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BYSTANDER CONFRONTING OF ANTI-BLACK RACISM: EFFECTS OF

BELONGING AFFIRMATION AND CONFRONTATION TRAINING

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

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BY

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ABSTRACT

Confronting has the potential to reduce prejudice, especially when implemented by a non-target group member. Not knowing how to respond and fearing social rejection have been identified as barriers to confronting in previous studies. The current study tests whether providing training to confront prejudice and affirming the need to belong helps individuals overcome these barriers. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three training conditions: prejudice confrontation training (PCT), rude comment training (RCT), or no training control group (NT). Participants were also randomly assigned to one of two belonging conditions: belonging affirmation or control. Participants were then asked to imagine that a friend posted a racist Facebook comment on their page, and were asked to respond to the comment. Responses were coded for whether participants labeled the comment as racist, number of confrontation responses and strategy use. Training, belonging, and race interacted to predict participants' confronting behavior. PCT increased confrontations for participants of color, whereas RCT did so for Whites. Whites confronted more when belonging was affirmed, whereas participants of color did so when belonging was not affirmed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The image of four college students waiting for service at a lunch counter does not seem that extraordinary. However, when those four students also happen to be Black and the lunch counter happens to be for White customers only, the students' behavior is radical. This was the case in 1960 when four Black males from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University decided to confront the racist segregation policies in the Jim Crow south. White allies spoke out against fellow in-group members; working alongside Black civil rights activists to bring an end to legalized discrimination. Yet, while some individuals engaged the fight for social justice, many others remained silent. It is possible that their silence reflected disagreement with the desegregation movement; however, some may have feared the repercussions of speaking out or were unsure of how best to intervene. Decades later, a similar picture emerges regarding confronting modern racism. While confronting may be a viable way to reduce prejudice, many individuals avoid doing so. The purpose of the current study is to investigate factors that increase the likelihood of that bystanders, such as the White allies in the civil rights movement, will confront modern racial prejudice. Specifically, I will investigate the influence of providing White bystanders with practice confronting either a prejudiced or a non-prejudiced rude comment and affirming the need to belong on confronting anti-Black prejudice.

The policies and social norms that kept Black college students from being served at a 'Whites Only' lunch counter in 1960 have changed dramatically since then, and such overt expressions of racial prejudice in the United States have diminished significantly since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Despite these legislative advances, Black college students still report receiving poor treatment at restaurants forty years later (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald & Bylsma, 2003). Besides receiving differential service at public establishments, Black Americans report ordinarily experiencing racial slurs and stereotypic comments, staring, and other more-subtle microaggressions (Sue, Capodilupo & Holder, 2008; Swim et al., 2003). Research suggests that racism has changed from the more explicit forms of prejudice in the example of the Woolworths lunch counter to more subtle forms that are harder to detect (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1998). One form of this covert racism emerges among White Americans who endorse egalitarian norms and regard themselves as non-prejudice, yet still possess strong negative affect toward Blacks. This negative affect manifests itself as discrimination when the situation does not proscribe clear anti-prejudice norms (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Similarly, when their behavior could be explained-away with a non-racial justification, Whites discriminated against Blacks in a simulated hiring decision task (McConahay, 1983).

Research suggests that targets of prejudice are not the only ones who encounter prejudiced statements. In fact, bystanders who are not members of the target group (e.g., Whites who overhear a racist joke) may be just as likely to encounter opportunities to confront as are targets of prejudice. For example, Dickter and Newton (2013) sampled White undergraduates and found that after keeping a week-long log of prejudice

encounters, students heard an average of 8.83 racist comments (in addition to overhearing prejudiced statements directed at other target groups such as women and homosexuals) over the course of a week. Most of the students reported that these comments were made by family or close-others including friends and acquaintances (Dickter & Newton, 2013). Racial prejudice has a negative impact on Blacks' mental and physical health. For example, self-reported experiences or perceptions of racism are correlated with poor health outcomes for Black Americans such as hypertension, heart disease and diabetes after controlling for other possible explanations such as socioeconomic status and demographic factors (Paradies, 2006). Being a target of prejudice has also been associated with psychological distress. Pieterse and Carter (2007) demonstrated that for Black males, race-related stress contributed uniquely to their psychological distress, beyond general life stress.

