Understanding and Using the Implicit Association Test: III. Meta-Analysis of Predictive Validity

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This review of 122 research reports (184 independent samples, 14,900 subjects) found average $r = .274$ for prediction of behavioral, judgment, and physiological measures by Implicit Association Test (IAT) measures. Parallel explicit (i.e., self-report) measures, available in 156 of these samples (13,068 subjects), also predicted effectively (average $r = .361$), but with much greater variability of effect size. Predictive validity of self-report was impaired for socially sensitive topics, for which impression management may distort self-report responses. For 32 samples with criterion measures involving Black–White interracial behavior, predictive validity of IAT measures significantly exceeded that of self-report measures. Both IAT and self-report measures displayed incremental validity, with each measure predicting criterion variance beyond that predicted by the other. The more highly IAT and self-report measures were intercorrelated, the greater was the predictive validity of each.

Keywords: Implicit Association Test, implicit measures, validity, implicit attitudes, attitude–behavior relations

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In the first ever handbook chapter review of a social psychological construct, Gordon Allport (1935) characterized *attitude* as social psychology's "most distinctive and indispensable concept."

That characterization has been accepted by scholars ever since, even during a period in which the attitude construct was enmeshed in a crisis of predictive validity. That crisis was triggered by Wicker (1969), who found very little evidence to support the conclusion that attitudes predicted behavior toward the attitudes' objects (cf. Festinger, 1964). As a result of Wicker's review, during the 1970s social psychologists were obliged to consider that their esteemed attitude construct might not deserve the lofty position that Allport had proposed.

In fairness to the attitude construct, there had been relatively few empirical investigations of the predictive validity of attitude measures prior to Wicker's (1969) review. When social psychologists began to address this empirical lack, they initially found it difficult to obtain the desired evidence for the predictive validity of attitudes. However, by the early 1980s, several researchers, especially Ajzen and Fishbein (e.g., 1977) and Fazio and Zanna (e.g., 1981), had successfully established the predictive validity of attitude measures, thus restoring the attitude construct to its prior status (see also Kelman, 1974). In 1995, 60 years after Allport (1935) had hailed attitude as social psychology's premier construct, Kraus's (1995) meta-analysis of results from 88 attitude–behavior relationship studies yielded an average predictive validity effect size estimate of $r = .38$.

Research on attitude–behavior relations in the 1970s and 1980s established two methods that reliably produced at least moderate effect sizes for attitude–behavior correlations. The first was a refinement of self-report methods for measuring attitudes, to ensure that attitude measures were phrased to correspond closely to the measures of behavior with which their correlations were being

examined (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977). The second was to identify and capitalize on moderator variables that influenced the strength of attitude–behavior correlations, such as the personal importance of the attitude and its stability across time (e.g., Krosnick, 1988).

The attitude construct has developed further since Kraus's (1995) review. Recent findings have revealed attitudinal processes for which their possessors may have limited awareness and which, therefore, may not be well captured by self-report measures (e.g., Bargh, Chaiken, Govender, & Pratto, 1992; Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Hetts, Sakuma, & Pelham, 1999; Jones, Pelham, Mirenberg, & Hetts, 2002; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1997; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). The task of determining whether measures of this *implicit* aspect of attitudes effectively predict behavior has been pursued most extensively with one particular method, the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; see recent overview by Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2007). This article summarizes research that has been conducted to evaluate the predictive validity of IAT measures. Although the present review is not limited to IAT measures of attitudes, nevertheless attitudes have been the dominant focus in predictive validity research on the IAT. Sixty-nine percent of the presently reviewed IAT studies focused on attitude measures.

The Implicit Association Test (IAT)

The IAT assesses strengths of associations between concepts by observing response latencies in computer-administered categorization tasks. In an initial block of trials, exemplars of two contrasted concepts (e.g., face images for the races Black and White) appear on a screen and subjects rapidly classify them by pressing one of two keys (for example, an *e* key for Black and *i* for White). Next, exemplars of another pair of contrasted concepts (for example, words representing positive and negative valence) are also classified using the same two keys. In a *first combined task*, exemplars of all four categories are classified, with each assigned to the same key as in the initial two blocks (e.g., *e* for *Black* or *positive* and *i* for *White* or *negative*). In a *second combined task*, a complementary pairing is used (i.e., *e* for *White* or *positive* and *i* for *Black* or *negative*).[1] In most implementations, respondents are obliged to correct errors before proceeding, and latencies are measured to the occurrence of the correct response. The difference in average latency between the two combined tasks provides the basis for the IAT measure. For example, faster responses for the {Black+positive/White+negative} task than for the {White+positive/Black+negative} task indicate a stronger association of Black than of White with positive valence.

Research conducted since the initial 1998 publication of the IAT has provided substantial evidence concerning the psychometric properties of IAT measures (Egloff & Schmukle, 2002; Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001; Lane, Banaji, Nosek, & Greenwald, 2007; Nosek et al., 2007; Rudman, Greenwald, Mellott, & Schwartz, 1999). IAT measures have typically displayed good internal consistency (Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000; Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001); IAT measures are not influenced by wide variations in subjects' familiarity with IAT

stimuli (Dasgupta, McGhee, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2000; Ottaway, Hayden, & Oakes, 2001; Rudman et al., 1999); and IAT measures are relatively insensitive to procedural variations such as the number of trials, the number of exemplars per concept, and the time interval between trials (Greenwald et al., 1998; Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2005). Test–retest reliability of IAT measures was recently reported to have a median value of $r = .56$ across nine available reports (Nosek et al., 2007).

A useful property of IAT measures is their presumed reliance on associative processes that can operate automatically (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Greenwald et al., 2002; see Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg, & Groom, 2005, for an investigation aimed at distinguishing the contributions of automatic and controlled processes to IAT measures). The sensitivity of IAT measures to automatically activated associations is sometimes credited with making IAT scores resistant (even if not immune) to faking. For example, subjects instructed to fake positive attitudes toward gay men were able to do so on a self-report questionnaire but not on a homosexual–heterosexual attitude IAT (Banse, Seise, & Zerbes, 2001). Asendorpf, Banse, and Mücke (2002) obtained similar findings with a shyness self-concept IAT, as did Kim (2003) with a race attitude IAT measure. Similarly, subjects instructed to make a good impression in a job application scenario easily altered their self-report responses to appear low in anxiety, but their scores on an anxiety self-concept IAT were relatively unaffected (Egloff & Schmukle, 2002). Subjects who are explicitly instructed to slow their responding in one of the IAT's two combined tasks can use that instruction to produce faked scores. At the same time, most naive subjects do not spontaneously discover this strategy (Cvencek, Greenwald, Brown, Gray, & Snowden, 2008; Kim, 2003; Steffens, 2004; but cf. Fiedler & Bluemke, 2005).

Widespread use of the IAT to investigate attitudes has produced a situation like that which existed for self-report measures of attitudes at the time of Wicker's (1969) review. It is time to evaluate the IAT's ability to predict relevant social behavior (cf. Banaji, 2001; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; M. A. Olson & Fazio, 2004). The need for this evaluation of predictive validity is heightened by expressions of interest in using IAT measures for applications in law, policy, and business (e.g., Ayres, 2001; Banaji & Bhaskar, 2000; Banaji & Dasgupta, 1998; Chugh, 2004). Evaluating the predictive validity of IAT measures can also help achieve a goal that several commentators on IAT measures have urged: appraising the construct validity of IAT measures (Arkes & Tetlock, 2004; Blanton & Jaccard, 2006; De Houwer, Teige-Mocigemba, Spruyt, & Moors, in press; Fiedler, Messner, & Bluemke, 2006; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Rothermund & Wentura, 2004).

In recent investigations, IAT measures have been found to correlate with many measures of interest, such as anxious behav-

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[1] The combined-task classifications present random selections of one of the concept pairs (e.g., the two sets of faces) on odd-numbered trials and random selections of the other pair (e.g., the pleasant and unpleasant words) on even-numbered trials. This alternation, or task switching, has been found to produce measures of association strength (cf. Mierke & Klauer, 2001) that are superior to ones obtained with full randomization of the trial sequence.

iors (Asendorpf et al., 2002), preference for a partner to perform an intellectual task (Ashburn-Nardo, Knowles, & Monteith, 2003), math SAT scores (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002b), and alcohol consumption over the course of a month (Wiers, van Woerden, Smulders, & de Jong, 2002). In other studies, IAT measures did not predict measures with which a relation was expected (e.g., food choice in Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). The present research assessed the predictive validity of IAT measures quantitatively, while also comparing the predictive validity of IAT measures with that of parallel explicit (self-report) measures, which were available for almost 90% of the studies included in this review.

Method

Criteria for Study Inclusion

The authors sought to include all studies that reported predictive validity correlations involving four types of IAT measures of association strengths: attitudes (concept–valence associations), stereotypes (group–trait associations), self-concepts or identities (self–trait or self–group associations), and self-esteem (self–valence associations). A requirement for inclusion was that the predicted (i.e., criterion) measure was itself neither an implicit measure nor an alternative-format measure of the same construct being measured by the IAT predictor. Excluded, therefore, were studies focusing on correlations among IAT measures of different constructs (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2002) or studies in which use of the IAT was limited to investigating correlations between IAT and parallel self-report measures. Numerous studies of the latter type were recently reviewed meta-analytically by Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, and Schmitt (2005), and this was also the subject of a 57-topic study by Nosek (2005). Also excluded were studies in which an IAT measure of self–group association (implicit identity) or group–valence association (implicit attitude) was correlated with membership in that group. An additional category of exclusions consisted of studies in which an IAT measure was used as a moderator variable, because these studies included no expectation of observing a direct correlation between the IAT measure and a criterion measure of behavior. The criterion measures that remained available for meta-analysis included a wide variety of measures of physical actions, judgments, preferences expressed as choices, and physiological reactions.

To illustrate the exclusions and inclusions: A study of correlations between an IAT measure of attitude toward mathematics and self-report measures of math attitudes (e.g., Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002a) was excluded because the observed relationship was between IAT and self-report measures of the same construct (i.e., attitude toward mathematics). In contrast, studies reporting correlations between IAT race attitude measures and nonverbal actions toward persons of that race (e.g., McConnell & Leibold, 2001) were included. Known-groups studies that compared (for example) whether Japanese Americans and Korean Americans differed in an IAT measure of associations of positive or negative valence with the concepts Japanese and Korean (Greenwald et al., 1998, Experiment 2) were excluded because the self-identification (e.g., as Japanese American) was regarded as being too similar to a self-report of attitude. However, a study examining correlations between an IAT measure of attitude toward smoking and self-reported smoking status (Swanson, Rudman, & Greenwald, 2001) was included because the self-identification (as smoker or nonsmoker) could be understood as the measure of a relevant behavior. An experiment by Greenwald and Farnham (2000, Experiment 3) was excluded under the IAT-as-moderator exclusion because their hypothesis was that IAT-measured self-esteem might moderate attributions in response to success versus failure, rather than predicting a direct relation between the self-esteem and attribution measures.

Search Method

Studies were initially sought using three methods: (a) PsycINFO search (using the keywords *IAT*, *Implicit Association Test*, *implicit measure*, *implicit attitudes*, *automatic attitudes*, or *implicit social cognition*), (b) Internet search (using Google, keywords *IAT* or *Implicit Association Test*), and (c) e-mail to the Society of Personality and Social Psychology's mailing list, requesting any in-press or unpublished research using IAT measures. The reference sections of the articles thus obtained were further searched for relevant studies. When this article was accepted for publication in December 2007, the database for its meta-analysis included 103 reports. At that point, a search to determine the availability of more recent versions of included reports led to dropping four reports that were superseded by more recent versions that reported more data, and one other report for which insufficient documentation was available. The search for more recent versions produced an additional 20 reports for which manuscripts had not previously come to the authors' attention but were determined to have existed in some usable preliminary form prior to the February 1, 2007 cutoff date. Reports that could not be established as having been distributed in some form prior to the cutoff date were not included.

Many reports did not contain effect sizes either in the desired form of zero-order correlations (*r*s) or as other statistics that could be converted to zero-order correlations. Additionally, many desired effect sizes—especially ones involving self-report measures—were not included in the available reports. Anthony G. Greenwald corresponded with authors in search of these potentially useful additional effect sizes. These were obtained in the great majority of cases. Of the 1,461 effect sizes that comprise the database for this article, 426 (29.2%) were obtained as a result of such further correspondence with authors.

