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Pers Soc Psychol Bull 2013 39: 401 originally published online 31 January 2013
DOI: 10.1177/0146167213475367

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Personality and Social
Psychology Bulletin
39(3) 401–414
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DOI: 10.1177/0146167213475367
pspb.sagepub.com


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Abstract

Whites' nonprejudiced behavior toward racial/ethnic minorities can be attributionally ambiguous for perceivers, who may wonder whether the behavior was motivated by a genuine *internal* commitment to egalitarianism or was *externally motivated* by desires to avoid appearing prejudiced to others. This article reports the development of a scale that measures perceptions of Whites' internal and external motives for avoiding prejudice (Perceived Internal Motivation Scale/Perceived External Motivation Scale [PIMS/PEMS]) and tests of its internal, test–retest, discriminant, convergent, and predictive validity among ethnic minority perceivers. Minorities perceived Whites as having internal and external motives for nonprejudiced behavior that were theoretically consistent with but distinct from established measures of minority-group members' concerns in interracial interactions. Tests of the predictive validity of PIMS/PEMS showed that when a White evaluator praised the mediocre essay of a minority target, minorities who were high PEMS and low PIMS were most likely to regard the feedback as inauthentic and derogate the quality of the essay.

Keywords

prejudice, attributional ambiguity, stigma, intergroup processes, interracial interaction

Received November 30, 2011; revision accepted November 12, 2012

Strong egalitarian norms in contemporary American society discourage racial prejudice and discrimination (Bobo, 2001; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Individuals seen as racists are stigmatized in many quarters of society and subjected to social as well as legal sanctions (e.g., Civil Rights Acts of 1964,). Overall, antiprejudice norms greatly benefit society by helping to decrease overt forms of racial prejudice (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994). Strong antiprejudice norms may also, however, make Whites' positive behavior toward ethnic minorities attributionally ambiguous (Crocker & Major, 1989). When Whites praise ethnic minorities, or otherwise treat them favorably, especially under ambiguous circumstances, perceivers may question whether the behavior was motivated by a genuine *internal* commitment to egalitarianism or was *externally motivated* by desires to avoid appearing prejudiced to others (Plant & Devine, 1998). As a result, perceivers may sometimes be uncertain whether positive feedback from Whites is genuine.

This dilemma of discernment is especially salient for minority recipients, and may have important implications for their behavior, cognition, interracial relationships, and self-perceptions (e.g., Aronson & Inzlicht, 2004). Yet, surprisingly little is known about how minorities perceive Whites' motives for behaving in positive, nonprejudiced ways. The current work addresses this question. We report the development and validation of a measure assessing ethnic minorities' perceptions of Whites' motives to avoid prejudice, and its two subscales, the Perceived Internal Motivation Scale (PIMS) and the Perceived External Motivation Scale (PEMS).

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Paradoxical Responses of Ethnic Minorities to Positive Feedback From Whites

Several studies suggest that under certain conditions, ethnic minorities may, paradoxically, react negatively to positive interpersonal feedback from Whites. For example, Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, and Major (1991) found that African American students' self-esteem decreased following positive interpersonal feedback from White peers when they believed their race was known, but not when they believed their race was unknown. Hoyt, Aguilar, Kaiser, Blascovich, and Lee (2007) replicated this finding among Latina American students and also showed that the more they attributed Whites' positive feedback to race, the worse they felt about themselves. In another demonstration (Mendes, Major, McCoy, & Blascovich, 2008), Black students who received positive interpersonal feedback from a White partner (who knew their race) showed a threat pattern of cardiovascular responses, and performed worse on a cognitive task compared with Black students who received positive feedback from a Black partner, or Whites regardless of condition. Collectively, these and other studies (e.g., Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, & Crocker, 1996) suggest that ethnic minorities sometimes respond negatively to positive feedback from Whites.

What explains these paradoxical results? We suggest that they may reflect minorities' uncertainty about the authenticity of some types of positive responses from Whites. Specifically, minorities' belief that (some) Whites are prejudiced coupled with awareness that sanctions are (sometimes) imposed on Whites who exhibit prejudice may lead them to suspect that positive feedback from Whites is motivated by external pressures, such as the desire to avoid appearing prejudiced to others, rather than by real liking or respect. This suspicion may be activated when Whites' responses toward minorities appear to be "overly" positive or ambiguous with regard to whether it was deserved. For example, in the studies described above, minorities received highly positive interpersonal feedback from a previously unknown White peer who knew little about them. Under such circumstances, they may have been uncertain whether the feedback was authentic. Uncertainty, particularly as it relates to the self, is aversive (van den Bos, 2009). Consequently, individuals who are uncertain of the authenticity of positive feedback may react negatively to it.

Avoiding the Appearance of Prejudice and the Role of Positive Responses

Minorities often have good reason to question positive overtures from Whites. Contemporary racial prejudice is often covert, subtle, and indirect (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Whites' explicit racial attitudes are often

more positive than their implicit attitudes (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) and their public responses to ethnic minorities are often more positive than their private responses (e.g., Plant & Devine, 2001). Antiprejudice norms contribute to this discordance. Because of the stigma associated with being seen as a racist (Crandall et al., 2002), Whites experience evaluation apprehension and often regulate their thoughts, feelings, and behavior to avoid appearing prejudiced in interracial interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Whites also sometimes act especially positively to minorities to signal that they are not prejudiced (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2007). For example, Whites evaluated Black job applicants more favorably than identically qualified White applicants (Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1978) and evaluated essays ostensibly written by Black students more favorably than when the same essays were ostensibly written by White students (Harber, 2004).

Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice

Plant and Devine (1998) suggested that two motives underlie Whites' positive responses toward minorities. Whites might be *internally* motivated to treat minorities fairly because of personally important egalitarian beliefs and might also be *externally* motivated to treat minorities positively to avoid the social repercussions of being labeled a racist. Plant and Devine developed the Internal (IMS) and External (EMS) Motivations Scales to measure these motives. IMS and EMS are independent constructs that predict behavior above and beyond explicit measures of prejudice (Kunstman, Zielaskowski, & Plant, 2012). Whereas explicit measures of prejudice reflect evaluative responses toward racial out-groups, IMS and EMS assess individuals' distinct motivations to respond without prejudice because of personal commitments to egalitarianism (IMS) and social pressures (EMS).

Whites motivated purely by internal factors (i.e., high IMS/low EMS) exhibit low levels of implicit and explicit prejudice, and tend to be most engaged and approach-oriented in interracial settings (e.g., Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Plant, Devine, & Peruche, 2010). In contrast, Whites motivated exclusively by social concerns (i.e., high EMS/low IMS) display the highest levels of prejudice and most negative response toward minorities (e.g., Devine et al., 2002; Plant & Devine, 1998). Furthermore, they sometimes respond positively toward minorities in public, but negatively when the threat of social sanctions is removed (Plant & Devine, 2001). Whites motivated by internal and external factors (i.e., high in IMS and EMS) often have genuine egalitarian beliefs, but also have difficulty regulating biased responses (e.g., Amodio, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2008). Thus, minority-group members frequently face a complex attributional problem when assessing nonprejudiced behavior on the part of Whites. Surprisingly, despite

extensive research examining how Whites' motives for responding without prejudice affect their behavior, research has tested neither how minorities perceive these motives nor how these meta-perceptions shape their responses to positive treatment directed toward themselves or other minorities. The current research fills this empirical gap.