Confronting As a Means to Prejudice Reduction

Given that anti-Black racism is a problem with meaningful consequences, steps should be taken to reduce its prevalence. One mechanism that has been shown not only to reduce the likelihood of prejudiced responses, but also to reduce prejudiced attitudes is interpersonal confrontation. In fact, recent research supports the idea that directly confronting prejudice can lead to a reduction in its prevalence (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Confrontation provides an opportunity for a target or bystander to verbally express their disapproval of a prejudiced comment toward the perpetrator who made the comment (Czopp & Ashburn-Nardo, 2012).

In one study, Czopp, Monteith and Mark (2006) investigated participants' responses to being confronted for anti-Black racism. Participants ostensibly completed a computer-based inference task with a 'fellow-participant'. In reality, the inference task – which paired descriptor sentences with photographs and required participants to make inferences about the target person in the picture – was designed to lead participants to unwittingly make a stereotypic response about Black targets. The 'fellow-participant' was actually a confederate who later confronted the participant via an instant messenger program for his or her prejudiced remark (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006). After the confederate confronted them, participants completed a second inference task, and showed decreased incidence of stereotypic responses. In this set of studies, Czopp and colleagues (2006) varied both the type of confrontation (high threat vs. low threat) and the source of the confrontation message (target-group member vs. non-target group member), and found that confrontation successfully reduced prejudiced responses across all situations. This study demonstrated the effectiveness of an online confrontation, which is informative given that computers are commonly used as a tool for communication.

Mallett and Wagner (2011) found similar positive outcomes for face-to-face confrontations. In a study on the consequences of confronting sexism, male participants completed three moral dilemma tasks with a confederate. In the third task, participants discussed whether a nurse should be punished for seemingly negligent behavior. In the sexist confrontation condition, regardless of their actual response, participants were accused of sexism for assuming that the nurse was female. The researchers found that male participants compensated for their sexist behavior during a subsequent interaction.

Participants engaged in a range of verbal and non-verbal responses such as smiling or offering an apology. Furthermore, this compensatory behavior was positively correlated with mutual liking between the perpetrator and the confronter, which lead the participants to better detect the use of sexist language in a subsequent task (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). This study shows that face-to-face confrontations can go just as well as the online confrontations used in previous studies, and that confrontations can help motivate perpetrators to reduce the likelihood of engaging in future prejudiced responses.

Despite the potential for these positive consequences, confronting prejudice is the exception rather than the rule. Across two studies, Swim and Hyers (1999) investigated women's actual and anticipated responses to hearing sexist comments. In the first study, female participants refrained from engaging in public confrontations (Swim & Hyers, 1999). Privately, however, participants reported finding the sexist comments objectionable and wanting to respond. In the second study, female participants anticipated giving an assertive response at a much higher rate than was actually the case in study 1 (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Similarly, Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) found that women tend to overestimate the extent to which they will assertively respond to sexual harassment. When told to imagine being asked sexually harassing questions in a job interview, 68% of female participants anticipated refusing to answer the interviewer; however, in a follow-up study where participants thought they were participating in a real job interview, none of the participants actually refused to answer the sexually harassing questions (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001).

Barriers to Confronting

The discrepancy between how individuals expect or desire to respond and how they actually respond to prejudiced comments could be due to the taxing nature of confronting and the hurdles one must overcome for a confrontation to be successful. Ashburn-Nardo, Morris and Goodwin (2008) proposed a model which might explain the series of decisions that targets or witnesses of prejudice must make before they decide to intervene. This model was based on Latane and Darley's 1969 model of bystander intervention in emergency situations. According to the Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model, a person would first need to interpret the event as discrimination, decide that it is serious enough to warrant confrontation, take personal responsibility to confront the perpetrator, identify an appropriate response, and, finally, make the decision to execute the confrontation (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris & Goodwin, 2008). While the authors note that the decision to confront is not necessarily constrained by this particular series of decisions, and that an individual could skip steps or even fluctuate between steps, the model suggests that barriers to confronting could emerge at any point between hearing a prejudiced remark and assertively confronting it.