Calculation of Effect Sizes

Each of the 122 published or unpublished reports that met criteria for inclusion was separated into statistically independent samples (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001, p. 112). For each of these samples, a mean IAT–criterion measure correlation (ICC) was computed. Whenever possible, mean explicit (i.e., self-report) measure–criterion measure correlations (ECCs) and mean IAT–explicit correlations (IECs) were also computed. All of these mean effect sizes were computed using Fisher's *r*-to-*Z* transformation to average all correlations of the same type that were available in each independent sample. Each mean *Z* was associated with an inverse variance weight, which was computed as $(n - 3)$ where n is the number of subjects in the independent sample (Hedges & Olkin, 1985, p. 333). The 122 reports thus provided 526 ICCs from 184 independent samples (see Appendix), based on 14,900 sub-

jects.[2] There were 557 ECCs available from 156 of these independent samples (based on 13,068 subjects) and 378 IECs available from 155 of the samples (based on 13,120 subjects).

Description and Coding of Moderators

Variables identified as moderators that might explain across-sample variance in effect sizes fell into three categories: *conceptual*, *methodological*, and *publication*. Conceptual moderators were variables suggested either by previous reviews of attitude–behavior relations (e.g., Kraus, 1995) or by findings of the developing literature using IAT measures. Methodological moderators included procedural variations that occur frequently in laboratory studies as well as other routine procedural variations of IAT studies. Two publication characteristics were used as moderators: (a) publication year and (b) status of report as published or unpublished.

Coding of several of the moderators required judgments based on reading of reports' *Method* sections. For the studies in the original (103-report) data analysis, three raters judged each study independently. One of those three raters was blind to results of all studies. The other two were aware of the results of different portions of the studies. For all study characteristics that required such judgments, satisfactory interrater reliability was observed (Cronbach's $\alpha \geq .70$) and the three raters' judgments were averaged for use in analyses. Such reliable ratings of study characteristics have been used successfully in previous meta-analyses (e.g., Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). For methodological and other predictors, the few disagreements among the three judges were resolved by discussion.

While the meta-analysis was under review for publication, additional studies that qualified for inclusion were identified. For these studies, moderators were coded by one of the raters who had judged all of the previous studies (the other two were unavailable for this purpose). At the same time, that rater reviewed all previous ratings to ensure that the full set of studies was coded in consistent fashion.[3]

Conceptual Moderators

Descriptive statistics for the study characteristics coded as conceptual moderators are summarized in Table 1.

Social sensitivity. Subjects' desire to be perceived positively is widely assumed to be a potential source of distortion of self-report measures (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960; Dovidio et al., 1997; Fazio et al., 1995; Nosek & Banaji, 2002). Consequently, self-report measures in socially sensitive domains—such as self-reported attitudes and beliefs about racial or ethnic groups—might suffer impression-management distortions that could reduce their predictive validity. If, as is also widely assumed, IAT measures are relatively resistant to impression management, the social sensitivity of the study topic may have relatively little influence on their predictive validity (cf. Asendorpf et al., 2002; Banse et al., 2001; Egloff & Schmukle, 2002; Kim, 2003).

Raters were instructed to make separate judgments for each self-report and IAT measure in a report, judging the extent to which self-reporting the construct assessed by the measure might activate concerns about the impression that the response would

make on others. For example, self-reporting attitudes toward Black Americans is something that raters might judge to be considerably more socially sensitive than self-reporting attitudes toward brands of yogurt. Judgments were made on a scale of 1–7 (1 = *not at all likely to be affected by social desirability concerns*, 7 = *extremely likely to be affected by social desirability concerns*). To repeat for clarity, the social sensitivity measure for IAT measures was judged to be the sensitivity associated with *self-reporting* the same attitude, belief, self-concept, or self-esteem measure. Interrater reliability for social sensitivity was acceptable ($\alpha = .74$). Because self-report scales often assessed constructs very similar to those assessed by IAT measures in the same study, the social sensitivity ratings for IAT and explicit measures that predicted the same criterion were very highly correlated, $r(462) = .99$. The lack of perfect correlation occurred because the IAT and self-report measure in a study did not always measure the same construct.

Controllability of responses to the criterion measure. Dual-process models of social cognition suppose that introspectively accessible attitudes and beliefs effectively guide deliberate actions but play weaker roles in determining spontaneous actions. Therefore, implicit measures of attitudes and beliefs may predict spontaneous actions more effectively than do explicit measures (Asendorpf et al., 2002; Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al., 1997; Egloff & Schmukle, 2002; Fazio, 1990; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). Some research with implicit measures other than the IAT has supported this supposition (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1997; Fazio et al., 1995).

However, not all automaticity theorists suppose that automatic attitudes relate more to spontaneous than to deliberately controlled responses. For example, Rudman (2004) pointed out that implicit measures sometimes correlate substantially with the (highly controllable) responses to parallel explicit measures of attitude, such as those toward political candidates (e.g., Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003; Nosek, 2005; Nosek & Banaji, 2002), suggesting that they may also effectively predict other controllable behaviors (see also Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Haidt, 2001; Wegner & Bargh, 1998).

Each criterion measure was rated for the extent to which the responses that it required were judged easy to consciously control. For example, choice of vote for a presidential candidate might be

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[2] Averaging effect sizes within independent samples is statistically desirable but can be conservative in estimating predictive validity. Consider Study 3 of Amodio and Devine (2006), which included (a) a race attitude IAT that was expected to predict voluntary selected seating distance from an African American and (b) a race stereotype IAT that was expected not to predict estimates of this seating distance measure. In the independent samples analysis, the predictive validity correlations of both IAT measures with the seating distance measure were averaged into the independent-sample ICC.

[3] A record of all analyses conducted on the final data set used in the article is available in the supplemental materials. An additional archive is available from the corresponding author, Anthony G. Greenwald, that contains all studies used in this article (and in addition, nearly 30 studies that have emerged in the meantime that would have qualified for the meta-analysis but were unavailable prior to the February 2007 cutoff date). It also contains correspondence with authors that led to obtaining the many effect sizes that were unavailable in original reports and the record of identification of effect sizes and coding of moderators.

Table 1
Description of Conceptual Moderator Variables

Moderator definition	Moderators in analyses of IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs)					Moderators in analyses of explicit–criterion correlations (ECCs)				
	k	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*	*k*	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*
IAT–explicit correlation (IEC; Fisher Z-transformed)	152	−0.30	0.93	0.23	0.23	152	−0.30	0.93	0.23	0.23
Predictor type (*attitude* = 1, *other* = 0)	184	0.0	1.0	0.69	0.42	156	0.0	1.0	0.64	0.44
Social sensitivity of response to the predictor[a] (range = 1–7)	184	1.0	7.0	3.93	2.17	154	1.0	7.0	3.73	2.16
Controllability of response to the criterion measure (range = 0–10)	184	0.0	10.0	6.15	2.61	156	0.0	10.0	6.31	2.59
Correspondence between IAT or self-report measure and criterion measure (range = 1–7)	184	1.0	5.0	3.20	1.13	155	1.0	5.0	3.26	1.11
Complementarity of alternative concepts used in IAT measures[b] (range = 1–9)	177	1.0	8.5	2.29	1.79	149	1.0	8.0	2.23	1.76

Note. Numbers of independent samples (*k*) are sometimes less than their maxima of *k* = 184 for ICCs and *k* = 156 for ECCs because reports did not always contain sufficient information to code the moderator.
[a] For Implicit Association Test (IAT) measures, this was rated social sensitivity of responding to a self-report measure of the measured attitude, belief, or self-concept predictor.   [b] For self-report measures, the (average) rated complementarity for the study's IAT measure(s) was used as the moderator (see text).

easy to control, whereas nonverbal behaviors such as eye blinks, speech hesitations, or body orientation might be difficult to control. Judgments were made on a scale of 0–10 (0 = *no component of the response is consciously controllable*, 10 = *all components of the response are consciously controllable*). Interrater reliability for controllability was satisfactory (α = .80).

Complementarity. For some preferences, liking one alternative implies disliking a complementary alternative. For example, having a positive attitude toward a candidate of one political party might imply having a negative attitude toward a political competitor from another party, but it might not imply having a negative attitude toward another candidate from the same party. In contrast, having a positive attitude toward one brand of yogurt might not imply having a negative attitude toward other brands of yogurt.

To rate complementarity, judges estimated the extent to which liking one of the two IAT target categories in a measure implied disliking the other. Judgments of complementarity used a 9-point scale (1 = *extremely noncomplementary*, 9 = *extremely complementary*). Interrater reliability was satisfactory (α = .84). Complementarity was not coded for explicit measures because contrast categories were much less frequently included in the construction of explicit measures.

Correspondence. Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) identified a moderating role of similarity between verbal descriptions of attitude and behavior measures (i.e., correspondence between the measures) on magnitude of attitude–behavior correlations. They found greater attitude–behavior correlations the more the attitude measure shared features with the behavior measure. For example, church attendance was predicted more strongly by measures of an attitude toward the church being attended than by measures of an attitude toward religion in general. Kraus's (1995) meta-analysis confirmed this hypothesized moderating role of correspondence.

Correspondence was judged on a 7-point scale (1 = *extremely low correspondence*, 7 = *extremely high correspondence*). Interrater reliability for correspondence was acceptable (α = .76). Mean correspondence ratings between IAT and self-report measures that predicted the same criterion were highly correlated, $r(464)$ = .80.

The highest levels of correspondence observed in the data set for both IAT and self-report measures (rated for both at 5 on the 7-point scale) occurred with criterion measures involving political or consumer preferences. For example, in Karpinski, Steinman, and Hilton's (2005) study of intention to use Coke or Pepsi products, their IAT measure used these two brands as the contrasted categories, whereas their self-report measures included feeling thermometer, semantic differential, and 6-point Likert ratings of the two brands. An example of very low correspondence (rated 1 on the 7-point scale) was use of a race attitude IAT measure and self-reported racial attitudes in a study in which the criterion measures consisted of subtle nonverbal indicators of discomfort in interaction, such as speech dysfluency or bodily position (e.g., McConnell & Leibold, 2001).

Type of predictor construct: Attitude versus belief, self-concept, or self-esteem. Predictor IAT and explicit measures were easily categorizable as corresponding to constructs of attitude, belief (most often a stereotypic group–trait association), self-concept (including group identity), or self-esteem. Partly because the majority of studies used attitude measures and also because attitude has been such an important focus of previous predictive validity research, the measure of type of predictor was reduced to a dichotomy for moderator analyses, separating attitude measures (coded 1) from the other three types. Use of this moderator allowed determination of whether predictive validity for attitude measures was possibly greater than that for the other three types of measure. This binary moderator was coded separately for IAT and self-report measures. Seventeen percent of independent samples had mixtures of types of predictors, leading to independent samples having values of this predictor between 0 and 1. The correlation of values of this moderator between IAT and self-report measures in independent samples that had both types of measure was $r(157)$ = .67.

IEC. Research investigations have found that correlations between implicit and explicit measures vary widely (Hofmann et al., 2005; Nosek, 2005). Several theorists have proposed that weak relationships between implicit and self-report attitude responses may indicate intrapsychic conflict (Epstein, 1994; Fazio, 1990;

Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003; McGregor & Marigold, 2003; Nosek, 2005; Petty, Tormala, Briñol, & Jarvis, 2006; Wilson et al., 2000). Empirical research has demonstrated discrepancies between implicit (or automatic) and explicit (or deliberative) measures in the domains of problem solving (Epstein, 1994), race prejudice (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), and attitude change (Wilson et al., 2000). The frequent observation of weak correlations between implicit and explicit measures suggests that inconsistency between them is relatively common (cf. Hofmann et al., 2005; Nosek, 2005). If high IECs indicate that automatic and controlled influences on behavior support one another, then high IECs may be associated with high predictive validity for both IAT and self-report measures. As already described, IECs were available for 155 of the 184 independent samples.

Methodological Moderators

Procedural and method variations that were coded for use as potential moderators are summarized in Table 2.

Number of effect sizes and number of IAT measures. It was possible that, when studies included multiple effect sizes, these might include measures expected to show weak effects along with ones expected to show strong effects. Consequently, average effect sizes might be weaker in studies that had larger numbers of effect sizes. Number of IAT measures in the study was a related predictor that was used as a potential moderator of ICCs.

Number of subjects. Sample sizes averaged $n = 81.0$, but there was wide variation ($SD = 141.5$). There are two diverging expectations for a moderating role of sample size. If large sample sizes are used to provide added power when expected effect sizes are small, large sample sizes should be associated with relatively small ICCs or ECCs. However, sample size variations may also result from variations in cost or convenience of obtaining subjects, in

which case there is little basis for expecting a relationship between sample size and predictive validity effect size.

