.30, SD = 1.03), $t(40) = 2.25$, p = .03, $d = 0.70$. However, when examining goals related to Whites, goal progress did not influence seating distance. In particular, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Whites did not differ in their seating distance to the White confederate (M = 5.40, SD = 1.73) when compared with participants in the no-progress condition (M = 4.87, SD = 1.39), $t(47) = 1.16$, $p = .25$, $d = 0.34$.[3]

Before analyzing the data related to the attitude IAT, response latencies in which participants gave incorrect answers (6.0%) were excluded and response latencies that were less than 300 ms and more than 2,000 ms (2.8%) were identified as outliers and recoded to 300 ms and 2,000 ms, respectively. Before examining the effect of goal progress on implicit racial attitudes, we created IAT scores by calculating the difference between mean response latencies for the two critical blocks such that higher IAT scores represented stronger associations between unpleasantness and Blacks relative to Whites.

To examine the effect that progress on goals to be positive toward Blacks or Whites had on implicit racial attitudes, we performed a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress) × Type of Goal (Black goal vs. White goal) ANOVA on participants' IAT scores. The only significant effect was the Goal Feedback × Type of Goal interaction, $F(1, 88) = 4.75$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Replicating the findings from Study 1, simple effects analyses related to Black goals demonstrated that participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks had somewhat higher implicit prejudice (M = 104, SD = 153) than did participants in the no-progress condition (M = 24, SD = 138), $t(41) = 1.80$, $p = .08$, $d = 0.55$. Alternatively, when examining goals related to Whites, goal progress did not influence responses on the IAT. As expected, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Whites did not differ in their level of implicit prejudice (M = 53, SD = 140) from participants in the no-progress condition (M = 99, SD = 123), $t(47) = 1.22$, $p = .23$, $d = -0.35$.[4] As in Study 1, seating distance was not significantly related to IAT scores, $r(93) = -.04$, $p = .73$.

These findings provide further evidence that after perceiving progress on a goal to be egalitarian toward Blacks, participants demonstrate more racial bias. Notably, discrimination in this study took the form of ingroup favoritism. In particular, after receiving feedback that they were becoming increasingly more positive toward Blacks in their physiological responses, participants sat closer to a White confederate. In accordance with theorizing re-

[3] To examine the effect of participants' sex and race/ethnicity in Study 2, a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress) × Type of Goal (Black goal vs. White goal) × Participant Sex × Participant Race/Ethnicity (Caucasian vs. non-Caucasian/Hispanic) ANOVA was performed on seating distance and IAT scores. Neither the sex nor the race/ethnicity of the participant interacted with the primary Goal Feedback × Type of Goal interaction effect on the seating distance, Fs(1, 73) < .19, ps > .67, $\eta_p^2 < .004$, or the IAT, Fs(1, 73) < 1.35, ps > .25, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

[4] The Goal Feedback × Type of Goal interaction was also significant with the alternative IAT scoring algorithm (Greenwald et al., 2003), $F(1, 88) = 4.94$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Specifically, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks had marginally higher implicit prejudice (D = .21) than did participants in the no-progress condition (D = .08), $t(41) = 1.56$, $p = .13$, $d = 0.48$. Alternatively, when examining goals related to Whites, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Whites had somewhat but not significantly lower levels of implicit prejudice (D = .10) than did participants in the no-progress condition (D = .22), $t(47) = 1.59$, $p = .12$, $d = -0.45$.

lated to the prevalence of ingroup bias (Brewer & Brown, 1998; R. Brown, & Zagefka, 2005) and recent results by Effron and colleagues (2009), who found that after endorsing Obama, people were more likely to show a positive bias toward Whites, the current work demonstrates that in general personal progress on an egalitarian goal promotes positive treatment of Whites. Furthermore, replicating the results of Study 1, the present experiment provides additional evidence that perceived progress on the goal of being egalitarian toward Blacks resulted in higher implicit prejudice relative to those in the no-progress condition. As predicted, we did not find similar progress effects for goals related to being positive toward Whites.