Current Research: Minority-Group Perceptions of Majority Group Motives

We propose that minorities' beliefs about Whites' motives for nonprejudiced behavior are based on their perceptions of intergroup relations and their personal experiences. Some minorities perceive intergroup relations with Whites to be negative or conflicted, whereas others perceive them to be generally positive or cooperative. Minorities who believe intergroup relations are generally positive, or who interact regularly with Whites who are egalitarian publically and privately, may come to believe Whites are primarily internally motivated to respond without prejudice. As a result, they are likely to interpret positive feedback directed toward themselves and other minorities as genuine. Conversely, minorities who perceive intergroup relations with Whites generally as negative, or who interact with Whites who appear friendly only when egalitarian social pressures are present, may come to believe Whites' nonprejudiced behavior is motivated more by external than internal concerns. As a result, they are likely to view positive feedback with suspicion. These latter individuals may be especially (or primarily) likely to suspect the authenticity of feedback from Whites when it seems "overly" positive or does not seem commensurate with their own or other minority-group members' performance. The belief that positive feedback is disingenuous may explain why minorities sometimes show negative affective, cognitive, and physiological reactions to positive feedback from Whites.

The current research tested these ideas in three stages. In Phase 1, we created a measure of perceptions of Whites' internal (PIMS) and external (PEMS) motivations to respond without prejudice, modeled after Plant and Devine's (1998) IMS/EMS. We administered the PIMS/PEMS to Black and Latino students and analyzed its resultant factor structure and internal and test-retest reliability.

In Phase 2, we tested the convergent and divergent validity of the PIMS/PEMS subscales. We hypothesized that responses on the PIMS/PEMS would be modestly associated with constructs assessing minorities' intergroup concerns, including stigma consciousness (SC; Pinel, 1999), race-based rejection sensitivity (RS-race; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002), negative attitudes toward Whites (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), and perceived discrimination at the personal and group level. We also tested how responses on the PIMS/PEMS relate to ethnic identification, general

personality factors associated with social cognition (e.g., general distrust of others, autonomy, locus of control, attributional style) and to personal well-being (e.g., anxiety, hostility, depression, and self-esteem).

Finally, in Phase 3, we conducted two studies to test the predictive validity of the PIMS/PEMS. We hypothesized that ethnic minorities who score high on PEMS and low on PIMS would be more likely than those with other perceived motivations to see a White peer's highly positive evaluation of a minority target's mediocre essay as externally motivated and inauthentic, and as a result, would be less positive in their evaluation of the minority target's work. We further expected that this would be unique to their evaluations of feedback to minority targets and not extend to evaluations of White targets.

Phase I: Scale Development

We first developed and tested a measure of perceived internal and external motives for Whites' nonprejudiced behavior. Using Plant and Devine's (1998) 10-item scale as a guide, we altered the IMS/EMS to reflect *perceptions* of Whites' motives. PIMS/PEMS has 10 items: Five assess perceptions that Whites are internally motivated to respond without prejudice (PIMS; for example, "When White people act in a nonprejudiced way toward members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because it is personally important to them not to be prejudiced"), and five assess perceptions that Whites are externally motivated to respond without prejudice (PEMS; for example, "White people act in a nonprejudiced way toward members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because they are trying to avoid disapproval from others"). See Table 1. Although PIMS/PEMS may be independent like IMS/EMS, minorities may also perceive Whites' motives to be correlated—either positively or negatively—in ways that Whites' actual motives are not.

Method

Scale Construction. Participants from two samples indicated their agreement with the 10 PIMS/PEMS items on separate 0 (*completely disagree*) to 6 (*completely agree*) Likert-type scales. See Table 1 for descriptive statistics. We conducted exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on the first sample and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the second sample. For clarity of presentation, the two samples are described prior to presentation of analyses.

Participants. Minority participants completed the PIMS/PEMS in exchange for course credit. Sample 1 consisted of 515 undergraduates ($M_{age} = 19.1$, $SD = 4.17$; 72% female) enrolled in a Western public university in the United States. Of these, 481 identified as Hispanic/Latino, and 34 identified as African American/Black.¹ Sample 2 consisted of 252 undergraduates ($M_{age} = 19.2$, 71% female). Of these, 222

Table 1. Factor Loadings from Exploratory Factor Analysis of the Perceived Motives to Avoid Prejudice Scale (Sample 1)

When White people act in a nonprejudiced way toward members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because . . .	Factor 1 (PIMS)	Factor 2 (PEMS)
They want to avoid negative reactions from others	-0.012	0.654
It is personally important to them not to be prejudiced	0.670	0.099
It is in accordance with their personal values to be unprejudiced	0.824	-0.113
They believe it is wrong to use stereotypes about members of racial/ethnic minority groups	0.791	-0.043
They feel pressure from others to act nonprejudiced	-0.163	0.782
They think other people would be angry with them if they acted prejudiced	0.205	0.538
They are personally motivated by their beliefs	0.772	-0.052
They want to avoid disapproval from others	-0.027	0.822
It is important to their self concept to be unprejudiced	0.703	0.251
They are trying to act politically correct	0.059	0.707
<i>M</i>	3.74	3.11
<i>SD</i>	0.873	0.867
Range	1.00-6.00	0.00-6.00
Reliability (α)	0.812	0.742

Note: PIMS = perceived internal motivation scale; PEMS = perceived external motivation scale. $N = 515$. Items falling on a factor are in boldface.

identified as Hispanic/Latino and 30 identified as African American/Black.

Results

Sample 1 EFA. With the data from Sample 1, we conducted an EFA on the 10-item scale. A principal-components factor analysis with varimax rotation revealed the hypothesized two-factor structure (see Table 1). Factor 1 had an eigenvalue of 2.94 and accounted for 29.2% of the variance in the rotated sums of squares loadings. Factor 2 had an eigenvalue of 2.56 and accounted for 25.8% of the variance. Factor analyses revealed similar results when we analyzed Latinos and Blacks separately.

Factor 1 is consistent with the hypothesized PIMS subscale, with high values reflecting perceptions that Whites' are motivated to respond without prejudice for internal, personal reasons. Factor 2 is consistent with the hypothesized PEMS subscale, with high values reflecting greater beliefs that Whites' nonprejudiced behavior is motivated by social concerns with appearing prejudiced.

