The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity has become increasingly mindful of how implicit racial biases shape not only individuals’ cognition and attitudes, but also their behaviors. Indeed, a large body of compelling research has demonstrated how these unconscious, automatically activated, and pervasive mental processes can be manifested across a variety of contexts yielding significant impacts. Consider these striking examples:

In a video game that simulates what police officers experience, research subjects were instructed to “shoot” when an armed individual appeared on the screen and refrain from doing so when the target was instead holding an innocuous object such as a camera or wallet. Time constraints were built into the study so that participants were forced to make nearly instantaneous decisions, much like police officers often must do in real life. Findings indicated that participants tended to “shoot” armed targets more quickly when they were African American as opposed to White. When participants refrained from “shooting” an armed target, these characters in the simulation tended to be White rather than African American. Moreover, in circumstances where the target was “shot” in error (i.e., was “shot” even though they were wielding a harmless object), those targets were more likely to be African American than White. Research such as this highlights how implicit racial biases can influence decisions that have life or death consequences.

A 2012 study used identical case vignettes to examine how pediatricians’ implicit racial attitudes affect treatment recommendations for four common pediatric conditions. Results indicated that as pediatricians’ pro-White implicit biases increased, they were more likely to prescribe painkillers for vignette subjects who were White as opposed to Black patients. This is just one example of how understanding implicit racial biases may help explain differential health care treatment, even for youths.
Examining implicit bias research is important for all who work for racial justice because of the rich insights into human behavior that this work generates. Moreover, as convincing research evidence accumulates, it becomes difficult to understate the importance of considering the role of implicit racial biases when analyzing societal inequities. Implicit biases, explicit biases, and structural forces are often mutually reinforcing, thus multiple levels of analysis are necessary to untangle the nuances of these complex dynamics.

With this in mind, and as a testament to the Kirwan Institute’s belief in the importance of understanding implicit bias, we present to you this inaugural edition of our “State of the Science Review of Implicit Bias Learning.” As an annual publication, subsequent editions of this Review will highlight the latest research findings and underscore trends in the field. Our goal is to provide a comprehensive resource that communicates this research in a concise and accessible manner while stimulating further dialogue on implicit bias and its implications for the pursuit of social justice.
Introduction

“At the nexus of social psychology, cognitive psychology, and cognitive neuroscience has emerged a new body of science called “implicit social cognition” (ISC). This field focuses on mental processes that affect social judgments but operate without conscious awareness or conscious control.”

– Kang & Lane, 2010, p. 467 –

Although not yet a widely-known concept outside of the social science community, knowledge of implicit bias is gradually infiltrating the public domain. Attention from the media and other sources devoted to how implicit biases may have influenced voters’ decisions in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections is permeating public consciousness (see, e.g., Greenwald, Smith, Sriram, Bar–Anan, & Nosek, 2009; McElroy, 2012; NPR, 2012; Payne, et al., 2010). The term was also emphasized in an April 2012 decision by an Iowa district court judge, in a class-action suit brought forth by African Americans who claimed that implicit racial biases influenced employment and promotion decisions for state jobs (“Iowa: Ruling for State in ‘Implicit Bias’ Suit,” 2012). As the body of literature on implicit bias expands and the scholarship gains traction outside of academic circles, one can reasonably anticipate that implicit bias will increasingly enter public discourse.

Implicit bias refers to the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner. Among the key attributes of implicit biases are the following:

• Implicit or Unconscious: Much of the literature suggests that these biases are activated unconsciously, involuntarily, and/or without one’s awareness or intentional control (see, e.g., Dovidio, Kawakami, Smoak, & Gaertner, 2009; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Kang, et al., 2012; Nier, 2005; Rudman, 2004). The appropriateness of using terms such as ‘unconscious’ and ‘non-conscious’ with respect to the activation and application of implicit biases has been questioned by some (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Rudman, 2004). Implicit biases are defined as “attitudes and stereotypes that are not consciously accessible through introspection” (Kang, et al., 2012, p. 1132). This is in direct contrast
with explicit biases, meaning those that are held or endorsed on a conscious level. The distinction between implicit and explicit is further discussed in chapter 2 of this literature review.