Study 3 was guided by two primary aims. First, we wanted to examine the effect of egalitarian goal progress on both ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination within the same experimental study. Second, we included a no-feedback control condition. Although we assumed based on previous theorizing that changes in bias in Studies 1 and 2 were due to perceived progress in goal pursuit, it is possible that these results were driven by the no-progress feedback. Specifically, although we proposed that participants disengage from the goal to be egalitarian after perceiving progress on this goal, and therefore subsequently reduce their efforts and regress to default levels of intergroup bias that have often been shown to be negative (Greenwald et al., 1998; Kawakami et al., 2007; Rudman et al., 2001), an alternative explanation is that when participants perceive themselves moving farther away from their goal to be egalitarian, they subsequently assert more effort to decrease intergroup bias. To examine this possibility, all participants in Study 3 were instructed to try to be positive toward Blacks and were provided with either no feedback or feedback suggesting that they were progressing or not progressing toward this goal.

Study 3

Method

Participants and design. Eighty-nine (59 female and 30 male) undergraduate students participated in the experiment for course credit. Forty-three percent of participants were Caucasian, 48% were Asian, 8% were Hispanic, and one person did not identify his/her ethnic/racial background. Participants were assigned to one of six conditions in a 3 (goal feedback: progress vs. no progress vs. no feedback) × 2 (target race: Black confederate vs. White confederate) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Upon arrival at the laboratory, participants were informed that they would be involved in two unrelated ministudies. As in Study 1, the primary aim of the first study was to manipulate goal progress and the aim of the second study was to measure nonverbal immediacy behaviors during an intimate interaction with either a Black or White confederate. To enhance the perception that these two phases were distinct experiments, as in Study 1, a different research assistant was used in each phase.

Perceived goal progress manipulation. All participants in this experiment were assigned the goal to try to be positive toward Blacks whenever they were presented with an image of Blacks. While a third of the participants received visual feedback during this task that indicated that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks based on physiological responses measured with a LifeShirt, a third received feedback that they were not progressing, and the final third received no feedback. Specifically, participants in the latter condition were presented with an animation between blocks that informed them that the task was being *PROCESSED*.

Nonverbal behaviors. Next, all participants completed the same closeness game used in Study 1 but with two modifications. First, while half of the participants interacted with a Black confederate, the other half of the participants interacted with a White confederate. Importantly, both confederates were trained to respond similarly in this task and were unaware of goal feedback condition. Second, while confederates were extensively trained in Study 1 to estimate on a 9-point scale the physical distance between the participants' chair and their position, confederates in Study 3 measured this distance. Specifically, after participants placed a chair in the room to begin the interaction and then were ushered into an adjoining room to sort out participation credits, the confederates measured the distance between the front of their chair and the front of the participants' chair in inches before the participant was brought back into the room. This distance could range from 1 to 52 inches away from the confederate.

After completing the study, participants were carefully probed for awareness (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000) and extensively debriefed about the feedback manipulation. None of the participants' responses indicated that they were aware of the main hypotheses, and no one suspected any relationship between the two parts of the study.

We expected that perceived progress on the goal of being positive toward Blacks would results in both outgroup discrimination and ingroup bias. Specifically, we hypothesized that participants who received feedback that they had progressed on the goal to be positive toward Blacks would sit farther from the Black confederate and closer to the White confederate than would participants in the no-progress-feedback or no-feedback conditions.