Subject response versus experimenter-observed criterion measure. Each criterion measure was coded dichotomously as to whether it was observed (i.e., unobtrusively recorded by the experimenter, which was coded 1) or, alternately, based on subjects providing information via either paper–pencil responses or computer entry (coded 0). For IAT and self-report predictors, respectively, 33% and 35% of independent samples had unobtrusively observed criterion measures. There was no advance expectation about how this might relate to observed effect sizes.

IAT scoring method. Each study was coded as to whether its IAT measure was computed using averaged combined-task latencies in millisecond units, averaged combined-task latencies in log-transformed latencies (both coded 0), or the *D* scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003; coded 1). There was a weak expectation of effects being stronger for the *D* algorithm, because of its somewhat superior psychometric properties.

Order and proximity of measures. Variation of timing of IAT or self-report predictors in relation to the criterion measure was a potentially interesting moderator. When an IAT measure precedes the criterion measure, accessibility of the associations measured by the IAT may be enhanced or primed, thereby possibly inflating predictive validity correlations. In support of this possibility, Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo (2001) reported that IAT effects can be "palpable" to subjects, who may be able to discern their possession of the associations measured by the IAT. On the other hand, and as suggested by Bem's (1972) self-perception theory, completing a criterion measure may temporarily modify the associations measured by the IAT, which might increase correlation between the IAT and criterion measures. Each study was coded to indicate whether IAT or self-report predictors preceded or followed their associated criterion measures. Studies that counterbalanced predictor–criterion order (only 5% of the total for IAT measures) received an intermediate code.

Table 2
Description of Methodological and Publication Moderator Variables

Moderator definition	Predictors of IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs)					Predictors of explicit–criterion correlations (ECCs)				
	k	Min	Max	M	SD	k	Min	Max	M	SD
Number of effect sizes available in the independent sample	184	1	29	2.86	3.49	156	1	29	3.57	4.53
Mean sample size, averaged over effect sizes in the independent sample	184	9	1,386	81.0	141.5	156	9	1,386	83.8	152.9
Number of IAT measures obtained from each subject[a]	184	1	6	1.51	0.97					
Criterion data collection method (0 = *subject response*, 1 = *experimenter observation*)	184	0	1	0.33	0.46	156	0	1	0.35	0.46
IAT scoring method (1 = *D algorithm*, 0 = *other*)[a,b]	145	0	1	0.48	0.50					
Predictor–criterion ordinal position relation (1 = *predictor first*, 2 = *counterbalanced*, 3 = *predictor last*)	156	1	3	1.81	0.95	126	1	3	1.82	0.90
Predictor–criterion session relation (0 = *predictor and criterion in same session*, 1 = *separate sessions*)	171	0	1	0.18	0.38	141	0	1	0.18	0.39
Publication year	184	1999	2008	2004.6	2.37	156	1999	2008	2004.7	2.38
Publication status (0 = *unpublished*, 1 = *published or in press*)	184	0	1	0.83	0.38	156	0	1	0.83	0.37

Note. Numbers of independent samples (k) are sometimes less than their maxima of $k = 184$ for ICCs and $k = 156$ for ECCs because reports did not always contain sufficient information to code the status of the moderator.
[a] These moderators applied only to IAT measures. [b] The *D* algorithm is the scoring procedure introduced by Greenwald et al. (2003).

Administering criterion measures in sessions separate from the assessment of IAT or self-report predictors might minimize mutual influences between predictor and criterion measures (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Kraus, 1995). For both ICCs and ECCs, 18% of independent samples had criterion measures in a separate session from predictors.[4]

Publication Moderators

Standard practice for reporting meta-analyses includes coding year of publication, type of research participant (student or non-student), and site of study (field or laboratory). Most of the studies included in this meta-analysis were laboratory studies with under-graduate students as subjects. Only 14 reports (11%) used nonstudent samples. Ten of these used clinical populations, for some of which data collection was in a laboratory setting. Because of the small number of nonstudent and nonlaboratory samples, neither the type of subject nor the site of study was used as a moderator. However, studies were coded for year of publication and for publication status (0 = *unpublished* vs. 1 = *published or in press*). For both ICCs and ECCs, only 17% of independent samples were from unpublished reports. This small proportion of unpublished studies may in part be a consequence of the approximate 18-month interval between the cutoff date for inclusion in the meta-analysis (early 2007) and completion of this article. In the interim, several reports that had entered the meta-analysis in unpublished form transitioned to published or in-press status. Table 2 includes descriptive characteristics of the publication moderators.

Criterion Measure Domain

Effect sizes were sorted into nine domains based on similarities among criterion measures. These nine criterion categories, which are listed in Table 3 and are considered in more detail later, served primarily to distinguish well-recognized topical groupings of effect sizes, primarily for use in presenting descriptive summaries (see Figures 1 and 2).

Results

Analysis Overview

This article's first goal was to estimate an average effect size for IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs). Shortly after the authors started to analyze the ICC data it became obvious that, because parallel self-report measures were used in many of the studies, it would be possible to provide comparative predictive validity estimates for explicit–criterion correlations (ECCs). A further consequence of the frequent use of self-report measures in the meta-analyzed studies was that IAT–explicit correlations (IECs) were available for 155 (84%) of the 184 independent samples. This made it possible to report analyses that partly overlapped with Hofmann et al.'s (2005) recent meta-analysis of IECs and Nosek's (2005) extensive study of IAT–self-report correlations. Availability of a complete trio of effect sizes—ICC, ECC, and IEC—in 152 samples permitted estimation of partial correlations of IAT and self-report measures with criterion measures. With the other type of predictor partialed, it was possible to assess incremental validity of each type of predictor. Although these estimated partial correlations provided less than perfect estimates of incremental validity

(for reasons to be explained when presenting them), they are nevertheless informative.

Mean sample-size-weighted effect sizes for ICCs, ECCs, and IECs were examined both as aggregates across all independent samples and as aggregates within each of the nine criterion category domains. Potential moderators of magnitude for each type of effect size (ICC, ECC, and IEC) were also examined in two series of sample-size-weighted regression analyses—the first for conceptual moderators and the second for methodological and publication moderators. Except where noted otherwise, these analyses used mixed statistical models in which a random component of between-studies variance was fit by maximum likelihood estimation.[5]

Aggregate Effect Sizes and Homogeneity Tests

Table 3's top row of data reports weighted average effect sizes for ICCs, ECCs, and IECs, aggregated across all available independent samples ($k = 184$ for ICCs; $k = 156$ for ECCs; $k = 155$ for IECs). The aggregate weighted average effect sizes were $\bar{r}_{ICC} = .274$, $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .361$, and $\bar{r}_{IEC} = .214$. All three types of effect size were significantly heterogeneous when tested with fixed-effects models. The Q statistics (with their associated degrees of freedom) were $Q_{ICC}(183) = 576.7$, $Q_{ECC}(155) = 1,914.5$, and $Q_{IEC}(154) = 731.2$. Substantially greater heterogeneity in ECCs than ICCs was revealed not only by the very different values of their Q statistics but also by standard deviations reported in Table 3. The weighted standard deviation for all ECCs ($SD = .391$) was almost double that for ICCs ($SD = .215$), indicating considerably greater variability of effect sizes for ECCs than ICCs.

Table 3 also reveals variations in effect sizes across the nine criterion domains. For ICCs, mean effect sizes ranged from .171 to .483 for the nine domains. For ECCs, the range was almost double that for ICCs, from .118 to .709. IECs were overall slightly lower than ICCs and more substantially lower than ECCs, with a range from .091 to .537. All three types of aggregate effect size were largest for political preferences ($\bar{r}_{ICC} = .48$; $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .71$; $\bar{r}_{IEC}$ .54). ICCs were smallest for close relationships ($\bar{r}_{ICC} = .17$) and for gender/sexual orientation ($\bar{r}_{ICC} = .18$), whereas ECCs were smallest for race ($\bar{r}_{ECC} = .12$) and other intergroup behavior ($\bar{r}_{ECC} = .12$). IECs were smallest for close relationships ($\bar{r}_{IEC} = .09$) and race ($\bar{r}_{IEC} = .12$). Except for the aggregate IEC for the close relationships category, all reported aggregate effect sizes for ICCs, ECCs, and IECs differed significantly from zero in the positive direction by a random-effects test, with two-tailed $\alpha = .05$.

The criterion domain of White–Black interracial behavior ($k = 32$) and the "other intergroup" category ($k = 15$), which included behavior toward groups defined by ethnicity, age, or weight, were

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[4] In his meta-analysis of attitude–behavior relations, Kraus (1995) required (as an inclusion condition) that predictor and criterion measures be obtained in separate sessions. Such separate session designs were quite infrequent in the reports included in this meta-analysis. This observation may indicate a shift in research practices toward single-session studies in recent years, but it may also indicate that researchers who work with IAT measures have been relatively unconcerned about within-session contamination between IAT measures and criterion measures.

[5] These analyses used SPSS macros described by Lipsey and Wilson (2001).

Table 3
Weighted Mean Effect Sizes and Homogeneity Tests for ICCs, ECCs, and IECs in All Independent Samples and Within Nine Criterion Measure Domains

Criterion domain	IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs)				Explicit–criterion correlations (ECCs)				IAT–explicit correlations (IECs)			
	r (95% CI)	k	N	SD	r ($\pm$95% CI)	k	N	SD	r ($\pm$95% CI)	k	N	SD
All independent samples	.274 ($\pm$.029)	184	14,900	.215	.361 ($\pm$.056)	156	13,068	.391	.214 ($\pm$.039)	155	13,121	.258
Race (White vs. Black)	.236 ($\pm$.062)[†]	32	1,699	.186	.118 ($\pm$.108)[†]	28	1,568	.295	.117 ($\pm$.074)[†]	27	1,589	.198
Other intergroup behavior	.201 ($\pm$.093)[†]	15	678	.189	.120 ($\pm$.165)	12	525	.297	.148 ($\pm$.115)	12	544	.207
Gender/sexual orientation	.181 ($\pm$.081)[†]	15	1,094	.164	.224 ($\pm$.151)	12	828	.279	.172 ($\pm$.101)	12	876	.182
Consumer preferences	.323 ($\pm$.049)	40	3,257	.171	.546 ($\pm$.065)	38	3,126	.258	.319 ($\pm$.056)	38	2,994	.190
Political preferences	.483 ($\pm$.071)	11	2,903	.145	.709 ($\pm$.094)	9	2,810	.231	.537 ($\pm$.082)	9	2,858	.158
Personality traits	.277 ($\pm$.064)	24	1,456	.169	.353 ($\pm$.105)	21	1,317	.270	.166 ($\pm$.078)[†]	21	1,326	.186
Alcohol and drug use	.221 ($\pm$.069)	16	1,718	.147	.269 ($\pm$.121)	16	1,712	.262	.159 ($\pm$.080)	16	1,736	.166
Clinical (e.g., phobia, anxiety)	.296 ($\pm$.068)	19	1,318	.161	.537 ($\pm$.127)	10	547	.257	.248 ($\pm$.113)	10	558	.190
Close relationships	.171 ($\pm$.094)	12	777	.169	.247 ($\pm$.164)[†]	10	635	.279	.091 ($\pm$.116)[†]	10	640	.189

Note. Aggregate effect sizes were computed for Fisher's Z-transformed r values. For "All independent samples," the weighted mean effect sizes (r), their 95% confidence intervals (CIs), and their weighted standard deviations (*SD*s), transformed back to the r metric, were obtained from a random-effects test. For the nine categories, these results were from a mixed-model analysis of variance of differences among the categories. k = number of samples associated with each weighted mean effect size; N = summed numbers of subjects in the k samples.
[†] $p > .05$ for homogeneity test (i.e., homogeneous effect sizes), from fixed-effects analysis of the nine categories. All category aggregate effect sizes not marked with a dagger were significantly heterogeneous (i.e., $p \leq .05$ for the homogeneity test).

the only two domains in which average magnitudes of ICCs significantly exceeded those of ECCs. (These two domains were not grouped into a single category mainly because of a priori separate interest in the category of White–Black interracial behavior.) For interracial behavior, aggregate ICC ($\bar{r}_{ICC}$ = .24) was significantly greater than aggregate ECC ($\bar{r}_{ECC}$ = .12; z = 4.27, p = 10^{-5}). The domain of interracial behavior was the only domain within which there was statistical homogeneity for all three types of effect size (i.e., all ps > .05 for fixed-effects homogeneity tests).