Knowing What to Say

Finding the appropriate response to a prejudiced comment could be a daunting task in itself. Individuals might be reluctant to confront if they are afraid that saying the wrong thing may elicit a negative reaction from the perpetrator, and potential confronters might be validated in this concern. Research suggests that being confronted can in fact lead to negative reactions on the part of the perpetrator. In one experiment, when

participants were confronted for being racist, they exhibited feelings of discomfort and antagonism toward the confronter (Czopp & Monteith, 2012). A recent study by Dickter and Newton (2013) further illustrates this concern that individuals may not feel adequately prepared to address prejudice directly. Consistent with previous studies, individuals were reluctant to confront prejudiced remarks they had encountered in their daily lives, and among the reasons offered for not confronting were not being able to generate an appropriate response (Dickter & Newton, 2013). Having to generate an appropriate response was also a concern for participants in one study by Swim and Hyers (1999). Most women did not respond directly to a sexist remark, and even among those who did respond, they chose polite responses (Swim & Hyers, 1999). This research suggests that choosing a response that is likely to generate the least amount of negativity may be a concern for individuals who encounter prejudice and consider confronting as a possible response.

Social Costs

Another barrier to confronting is the perceived social costs for the confronter. Executing the confrontation could result in being negatively evaluated by the perpetrator or other passive bystanders. Kaiser and Miller (2001) demonstrated that when participants learned of a Black student attributing poor performance to discrimination, they labeled the student as a complainer and rated him as hypersensitive. Furthermore, Gulker, Mark and Monteith (2012) tested the effectiveness of confronter target status (either a member of the group being discriminated against or not) and type of prejudice (racism or sexism) on participants' perceptions of the confrontation. The researchers

operationalized a confrontation as 'effective' if the participant accepted the confrontation message as valid and applicable to the self. Participants completed a computer-based task that ostensibly revealed their implicit sexism or racism. Gulker and colleagues (2012) demonstrated that for participants in the racism condition, not only did they accept a confrontation message less when the confronter was Black (i.e., a target-group member) rather than White, but they were also more likely to view the confronter as a complainer.

The intergroup sensitivity effect might serve to explain why targets who confront prejudice (e.g., Blacks or women) are evaluated negatively by perpetrators (e.g., Whites or men). Hornsey and colleagues (Hornsey & Imani, 2004; Hornsey, Oppes, & Svensson, 2002) demonstrated that people respond more negatively to group-based criticism from non-ingroup members (i.e., outgroup members) compared to when a fellow-ingroup member makes the same criticism. This intergroup sensitivity affect emerges because outgroup criticisms are viewed as less constructive and less legitimate than the same criticisms from an ingroup member (Hornsey, Oppes, & Svensson, 2002).

Recent research has shown that these social costs often deter individuals from engaging in assertive confrontations. In one study by Good, Moss-Racusin and Sanchez (2012), women reported the perceived costs and benefits of confronting sexism on behalf of the self and other in-group members. Participants also reported how often they engaged in confronting behavior. The researchers found that the greater the threat of being ridiculed, disliked or fearing a negative reaction from the perpetrator, the lesser the likelihood of confronting (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012). Furthermore, Shelton and Stewart (2004) showed that even though women anticipated that social costs would

not influence their likelihood of confronting sexist interview questions (Study 1), women

exposed to a high-cost condition (i.e., told it was important to make a good impression)

were less likely to engage in confronting behaviors than those exposed to a low social

cost condition (i.e., told that she would simply be gaining experience) (Study 2).