Results and Discussion

To examine the effect that feedback related to progress on the goal to be positive toward Blacks had on nonverbal behavior toward Whites and Blacks, we performed a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress vs. no feedback) × Target Race (Black confederate vs. White confederate) ANOVA on seating distance. Only the Goal Feedback × Target Race interaction was significant, $F(2, 80) = 9.53$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. Simple effects analyses related to the Black confederate replicated the findings in Study 1, $F(2, 40) = 4.82$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. In particular, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks sat farther from the Black confederate ($M = 43.78$, $SD = 1.81$) than did participants in the no-progress condition ($M = 40.38$, $SD = 5.13$), $t(27) = 2.41$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.88$, and participants in the no-feedback condition ($M = 37.66$, $SD = 7.46$), $t(25) = 3.08$, $p = .005$, $d = 1.13$. Participants in the no-progress feedback condition, alternatively, did not differ in seating distance to the Black confederate ($M = 40.38$, $SD = 5.13$) from participants in the no-feedback condition ($M = 37.66$, $SD = 7.46$), $t(24) = 1.10$, $p = .28$, $d = 0.42$.

Furthermore, analyses related to the White confederate replicated the findings in Study 2, $F(2, 44) = 4.78$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. In particular, participants who received feedback that they were becoming more positive toward Blacks sat closer to the White

confederate ($M = 39.87$, $SD = 3.74$) than did participants in the no-progress condition ($M = 42.78$, $SD = 3.17$), $t(28) = 2.30$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.84$, and the no-feedback condition ($M = 43.86$, $SD = 4.01$), $t(28) = 2.82$, $p = .009$ .05, $d = 1.03$. Participants in the no-progress-feedback condition, alternatively, did not differ in seating distance to the White confederate ($M = 42.78$, $SD = 3.17$) compared with participants in the no-feedback condition ($M = 43.86$, $SD = 4.01$), $t(28) = 0.81$, $p = .42$, $d = 0.30$.[5]

The results from Study 3 provide further evidence that making progress on a goal to be positive toward Blacks influenced subtle nonverbal behaviors toward both Blacks and Whites. Specifically, all participants in Study 3 were given the goal to be positive toward Blacks. After participants received feedback that they were progressing on this goal, they sat farther from a Black confederate and closer to a White confederate than did participants in either the no-progress or no-feedback control conditions.

These findings provide support for our assumption that the present pattern of results is related to perceived progress toward being egalitarian rather than failure. While participants who were provided with feedback that they were drawing closer to their goal of being egalitarian demonstrated increased racial bias, participants who were provided with feedback that the distance from their goal was steadily increasing did not differ in their level of racial bias from participants who received no feedback. This pattern of results indicates that perceived progress on egalitarian goals can lead to disengagement from this goal and result in levels of outgroup discrimination and ingroup favoritism that are higher than when still pursuing the activated goal.

Notably, a close perusal of the means in Figure 1 indicates that in the no-feedback conditions, participants sat closer to the Black confederate than the White confederate, $t(25) = -2.77$, $p < .01$, $d = -1.04$. While in general, research has demonstrated that non-Black participants often sit farther from a Black than White target (Kawakami et al., 2007; Word et al., 1974), the present findings indicate that when instructed to be positive toward Blacks, participants take these instructions seriously and are able to reduce or reverse their biases. However, when progress is perceived on this focal goal, social distance is increased. As predicted, these effects are comparable on a conceptual level for both ingroup and outgroup confederates, suggesting a similar mechanism. As denoted by the interaction, when instructed to be positive toward Blacks, only participants who received feedback that they were progressing on this goal increased bias by being either more negative toward Blacks or more positive toward Whites.

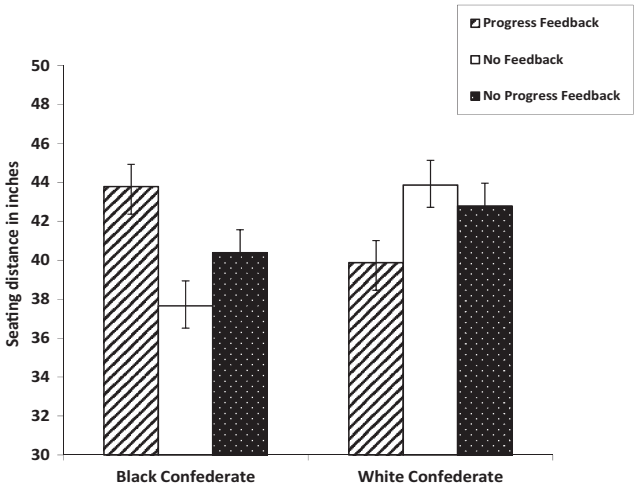

Figure 1. Seating distance as a function of goal feedback and race of confederate in Study 3. Means are displayed with standard error bars.