Regression Analyses With Conceptual Moderators

In the attempt to identify sources of variation in magnitudes of all three types of effect size, weighted regression analyses were conducted (Hedges & Olkin, 1985; cf. Lipsey & Wilson, 2001, p. 122), using the previously described conceptual, method, and publication moderators. Criterion domain was not used as a predictor in any analyses of conceptual moderators because (as is described more fully later) criterion domain variations were extensively confounded with several conceptual moderators.

ICCs. Table 4 summarizes the weighted regression analyses involving conceptual moderators of ICCs. Moderator effects are shown both for analyses using each moderator as the sole regression predictor (univariate analysis; see left side of Table 4) and for a multiple weighted regression format that entered all moderators simultaneously (see right side of Table 4).

When used as a univariate predictor in a mixed model (fixed slopes, random intercepts), magnitude of IECs explained 29.9% of ICC variance (p = 10^{-15}). Predictive validity of IAT measures was greater when self-report and IAT measures were more

strongly correlated. This finding is consistent with the reasoning that both ICCs and ECCs should be relatively strong when there is little conflict or dissociation between these two measures. A large value of IEC (correlation between self-report and IAT) indicates the lack of dissociation. Three other conceptual moderators were also significant in univariate analyses (see left side of Table 4). Predictive validity of IAT measures was greater with (a) greater complementarity of the two categories contrasted in IAT measures (explaining 9.8% of variance, p = 10^{-5}), (b) greater correspondence between the IAT and the criterion measure (6.5% of variance, p = .001), and (c) lower social sensitivity of the implicit construct being measured (3.4% of variance, p = .02). Complementarity and social sensitivity were also significant predictors in the simultaneous analysis (right side of Table 4), but correspondence was not. This difference between univariate and simultaneous regression results is expected when there is collinearity (correlation) among predictors—this is considered more fully in the Discussion.

ECCs. Table 5 presents the analysis of conceptual moderators of predictive validity for ECCs. Note that even though complementarity was a property of each study's IAT measures it was used as a predictor in the analysis of ECCs. This was because of the suspicion that complementarity might capture properties of the study independent of the structure of the IAT measure.

As was true for ICCs, IEC magnitude was the strongest individual predictor of ECCs in univariate analyses (see left side of Table 5), where it accounted for 34.3% of ECC variance in a univariate analysis (p = 10^{-20}). All five other moderators also had significant univariate effects in the analysis of ECCs. Predictive validity of self-report measures was (a) strongly reduced by

Table 4
Tests of Weighted Regression Models for Conceptual Moderators of IAT–Criterion Correlations (ICCs)

| | Weighted regression analyses of ICCs | | | | | | | | |
| | Univariate effects | | | | | Simultaneous effects ($k = 145$) | | | |
Moderator[a]	B	β	k	z	p	B	β	z	p
IEC	.471	.547	152	7.92	10^{-15}	.384	.451	5.49	10^{-8}
Predictor type	.059	.126	184	1.57	.12	.024	.051	0.68	.50
Social sensitivity	−.017	−.184	184	−2.31	.02	−.020	−.220	−2.18	.03
Controllability	.006	.079	184	0.97	.33	−.001	−.018	−0.25	.81
Correspondence	.044	.254	184	3.27	.001	−.026	−.151	−1.46	.15
Complementarity	.032	.313	177	4.24	10^{-5}	.025	.259	3.24	.001

Note. Analyses were conducted using Fisher's Z-transformed *r* values and mixed-effects models (fixed slopes, random intercepts). Summary statistics for the simultaneous regression analysis are $R^2 = .401$; two-tailed $p = 10^{-18}$; random-effects variance component $= .0058$; mean effect size (r) $= .280$; $k =$ number of samples in each analysis; $B =$ unstandardized regression coefficient; $\beta =$ standardized regression coefficient; $z =$ critical ratio test for the regression coefficient; $p =$ two-tailed probability of z; IEC = Fisher's Z-transformed IAT–explicit correlation; IAT = Implicit Association Test.
[a] See Table 1 for descriptions of the conceptual moderator variables.

social sensitivity of the construct being measured (24.4% of variance, $p = 10^{-10}$), (b) increased by correspondence between predictor and criterion measures (35.3% of variance, $p = 10^{-17}$), (c) increased by complementarity (9.5% of variance, $p = .0001$), (d) increased by controllability of the criterion measure (8.8% of variance, $p = .0009$), and (e) also greater for attitude predictors than other types (9.8% of variance, $p = .0002$). The univariate effect of social sensitivity on predictive validity of ECCs was an order of magnitude greater (24.4% of variance in the univariate analysis) than was its effect on predictive validity of ICCs (3.4% of variance). This large difference was consistent with the expectation that predictive validity of self-report (but not of IAT) measures might be impaired in socially sensitive domains.

Social sensitivity, correspondence, and complementarity remained significant as predictors in the simultaneous regression analysis, but controllability and predictor type did not (see right side of Table 5). All regression coefficients were substantially reduced from the univariate analyses, a consequence of correlations among the predictors. These correlations have implications

for theoretical interpretation, a topic that is treated in the Discussion.

IECs. Table 6 presents the analysis of IECs that is parallel to those just described for ICCs and ECCs. Two type-of-predictor (attitude vs. other types) moderators were used, one each for IAT and self-report measures. The social sensitivity and correspondence moderators were very highly correlated for IAT and self-report measures and were therefore averaged for use as predictors in this analysis. Although all six of the conceptual moderators were significant in the univariate regression analyses of IECs, only two remained significant in the simultaneous regression analysis: IECs were greater with (a) greater complementary ($p = .0001$) and (b) lower social sensitivity ($p = .02$).

Correlations among conceptual predictors. Table 7 presents unweighted correlations among variables in the regression analyses of Tables 4–6. Correlations involving the conceptual moderators of ICCs are presented below the diagonal and those for ECCs are above the diagonal. Most notable in Table 7 are (a) the large magnitudes of many of these correlations—more than half of them

Table 5
Tests of Weighted Regression Models for Conceptual Moderators of Explicit–Criterion Correlations (ECCs)

| | Weighted regression analyses of ECCs | | | | | | | | |
| | Univariate effects | | | | | Simultaneous effects ($k = 144$) | | | |
Moderator[a]	B	β	k	z	p	B	β	z	p
IEC	.936	.586	152	9.17	10^{-20}	.471	.292	4.28	10^{-5}
Predictor type	.262	.313	156	3.74	.0002	.012	.015	0.23	.82
Social sensitivity	−.084	−.494	154	−6.26	10^{-10}	−.037	−.217	−2.52	.01
Controllability	.043	.296	156	3.32	.0009	.011	.075	1.20	.23
Correspondence	.193	.594	155	8.62	10^{-17}	.090	.278	3.13	.002
Complementarity	.064	.308	149	3.85	.0001	.037	.187	2.87	.004

Note. Analyses were conducted using Fisher's Z-transformed *r* values and mixed-effects models (fixed slopes, random intercepts). Summary statistics for the simultaneous regression analysis are $R^2 = .554$; two-tailed $p = 10^{-35}$; random-effects variance component $= .0368$; mean effect size (r) $= .393$. $k =$ number of samples in each analysis; $B =$ unstandardized regression coefficient; $\beta =$ standardized regression coefficient; $z =$ critical ratio test for the weighted coefficient; $p =$ two-tailed probability of z; IEC = Fisher's Z-transformed IAT–explicit correlation; IAT = Implicit Association Test.
[a] See Table 1 for descriptions of the conceptual moderator variables.

Table 6
Tests of Weighted Regression Models for Conceptual Moderators of IAT–Explicit Correlations (IECs)

	Weighted regression analyses of IECs								
	Univariate effects					Simultaneous effects ($k = 145$)			
Moderator[a]	B	β	k	z	p	B	β	z	p
IAT predictor type	.167	.310	152	3.63	.0003	.056	.105	0.88	.38
Self-report predictor type	.157	.310	152	3.64	.0003	.048	.094	0.82	.41
Social sensitivity	−.033	−.313	152	−3.58	.0003	−.029	−.268	−2.42	.02
Controllability	.028	.312	152	3.32	.0009	.009	.100	1.27	.21
Correspondence	.081	.398	152	4.93	10^{-6}	.012	.060	0.52	.61
Complementarity	.046	.378	145	4.49	10^{-5}	.038	.322	3.91	.0001

Note. Analyses were conducted using Fisher's Z-transformed r values and mixed-effects models (fixed slopes, random intercepts). The social sensitivity and correspondence predictors were averages of separate ratings for the Implicit Association Test (IAT) and self-report predictors. Summary statistics for the simultaneous regression analysis are $R^2 = .341$; two-tailed $p = 10^{-12}$; random-effects variance component = .0180; mean effect size (r) = .244; k = number of samples in each analysis; B = unstandardized regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; z = critical ratio test for the weighted coefficient; p = two-tailed probability of z.
[a] See Table 1 for descriptions of the conceptual moderator variables.

corresponded to moderate or large effect sizes—and (b) the considerably larger correlations of moderators with ECCs (top row of Table 7) than with ICCs (first column of Table 7). This contrast of correlation magnitudes fits with the observations of stronger moderation effects for ECCs (see Table 5) than for ICCs (see Table 4). The intercorrelations among the moderators play a role in the Discussion section's analysis of differences between results of univariate and simultaneous regressions for conceptual moderators.

Weighted Regressions With Methodological and Publication Moderators

Tables 8 and 9 summarize regression analyses involving method and publication moderators. (Table 2 provides summary descriptions of these moderator variables.) The simultaneous multiple regression analyses in the right sides of both tables showed very weak overall results (for ICCs, $R^2 = .104$, $p = .12$; for ECCs, $R^2 = .110$, $p = .03$). Only the effect of method of data collection for the criterion measure on ECCs (see Table 9) was statistically significant in both univariate and simultaneous multiple regression tests. Effect sizes were smaller for criterion measures that required an

observer's coding of behavior than for criterion measures that resulted directly from subjects' responses. A similar, but weaker, effect was observed in the multiple regression analysis for ICCs (see Table 8).

Another effect in the analysis of method moderators that was consistent in direction for ICCs and ECCs, although not in statistical significance, was for number of effect sizes. For both ICCs and ECCs, effect sizes were weaker as more effect sizes were averaged together for a sample. This suggests some support for the speculation that studies with more predictive validity effect sizes were more likely to include effect sizes that were expected to show little or no predictive validity.

Tables 8 and 9 are most interesting for what they do not reveal. There were no effects of order-of-measurement moderators for either ICCs or ECCs. This included no significant effects due either to (a) timing of administration of criterion measures in relation to IAT or self-report predictors or (b) use of criterion and predictor measures in the same versus separate sessions. A second interesting nonsignificant result was that effect sizes were unrelated to publication status. Although effect sizes are often expected to be smaller for unpublished than published studies, the present

Table 7
Unweighted Correlations Among Variables in the Regression Analyses of Tables 4–6

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. ICC or ECC	—	.574	.293	−.502	.389	.595	.302
2. IEC	.429	—	.285	−.351	.352	.412	.333
3. Predictor type	.173	.298	—	−.133	.186	.380	.117
4. Social sensitivity	−.141	−.351	−.037	—	−.385	−.695	.095
5. Controllability	.055	.340	.120	−.347	—	.310	.129
6. Correspondence	.186	.406	.331	−.682	.274	—	.162
7. Complementarity	.312	.329	.279	.107	.132	.170	—

Note. Correlations below the diagonal used the 145 independent samples included in the simultaneous regression of predictors of IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs) in the right side of Table 2. Those above the diagonal used the 144 samples in the simultaneous regression of explicit–criterion correlations (ECCs) in the right side of Table 3. The variables representing ICCs, ECCs, and IAT–explicit correlations (IECs) were Fisher Z-transformed values of aggregated correlations of each type within independent samples. For $n = 144$, the minimum correlation associated with a p value of .005 is $r = .233$. IAT = Implicit Association Test.