Furthermore, confronting prejudice seems to be uniquely demanding. That is, the

social costs of confronting are not in effect when a person confronts an offensive non-

prejudiced comment. For example, in the Shelton and Stewart (2004) study mentioned

above, the social costs of confronting deterred women from confronting sexism;

however, this effect of social cost did not emerge when women responded to offensive

but non-sexist interview questions.

Moreover, confronting racial prejudice may be even more demanding than

confronting other kinds of prejudice. Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that participants

felt worse about being confronted for racial bias compared to when they were confronted

for gender bias. For example, van Dijk (1992) notes that given the tendency for

individuals to deny being the perpetrators of racism, it may be taboo for others to make

accusations of racism.

Bystander Confronting

In the studies discussed above, participants who experienced the social costs of

confronting were members of the target group being discriminated against. This suggests

that target group members are especially vulnerable to the social costs of confronting.

However, a study by Elizer and Major (2012) indicated that bystanders who claim

discrimination on behalf of others are derogated more (i.e., rated as more of a complainer,

trouble maker, argumentative, etc.) than bystanders who make no such claim. This study

suggests that even non-target group members are susceptible to the social costs of

confronting.

Given the social constraints placed upon target confronters, non-targets (i.e.

White bystanders who overhear racist comments) emerge as a viable group to recruit in

the effort to combat racism. In one study, Czopp and Monteith (2003) demonstrated that

when participants were confronted for racism, they reacted less negatively when a White

person initiated the confrontation than when a Black person confronted. Participants

reported feeling more negative self-directed affect, such as guilt and self-criticism, when

confronted by a non-target compared to a target (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Such

negative self-directed affect has been shown in other studies to be linked to greater

prejudice reduction (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils &

Czopp, 2002). Furthermore, when confronted by a non-target, participants in this study

also reported experiencing less discomfort (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). The researchers

attribute this difference in perpetrator reaction to the fact that non-targets do not seem to

have a vested interest in confronting on behalf of the outgroup (Czopp & Monteith,

2003). Thus, non-targets are a surprising source of the confrontation message because

they challenge expectations about who might normally confront. Moreover, non-target

bystanders could be most effective at engaging in successful confrontations because they

are not viewed as negatively as targets who confront.

Whereas targets are penalized for confronting on their own behalf, non-targets are

rewarded for confronting on behalf of an out group. Unlike the findings in previous

studies with target confronters, Dickter, Kittel and Gyurovski (2012) found that non-targets who confronted an offensive racist comment were liked and respected more by study participants compared to when they did not confront the perpetrator. Additionally, non-target bystanders are viewed as atypical confronters and may be taken more seriously than target confronters because they challenge group-based expectations about who might typically confront racism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Rasinski and Czopp (2010) found that even for passive witnesses, confrontations were rated as more persuasive when executed by a non-target compared to a target group member. Also, assuming that the perpetrator is a fellow in-group member, non-target confronters can help promote egalitarian norms endorsed by their racial in-group (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006).

However, it is possible that bystanders are just as susceptible to the social costs of confronting as target confronters. In one study, participants read a vignette about a bystander who either claimed discrimination on behalf of a coworker or who did not make a claim of discrimination (Elizer & Major, 2012). Participants rated the bystander more negatively in the discrimination attribution condition compared to bystanders in the non-discrimination condition (Elizer & Major, 2012). Ashburn-Nardo, Morris and Goodwin (2008) suggest that the risk of negative reactions from the perpetrator might deter an observer from intervening. Similarly, Dickter and Newton (2013) highlight that non-target bystanders were reluctant to confront because of concerns that they would offend the perpetrator or be negatively evaluated. The social costs of confronting could be especially daunting for non-targets because the risk of being negatively evaluated,

such as the case of a perpetrator who views a confronter negatively, poses a threat to the future integrity of that relationship.