Sample 2 CFA. To cross-validate the hypothesized model, we next conducted a CFA on the data from Sample 2 with AMOS software, using maximum likelihood estimation of the data's covariance matrix. The hypothesized 10-item model tested the hypothesis that the PIMS/PEMS scale consisted of two correlated latent variables—PIMS, based on responses on Items 2, 3, 4, 7, and 9; and PEMS, based on responses on Items 1, 5, 6, 8, and 10. This model achieved adequate model fit, $\chi^2(34) = 96.23$, $p < .001$; comparative fit index (CFI) =

.95; root mean square analysis (RMSEA) = .085 (90% confidence intervals [CI] = [.066, .106]); Akaike's information criterion (AIC) = 158.23. To the extent that the two proposed motivations merely reflect a general perception that Whites are motivated to behave in a nonprejudiced manner, a single-factor solution should provide a better fit to the data than the proposed two-factor solution. For this reason, an alternative one-factor model was also tested. This resulted in very poor model fit, $\chi^2(35) = 680.34$, $p < .001$; CFI = .45; RMSEA = .271 (90% CI = [.253, .289]), AIC = 740.34, suggesting that a two-factor model fits the data better than a one-factor structure. Indeed, a chi-square difference test revealed that the two-factor model fit the data significantly better than the one-factor model, $\chi^2(1) = 584.11$, $p < .001$.

Reliability and Correlation of the PIMS and PEMS. Although short scales sometimes suffer from low reliability, the PIMS and PEMS demonstrated adequate internal reliability in both samples. Cronbach alphas ranged from .63 to .88 for the PIMS and from .76 to .85 for the PEMS. We also examined test-retest reliability by asking a third sample of participants ($n = 22$, $M_{\text{age}} = 20$) to complete the PIMS/PEMS online at two different time points, 4 to 6 weeks apart. Test-retest reliability of the PIMS was $r = .86$ and that of the PEMS was $r = .53$, suggesting that scores on the latter scale are more sensitive to situational variables.

Notably, the PIMS and PEMS were uncorrelated (Sample 1, $r = .09$; Sample 2, $r = -.13$). Paired samples *t* tests revealed that overall, participants in Samples 1 and 2 perceived Whites to be significantly more motivated to respond without prejudice for internal ($M = 3.74$; 3.75) than for external

reasons ($M = 3.11; 3.03$); $t(514) = 12.05, p < .001$; $t(250) = 7.27, p < .001$. Both Blacks and Latinos showed this pattern.

Discussion

Data from Samples 1 and 2 support PIMS/PEMS' two-factor structure, suggesting that minorities perceive distinct internal and external motives for Whites' positive behavior. The PIMS/PEMS also demonstrated sound internal and test-retest reliability. Correlations also suggest that PIMS/PEMS are independent constructs. Thus, some minorities are high in PEMS (low PIMS), others high PIMS (low PEMS), whereas still others are simultaneously high and low in both motivations. Data also suggest that at the mean level, minorities in these samples (primarily Latinas) saw Whites' non-prejudiced behavior as more internally than externally motivated. Thus, only certain minorities regard Whites as primarily motivated to respond without prejudice for external reasons. In Phases 2 and 3, we tested the convergent, divergent, and predictive validity of these scales.

Phase 2: Convergent and Discriminant Validity

We tested the convergent and discriminant validity of PIMS/PEMS by assessing their relationships with existing measures of stigma-related concerns, ethnic identification, and general personality characteristics.¹ We predicted modest, positive relationships between PEMS and distrusting attitudes toward Whites, expectations of being stereotyped or rejected because of one's ethnicity, personal and group experiences with prejudice, and perceived social pressure on Whites to inhibit prejudice. We reasoned that minorities suspicious of Whites' motives would be particularly likely to perceive social pressures on Whites to inhibit prejudice and view intergroup relations with Whites negatively. By contrast, as PIMS assesses beliefs that Whites are genuinely egalitarian, we expected PIMS to be inversely related to negative attitudes toward Whites. We did not expect ethnic identification to be related to PIMS or PEMS, as minorities who identify highly with their ethnic group may perceive relations with Whites as either negative or positive.

We also tested PIMS/PEMS' relationships with general interpersonal distrust, perceptions of control, locus of control and attributional style. We predicted that PEMS might be modestly correlated with distrust—reflecting a general tendency to question the motives of others—but did not anticipate a similar relationship with PIMS. We also speculated that people with an internal attributional style or locus of control might be more likely to perceive Whites behavior as internally motivated (high PIMS), whereas those with an external attributional style might be more likely to perceive Whites as motivated by external, social factors (high PEMS).

We also tested the relationships of the PIMS/PEMS subscales with self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965) and mental health (feelings of depression, anxiety, and hostility; Derogatis, 1993). We did not expect PIMS or PEMS to be related to mental health or self-esteem.

In addition to testing the unique relationships among PIMS/PEMS and the above variables, we also examined how these variables relate to the *relative extent* to which minorities' perceive Whites as externally versus internally motivated to respond without prejudice. We subtracted PIMS from PEMS to create a Suspicion of Motives Index (SOMI). We expected that minorities who score high on the SOMI (i.e., those who see Whites' motivation as *more* external than internal) would score the highest on measures of stigma concerns and perceived prejudice.

Method

Participants. Students who self-identified as Latino/a completed the PIMS/PEMS and additional scales of interest online, typically during departmental mass testing sessions. Sample 1 (515 participants described above) completed measures of perceived personal and group discrimination, self-esteem, and ethnic discrimination. Sample 2 ($n = 222, M_{\text{age}} = 19.20, 71\%$ female) completed measures of SC, interpersonal trust, and well-being. Sample 3 ($n = 177, M_{\text{age}} = 19.40, 71\%$ female) completed measures of RS-race and White distrust. Sample 4 ($n = 51, 67\%$ female) completed measures of locus of control and attributional style. Sample 5 ($n = 180, M_{\text{age}} = 19.14, 67\%$ female) completed a measure of ethnic identification. Sample 6 ($n = 15, 60\%$ female) completed a measure of perceived social pressure on Whites to inhibit prejudice toward Latinos.

Measures

The Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ; Pinel, 1999; Sample 2) measures expectations of being stereotyped because of one's race or ethnicity. Respondents indicate their agreement with 10 statements (e.g., "Stereotypes about my ethnic/racial group have not affected me personally" [reversed]).

The RS-Race (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Sample 3) assesses concerns about and expectations of interpersonal rejection in 12 different scenarios due to race or ethnicity (e.g., experiencing racial profiling in shopping center). Following standard procedures, expectations, and concerns were multiplied, and then averaged across the 12 scenarios.

The Interracial Attitudes Subscale of the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Sample 3) measures attitudes toward and distrust of Whites. Respondents indicate their agreement with seven statements (e.g., "I don't trust most White people;" "Deep in their hearts, most White people are racists").

Perceived personal discrimination (Sample 1) was assessed with a single item, "I experience discrimination because of my ethnicity" (e.g., Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007).