- **Bias**: Bias “denotes a displacement of people’s responses along a continuum of possible judgments” (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006, p. 950). This bias may skew toward either a favorable or an unfavorable assessment (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006).

- **Automatically Activated / Involuntary**: Implicit biases can activate without intention and/or without being explicitly controlled (i.e., not deliberate) (Blair, 2002; Rudman, 2004).

- **Pervasiveness**: Substantial research has established that implicit attitudes and stereotypes are robust and pervasive (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Kang, et al., 2012; Kang & Lane, 2010; Nosek, Smyth, et al., 2007).

The Formation of Implicit Biases

Regardless of whether implicit associations are positive or negative in nature, everyone is susceptible to implicit biases, including children (Nosek, Smyth, et al., 2007; Rutland, Cameron, Milne, & McGeorge, 2005). Implicit biases vary among individuals (see, e.g., D. M. Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, 2003).

The classic nature versus nurture debate is one way to approach the question of how our implicit associations are formed. A nature-based argument would assert that biases are hardwired. Research by Mahajan and colleagues broadly supports this argument, as they identified the existence of implicit ingroup preferences even among a nonhuman species, rhesus macaques (Mahajan, et al., 2011).

Renown implicit bias scholar Jerry Kang addresses the nature vs. nurture debate and sides with nurture, writing that “even if nature provides the broad cognitive canvas, nurture paints the detailed pictures – regarding who is inside and outside, what attributes they have, and who counts as friend or foe” (Kang, 2012, p. 134). Supporting
this declaration, he notes how entertainment media perpetuates stereotypes, citing one study that documented the subtle transmission of race biases through nonverbal behaviors seen on television. Exposure to nonverbal race bias on television can influence individuals’ race associations and attitudes, as “exposure to pro-white (versus pro-black) nonverbal bias increased viewers’ bias even though patterns of nonverbal behavior could not be consciously reported” (Weisbuch, Pauker, & Ambady, 2009, p. 1711). Kang also discusses how news programming, particularly the excessive portrayal of Blacks as criminal (see, e.g., Dixon & Linz, 2000; Oliver, 2003), helps foster the formation of implicit biases (Kang, 2012). He even recognizes how online virtual gaming worlds can contribute to implicit biases.

Rudman (2004) outlines five factors that influence the formation of implicit orientations more so than explicit ones. She asserts that early experiences may lay the foundation for our implicit attitudes while explicit attitudes are more affected by recent events (Rudman, 2004). Also on Rudman’s list are affective experiences (vs. self-reports), cultural biases (vs. explicit beliefs), and cognitive balance principles (Rudman, 2004). While these previous four principles were already established in the literature, Rudman adds a fifth for consideration: the self. She writes, “it may be difficult to possess implicit associations that are dissociated from the self, whereas controlled evaluations may allow for more objective responses. If the self proves to be a central cause of implicit orientations, it is likely because we do not view ourselves impartially, and this partisanship then shapes appraisals of other objects that are (or are not) connected to the self” (Rudman, 2004, p. 137).

*The Importance of Implicit Bias to the Work of Social Justice Advocates*

Understanding the nuances of implicit bias is critical for addressing the inequalities that are byproducts of structural forces. Indeed, Kang notes that implicit biases, explicit biases, and structural forces are not mutually exclusive but instead often reinforce one another (Kang, et al., 2012). Elsewhere he affirms this interrelation by writing that “the deepest understanding of any process such as racialization comes from multiple levels of analysis that can and should be integrated together” (Kang, 2010, p. 1147).
powell and Godsil emphasize that the human behavior insights gleaned from the study of implicit biases are key to achieving social justice goals (powell & Godsil, 2011). They declare that knowledge of how the brain functions, particularly how we understand our positioning with respect to our environment, is key for the creation of “a political space in which it is possible to first have a constructive dialogue about the continuing salience of race, then generate support for the policies necessary to address the role race continues to play, and finally, and as importantly, develop implementation measures that will allow these policies to achieve the sought-after outcomes” (powell & Godsil, 2011, p. 4).