Table 8
Tests of Weighted Regression Models for Methodological and Publication Moderators of IAT–Criterion Correlations (ICCs)

Moderator[a]	Weighted regression analyses of ICCs								
	Univariate effects					Simultaneous effects ($k = 129$)			
	B	β	k	z	p	B	β	z	p
Number of effect sizes	−.010	−.189	184	−2.32	.02	−.012	−.171	−1.75	.08
Mean sample size	.000	.101	184	1.24	.22	.000	.022	0.22	.83
Number of IATs	−.016	−.083	184	−1.00	.32	−.018	−.098	−0.94	.35
Criterion data collection method (subject response vs. observation)	−.058	−.128	184	−1.58	.11	−.089	−.205	−2.20	.03
IAT scoring method	.018	.044	145	0.48	.63	.057	.146	1.23	.22
Predictor–criterion ordinal position	.020	.101	156	1.28	.20	.023	.108	1.16	.25
Predictor–criterion session relation	.024	.046	171	0.53	.60	.083	.159	1.70	.09
Publication year	.005	.065	184	0.80	.42	−.004	−.047	−0.40	.69
Publication status	−.007	−.013	184	−0.16	.87	−.021	−.037	−0.41	.68

Note. Analyses were conducted using Fisher's Z-transformed r values and mixed-effects models (fixed predictor slopes, random intercepts). Summary statistics for the simultaneous regression analysis are $R^2 = .104$; two-tailed $p = .12$; random-effects variance component = .0165; mean effect size (r) = .269; k = number of samples in each analysis; B = unstandardized regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; z = critical ratio test for the regression coefficient; p = two-tailed probability of z; IAT = Implicit Association Test.
[a] See Table 2 for descriptions of the methodological and publication moderator variables.

findings showed no support for that expectation. Lastly, the effect of IAT scoring method on ICC magnitudes (see Table 8) was weakly in the expected direction of showing stronger effect sizes for use of the D scoring algorithm (Greenwald et al., 2003) than for other scoring methods. However, this effect was not statistically significant.

Differences Among Criterion Measure Domains

Figure 1 summarizes the aggregate effect sizes of ICCs and ECCs for the nine categories of criterion measure. Three findings are visible in the figure. First, effect sizes for both ICCs and ECCs varied widely across domains. Second, this across-domain variation in effect sizes was much greater for ECCs than for ICCs (i.e., lengths of the black bars in Figure 1 vary much more than do those of the gray bars); this greater heterogeneity of ECCs than

ICCs can also be seen in the wider 95% confidence intervals for black than gray bars in Figure 1. Third—and possibly most important—although average ECCs were significantly greater than ICCs in six criterion domains, the reverse was true for the two domains that involved intergroup behavior (the top two pairs of bars in Figure 1).

Incremental Validity—Partial Correlation Method

The aim of determining whether IAT and self-report measures independently explained variance in criterion measures was at first frustrated because so few of the reports examined for this meta-analysis included regression analyses in which IAT and self-report measures were used as simultaneous predictors. An alternative approach was available for the 152 samples that permitted estimates of all three types of effect size—ICC, ECC, and IEC.

Table 9
Tests of Weighted Regression Models for Methodological and Publication Moderators of Explicit–Criterion Correlations (ECCs)

Moderator[a]	Weighted regression analyses of ECCs								
	Univariate effects					Simultaneous effects ($k = 123$)			
	B	β	k	z	p	B	β	z	p
Number of effect sizes	−.011	−.141	156	−1.57	.12	−.013	−.173	−2.01	.04
Mean sample size	.001	.210	156	2.47	.01	.000	.147	1.67	.10
Criterion data collection method (subject response vs. observation)	−.209	−.261	156	−3.05	.002	−.157	−.233	−2.64	.008
Predictor–criterion ordinal position	−.053	−.134	126	−1.56	.12	−.046	−.129	−1.35	.18
Predictor–criterion session relation	−.074	−.084	141	−0.83	.40	−.072	−.090	−1.00	.32
Publication year	.015	.095	156	1.09	.27	.006	.044	0.46	.65
Publication status	.087	.089	156	0.99	.32	−.060	−.075	−0.86	.39

Note. Analyses were conducted using Fisher's Z-transformed r values and mixed-effects models (fixed predictor slopes, random intercepts). Summary statistics for the simultaneous regression analysis are $R^2 = .110$; two-tailed $p = .03$; random-effects variance component = .0624; mean effect size (r) = .341; k = number of samples in each analysis; B = unstandardized regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; z = critical ratio test for the regression coefficient; p = two-tailed probability of z.
[a] See Table 2 for descriptions of the methodological and publication moderator variables.
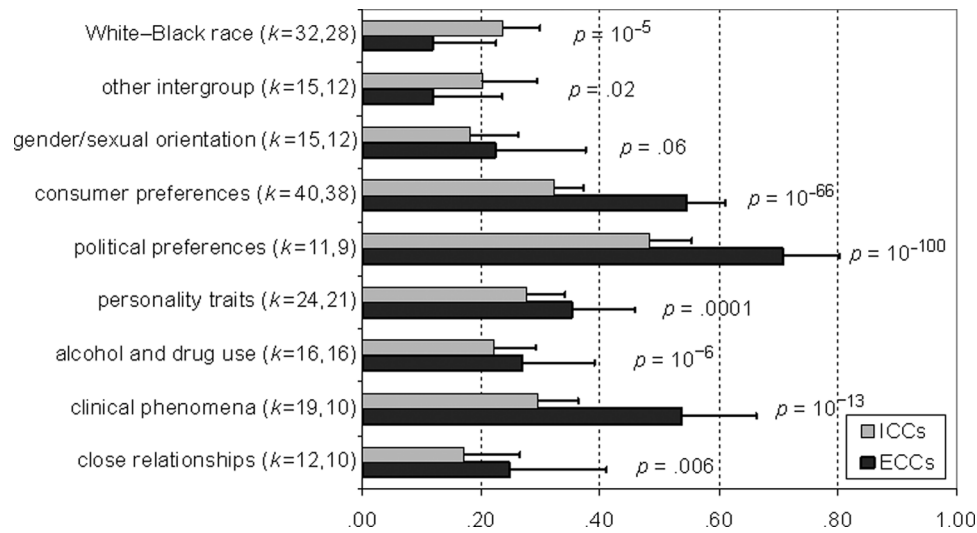
Figure 1.   Weighted average IAT–criterion (ICC) and explicit–criterion (ECC) correlations for nine domains of criterion measures (see Table 3). Significance tests (p values) are from paired-sample, fixed-effects tests for difference in magnitudes of the two types of effect size. Numbers of samples (k) for significance tests are shown in Figure 2 (samples for which both effect sizes were available). However, this figure's plotted average effect sizes and 95% confidence interval error bars are based on all available samples, for which the number of samples are given in the axis labels (for ICCs first, ECCs second). IAT = Implicit Association Test.

Availability of these three effect sizes permitted estimates of two partial correlations: (a) correlation of IAT with criterion, partialing self-report ($r_{IC.E}$) and (b) correlation of self-report with criterion, partialing IAT ($r_{EC.I}$).

Three cautions must be considered in using the trios of effect sizes to estimate partial correlations that might be interpreted as indicators of incremental validity. First, the r values that were used to compute the partial rs were often averages over available rs of the same type within each independent sample. Second, the three r values for each sample were not always based on data provided by exactly the same subjects. Third, although a significant partial correlation indicates that the effect of one predictor is *statistically* independent of the partialed predictor, it does not necessarily indicate that the two predictors are *conceptually* independent.

The possibility of spurious significant partial correlations for conceptually similar predictors arises when the two predictors contain measurement error—as was certainly the case for all IAT and self-report measures in the reports gathered for the present meta-analysis. Consider the hypothetical case of a criterion measure (Y) being predicted by two predictors (X_1 and X_2), both of which are assumed to measure the same construct (X). If X_1 and X_2 have uncorrelated measurement errors, each can have some incremental validity in predicting Y—that is, each will have a positive partial correlation with Y, controlling for the other. Even though the three considerations just described complicate interpretation of partial correlations as indicators of incremental validity, some patterns of results can permit unequivocal conclusions.

The desired partial correlations, $r_{IC.E}$ and $r_{EC.I}$, were computable for 152 of the 184 independent samples in the meta-analysis. For both $r_{IC.E}$ and $r_{EC.I}$, overall weighted mean values were significantly greater than zero. For the partial correlations of IAT measures with criterion measures, $\bar{r}_{IC.E} = .179$, $z = 14.18$, $p = 10^{-45}$ (random-effects model). These $\bar{r}_{IC.E}$ values were signifi-

cantly heterogeneous by a fixed-effects test, $Q(151) = 238.8$, $p = 10^{-5}$. For partial correlations of self-report measures with criterion measures, $\bar{r}_{EC.I} = .321$, $z = 11.73$, $p = 10^{-31}$. These $\bar{r}_{EC.I}$ values were also heterogeneous, $Q(151) = 1,356.8$, $p = 10^{-192}$.

Figure 2 shows the weighted average effect sizes for both $r_{IC.E}$ and $r_{EC.I}$, separately for the nine criterion measure domains. For two domains (White vs. Black race and other intergroup), $\bar{r}_{IC.E}$ significantly exceeded $\bar{r}_{EC.I}$. In all seven other domains, $\bar{r}_{EC.I}$ significantly exceeded $\bar{r}_{IC.E}$. The White versus Black race category was the only criterion domain for which the difference between partial correlations was statistically homogeneous, $Q(26) = 32.7$, $p = .17$, fixed-effects test.

Discussion

The first goal of this meta-analysis was to estimate the average predictive validity effect size (r) of IAT measures. The weighted average of these IAT–criterion correlations (ICCs), based on 122 reports that contained 184 independent samples, was $\bar{r}_{ICC} = .274$, a level conventionally characterized as moderate (Cohen, 1977, p. 80). On average, correlations of self-report measures with criterion measures (ECCs) were larger: $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .361$. Other important findings were that (a) predictive validity of self-report measures (but not of IAT measures) was sharply reduced when research topics were socially sensitive, (b) IAT measures had greater predictive validity than did self-report measures for criterion measures involving interracial behavior and other intergroup behavior, and (c) both IAT and self-report measures showed incremental predictive validity with respect to each other.

The average ICCs and ECCs observed in this research were inevitably attenuated in magnitude due to unreliability of both predictor and criterion measures. Some methodologists (e.g., Schmidt, Pearlman, Hunter, & Hirsch, 1985) have advocated con-
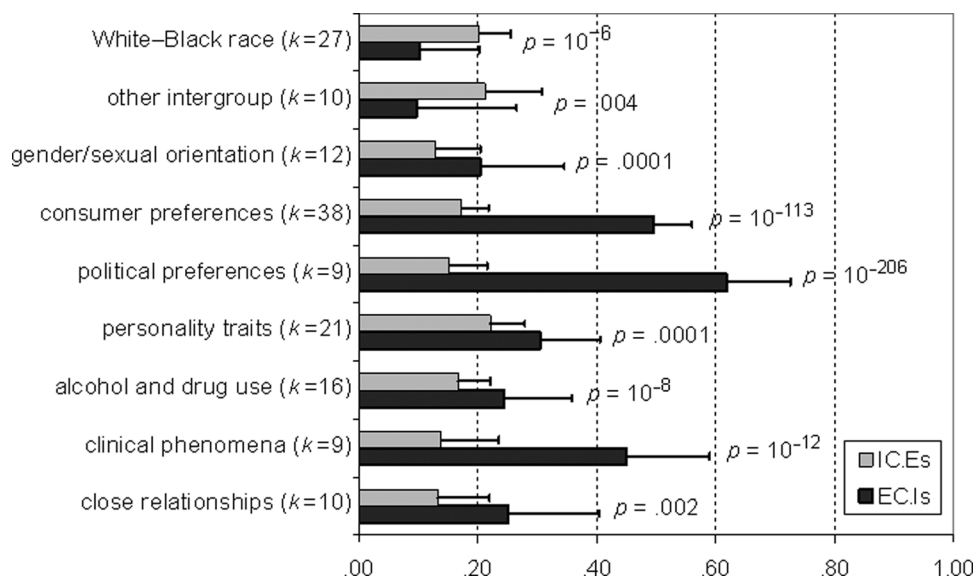
Figure 2. Weighted average partial IAT–criterion (IC.E) and explicit–criterion (EC.I) correlations (see text for further description) for nine domains of criterion measures (see Table 3). Significance tests (*p* values) are from paired-sample, fixed-effects tests for difference in magnitudes of the two types of effect size. Numbers of samples (*k*) are those for which both types of effect size were available. Error bars are 95% confidence intervals. IAT = Implicit Association Test.

ducting meta-analyses on effect sizes that have had preliminary corrections for unreliability. Such disattenuated effect sizes are necessarily larger than published effect sizes, because they are computed by dividing the published effect size by the product of the square roots of reliabilities of the two component measures—a quantity that is necessarily less than 1.0. This strategy was not used because the authors had, at best, imprecise knowledge of reliabilities for most of the measures used in this meta-analysis.