Perceived ethnic group discrimination (Sample 1) was assessed with two items: "My ethnic group is discriminated against" and "Other members of my ethnicity experience discrimination" (Major et al., 2007).

Ethnic identification (Sample 5) was measured with Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) 4-item identity centrality scale (e.g., "The ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am").

Perceived social pressure on Whites to inhibit prejudice (Sample 6) was assessed with a single item: "How much social pressure is there to not display prejudice against Latino people?" responded on a scale from 1 (*none*) and 7 (*a lot*).

Interpersonal Trust Scale (ITS; Yamagishi, 1986; Sample 2) is a six-item measure of interpersonal trust (e.g., "I am trusting").

Personal Control Scale (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978; Sample 1) assesses feelings of control over one's life, with 7 items (e.g., "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me").

The Locus of Control scale (Rotter, 1966; Sample 4) has 13 pairs of internal (e.g., "Trusting fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action") and external (e.g., "I have often found that what is going to happen will happen") statements. Participants select the statement in each pair they agree with most. Higher values indicate a more internal locus of control.

The Attributional Style Questionnaire (ASQ; Peterson et al., 1982; Sample 4) measures attributions for 6 positive (e.g., "You become very rich") and 6 negative (e.g., "You can't get all the work done others expect of you") events on 1 (*totally due to other people or circumstances*) to 7 (*totally due to me*) scales. Attributions for positive and negative events are scored separately.

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965; Sample 1) is a widely used 10-item measure of global self-esteem.

The Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI; Derogatis, 1993; Sample 2) is a validated measure of mental health symptoms. Participants indicated the frequency with which they experience symptoms assessed by the 6-item depression, 6-item anxiety, and 5-item hostility subscales.

Results

Correlations between the PIMS, PEMS, SOMI (PEMS-PIMS), and the above measures are shown in Table 2. Sample sizes vary as not all participants completed all measures.

Table 2. Correlations of PIMS, PEMS, and SOMI With Perceived Stigmatization, Interpersonal Trust, Personal Control, and Psychological Well-Being Constructs

Construct	n	PIMS	PEMS	SOMI
Perceived stigmatization				
Perceived group discrimination	259	-.09	.14*	.17**
Perceived personal discrimination	259	-.05	.07	.08
Ethnic stigma consciousness	260	.15*	.33***	.12*
Ethnic identity	180	.01	.05	.03
Race-based rejection sensitivity	117	-.23*	.22**	.32***
Interracial attitudes	117	-.28***	.36***	.45***
Pressure on Whites	15	.20	.65***	.52**
Ethnic identity	180	.01	.05	.03
Interpersonal trust	252	.10	-.01	-.08
Personal control/mastery	227	.09	-.18**	-.18**
Attributional Style				
Positive events	51	.40***	-.19	-.42***
Negative events	51	.06	-.02	-.06
Locus of control	51	.30**	-.05	-.24*
Psychological well-being				
Global self-esteem	515	.06	-.08	-.10*
BSI-anxiety	227	.07	.15*	.06
BSI-depression	227	-.01	.14*	.11*
BSI-hostility	227	-.17*	.09	.18**

Note: PIMS = perceived internal motivation scale; PEMS = perceived external motivation scale; SOMI = Suspicion of Motives Index (PEMS - PIMS); BSI = Brief Symptom Inventory. Not all participants completed every scale.
* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$.

Relationships With Stigma Concerns. As expected, scores on the PEMS were positively and significantly correlated with ethnic SC ($r = .33$), ethnic-based rejection sensitivity ($r = .22$), and negative attitudes toward Whites ($r = .36$). PEMS was also marginally associated with perceptions of ethnic group discrimination ($r = .14$), but was unrelated to personal experiences of discrimination. In addition, PEMS was positively related to perceived social pressure on Whites to inhibit prejudice ($r = .65$). PIMS, in contrast, was only significantly correlated with attitudes toward Whites, with higher PIMS associated with more positive and trusting attitudes toward Whites ($r = -.28$). Scores on the SOMI were positively and significantly related to ethnic-based rejection sensitivity ($r = .32$), negative attitudes toward Whites ($r = .45$), perceived social pressure on Whites to inhibit prejudice ($r = .52$), and perceived ethnic group discrimination ($r = .17$). PIMS, PEMS, and SOMI were all unrelated to ethnic identification. No other correlations were significant.

Relationships With Trust, Control, Attributional Style, and Psychological Well-Being. PEMS, PIMS, and SOMI were modestly but significantly related to feelings of personal control, locus of control, and attributions for positive events. PIMS was positively related to internal locus of control ($r = -.30$) and internal attribution style ($r = .40$), whereas PEMS was negatively related to feelings of personal control ($r = -.18$). SOMI was inversely related to internal locus of control ($r = -.24$), internal attributional style ($r = -.42$), and personal control

($r = -.18$). PEMS, PIMS, and SOMI were generally unrelated to measures of psychological well-being (BSI and self-esteem) and interpersonal trust.

Discussion

Phase 2 demonstrated the convergent and discriminant validity of the PIMS/PEMS. As expected, the more minorities perceived Whites' nonprejudiced behavior to be externally motivated (measured with PEMS and SOMI), the greater their concerns with being a target of race-based rejection, ethnic stereotyping, and prejudice, and the more negative and distrusting their general attitudes toward Whites. Importantly, these relationships were in the theoretically predicted directions, but were relatively small in magnitude. Interestingly, perceptions of group discrimination were more strongly related to PEMS and SOMI than were perceptions of personal discrimination. This suggests that PIMS/PEMS and SOMI may be more closely linked to perceived intergroup relations than to personal experiences.

Minorities with a more internal locus of control and who attributed positive (but not negative) events internally scored higher on PIMS (and lower on the SOMI). PEMS, in contrast, was unrelated to attributional style or locus of control. However, PEMS and SOMI showed a modest negative relationship with feelings of personal control. Thus, people who score high on the PEMS and low on the PIMS appear to see their own—and others'—behavior as less under personal control. The modest size of these relationships, however, indicates they are not redundant constructs.

PIMS/PEMS were unrelated to general trust in others, suggesting that they assess minorities' distinct perceptions of Whites' motives. Furthermore, with the exception of a weak relationship between SOMI and hostility, PIMS/PEMS scores were unrelated to indices of psychological well-being and self-esteem. Collectively, these data indicate that PIMS/PEMS and SOMI reflect constructs that are distinct from general personality factors or psychological well-being, and provide evidence for the convergent and divergent validity of PIMS/PEMS.