General Discussion

The primary aim of the present studies was to investigate the impact of progress on goals to be positive toward Blacks. The results from this research provide evidence of a direct causal relationship between perceiving progress on egalitarian goals and both nonverbal behaviors and implicit racial attitudes. Specifically, after receiving feedback related to progress on egalitarian goals, participants sat farther away from Blacks (Studies 1 and 3) and closer to Whites (Studies 2 and 3). Furthermore, these participants also demonstrated greater implicit prejudice (Studies 1 and 2). Notably, seating distance was not correlated with implicit attitudes in Studies 1 and 2. Though unexpected, these latter findings suggest that while both are influenced by perceived goal progress, prejudice and discrimination are distinct processes that are only moderately related in the present context (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996).

Current theorizing on social goals has suggested one reason why perceived progress on egalitarian goals can lead to increased racial bias. After perceiving progress on a focal goal, people disengage from this goal to focus their attention elsewhere. In accordance with this theorizing, we predicted and found that progress on goals to be egalitarian lead to a reduction in approach orientation and positive behavior toward Blacks (Fitzsimons & Fishbach, 2010) and in positive implicit attitudes of goal-relevant objects (Ferguson, 2008; Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Förster et al., 2007).

We assumed that disengaging from the goal of being egalitarian led to increased implicit prejudice and discrimination because attention was focused away from this goal, efforts to be positive toward Blacks were reduced, and therefore participants reverted to levels of bias that occurred before they were motivated to be nonprejudiced. However it is possible that disengagement from the focal goal can allow a person to pursue other unattended goals (Fitzsimons & Fishbach, 2010). For example, theorizing related to modern forms of racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) has suggested that participants not only may be motivated to be egalitarian and positive toward Blacks but also may be motivated to be prejudiced and negative toward Blacks. Accordingly, it is feasible that when participants advance on their goal to become more egalitarian, they may not simply revert to default levels of bias but may actually switch to goals related to being prejudice. While this initial set of studies focused on goals to be positive toward Blacks, future research may fruitfully investigate the interesting possibility that

[5] To examine the effect of participants' sex and race/ethnicity in Study 3, a Goal Feedback (progress vs. no progress vs. no feedback) × Target Race (Black confederate vs. White confederate) × Participant Sex × Participant Race/Ethnicity (Caucasian vs. non-Caucasian/Hispanic) ANOVA was performed on seating distance and IAT scores. Neither the sex nor the race/ethnicity of the participant interacted with the primary Goal Feedback × Target Race interaction effect on the seating distance, $Fs(1, 73) < 1.15$, $ps > .29$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$.

participants also have goals to be prejudiced and that progress on these types of goals, ironically, may reduce racial bias.

One of the strengths of the present work is that it focuses on actual behaviors toward Blacks as well as Whites. These findings clearly indicate that factors related to goal progress that impact reactions to Blacks also influence behavior toward Whites. While theoretically important, research has seldom examined the impact of strategies to reduce bias on outgroup discrimination and ingroup favoritism. Notably, the present research demonstrates a conceptually similar impact of goal progress on behavior toward both Blacks and Whites. Specifically, progress toward being positive to Blacks led to decreased immediacy with Blacks and increased immediacy with Whites. Future work, however, needs to continue to examine the extent to which perceived egalitarian feedback influences both types of racial bias.