Toward a Solution

Confrontation Training

Assuming that participants may be uncertain of the best way to respond, one solution could be to provide potential confronters with information on confrontation strategies and an opportunity to practice effective confrontation strategies. Plous (2000) did so in a classroom adaptation of a role-playing technique meant to equip students with effective strategies to respond to prejudiced encounters. After keeping a weeklong log of prejudiced encounters, students practiced responding to a prejudiced comment with an express focus on reducing rather than reinforcing the future incidence of prejudice. Students took turns to play the role of speaker (the perpetrator of the prejudiced comment), responder (the confronter), and coach (an impartial bystander who offers support and critical feedback). After the exercise, Plous (2000) facilitated a discussion with the students about techniques that worked well for them. From these discussions, Plous (2000) generated a list of four effective response strategies students could use in future interactions that might minimize negative reactions from the perpetrator. An example of a strategy Plous (2000) suggests is:

> Arouse cognitive dissonance in the prejudiced speaker by priming the speaker's egalitarian self-image. An example of this strategy would be a response such as "I'm surprised to hear you say that, because I've always thought of you as someone who is very open-minded." (p. 199)

In a separate student evaluation of the role-playing exercise, participants reported that they felt more prepared to deal with daily encounters with prejudice after completing the role-playing exercise (Plous, 2000).

Lawson, McDonough and Bodle (2010) experimentally tested the effectiveness of the Plous (2000) strategies for increasing students' likelihood of confronting prejudice. The researchers gave the role-playing manipulation to one group of students, along with a handout of the four effective response strategies offered in the Plous (2000) study. They then asked students to apply the strategies in their daily lives for one week and track their progress in a daily prejudice log. The researchers found that students who received practice in the form of the role-playing exercise increased their confrontations of prejudice, compared with students who did not receive the role-playing exercise (Lawson, McDonough & Bodle, 2010). This research provides empirical support for the idea that equipping individuals with effective confrontation strategies – such as those used by Plous (2000) – could be an important step toward prejudice reduction because it may alleviate some of the strain of spontaneously generating an appropriate response.

Belonging Affirmation

People risk jeopardizing potentially valuable social relationships if they choose to confront. Confronters could be evaluated negatively, disliked or even ostracized for confronting, and this risk poses a serious threat to individuals' need to belong. According to Baumeister and Leary (1995) humans are driven to maintain positive relationships with others. This need to belong is a fundamental human motivation, and in our drive to satisfy the need we strive to maintain pleasant interactions with others. The threat of

losing valuable social bonds (e.g., being disliked for confronting someone) leads to anxiety, which motivates individuals to maintain positive interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). In other words, we would rather avoid confronting – and diminish the threat of social rejection – than risk having our belonging needs threatened. Therefore, potential confronters may experience a belonging threat when they anticipate confronting, and thus have their behavior constrained by the cues of possible rejection or ostracism.

The threat of ostracism constrains behavior by leading ostracized individuals to attempt to reestablish favorable relations with those who have ostracized them. Studies on social rejection have identified a diverse range of these compensatory behaviors including conformity, compliance and cooperation. In two studies using the Cyberball ostracism technique (see Williams & Jarvis, 2006 for a detailed explanation about Cyberball), compared to participants who were included, ostracized participants were more likely to conform to a group norm (Study 2 Williams, Cheung & Choi, 2000) and comply with a request to donate money (Carter-Sowell, Chen & Williams, 2008). Similar results emerged in a face-to-face ostracism paradigm. After being ostracized by two confederates, women who had previously engaged in social loafing socially compensated on a subsequent task (Williams & Sommer, 1997).

Furthermore, even the mere threat of social exclusion constrains behavior such that individuals attempt to avoid ostracism by complying with group expectations. Kerr and colleagues (2009) investigated whether the threat of social exclusion led participants to cooperate more with fellow group members in a social dilemma task as opposed to not

cooperating and following the example of the 'bad apples' in the group. The researchers

found that when the threat of social exclusion was present, participants cooperated more

with fellow group members (Kerr et al., 2009). Thus, actual or anticipated social rejection

leads to compensatory or proactive appeasement behaviors on the part of the individual at

risk for ostracism.