Phase 3: Predictive Validity

Phase 3 tested the predictive validity of PIMS/PEMS. In two studies, Latino participants read a scenario in which a White student gave a minority classmate highly positive feedback on a mediocre essay. The student's essay was designed to be of dubious quality to create attributional ambiguity about the motives behind the evaluator's praise. We expected that minorities who believe Whites' nonprejudiced behavior is motivated primarily by external rather than internal factors (high PEMS/low PIMS) would be more likely than participants with other perceived motivational patterns to attribute the White evaluator's positive

feedback to external concerns with not appearing prejudiced (Study 1). We further predicted they would regard the feedback as less authentic (Study 2), and as a result, would judge the quality of the minority student's essay more harshly (Studies 1 and 2). By contrast, we expected low PEMS/high PIMS participants to attribute the White evaluator's ambiguous positive feedback to internal factors (e.g., a desire for accuracy), see it as authentic, and rate the minority student's essay positively.

Study 2 further tested the predictive specificity of the PIMS/PEMS. The correlations observed with locus of control and attributional style suggest the possibility that high PEMS/low PIMS minorities may have a *general* propensity to see others' overly positive behavior as motivated by external factors regardless of the target's minority status. To test this alternative hypothesis, Study 2 included a White and minority target condition. We predicted that compared with participants with other perceived motivational patterns, high PEMS/low PIMS participants would regard attributionally ambiguous positive feedback directed at a minority classmate (but not a White classmate) as less authentic and would rate the minority classmate's essay (but not the White classmate's essay) more harshly.

We also varied the minority status of the essay writer across the two studies, describing her as Black in Study 1 and as Latina in Study 2. Varying the target's race tests the generalizability of PIMS/PEMS' effects. Due to historic inequalities and the legacy of discrimination perpetrated by Whites against Blacks in the United States, antiprejudice norms are particularly strong with regard to African Americans (e.g., Crandall et al., 2002) and may not be perceived to motivate positive behavior directed toward other minority groups to as great an extent. Using a Latina, rather than Black, target in Study 2 thus provided a stronger test of our hypotheses. In addition, because of biases to evaluate the in-group favorably (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Latinas who doubt the authenticity of praise to a Black target may not view praise to an in-group member with the same suspicion.

In Study 1, we further tested the discriminant validity of the PIMS/PEMS by assessing the extent to which it influenced responses over-and-above individual differences in SC. Finally, we tested whether attributions to external factors (Study 1) or perceptions that the praise was inauthentic (Study 2) mediated the predicted effect of high PEMS/low PIMS on ratings of essay quality.

Study 1

Method

Participants. Thirty-nine self-identified Latino students ($M_{age} = 18.49$, 73% female) participated. All had completed the PIMS/PEMS and the SC scale as part of departmental prescreening and subsequently completed the study online in exchange for course credit or pay. SC was uncorrelated with PIMS ($r = .10$, $p = .55$) and PEMS ($r = .16$, $p = .30$).

Procedures. Participants read a vignette in which a White student (Rebecca) evaluated the essay of a Black classmate. Participants were shown the text of the classmate's essay. The essay was constructed to be of mediocre quality and included some typographical and grammatical errors to make salient the possibility that the evaluation may have been overly positive.² After reading the essay, participants read that Rebecca had given her classmate a very positive essay evaluation, and had told her she was a great writer.

Measures. Participants then rated how well written they believed the essay to be on a scale from 1 (*very poorly written*) to 7 (*very well written*) and indicated how much several factors contributed to Rebecca's positive evaluation of the essay. These included items assessing the extent to which they believed Rebecca's feedback was *motivated by internal factors* (e.g., "Rebecca's wish to give an accurate grade," $\alpha = .85$) and *external factors* (e.g., "due to Rebecca's desire to avoid looking biased," $\alpha = .82$). Items were rated on scales from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Results

Overview of Analyses. We conducted multiple regression analyses for each dependent variable, entering the covariate (SC), PIMS, and PEMS at Step 1, and the PIMS \times PEMS interaction on Step 2.

Essay Quality. Analyses of ratings of essay quality yielded significant main effects of SC, PEMS, and PIMS. Greater levels of SC, $t(39) = 2.63, p = .01, \beta = .37$, and higher scores on the PIMS, $t(39) = 2.66, p = .01, \beta = .37$, were associated with *more positive* ratings of essay quality. In contrast, higher scores on the PEMS were associated with *more negative* evaluations of essay quality, $t(39) = -2.36, p = .02, \beta = -.33$. Although the interaction between PIMS and PEMS was not significant ($t < .50, p > .70$), participants high in PEMS and low in PIMS rated the essay most negatively.

Attributions. We observed a strong positive relationship between PEMS and attributions of essay feedback to Rebecca's desire to comply with external norms, $t(39) = 2.90, p < .001, \beta = .42$. We also observed a marginally significant positive relationship between SC and external attributions, $t(39) = 1.82, p = .08, \beta = .26$. Neither the effect of PIMS nor its interaction with PEMS reached significance, ($ts < .80, p > .30$). Analyses of internal attributions for feedback revealed no significant effects ($ts < 1.40, p > .17$).

Mediation. Meditational analyses tested whether external attributions accounted for the observed relationship between PEMS and negative essay ratings (see Figure 1). When external attributions were entered into the model predicting essay ratings, the previously significant negative relationship between PEMS and essay ratings dropped to nonsignificance ($\beta = -.16, p = .26$). By comparison, the

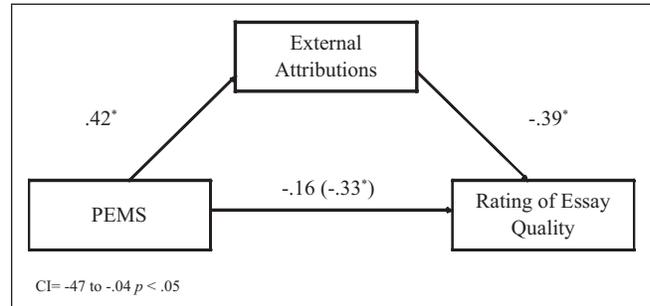


Figure 1. External attributions mediate the effect of PEMS on ratings of essay quality.

Note: PEMS = Perceived External Motivations Scale. Standardized regression coefficients are reported.

* $p < .05$.

relationship between external attributions and essay ratings was significant, $t(39) = -2.64, p = .01, \beta = -.39$. The more participants attributed feedback to external factors, the worse they evaluated the student's essay. We used Prodcin to test for mediation (MacKinnon, Fritz, Williams, & Lockwood, 2007). This procedure calculates an asymmetric confidence interval around the point estimate of the indirect effect. Prodcin optimizes Type I error rates and increases statistical power over other traditional tests of mediation (e.g., Sobel tests). This procedure confirmed that the mediated effect differed significantly from 0 (CI = $[-.47, -.04], p < .05$).

Discussion

Study 1 provides evidence for the predictive validity of the PIMS/PEMS. The more Latinos/as believe that Whites' non-prejudicial behavior toward minorities is externally motivated, the more they attributed a White evaluator's praise of a Black classmate's mediocre essay to the former's desire to avoid appearing prejudiced and the more they derogated the quality of the latter's essay. Moreover, external attributions mediated the effect of PEMS on ratings of essay quality. Conversely, the higher participants scored on PIMS, the more positively they evaluated the minority target's essay. Neither PIMS nor PEMS was related to internal attributions for feedback.