Rudman unequivocally asserts the significance of understanding implicit biases with these cautionary words: “for a deep and lasting equality to evolve, implicit biases must be acknowledged and challenged; to do otherwise is to allow them to haunt our minds, our homes, and our society into the next millennium” (Rudman, 2004, p. 139).

*About this Implicit Bias Review*

Although a wide variety of characteristics (e.g., gender, age) can activate implicit biases, this literature review primarily focuses on implicit racial and ethnic biases. While this review is intended to be as complete as possible, it should not be regarded as comprehensive given the vast literature devoted to this topic.
STATE OF THE SCIENCE

Background on Implicit Bias
Background on Implicit Bias

Key concepts

A few fundamental definitions related to mental associations are important to understand before unpacking the nuances of implicit bias.

- **Schemas** are “templates of knowledge that help us to organize specific examples into broader categories” (Kang, 2008). These mental shortcuts allow us to quickly assign objects, processes, and people into categories (Kang, 2009). For example, people may be placed into categories based on traits such as age, race, gender, and the like. Once these categories have been assigned, any meanings that we carry associated with that category then become associated with the object, process, or person in question. The chronic accessibility of racial schemas allow them to shape social interactions (Kang, 2005).

- **Stereotypes** are beliefs that are mentally associated with a given category (Blair, 2002; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). For example, Asians are often stereotyped as being good at math, and the elderly are often stereotyped as being frail. These associations – both positive and negative – are routinized enough that they generally are automatically accessed (Rudman, 2004). Stereotypes are not necessarily accurate and may even reflect associations that we would consciously reject (Reskin, 2005).

- **Attitudes** are evaluative feelings, such as having a positive or negative feeling towards something or someone (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Kang, 2009).

- **Ingroups and Outgroups** – As soon as we see someone, we automatically categorize him or her as either ‘one of us’, that is, a member of our ingroup, or different from ourselves, meaning a member of our outgroup. Making this simple ‘us vs. them’ distinction is an automatic process that happens within seconds of meeting someone (Reskin, 2005). Deservedly or not, ingroup bias leads to relative favoritism compared to outgroup members (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). We extrapolate characteristics about ourselves to other ingroup members, assuming that they are like us compared to outgroup members (Reskin, 2005). By favoring ingroup members, we tend to grant them
a measure of our trust and regard them in a positive light (Reskin, 2005). This ingroup favoritism surfaces often on measures of implicit bias (see, e.g., Greenwald, et al., 1998). The strength of ingroup bias has been illustrated in various studies. For example, research has found that people tend to display ingroup bias even when group members are randomly assigned (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), and, even more incredibly, when groups are completely fictitious (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Monteith, 2001).

Moreover, given the dynamics of race in our society, it is no surprise that extensive research has documented White Americans’ implicit ingroup bias and relative bias against African Americans (see, e.g., Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Dasgupta, McGhee, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2000; Devine, 1989; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald, et al., 1998; McConnell & Liebold, 2001; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002; Richeson & Ambady, 2003).

Select Seminal Works

Laying the foundation for implicit bias research was a 1983 seminal article by Gaertner and McLaughlin. Employing a lexical decision task, they found that research subjects, regardless of their personal prejudices, were reliably faster at pairing positive attitudes with Whites than with Blacks (in experiment 1) or with Negroes (in experiment 2) (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). However, negative attributes were equally associated with Blacks and Whites. This article is regarded as the first piece to demonstrate implicit stereotyping.