A further avenue for future work is to examine the impact that progress toward being egalitarian toward Blacks has on threats to one's racial identity. It is possible that perceptions of being too positive toward an outgroup can lead to the goal to reaffirm one's ingroup identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Although the present experiments demonstrate the impact of this type of progress on behaviors and attitudes toward both Blacks and Whites, investigating mechanisms specifically related to ingroup threat may prove to be useful. Moreover, it is recommended that future work supplement these results related to the IAT with alternative measures, such as sequential priming tasks, that can better tease apart ingroup and outgroup attitudes.

Although recent research on moral credentials that centers on the Obama election (e.g., Effron et al., 2009; Kaiser et al., 2009) is related to the current work, our focus on everyday perceptions of egalitarianism differs in important ways. While the moral credentials research has suggested that decisions to elect a Black president can have ironic consequences on controlled behavior, the current experiments extend this work by placing these findings in a larger social goal context. In particular, the present results demonstrate that perceiving personal progress on goals to be positive toward Blacks in general can have widespread repercussions for subsequent discriminatory behavior and attitudes. Moreover, these results were found on more-implicit, less-deliberative responses that are hard to control in actual interracial settings.

Though subtle, these types of response can also have important implications. For example, classic studies by Word et al. (1974) on self-fulfilling prophecies have suggested that less-immediate nonverbal behaviors, such as those demonstrated in the present research, have a significant impact on subsequent evaluations and hiring decisions and can result in spiraling negative interracial interactions. Likewise, recent research and a meta-analysis have demonstrated that implicit measures can predict important behaviors in socially sensitive domains (Dovidio et al., 2002; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009).

The present research raises the possibility that adopting a goals context to investigate the impact of being egalitarian can allow for a more fine tuned analysis of this process. In utilizing this framework, one is provided with a rich set of principles and theorizing related to goal pursuit (Förster et al., 2007; Moskowitz & Grant, 2009) that broadens the scope of the present findings and suggests future avenues for research. For example, if progress on an egalitarian goal leads to disengagement, what are the factors that influence perception of goal progress? How much perceived progress is necessary to disengage? How long will this disengagement last? What occurs when impediments toward goal progress are in place, such as when one must interact with a racist (Kawakami et al., 2009)? What other goals and motivations will compete with the focal goal to be egalitarian? Is it rational/advantageous to disengage from primary goal pursuits to pursue secondary goals? Importantly, by using this social goal framework one can examine how goals to be fair and just to other social categories compare and contrast with other important goals that people often pursue (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005; Fishbach & Zhang, 2008; Fiske, 2010).

One specific set of studies that we plan to run in the near future is related to how perceptions of goal progress are related to specific social comparisons of racial inequality. Recent research has indicated that Whites and ethnic/racial minorities may use different reference points when assessing whether progress has been made toward reducing bias (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). Specifically, this work has suggested that while Whites spontaneously use the past in comparison to the present when evaluating racial inequality and therefore perceive progress, ethnic minorities use the ideal of true racial equality in comparison to current conditions and therefore perceive less progress and a greater need for improvement. In light of the present findings, these perceptions can have serious consequences for ongoing race relations.

Finally, while the goal to be egalitarian was activated externally in our studies, future work needs to begin to establish whether externally activated goals operate in the same way as personally pursued goals. We suspect that this is indeed the case because studies have demonstrated that goals that are activated outside of conscious awareness and by our environments operate on the same principles as goals people pursue on their own (Ferguson, 2008). However, the impact of this distinction in relation to egalitarian goals remains an empirical question and merits further consideration.

Besides providing a new framework from which to approach prejudice and discrimination, the present research provides initial insights into when people disengage from egalitarian goals and thus suggests new strategies to combat biases. Although it is disheartening to conclude that perceived progress on being egalitarian can have negative effects for intergroup relations, these findings coincide with a comment by Nelson Mandela that "after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb" (Mandela, 1995).

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