The absence of an interaction between PIMS and PEMS suggests that both PIMS and PEMS played a role in how minorities interpreted positive feedback from Whites. Thus, the *relative* extent to which minorities' perceive Whites as externally versus internally motivated may be important.

Study 1 also provided discriminant validity for the PIMS/PEMS by showing that PEMS predicted external attributions over and above individual differences in SC. In addition, whereas minorities high in PEMS were most critical of a minority peer's essay, higher SC was associated with more positive essay evaluations.

Study 2

Method

Participants. Sixty-eight self-identified Latinos ($M_{age} = 19.0$, 74% female) from the same university participated; 4 failed to complete all measures, leaving a final sample of 64. All had previously completed the PIMS/PEMS in exchange for course credit or pay.

Procedures. Procedures were identical to Study 1, except that the essay writer was described as either White or Latina. Participants were randomly assigned to condition.

Measures. After reading the vignette and essay, participants rated the overall quality of the essay and the quality of the writing on scales from 1 (*very poorly written*) to 7 (*very well written*). Ratings were combined to form an overall index of essay quality ($r = .61$, $p < .001$). Participants also indicated to what extent they believed the evaluator's feedback was authentic, and how much they believed the feedback reflected the evaluator's true opinion, on 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*) Likert-type scales. Ratings were combined to form a perceived authenticity index ($r = .73$, $p < .001$).

Results

Overview of Analyses. Dependent variables were subjected to multiple regression analyses with PIMS, PEMS, the essay writer's ethnicity and the two- and three-way interactions as predictors.

Essay Quality. Analyses of ratings of essay quality revealed that only the three-way interaction was significant, $t(63) = -2.95$, $p = .005$, $\beta = -.43$, r partial = $-.37$. Follow-up simple effects tests revealed that the PIMS \times PEMS interaction was significant in the Latina recipient condition, $t(63) = 2.50$, $p = .02$ but did not reach significance in the White recipient condition, $t(63) = -1.63$, $p = .12$ (see Figure 2). Among low PIMS participants rating a Latino recipient's essay, higher PEMS was related to lower ratings of essay quality, $t(63) = -2.11$, $p = .04$, $\beta = -.75$, r partial = $-.27$. In contrast, among high PIMS participants rating a Latina recipient, PEMS was not significantly related to ratings of essay quality, $t(63) = 1.23$, $p > .22$. Thus, participants who were high in PEMS and low in PIMS judged the Latino student's essay most harshly.

Additional probes of the three-way interaction testing the simple effects of recipient ethnicity revealed that high PEMS/low PIMS participants rated the Latina students' essay as being of significantly poorer quality than the identical essay written by a White student, $t(63) = 1.99$, $p = .05$, $\beta = .61$, r partial = $.26$. This tendency to evaluate the Latina student's essay harsher than the White student's essay was unique to high PEMS/low PIMS participants. High PEMS/high PIMS and low PEMS/low PIMS participants showed in-group favoritism, rating an essay ostensibly written by a Latina student as being of higher quality than the same essay

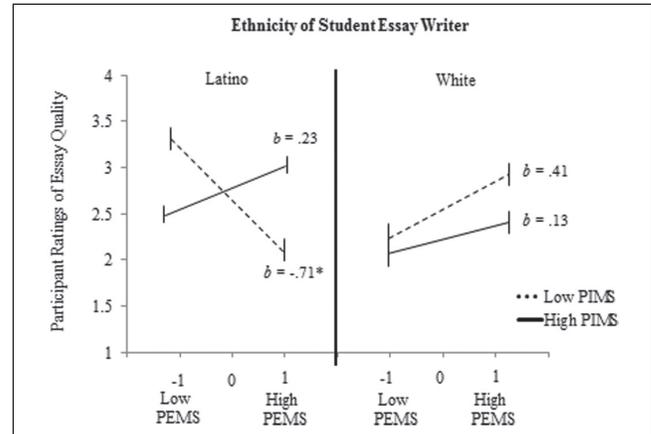


Figure 2. Essay ratings as a function of mean centered PIMS, PEMS, and writer ethnicity.

Note: PIMS = perceived internal motivation scale; PEMS = perceived external motivation scale. b = unstandardized regression coefficient. Labels of High and Low indicate one standard deviation above and below the mean. * $p < .05$.

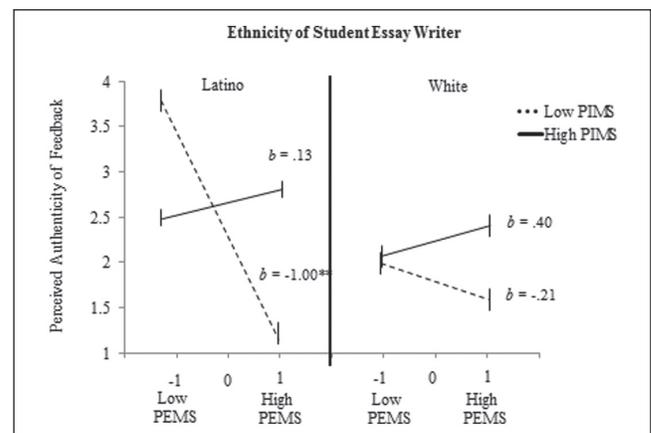


Figure 3. Perceived authenticity of feedback as a function of mean centered PIMS, PEMS, and writer ethnicity

Note: PIMS = perceived internal motivation scale; PEMS = perceived external motivation scale. b = unstandardized regression coefficient. Labels of High and Low indicate one standard deviation above and below the mean. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

ostensibly written by a White student ($ts \approx -2.00$, $ps = .05$). Among low PEMS/high PIMS participants, there was no effect of target ethnicity on essay ratings ($t < 1.0$, $p > .50$).

Perceived Authenticity of Feedback. Analyses of the perceived authenticity of the positive feedback also revealed that only the three-way interaction reached significance, $t(63) = -3.30$, $p = .003$, $\beta = -.46$, r partial = $-.40$. Follow-up simple effects tests revealed that the PIMS \times PEMS interaction was significant in the Latina recipient condition, $t(63) = 2.88$, $p = .006$, but did not reach significance in the White recipient condition, $t(63) = -1.73$, $p = .09$ (see Figure 3). Among low PIMS participants in the Latina recipient condition, PEMS

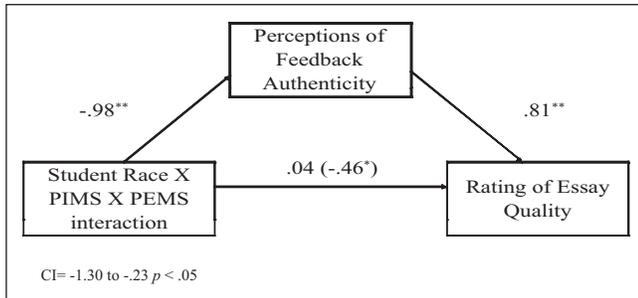


Figure 4. Perceptions of authenticity mediate the interactive effect of target ethnicity, and participant PIMS and PEMS scores on essay ratings

Note: PIMS = perceived internal motivation scale; PEMS = perceived external motivation scale. Standardized regression coefficients are reported. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

was negatively and significantly related to perceived authenticity of feedback, $t(63) = -2.86, p = .006, \beta = -.98, r \text{ partial} = -.36$. However, PEMS was unrelated to perceived authenticity among high PIMS participants in the Latino student condition ($p > .50$).