In 1989, an article by Patricia G. Devine was the first to argue that “stereotypes and personal beliefs are conceptually distinct cognitive structures” (Devine, 1989, p. 5). Her dissociation model differentiated between automatic processes (i.e., those that “involve the unintentional or spontaneous activation of some well-learned set of associations or responses that have been developed through repeated activation in memory”) and controlled processes (i.e., those that are “intentional and require the active attention of the individual”) (Devine, 1989, p. 6). Devine tested the implications of this dissociation model with respect to prejudice and found that in-
individuals can hold a “clear distinction between knowledge of a racial stereotype … and personal beliefs about the stereotyped group” (Devine, 1989, p. 15). In short, automatic and controlled processes can be dissociated such that an individual can rate as low-prejudiced while still holding knowledge of the existence of that given stereotype in his/her memory system.

Following this dissociation revelation, researchers who studied automatic associations generally regarded them as automatic and inflexible; that is, these associations were deemed spontaneously triggered and inescapable (Bargh, 1997, 1999; Devine, 1989; Dovidio & Fazio, 1992). This notion of these associations being automatic and unavoidable led to the conclusion that biases remained stable over time and, because they were so deep seated, were not open to manipulation. In a seminal work, Irene V. Blair upended this notion by establishing that automatic stereotypes and prejudice are, in fact, malleable (Blair, 2002). She found that automatic stereotypes and prejudices may be moderated by events such as contextual cues, the perceivers’ focus of attention, and the perceivers’ motivation to maintain a positive self-image, among others (Blair, 2002). Other researchers built on this scholarly foundation, suggesting that even if automatic, stereotype activation is not necessarily uncontrol-
lable (Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000).

These works opened up the door to a plethora of research that further examined the nature of associations, how implicit biases operate, and ways in which they may be countered. This body of work will be further discussed throughout the course of this literature review.

Understanding the Relationship Between Implicit and Explicit Bias

Implicit and explicit biases are generally regarded as related yet distinct concepts (Kang, 2009; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). They are not mutually exclusive and may even reinforce each other (Kang, et al., 2012). “Neither should be viewed as the solely ‘accurate’ or ‘authentic’ measure of bias” (Kang, 2009, p. 3).

The main distinction between implicit and other types of bias centers on level of awareness (Petty, Fazio, & Briñol, 2009). Explicit biases “can be consciously detect-
ed and reported” (D. M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010, p. 355). Processes that are not explicit are implicit, meaning that they occur without introspective awareness (D. M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Wilson, et al., 2000). Explicit attitudes tend to be associated with deliberate responses that individuals can control (Dovidio, et al., 1997; Nier, 2005). They are often measured by instruments such as feeling thermometers and semantic differentials, in addition to other forms of direct questioning.

Given that implicit associations arise outside of conscious awareness, these associations do not necessarily align with individuals’ openly-held beliefs or even reflect stances one would explicitly endorse (Graham & Lowery, 2004; Kang, et al., 2012; Reskin, 2005).

Following the 1989 debut of Devine’s dissociation model, further research has explored the idea of whether implicit and explicit biases are dissociated (see, e.g., Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Dovidio, et al., 1997; Green, et al., 2007; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Nier, 2005). A vast body of empirical literature documents studies in which respondents’ implicit and explicit attitudes do not align (see, e.g., Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Dasgupta, et al., 2000; Devine, 1989; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio, et al., 1995; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald, et al., 1998; Phelps, et al., 2000; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997). That said, the literature is inconsistent and hardly conclusive, as other studies have found that implicit and explicit attitudes seem to align, thus calling into question this notion of dissociation (see, e.g., McConnell & Liebold, 2001; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997).

To help get to the root of this debate about dissociation, Hofmann et al. performed a meta-analysis to examine the correlation between a measure of implicit bias (the Implicit Association Test, discussed in-depth in chapter 3) and explicit self-report measures. Analyzing this across 126 studies, they uncovered a mean effect size of 0.24, which is relatively small yet significant (Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005). Thus, their meta-analysis concluded that this implicit measure and explicit self-reports are systemically related rather than dissociated. They also noted that variations in correlations between implicit and explicit measures can be attributed to how spontaneous the self-reports are and the degree of conceptual
correspondence between measures (Hofmann, et al., 2005).