Disattenuated correlations can nevertheless be crudely approximated by making assumptions about reliabilities of the measures composing the correlations. Using assumed reliabilities of $r = .56$ for IAT predictors (based on Nosek et al., 2007) and $r = .80$ for criterion measures (an estimate for which there can be no strong basis), the estimated average predictive validity of IAT measures in the present research would increase from the observed $\bar{r}_{ICC} = .274$ to a disattenuated $\bar{r}_{ICC} = .409$. A similar computation for ECCs, using reliability estimates of $r = .85$ for self-report predictors and $r = .80$ for criterion measures, yields a disattenuated estimate of $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .438$, compared to the observed $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .361$.

Predictive Validities Vary Across Domains of Criterion Behavior

Average ECCs were greater than average ICCs for seven of the nine criterion domains (see Table 3 and Figure 1). Both ICCs and ECCs were greatest in magnitude for political preferences ($\bar{r}_{ICC} = .483$; $\bar{r}_{ECC} = .709$). The relatively high ICC effect sizes in the political domain and in the consumer preferences domain may indicate why these two, in combination, accounted for 28% of the meta-analyzed independent samples. Figures 1 and 2 showed that, in the domains of Black–White interracial behavior and other intergroup behavior (and only in these two domains) IAT measures

had greater predictive validity than did self-report measures. The relative success of IAT measures for these two topics may explain why these two have been so prominent in research using IAT measures—together they comprise 26% of the meta-analysis.

Social Sensitivity of Topic Impairs Predictive Validity of Self-Report Measures

As a single predictor, social sensitivity of topic explained 24.4% of the variance in ECC effect sizes (see Table 5). Social sensitivity was a much weaker moderator of ICC effect sizes (3.4% of variance; see Table 4). To interpret this contrast, mean levels of social sensitivity were examined for the nine criterion domains. Rated social sensitivity ranged from 1 (*not at all likely to be affected by social desirability concerns*) to 7 (*extremely likely to be affected by social desirability concerns*). For the two domains with highest average ECCs (political preferences and consumer preferences), 100% of the samples had social sensitivity ratings of 3 or below. In contrast, for the two domains with the lowest average ECCs (White–Black race and other intergroup behavior), 100% of the samples had social sensitivity scores above 3. There was thus no overlap in rated social sensitivity of the study topics in these two sets of domains. Although this indicates that social sensitivity plausibly played a causal role in moderating predictive validity of self-report measures, it is also clear that its effect was confounded with differences in topic domains.

Comparison of social sensitivity's large effect on ECCs, compared with its much weaker effect on ICCs, fits with previous conclusions that impression management can undermine validity of self-report measures in socially sensitive domains (e.g., Greenwald et al., 2002; Nosek et al., 2007). An estimate of the magnitude of this interfering effect can be obtained by applying the

unstandardized regression parameter estimates from the univariate regression of ECCs on social sensitivity.[6] Using those estimates, the expected predictive validity of self-report measures for a topic rated 1 (lowest) in social sensitivity is $\hat{r}_{ECC} = .60$, whereas that for a topic rated 7 (highest) in social sensitivity is $\hat{r}_{ECC} = .10$.

Mutual Incremental Validity of IAT and Self-Report Measures

For 152 samples, availability of a trio of effect sizes—ICC, ECC, and IEC—permitted estimation of partial correlations. These partial correlations indicated that IAT and self-report measures had mutual incremental validity in predicting criterion measures. As was emphasized in presenting results, these partial correlation analyses have potential problems associated with averaging correlations within independent samples as well as from unreliability of measures. Those limitations notwithstanding, the partial correlation findings indicated clearly that IAT and self-report measures each predicted criterion variance that was not predicted by the other. For IAT measures, this was clearest for the White–Black race and other intergroup behavior topics. In these topic domains, evidence for incremental validity of IAT measures was accompanied by evidence for very low predictive validity of self-report measures (see Figures 1 and 2). In several other topic domains—especially consumer preferences, political preferences, and clinical phenomena—it was strongly evident that self-report measures predicted criterion variance not predicted by IAT measures.

Understanding the Strong Moderating Role of IEC Magnitude

The finding that IEC magnitude was positively associated with predictive validity for both ICCs and ECCs was expected from reasoning that, when IAT and self-report measures agree, the constructs that they measure will likely reinforce each other in determining behavior. This, in turn, should produce relatively large predictive validity correlations for both types of measure. Confirming this expectation, IEC magnitude positively predicted 29.9% of the variability of ICC effect sizes and 34.3% of the variability of ECCs (see Tables 4 and 5).

It has been theorized that *response factors* (including demand characteristics, evaluation apprehension, and subject role-playing) and *introspective limits* will cause self-report measures to diverge from IAT measures, resulting in relatively low IECs (Greenwald et al., 2002, p. 17). In support of findings by Nosek (2005), the present research found strong evidence for effects of a response factor that plausibly reduced correlations between self-report and IAT measures: social sensitivity of the research topic. The present research found IECs to be markedly lower for highly sensitive topics than for topics rated low in social sensitivity. Supporting that observation, the unweighted correlation of IEC magnitude with rated social sensitivity of the topic was $r = -.35$ for the samples used to analyze conceptual moderators of both ICCs and ECCs (see Table 7).[7]

Previous evidence for the role of introspective limits in affecting IEC magnitudes appeared in Hofmann et al.'s (2005) finding that IECs were larger when self-report measures were judged to be high in spontaneity (i.e., to be based on little introspection).

Reinforcing that observation, Ranganath, Smith, and Nosek (2008) reported that self-report measures had larger correlations with IAT measures when self-report procedures were modified to invite greater spontaneity. They achieved this either by asking subjects to describe "gut reactions" in their self-reports or by obliging subjects to give self-report responses under time pressure, thereby reducing opportunity to think about how to respond.

Other Conceptual Moderators

Correspondence. Correspondence between criterion measures and attitude predictors was first identified as a moderator of attitude–behavior relations by Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) and later confirmed as a moderator in Kraus's (1995) meta-analytic review. Correspondence was likewise found to be a significant moderator of ECCs in the present meta-analysis, both in univariate and simultaneous regression analyses (see Table 5). However, correspondence was a significant moderator of ICCs only in the univariate regression analysis (see Table 4).

Complementarity. As a characteristic of IAT measures, complementarity is high when liking one target category implies disliking its contrasted category. For example, in the United States, liking the Republican Party implies disliking the Democratic Party. As previously described, complementarity of IAT measures was suspected to be as much a characteristic linked to the topic of a research study as it was a characteristic of the study's IAT measures. This suspicion was confirmed by observing that, on its 1–9 scale, complementarity was much higher for political preference topics ($M = 6.2$) than for all other topics ($M = 2.0$). The moderating effects of complementarity on ICC and ECC effect sizes might therefore be in part a consequence of the relatively large numbers of subjects in studies of political preferences (see Table 3), giving that category relatively large weight in the meta-analysis.

Controllability. The introductory discussion of controllability as a potential moderator described dual-process theories that credit implicit measures with a stronger role in predicting spontaneous versus controlled behavior. According to these dual-process views (e.g., Strack & Deutsch, 2004; Wilson et al., 2000), the more controlled the behavior, the less well implicit measures should predict it. The introductory description also described the opposing view that implicit measures should be capable of predicting both controlled actions and spontaneous ones (e.g., Nosek & Banaji, 2002; Rudman, 2004). The present findings strongly supported the

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[6] For this regression equation, predicting Z_{ICC} from social sensitivity ratings, the unstandardized parameter estimates were 0.684 for intercept and $-.084$ for slope.

[7] It is interesting that Hofmann et al. (2005) reported no "evidence that correlations [of IAT with self-report measures] were influenced by the degree of social desirability . . . associated with the topic" (p. 1380). The disparity between their conclusion and the present one may be explained by the difference between their operational definition of social desirability and the present definition of social sensitivity. For their meta-analysis, Hofmann et al. assessed social desirability with a rating of "how much are people in general concerned about whether their attitudes or personality characteristics are socially acceptable" (p. 1373; cf. Nosek, 2005, pp. 570–571). This may differ enough from the present operation (a rating of concern about the impression that the self-report response would make on others) to explain the difference in results.

latter position. Controllability showed no significant moderating effects in the regression analyses for conceptual moderators of ICCs (see Table 4). Perhaps this should not be surprising, considering that some of the largest ICC effect sizes occurred in the political and consumer preferences domains, in which criterion measures were often coded as being highly controllable.

Intercorrelations Among Conceptual Moderators of ECCs

The analysis of conceptual moderators of ECCs (see Table 5) showed six unequivocally significant predictors in univariate regressions. For these, absolute beta values ranged from .296 to .594. In the corresponding simultaneous regression, two of these predictors were no longer significant and the set of absolute beta values was noticeably lower, ranging from .015 to .292. These reduced regression coefficients can be understood by considering the high correlations among the conceptual moderators (see Table 7).

Correlations among moderators notwithstanding, the effects of three moderators on ECCs seem well established. First, the effect of correspondence in increasing ECCs, which was initially proposed and confirmed about three decades ago and again in Kraus's (1995) meta-analysis (see the introduction), was effectively confirmed in this meta-analysis. Second, the effect of social sensitivity, which was expected on the basis of widespread understanding of impression management as an interfering factor in self-reports, was evident in both the univariate and simultaneous regression analyses of conceptual moderators of ECCs. Third, the effect of IEC magnitude on increasing predictive validity was very strongly evident in the present analyses of both ECCs and ICCs. The commonsense interpretation of this effect is that, when IAT and self-report measures are highly correlated, their respective bases for predicting behavior should be mutually reinforcing, which should result in relatively high predictive validity correlations for both types of measure.

More difficult to interpret are the significant effects of predictor type (attitude vs. other types of measure), controllability of the criterion response, and complementarity of the contrasting IAT categories. Of these three, only complementarity had a significant effect in the simultaneous regression analysis. However, this property of IAT measures was not expected to have any role in predictive validity of self-report measures. Further, this property was not coded for self-report measures because it could be a characteristic only of measures that contrasted two categories. Although a substantial fraction of self-report measures did make use of contrasted categories, there were too few of these for that coding to be useful in a regression analysis—a large fraction of the meta-analyzed samples would have been dropped for lack of coding.

To test whether the effect of complementarity was a consequence of the high value of this moderator in studies of political preferences, the simultaneous regression of Table 5 was rerun omitting the nine political preference samples for which both ECCs and IECs were available. The effect of complementarity in moderating predictive validity of self-report measures was not at all diminished in the reduced-sample analysis. This observation, along with the relatively low correlations of complementarity with other moderators (see Table 7), indicates that, at least in the analysis of predictive validity of self-report, the effect of comple-

mentarity was not reflecting effects that might reasonably be credited to other moderators. At the same time, a similar reduced-sample rerun of the simultaneous regression for ICCs showed that the significant effect of complementarity (see Table 4: $\beta = .259$, $p = .001$) became nonsignificant ($\beta = .148$, $p = .07$). The only justifiable present conclusion is that the moderating effect of complementarity on the predictive validity of self-report measures remains a puzzle yet to be solved.

The lack of a significant effect of controllability in the simultaneous regression analysis of ECCs (see Table 5) may be a consequence of its substantial correlations with social sensitivity and correspondence. In practice it may be difficult to separate controllability of self-report measures from their social sensitivity and correspondence properties. Correspondence was highest in the same topic groupings in which controllability was high, and these were also topics for which social sensitivity was low.

Predictive validity effect sizes of self-report measures were larger in studies involving attitude measures than in studies using the three other types of self-report measure. The conversion of this effect to nonsignificance in the simultaneous regression (see right side of Table 5) was likely a consequence of the positive correlations of predictor type with two other significant moderators of ECC's predictive validity—IEC magnitude and correspondence (see Table 7). Self-report attitude measures had higher correlations with IAT measures and higher levels of rated correspondence to criterion measures than did (collectively) self-report measures of stereotypes, self-concepts, and self-esteem. As in the case of controllability, this may be a situation in which these dimensions are sufficiently entwined in nature to make it impractical to examine their effects separately.