Although not significant, it is noteworthy that among low PIMS participants, the higher they scored on PEMS, the *more* authentic they tended to regard praise given to a White classmate's mediocre essay, $t(63) = 1.50, p = .15, \beta = .40$. Thus, the negative relationship of PEMS with perceived authenticity of praise among low PIMS participants was *specific to the minority classmate's essay* and tended to be in the opposite direction for the White classmate's essay. Furthermore, high PEMS/low PIMS participants regarded praise of the Latino target as significantly less authentic than praise of the White target, $t(63) = 1.74, p = .02, \beta = .71, r \text{ partial} = .30$. In contrast, high PEMS/high PIMS and low PEMS/low PIMS participants showed the opposite pattern; they perceived praise of the *White* student as less authentic than praise of the Latino student ($ts \approx -2.30, ps = .02$). Among high PIMS/low PEMS participants, student ethnicity did not affect perceptions of authenticity ($t < 1, p > .25$). Thus, the tendency to see positive feedback given to a Latina student's mediocre essay as inauthentic was unique to high PEMS/low PIMS participants.

Mediation. We performed mediational analyses to test whether perceived authenticity of feedback would account for the interactive effect of PEMS, PIMS, and target ethnicity on ratings of essay quality (see Figure 4). As noted above, among those low in PIMS in the Latino student condition, PEMS was inversely related to ratings of essay quality. When perceived authenticity of feedback was entered into this model, the previously significant simple effect of PEMS was nonsignificant ($\beta = .04, p > .80$). By contrast, perceived authenticity of feedback emerged as a highly significant predictor of ratings of essay quality, $t(63) = 9.27,$

$p = .001, \beta = .81, r \text{ partial} = .78$. Stated differently, the less authentic participants perceived the evaluator's feedback as being, the more negatively they evaluated the student's essay. Mediation was again tested with Proclin. The point estimate of the indirect effect was significantly different from zero (CI = [-1.30, -.23], $p < .05$), which confirmed that perceived authenticity of feedback mediated the simple effect of PEMS on ratings of essay quality.

Discussion

Study 2 replicates and extends the basic findings of Study 1 in two important ways. First, it shows that the predicted effects of high PEMS/low PIMS are specific to judgments of positive feedback from Whites to minority targets and do not extend to positive feedback to White targets. Second, it shows that the effects generalize to judgments regarding ethnic in-group members, where in-group biases might be expected to operate. Among low PIMS participants, higher scores on the PEMS predicted decreased perceptions of the authenticity of positive feedback given to a Latina—but not White—student, and predicted more negative ratings of the former's but not the latter's essay. All other groups, in contrast, tended to show in-group favoritism, rating the essay written by an in-group member more positively than the same essay ostensibly written by an out-group member. Hence, Study 2 demonstrates the predictive validity and specificity of the PIMS/PEMS.

In Study 2, unlike Study 1, high PIMS appeared to mitigate the negative effects of high PEMS. Participants who believed that Whites are highly motivated to behave in non-prejudiced ways for *both* internal *and* external reasons did not doubt the authenticity of the positive feedback given to the Latino recipient or derogate her essay to the same extent as high PEMS/low PIMS participants. It is unclear why PIMS showed this buffering effect in Study 2 but not in Study 1. One key difference is that the target of feedback was not a member of the participant's ethnic group in Study 1 but was an in-group member in Study 2. Perhaps high PIMS minorities give Whites the benefit of the doubt when the target is an in-group member because people are motivated to feel good about their in-group and positive evaluations enhance the in-group's prestige (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

General Discussion

In contemporary America, Whites' praise of ethnic minorities sometimes can be attributionally ambiguous. Some Whites treat minorities favorably because of internal egalitarian motives, whereas others do so because of external concerns, such as a desire to avoid appearing prejudiced to others. The current research reports the development and validation of a new measure designed to assess these differing perceptions of the motives underlying Whites' nonprejudiced behavior toward minorities, the PIMS/PEMS. We

predicted that the more minorities regard Whites as primarily externally motivated to respond without prejudice (i.e., score high on PEMS and low on PIMS), the more uncertain they are of the authenticity of positive feedback from Whites, and the more negative their reaction to that feedback, particularly when the positive feedback seems overly positive or undeserved. Converging evidence supports these hypotheses.

Across several samples of ethnic minority college students, the PIMS/PEMS demonstrated two distinct and reliable factors related to perceived internal and external motives. CFA further established that a two-factor structure offered better model fit than a one-factor solution. Although on average, minorities in our samples saw Whites as more internally than externally motivated to respond without prejudice, respondents varied considerably in these perceived motives. Collectively, these findings demonstrate that perceptions of Whites' internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice can be reliably assessed with the PIMS/PEMS.

We next tested the convergent and divergent validity of the PIMS/PEMS. As predicted, perceptions of Whites as externally motivated—as measured by the PEMS—and as more externally than internally motivated—as measured by the PEMS–PIMS difference score (SOMI)—were associated with perceptions and expectations of racial/ethnic stigmatization, including higher SC, race-rejection sensitivity, perceived ethnic group discrimination, and distrust of Whites. These relationships, however, were modest in size, illustrating measurement independence.

Although these results are cross-sectional, they are consistent with our speculation that the development of PIMS/PEMS may be linked to perceptions of the nature of intergroup relations more broadly, as well as to personal experiences with majority-group members. Minorities who perceive intergroup relations with Whites as negative or conflicted and who expect Whites to be prejudiced, but who are aware of pressures on Whites not to be prejudiced may be wary when interacting with Whites. Although those who are high in PEMS/low PIMS may not necessarily believe all Whites are prejudiced, they may nonetheless be skeptical of positive responses from Whites, especially when those responses appear to be overly positive or undeserved.

Our data indicate that PIMS/PEMS may also be linked to individual differences in attributional style and feelings of personal control that are applied to the interpretation of interethnic interactions. Illustrating the scales' convergent validity, PIMS was positively associated with internal attributions for positive events and internal locus of control, whereas PEMS was negatively related to feelings of personal control. The relatively modest size of these correlations illustrates the divergent validity of the PIMS/PEMS.