In a search to explain these seemingly contradictory results between implicit and explicit measures, other factors have been identified as moderating variables (Rudman, 2004). These include individual motivation to report explicit attitudes that align with one’s implicit attitudes (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio, et al., 1995; Nier, 2005), the psychometric properties of the specific measurement techniques (Cunningham, et al., 2001; Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003) and impression management or social desirability concerns, as discussed in the next section (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Nier, 2005; Nosek & Banaji, 2002).

**Downfalls of self-reports and other explicit measures of bias**

Early researchers relied on explicit measurements of prejudice, such as the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1933). But as norms discouraging prejudice gained societal traction, straightforward approaches to measuring bias became less useful and increasingly suspect. Researchers were left to wonder whether stereotypes were fading, whether the content of stereotypes had changed, or whether people were simply suppressing their negative views of others (D. Amodio & Devine, 2009).

The downfalls of self-reports have been well-documented since at least the 1960s (Orne, 1962; Weber & Cook, 1972). Impression management can undermine the validity of self-report measures of bias, as the desire to be perceived positively can influence people to distort their self-reported beliefs and attitudes (D. Amodio & Devine, 2009; Dovidio, et al., 1997; Fazio, et al., 1995; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; Nier, 2005; Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2007). In 1971, Harold Sigall and colleagues famously exposed how social desirability can taint self-reports by employing a “bogus pipeline” machine that the researchers claimed would reveal participants’ true inner attitudes (Jones & Sigall, 1971; Sigall & Page, 1971). The portion of participants who were led to believe in the effectiveness of the machine reported attitudes that more closely reflected their true beliefs compared to those who did not believe they were being monitored and thus were free to distort their responses to whatever they deemed was socially appropriate (Sigall & Page, 1971). The underlying principles of the bogus pipeline’s mild
deception have become a classic technique that is still employed in current research on an array of topics (see, e.g., Myers & Zeigler-Hill, 2012; Nier, 2005).

This inclination for impression management that distorts the validity of self-reports is particularly likely when individuals are questioned about politically or socially sensitive topics such as interracial or intergroup behaviors (Dovidio, et al., 2009; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001; Greenwald, Poehlman, et al., 2009). As such, self-reports are generally regarded as being inadequate for capturing all aspects of individual prejudice (Tinkler, 2012), although other researchers have indicated that they may still be accurate when used in conjunction with implicit measures (Greenwald, Poehlman, et al., 2009) or when used on people who have low motivation to control their prejudiced reactions (Dunton & Fazio, 1997).

On controlling responses

The notion of what processes are automatic or controlled has received further examination following Devine’s 1989 seminal work.

It is important to note that implicit and automatic are not perfect synonyms, nor are explicit and controlled. Amodio and Mendoza conceptualize automatic processes as those that are unintentional while controlled processes are intentional and often goal-oriented (D. M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010). Defining control, they write, “Control does not relate to content per se, such as an explicit belief, but rather to the deliberate adjudication of an endorsed response over a different, undesired response” (D. M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010, p. 355). They note that while automaticity and implicitness may align, ultimately whether responses are automatic or controlled is distinct from the implicit or explicit nature of a response (D. M. Amodio & Mendoza, 2010).

Providing support for the value of automatic associations, Reskin writes of their “survival value,” noting that it is impossible for individuals to consciously process all of the stimuli around us, thus automatic associations release cognitive resources for other uses (Reskin, 2005, p. 34).
Racial attitude work by Fazio and colleagues led to the distinction of three types of individuals that differ due to what processes are automatically activated in them and how they then do or do not counter or control those evaluations (Fazio, et al., 1995). One group is comprised of individuals who are non-prejudiced; in Fazio’s work these are the folks who do not experience the activation of negative attitudes toward Black people. A second grouping captures those who are truly prejudiced, meaning those who experience a negative automatic association and do nothing to negate or control expression of that association. Finally, a third grouping involves those who may experience a negative automatic association but, like those in Devine 1989, are motivated to counter that sentiment.