Methodological and Publication Moderators

The analyses of methodological and publication moderators were remarkable for the near absence of effects (see Tables 8 and 9). The only noteworthy effect was that involving the contrast between measures produced by subject behavior and those coded as a result of experimenters' observations. Predictive validity effect sizes were larger for the approximately two-thirds of studies in which criterion measures were produced by subject behavior. Perhaps subjects were finding ways to inflate consistency with predictors when they responded to criterion measures, or perhaps experimenters' coding introduced greater error into recorded criterion responses. More important than this isolated finding was the absence of effects of procedural variations involving the relative temporal position of predictor and criterion measures. Although there is no reason to oppose standard practices of counterbalancing orders of these measures, it also appears that there is little harm—at least for the purpose of estimating predictive validity—in using fixed orders of measurement. Additionally, there was no indication that having self-report and IAT predictors in the same versus separate sessions affected predictive validity effect sizes. ICC effect sizes were slightly higher with separate sessions and ECC effect sizes were slightly lower with separate sessions, but neither of these differences was statistically significant (see Tables 8 and 9, respectively).

Dual-Representation Versus Single-Representation Versus Dual-Construct Theoretical Interpretations

The hypothesis that IAT measures and self-report measures capture distinct phenomena is supported by two observations: (a) mutual incremental validity for the two types of measure—which indicates that they predicted different aspects of criterion behavior—and (b) the finding that the social sensitivity of the topic affected the predictive validity of self-report measures much more strongly than it affected the predictive validity of IAT measures. Some theorists will interpret these findings to indicate that "implicit attitudes" and "explicit attitudes" are distinct entities, as suggested in dual-representation theories such as those of Wilson et al. (2000) and Strack and Deutsch (2004). However, other theorists (e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003; Kruglanski & Thompson, 1999) point out that these apparent empirical implicit–explicit dissociations can be accounted for by a single-representation form of theory. In the single-representation approach, implicit and explicit attitudes (for example) are conceived not as distinct mental entities, but rather as distinct types of measure that can derive from a single form of underlying representation. Greenwald and Nosek (2008) have advocated a middle course by treating implicit and explicit measures as empirically distinct *constructs*, noting that, at present, the question of single versus dual representations appears empirically irresolvable.

Continuity With Important Previous Reviews

This review continues themes developed in Crosby, Bromley, and Saxe's (1980) review of unobtrusive-measure research on race discrimination and in Kraus's (1995) meta-analysis of attitude–behavior relations. Crosby et al. drew attention to the substantial divergence of results between survey studies of racially discriminatory attitudes and results of the unobtrusive-measure experiments that they reviewed. They found that "discriminatory behavior is more prevalent in the body of unobtrusive studies than we might expect on the basis of survey data" (p. 557). After they noted that self-report measures were often found to be poor predictors of racial discrimination in studies that used unobtrusive measures, Crosby et al. "inferred from [this] literature that whites today [i.e., in 1980] are, in fact, more prejudiced than they are wont to admit" (p. 557).

Crosby et al. (1980, p. 557) identified five studies as showing poor predictive validity of self-report racial attitude measures. These studies did not appear in Kraus's (1995) meta-analysis, either because they did not meet Kraus's inclusion criterion of having attitude measures in a separate session preceding criterion measurement (see Kraus, 1995, p. 62) or because some of them, instead of reporting numerical effect sizes, described attitude–behavior correlations only as "nonsignificant." Kraus may therefore not have had the possibility of identifying interracial behavior as a domain in which attitude–behavior correlations were relatively low.

Conclusion

This review justifies a recommendation to use IAT and self-report measures jointly as predictors of behavior. Even though the relative predictive validities of the two types of measure varied considerably across domains, each type generally provided a gain in predictive validity relative to using the other alone. The review found that, for socially sensitive topics, the predictive validity of self-report measures was remarkably low and the incremental validity of IAT measures was relatively high. In the studies examined in this review, high social sensitivity of topics was most characteristic of studies of racial and other intergroup behavior. In those topic domains, the predictive validity of IAT measures significantly exceeded the predictive validity of self-report measures.

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(*Appendix follows*)

Appendix

Characteristics of the 184 Independent Samples Included in the Meta-Analysis

Citation	Expt	Sample	N	N crit	Topic	ICC	N IAT	IAT type	ECC	N expl	Expl type	IEC
Ames et al. (2007)	1	1	121	1	Drugs/tobacco	.137	3	Attitude	.418	3	Multiple	.058
Amodio & Devine (2006)	2	1	32	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.156	2	Att/belief	.333	1	Attitude	.171
	3	2	21	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.325	2	Multiple				
Arcuri et al. (2008)	1	1	52	1	Politics	.642	1	Attitude				
	2	2	37	1	Politics	.414	1	Attitude				
Asendorpf et al. (2002)	1	1	138	3	Personality	.274	1	Self	.260	3	Self	.440
Ashburn-Nardo et al. (2003)	1	1	77	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.230	1	Attitude	.152	7	Belief	.400
*Bain et al. (2004)	1	1	138	2	Politics	.462	1	Attitude	.672	2	Belief	.660
Banse (2007)	1	1	132	1	Personality	.370	1	Attitude	.480	1	Attitude	.490
*Banse & Fischer (2002)	1	1	94	1	Personality	.219	2	Self	−.160	1	Self	.150
*Banse et al. (2002)	1	1	96	2	Relationships	.133	1	Attitude	.166	1	Attitude	.230
Bosson et al. (2000)	1	1	83	6	Personality	.161	1	Self	.396	4	Self	.220
Brochu & Morrison (2007)	1	1	37	3	Other intergroup	.199	1	Attitude	.459	1	Attitude	.210
*Brockmyer & Oleson (2004)	1	1	58	1	Other intergroup	.071	1	Attitude	.185	2	Attitude	−.003
Brunel et al. (2004)	1	1	50	2	Consumer	.533	2	Belief	.637	1	Attitude	.504
Brunstein & Schmitt (2004)	1	1	44	1	Personality	.498	1	Self	−.170	1	Self	−.108
	1	2	44	1	Personality	−.009	1	Self	−.079	1	Self	−.028
*Carney (2006)	1	1	29	19	Race (Bl/Wh)	.256	1	Attitude	.007	1	Attitude	.180
	1	2	33	19	Race (Bl/Wh)	.058	1	Attitude	−.004	1	Attitude	.160
*Carney et al. (2006)	1	1	21	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.266	1	Attitude	−.202	1	Attitude	−.269
*Carpenter (2000)	1	1	125	1	Gender/sex	.241	2	Att/belief	.690	1	Attitude	.459
Conner & Barrett (2005)	1	1	124	29	Personality	.102	1	Self	.255	1	Self	.230
	2	2	84	13	Personality	.086	1	Self	.320	1	Self	.001
Cunningham et al. (2004)	1	1	13	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.790	1	Attitude	.508	1	Attitude	.004
Czopp et al. (2004)	1	1	132	3	Relationships	.161	1	Attitude	.218	1	Attitude	.250
Dal Cin et al. (2007)	1	1	52	1	Drugs/tobacco	.461	1	Self				
Dasgupta & Rivera (2006)	1	1	82	1	Gender/sex	−.060	1	Attitude				
	2	1	67	1	Gender/sex	.040	1	Attitude				
DeSteno et al. (2006)	1	1	46	1	Relationships	.550	1	Self	.170	1	Self	−.070
Egloff & Schmukle (2002)	3	1	62	6	Clinical	.133	1	Self	.093	1	Self	−.060
	4	2	33	7	Clinical	.201	1	Self	.129	1	Self	.250
Ellwart et al. (2006)	1	1	48	3	Clinical	.205	1	Attitude	.677	2	Attitude	.220
	2	2	18	1	Clinical	.635	1	Attitude	.648	2	Attitude	.270
Eyssel & Bohner (2007)	1	1	130	1	Gender/sex	−.005	2	Belief	.329	3	Belief	.042
Field et al. (2004)	1	1	33	1	Drugs/tobacco	.382	1	Attitude				
Florack et al. (2001)	1	1	20	1	Other intergroup	.580	1	Attitude	.200	1	Attitude	.210
	1	2	26	2	Other intergroup	−.210	1	Attitude	−.100	1	Attitude	−.190
	1	3	21	3	Other intergroup	.170	1	Attitude	.630	1	Attitude	.110
*Florack et al. (2004)	1	1	105	1	Consumer	.460	2	Att/belief	.710	1	Attitude	.470
	1	2	108	1	Consumer	.480	2	Att/belief	.750	1	Attitude	.410
*Friedman et al. (2001)	1	1	122	1	Clinical	.380	1	Self				
	1	2	122	1	Clinical	.100	1	Attitude				
Friese et al. (2006)	1	1	25	1	Consumer	.080	1	Attitude	.360	1	Attitude	.390
	1	2	27	2	Consumer	.470	1	Attitude	.740	1	Attitude	.260
Friese et al. (2007)	1	1	1,386	10	Politics	.302	5	Attitude	.560	5	Attitude	.409
Friese et al. (2008)	1	1	42	1	Consumer	.120	1	Attitude	.600	1	Attitude	.200
	1	2	43	1	Consumer	.450	1	Attitude	.240	1	Attitude	.370
	2	3	33	1	Consumer	−.050	1	Attitude	.350	1	Attitude	.410
	2	4	33	1	Consumer	.290	1	Attitude	−.080	1	Attitude	.010
	3	5	21	1	Drugs/tobacco	−.240	1	Attitude	.380	1	Attitude	.180
	3	6	25	1	Drugs/tobacco	.500	1	Attitude	.110	1	Attitude	.370
Gabriel et al. (2007)	1	1	69	1	Gender/sex	−.010	1	Attitude	.174	2	Attitude	.320
Gawronski et al. (2003)	1	1	119	1	Gender/sex	.190	1	Belief				
	1	1	35	2	Other intergroup	.181	1	Attitude	.010	1	Belief	.216
	1	2	34	2	Other intergroup	.321	1	Attitude	.110	1	Belief	.161
Gibson (2008)	2	1	30	1	Consumer	.487	1	Attitude	.421	1	Attitude	.349
	2	2	30	2	Consumer	.139	1	Attitude	.517	1	Attitude	−.011
Glaser & Knowles (2008)	1	1	48	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.290	2	Att/belief	.248	2	Attitude	.298
Gray et al. (2005)	1	1	77	1	Clinical	.355	1	Belief				

Appendix (*continued*)