Finally, we tested the predictive validity of PIMS/PEMS. Across two studies, the more minorities saw Whites as motivated to behave in nonprejudiced ways primarily

for external reasons (i.e., high PEMS/low PIMS), the more likely they were to attribute a White evaluator's strong praise of a racial minority classmate's mediocre essay to external factors, doubt the feedback's authenticity, and rate the essay negatively. Moreover, Study 2 indicated that this effect was unique to ratings of a minority student's essay and did not generalize to the essay when it was believed to be written by a White student. This illustrates that the predicted effects are not due to a *general* tendency to make external rather than internal attributions for positive events. Indeed, high PEMS/low PIMS participants rated the essay ostensibly written by a Latina student *more negatively* than they rated the same essay when it was presumably written by a White student, whereas participants with other patterns of perceived motivations evinced the reverse pattern. Furthermore, the perception that feedback from Whites was inauthentic or driven by external concerns mediated the effect of PEMS and PIMS on ratings of essays written by minority targets.

Implications

This research advances work on intergroup processes in several important ways. First, the current research extends attributional ambiguity theory and research (Crocker & Major, 1989). Past attributional ambiguity research has focused exclusively on minorities' reactions to receiving feedback from Whites that is directed toward *themselves*. The current research shows that attributionally ambiguous positive feedback can also have negative implications for perceptions of *other* minority-group members.

Second, the current research begins to clarify why under some circumstances racial minorities exhibit negative affective reactions to receiving positive treatment from Whites (e.g., Crocker et al., 1991; Hoyt et al., 2007; Mendes et al., 2008). Minorities who believe Whites are motivated more by fears of appearing prejudiced than true egalitarian ideals, are likely to regard positive overtures from Whites as inauthentic, particularly when it appears to be overly positive or undeserved. Perceiving positive feedback as inauthentic creates uncertainty about the meaning of that feedback (e.g., Aronson & Inzlicht, 2004). Uncertainty with regard to the self is threatening and can lower self-esteem (van den Bos, 2009).

Third, the current findings compliment and extend research on the social cognitive effects of motivated approaches to intergroup processes. Considerable work shows that Whites' personal motives to respond without prejudice for internal and external reasons have distinct effects on interracial interactions. However, until now, it was unknown how minorities' *perceptions* of Whites motivations shaped intergroup processes. Expectations have a powerful effect on interracial relations (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2007). To the extent that some minorities expect Whites to be inauthentic or disingenuous, interracial interactions are likely to suffer. This study thus

raises the provocative possibility that in interracial contexts, perceived motives for nonprejudiced behavior may be just as important as the actual motivations themselves.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the above strengths, several limitations of this work are important to address in future research. First, we focused here on how PIMS/PEMS affects evaluations of other minorities who receive overly positive feedback from Whites. It is also important to examine how perceptions of Whites' motives shape responses to positive feedback directed at the self. Preliminary data collected in our lab suggest that low PIMS/high PEMS also predicts more negative reactions among Latinas to positive interpersonal feedback from Whites directed toward themselves (Major, Sawyer, Kunstman, Townsend, & Mendes, 2012).

Second, the participants in the present research were predominantly Latino/a college students. Although Latinos/as are an understudied group worthy of attention, it is important to examine the convergent, discriminant, and predictive validity of PIMS/PEMS among members of other ethnic and racial groups as well as among noncollege populations. It is possible that college students are particularly cognizant of social pressures on Whites to avoid appearing racially prejudiced. If so, PEMS might be lower among noncollege populations. PIMS also was higher than PEMS in our samples, indicating a general propensity to assume that Whites are motivated to act in a nonprejudiced way because of internal, egalitarian motives. It is important to see whether these patterns replicate among other types of groups.

Third, because our interest here was in exploring minorities' general meta-perceptions of Whites' motives for nonprejudiced behavior, we measured PIMS/PEMS as a within person variable. Research that manipulates PIMS and PEMS will allow for stronger tests of the causal effect of perceived motives on responses to positive feedback. We suspect that a variety of experiences may affect perceptions of Whites' motives. For example, observing a White individual sanctioned for expressing racially insensitive remarks or "politically incorrect" attitudes may activate perceptions that Whites are motivated to behave in nonprejudiced ways for fear of appearing prejudiced to others. Seeing White people be welcoming in public but prejudiced in private, may also heighten perceptions that Whites are disingenuous. Our test-retest reliabilities from Phase 1 suggest that PEMS might be more open to social influences than PIMS. This is not surprising as PIMS refers to a person's internal motives (which are likely to be stable) whereas PEMS refers to external determinants of behavior, which are likely to change with the situation. Ironically, it is possible that in situations where antiprejudice norms are highly salient, minorities may perceive positive responses from Whites as especially disingenuous.

Fourth, it is important to examine the boundary conditions under which PIMS/PEMS influences minorities'

responses to positive feedback from Whites. We theorize that low PIMS/high PEMS is most likely to be associated with negative reactions to positive feedback from Whites when the feedback seems excessive or undeserved, such as when a minority-group member receives highly positive interpersonal feedback from a White peer who barely knows them (e.g., Crocker et al., 1991; Mendes et al., 2008), or receives highly positive feedback despite mediocre performance. Such situations can create attributional ambiguity about the motives behind a White evaluator's praise. Future research should examine whether PEMS/PIMS scores affect responses to feedback that is objectively deserved. Future research also should compare how PIMS/PEMS affects responses to positive feedback that is interpersonal (e.g., "I like you") versus competence based (e.g., "You did a good job").

Conclusion

Strong social norms that punish the expression of racial prejudice have had the intended effect of reducing overt prejudice and discrimination against racial minorities. Although clearly beneficial, such norms may also have had an unintended effect—increasing the ambiguity of nonprejudiced behavior on the part of Whites. The current research shows that some ethnic minorities are more likely than others to perceive Whites' positive behavior toward ethnic minorities as motivated more by external than internal factors, leading them to suspect praise toward minorities as disingenuous. This suspicion may have important implications for their cognition, affect, and behavior in interracial interactions.

Acknowledgment

We would like to thank members of the Self and Social Identity Lab, Nancy Collins, and Shelly Gable for their comments on this manuscript.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This research was supported by the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute (Grant RO1 HL079383) to Brenda Major and Wendy Berry Mendes, and by a fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences to Brenda Major.

Notes

1. We also examined the relationship between minority participants' scores on the Perceived Internal Motivation Scale/Perceived External Motivation Scale (PIMS/PEMS) and their scores on the IMS and EMS (Plant & Devine, 1998). PIMS and EMS were significantly correlated ($r = .56, p < .001$). No other correlations were significant.

2. To determine whether the evaluator's feedback was perceived to accurately reflect the essay's quality, we asked a separate sample of undergraduates ($n = 17$) to grade the essay without knowing the ethnicity of the writer or evaluator, or how it was graded. They gave the essay grades ranging from A (1) to F (11), with an average of a C+ ($M = 6.29$, $SD = 2.11$). Thus, the A grade likely was attributionally ambiguous.

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