Building on this work, researchers have identified several factors that influence individuals’ abilities to control responses or act in a manner that is consistent with one’s explicit position. These factors include:

The role of motivation

Individual motivation is a commonly cited factor in the controlling responses literature. For example, Dunton and Fazio studied the role of motivation on how people differ in the extent to which they seek to control expressions of prejudice. They found that motivation to control prejudiced reactions stemmed from two sources: one being a concern with acting prejudiced, and the other being a desire to avoid dispute or confrontation regarding one’s thoughts or positions (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Dunton and Fazio also concluded that self-reports of racial attitudes can be reasonably accurate for individuals with low motivation to control prejudiced reactions (Dunton & Fazio, 1997).

Work by Devine et al. found that the implicit and explicit racial biases displayed by participants were a function of their internal and external motivation to respond in a non-prejudiced manner, with explicit biases moderated by internal motivation and implicit biases moderated by the interaction of both internal and external motivation (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002).
Relatedly, researchers have explored how motivation can lead to people “over-correcting” for their biases. Work such as that by Olson and Fazio found that some participants sought to control the racial attitudes they exhibited, and in so doing, over-corrected to display a exaggeratedly positive or negative response that concealed their true attitudes (Olson & Fazio, 2004). Earlier work by Dunton and Fazio concluded that prejudiced people who are highly motivated to control their prejudiced reactions may overcompensate for their automatically activated negativity (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Regarding the extent of this overcorrection, they found that individuals’ “high motivation to control prejudiced reactions led to the expression of judgments that were more positive than the responses of individuals for whom positivity was activated” (Dunton & Fazio, 1997, p. 324). Additional research found this same trend toward motivation moderating bias overcorrection (Towles-Schwen, 2003). This phenomena of overcorrection aligns closely with Wegener and Petty’s Flexible Correction Model (see Wegener & Petty, 1995).

Also attesting to the significance of the role of motivation, multiple researchers have developed scales designed to measure the effect of motivation on controlling prejudiced reactions. Dunton and Fazio developed a Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions Scale that aimed to measure individual differences in motivation (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). Similarly, Plant and Devine developed two measures for assessing motivations to respond without prejudice, the Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale (IMS) and the External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice Scale (EMS) (Plant & Devine, 1998).

The role of time

Another widely regarded factor that influences decision-making and whether individuals are able to control their reactions is time (Kruglanski & Freund, 1983; Payne, 2006; Sanbonmatsu & Fazio, 1990). Time pressures have been shown to be a condition in which implicit attitudes may appear (Bertrand,
Chugh, & Mullainathan, 2005), even despite explicit attempts at control.

**The role of cognitive “busyness”**

In the words of Reskin, “anything that taxes our attention – multiple demands, complex tasks, time pressures – increases the likelihood of our stereotyping” (Reskin, 2005, p. 34). Gilbert and Hixon studied how cognitive busyness can affect the activation and application of stereotypes. They found that cognitive busyness can decrease the likelihood of stereotype activation; however, should the stereotype be activated, cognitive busyness makes it more likely that that stereotype will be applied to the individual(s) in question (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Similarly, in an experimental design, Payne found that the group that was cognitively overloaded showed more bias, which he regards as a byproduct of individuals’ reduced level of control over their responses (Payne, 2006). Finally, Bertrand et al. cite three conditions that are conducive to the rise of implicit attitudes, including lack of attention being paid to a task, time constraints or cognitive load, and ambiguity (Bertrand, et al., 2005).

**Monitoring verbal behaviors but not nonverbals (known as leakages)**

While people can monitor their verbal behaviors pretty well, they do not monitor and control their nonverbal behaviors as effectively or as often; the prejudiced attitudes they are trying to conceal can “leak,” thereby revealing their true stances (Dovidio, et al., 1997; Fazio, et al., 1995; Olson & Fazio, 2007; Stone & Moskowitz, 2011).