Citation	Expt	Sample	N	N crit	Topic	ICC	N IAT	IAT type	ECC	N expl	Expl type	IEC
Green et al. (2007)	1	1	207	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.138	2	Att/belief	.021	2	Att/belief	.017
Heider & Skowronski (2007)	1	1	140	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.119	1	Attitude	.042	2	Attitude	.003
	2	2	55	4	Race (Bl/Wh)	.272	1	Attitude	.038	2	Attitude	.284
Hofmann & Friese (2008)	1	1	29	1	Consumer	−.190	1	Attitude	.470	1	Self	.020
	1	2	29	1	Consumer	.400	1	Attitude	.250	1	Self	.260
Hofmann et al. (2007)	1	1	26	1	Consumer	.340	1	Attitude	−.290	1	Self	−.290
	1	2	24	2	Consumer	−.090	1	Attitude	.480	1	Self	.480
Hofmann et al. (2008)	1	1	85	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.118	1	Attitude	.154	1	Attitude	.341
	2	2	76	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.192	1	Attitude	.002	1	Attitude	.001
Houben & Wiers (2006a)	1	1	96	2	Drugs/tobacco	.153	3	Multiple	.301	7	Multiple	.107
Houben & Wiers (2006b)	1	1	46	2	Drugs/tobacco	.386	1	Attitude	.110	2	Attitude	.346
Houben & Wiers (2007a)	1	1	42	2	Drugs/tobacco	.410	1	Attitude	.126	4	Attitude	.330
Houben & Wiers (2007b)	1	1	46	2	Drugs/tobacco	.289	2	Attitude	.348	3	Attitude	.145
Houben & Wiers (2008)	1	1	62	1	Drugs/tobacco	.175	4	Attitude	.341	2	Attitude	.086
Hugenberg & Bodenhausen (2003)	1	1	24	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.460	1	Attitude	.054	1	Attitude	.360
	2	2	24	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.424	1	Attitude	.187	1	Attitude	−.129
Hugenberg & Bodenhausen (2004)	1	1	20	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.345	1	Attitude	.032	1	Attitude	−.068
	2	2	57	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.163	1	Attitude	−.030	1	Attitude	−.230
Huijding et al. (2005)	1	1	48	1	Drugs/tobacco	.450	1	Attitude	.692	1	Attitude	.221
Jajodia & Earleywine (2003)	1	1	103	3	Drugs/tobacco	.307	1	Belief	.387	1	Belief	.132
Jellison et al. (2004)	1	1	39	4	Gender/sex	.258	1	Attitude	.271	1	Attitude	.510
Kaminska-Feldman (2004)	1	1	47	1	Other intergroup	.227	1	Attitude				
Karpinski & Hilton (2001)	2	1	81	1	Consumer	.030	1	Attitude	.360	3	Multiple	.160
Karpinski & Steinman (2006)	1	1	53	1	Consumer	.277	3	Attitude	.540	2	Attitude	.101
Karpinski et al. (2005)	1	1	155	1	Politics	.420	1	Attitude	.721	2	Attitude	.460
	2	2	109	1	Consumer	.353	1	Attitude	.698	1	Attitude	.290
	3	3	72	1	Consumer	.550	1	Attitude	.960	2	Attitude	.520
*Lemm (2000)	1	1	33	1	Gender/sex	.380	1	Attitude	−.160	1	Belief	.130
*Levesque & Brown (2004)	2	1	69	1	Personality	.140	1	Self	.440	1	Self	.190
	3	2	78	2	Personality	.060	1	Self	.270	1	Self	−.020
*Livingston (2002)	1	1	34	1	Other intergroup	.370	1	Attitude	.025	2	Belief	
	2	2	34	1	Other intergroup	.040	1	Attitude	−.265	2	Belief	
	2	3	31	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.430	2	Attitude	.262	2	Belief	.290
Maison et al. (2001)	1	1	70	1	Consumer	.200	1	Attitude	.465	3	Multiple	.380
	2	2	50	1	Consumer	.340	1	Attitude			Attitude	
Maison et al. (2004)	1	1	32	1	Consumer	.535	1	Attitude	.697	1	Attitude	.474
	2	2	39	1	Consumer	.352	1	Attitude	.592	1	Attitude	.431
	3	3	102	2	Consumer	.572	1	Attitude	.638	1	Attitude	.404
Maner et al. (2005)	2	1	51	2	Other intergroup	−.130	1	Attitude				
Marsh et al. (2001)	1	1	36	1	Relationships	.107	2	Belief	.130	4	Multiple	.055
	1	2	71	1	Relationships	−.085	2	Belief	.461	3	Multiple	−.032
	1	3	80	1	Relationships	−.050	2	Belief	.317	4	Multiple	−.013
*Martens et al. (2005)	1	1	35	1	Personality	.460	1	Self	.120	1	Attitude	−.120
Mauss et al. (2006)	2	1	36	8	Clinical	.345	1	Self				
McConnell & Leibold (2001)	1	1	41	15	Race (Bl/Wh)	.229	1	Attitude	.085	1	Attitude	.420
*McGraw & Mulligan (2003)	1	1	93	2	Politics	.418	2	Attitude	.549	2	Self	.480
Mitchell et al. (2006)	1	1	15	2	Politics	.434	2	Belief	−.021	1	Self	.173
Neumann et al. (2004)	1	1	37	2	Gender/sex	.160	1	Attitude	.238	1	Attitude	.190
Nock & Banaji (2007a)	1	1	89	4	Clinical	.493	2	Belief				
Nock & Banaji (2007b)	1	1	73	3	Clinical	.376	1	Self				
Nosek & Hansen (2008)	2	1	926	1	Politics	.647	1	Attitude	.866	2	Attitude	.637
	4	2	1,028	2	Consumer	.304	1	Attitude	.554	2	Attitude	.370
	5	3	82	1	Politics	.552	2	Attitude	.837	2	Attitude	.576
	7	4	203	2	Consumer	.459	1	Attitude	.780	2	Att/belief	.499

(*Appendix continues*)

Appendix (*continued*)

Citation	Expt	Sample	N	N crit	Topic	ICC	N IAT	IAT type	ECC	N expl	Expl type	IEC
Nosek et al. (2002b)	1	1	227	1	Personality	.380	1	Attitude	.490	1	Attitude	.420
*K. R. Olson et al. (2006)	1	1	76	1	Gender/sex	.337	2	Attitude	.512	2	Attitude	.342
M. A. Olson & Fazio (2004)	3	1	26	2	Consumer	.185	1	Attitude	.870	1	Attitude	.150
	3	2	33	2	Consumer	.526	1	Attitude	.880	1	Attitude	.670
	4	3	12	1	Politics	.310	1	Attitude	.830	1	Attitude	.560
	4	4	9	1	Politics	.610	1	Attitude	.850	1	Attitude	.730
Perugini (2005)	1	1	48	1	Drugs/tobacco	.640	1	Attitude	.480	1	Attitude	.480
	2	2	109	2	Consumer	.190	1	Attitude	.278	1	Attitude	.090
Phelps et al. (2000)	1	1	12	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.576	1	Attitude	−.047	1	Belief	
*Plessner et al. (2006)	1	1	40	1	Consumer	.572	1	Attitude	.662	1	Attitude	.443
	2	2	109	2	Consumer	.093	2	Attitude	.301	3	Attitude	.138
*Powell & Williams (2000)	1	1	55	1	Other intergroup	.313	1	Attitude				
*Redker & Gibson (in press)	1	1	68	1	Consumer	.262	1	Attitude	.357	1	Attitude	.210
Richeson et al. (2003)	1	1	15	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.554	1	Attitude				
	2	2	15	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.610	1	Attitude				
Richeson & Shelton (2003)	1	1	21	2	Race (Bl/Wh)	.474	1	Attitude	.389	1	Attitude	.251
Robinson et al. (2005)	1	1	48	1	Drugs/tobacco	.520	1	Attitude	.491	1	Attitude	.480
	2	2	52	1	Drugs/tobacco	.260	2	Attitude	.456	1	Attitude	.400
Robinson et al. (2006)	1	1	96	1	Clinical	.210	1	Self				
	2	2	61	4	Clinical	.309	1	Self				
Ronay & Kim (2006)	1	1	126	2	Personality	.204	2	Belief	.134	3	Belief	.090
Rudman & Ashmore (2007)	1	1	64	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.265	2	Att/belief	.395	2	Att/belief	.268
	2	2	89	1	Other intergroup	.380	1	Belief	.239	3	Multiple	.530
	2	3	89	2	Other intergroup	.275	2	Att/belief	.181	3	Multiple	.192
	2	4	126	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.205	2	Att/belief	.033	3	Multiple	.225
Rudman & Glick (2001)	1	1	27	2	Gender/sex	.367	1	Belief	.095	1	Belief	.040
	1	2	19	2	Gender/sex	.408	1	Belief	.297	1	Belief	.040
Rudman & Heppen (2003)	1	1	77	3	Gender/sex	.318	1	Belief	.057	1	Belief	.170
	2	2	121	3	Gender/sex	.167	1	Belief	−.033	1	Belief	−.090
	3	3	73	4	Gender/sex	.269	2	Att/belief	−.104	2	Att/belief	−.242
Rudman & Lee (2002)	2	1	38	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.232	1	Belief	−.147	2	Belief	.190
Rydell & McConnell (2006)	4	1	29	2	Relationships	.229	1	Attitude	.433	1	Attitude	−.030
*Sargent & Theil (2001)	1	1	38	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.320	1	Attitude	.070	1	Belief	.010
Scarabis et al. (2006)	1	1	25	1	Consumer	.595	2	Belief	.373	2	Attitude	.481
	1	2	24	2	Consumer	.287	2	Belief	.282	2	Attitude	.397
	1	3	25	3	Consumer	.165	2	Belief	.301	2	Attitude	.440
	1	4	24	4	Consumer	.066	2	Belief	.320	2	Attitude	−.039
Schnabel et al. (2006a)	1	1	100	4	Clinical	.021	2	Self	.193	7	Self	.181
Schnabel et al. (2006b)	1	1	58	1	Clinical	.170	1	Self	.360	1	Self	.150
Sekaquaptewa et al. (2003)	1	1	79	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.030	1	Attitude	.010	1	Belief	.160
Sherman et al. (2003)	1	1	54	1	Drugs/tobacco	.120	1	Attitude				
*Shoda & Zayas (1999)	2	1	84	6	Relationships	.060	3	Belief	.225	3	Belief	.217
	3	2	40	8	Relationships	.369	1	Belief	.097	1	Belief	−.054
*Smoak et al. (2006)	1	1	19	3	Relationships	.341	1	Belief	.205	3	Belief	−.004
*Spicer & Monteith (2001)	2	1	78	7	Race (Bl/Wh)	.146	1	Attitude				
Steffens & König (2006)	1	1	89	7	Personality	.192	5	Self	.110	5	Self	.091
Swanson et al. (2001)	2	1	101	2	Consumer	.250	2	Att/belief	.403	2	Att/belief	.473
	2	2	98	1	Drugs/tobacco	.221	2	Att/belief	.547	2	Att/belief	.166
	3	3	70	1	Drugs/tobacco	.357	2	Att/belief	.486	2	Att/belief	.276
Teachman (2005)	1	1	103	3	Clinical	.277	1	Self				
Teachman (2007)	1	1	32	3	Clinical	.562	1	Attitude	.665	2	Attitude	.340
Teachman et al. (2001)	1	1	67	1	Clinical	.543	4	Attitude	.856	1	Attitude	
Teachman et al. (2007)	1	1	81	3	Clinical	.271	1	Self	.662	3	Multiple	.260
Teachman & Woody (2003)	1	1	59	3	Clinical	.243	4	Multiple	.649	1	Belief	.340
Thush & Wiers (2007)	1	1	100	2	Drugs/tobacco	.198	3	Multiple	.341	3	Multiple	.074
Thush et al. (2007)	1	1	81	1	Drugs/tobacco	.075	3	Belief	.378	3	Belief	.023
van den Wildenberg et al. (2006)	1	1	48	2	Drugs/tobacco	.183	2	Att/belief	.132	2	Belief	−.033
Vanman et al. (2004)	1	1	59	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.170	1	Attitude	.251	1	Attitude	.042
	1	2	21	3	Race (Bl/Wh)	.024	1	Attitude	.193	1	Attitude	.106
Vantomme et al. (2005)	1	1	60	2	Consumer	.224	1	Attitude	.386	1	Attitude	.190
	2	2	67	2	Consumer	.298	1	Attitude	.493	1	Attitude	.330
Vargas et al. (2004)	4	1	226	1	Personality	.170	1	Self	.587	3	Multiple	.120
Verplanken et al. (2007)	5	1	125	2	Personality	.201	1	Self	.441	1	Self	.065

Appendix (*continued*)

Citation	Expt	Sample	N	N crit	Topic	ICC	N IAT	IAT type	ECC	N expl	Expl type	IEC
Wiers et al. (2002)	1	1	48	1	Drugs/tobacco	.335	2	Att/belief	.320	5	Multiple	.183
Wiers et al. (2005)	1	1	92	5	Drugs/tobacco	.119	2	Att/belief	.035	2	Att/belief	.200
Wiers et al. (2007)	1	1	32	2	Drugs/tobacco	.227	3	Multiple	.213	3	Multiple	.109
*Williams et al. (2001)	1	1	74	2	Consumer	.334	1	Self				
Yabar et al. (2006)	2	1	48	1	Other intergroup	.099	1	Attitude	−.282	1	Attitude	.550
Zayas & Shoda (2005)	1	1	58	1	Relationships	.280	1	Attitude				
	2	2	85	3	Relationships	.207	3	Multiple				
Ziegert & Hanges (2005)	1	1	99	1	Race (Bl/Wh)	.259	1	Attitude	.056	2	Attitude	.116

Note. * = unpublished report; Expt = experiment number in report; sample = ordinal independent sample in report; N = number of subjects in independent sample; N crit = number of distinct criterion measures in independent sample; topic = classification into one of the nine criterion domains used in several analyses ("race (Bl/Wh)" = Black–White race); ICC = IAT–criterion average effect size (*r*) for sample; N IAT = number of distinct Implicit Association Test (IAT) measures in independent sample; IAT type = classification of IAT measures as attitude, belief, mixture of attitude and belief ("att/belief"), self-concept or self-esteem ("self"), or other mixtures of types ("multiple"); ECC = self-report–criterion average effect size (*r*) for sample; N expl = number of distinct self-report (explicit) measures in independent sample; expl type = same codes as for IAT type, applied to self-report (explicit) measures; IEC = IAT–explicit correlation average effect size (*r*) for sample.