We know from previous studies that the prospect of confronting cues the threat of

being negatively evaluated (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012), and that these

anticipated social costs deter individuals from confronting (Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

Given that confronting poses a risk of potentially being ostracized, it would seem that

individuals may not only avoid confronting, but also proactively appease as was the case

in the study on social exclusion and cooperation (Kerr et al., 2009). Behaviors such as the

ones identified above are antithetical to ones typically thought to be involved in

confronting. Confronting requires an individual to express his or her displeasure or

disagreement with a perpetrator. Such behavior is a stark contrast to the impulse to

appease following the threat of social rejection.

One way to overcome the threat of social rejection is to affirm the self. After

ranking their most important values, Crocker, Niiya and Mischkowski (2008) gave some

participants an opportunity to complete a values affirmation where they wrote about their

most important values, while participants in the control condition wrote about their least

important values. Interestingly, participants ranked social life as their most important

value. This offers further support for Baumeister and Leary's (1995) assertion that social

relationships satisfy our need to belong. Participants in the Crocker et al. (2008) study

later read an article about the risks of smoking behavior, and were asked about their acceptance of the article. The researchers found that smokers were more likely to accept the threatening anti-smoking message (and thus were less defensive) when they also had the opportunity to affirm important values, compared to when they did not have the opportunity to affirm (Crocker, Niiya & Mischkowski, 2008). This study demonstrates that affirming important values (such as the need to belong) reduces threat.

However, other researchers have asserted that threats to belonging cannot be alleviated by self-affirmations in an unrelated domain (such as a general values affirmation); but rather, belonging threats must be repaired by an affirmation in the relevant domain (i.e., socially-relevant affirmation). Knowles, Lucas, Molden, Gardner and Dean (2010) had participants complete an affirmation exercise following a threat to either belonging or intelligence. They found that following a belonging threat, participants chose to self-affirm in a direct, threat-relevant domain (social affirmation), whereas participants who received an intelligence threat chose to self-affirm in threat-irrelevant domains (Knowles, Lucas, Molden, Gardner & Dean, 2010). Across four studies, participants consistently demonstrated a preference for a threat-relevant affirmation when they experienced a belonging threat compared to an intellectual threat. Knowles and Gardner (2008) manipulated belonging affirmation and threat by randomly assigning half of participants to write about a time they felt very accepted while the other half of participants wrote about a time they felt intensely rejected. The researchers found that participants who were threatened showed an increase in the accessibility of group-relevant words and social identities. This increase in group accessibility was also

correlated with an increase in self-esteem for threatened individuals, but not for affirmed individuals. This suggests that threatened individuals may have activated group constructs to buffer their self-esteem, however, affirmed individuals needed no such boost (Knowles & Gardner, 2008).

The effectiveness of belonging affirmations in previous studies has important implications for confronting prejudice. Individuals who have their belonging needs affirmed may feel less threatened by the social costs of confronting. This reduced threat may lead individuals to be more willing to confront prejudice they encounter. Furthermore, given the inherent threat associated with confronting, it may not be necessary to impose a belonging threat condition on participants in order to induce threat. The present study will compare a belonging affirmation manipulation with a no-affirmation control group.

Overview of the Proposed Study

I hypothesize that confrontation training and belonging affirmation will jointly predict the type of response strategy participants choose. First, one barrier to confronting is a lack of knowledge of how to respond to prejudice (Czopp & Monteith, 2012; Dickter & Newton, 2013; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Providing individuals with training on effective confronting strategies could help overcome this barrier and increase confrontation (Lawson, McDonough & Bodle, 2010; Plous, 2000). Yet, familiarity with general response strategies may not be enough to increase confronting. It may be necessary for the training to provide practice with confronting prejudice in particular and not just a rude comment. In other words, the domain in which the training occurs could be important.

If training alone were sufficient to increase bystander confronting, it would not matter what domain the training addressed. However, I propose that confronting prejudice is unlike confronting other rude but non-prejudiced behavior because racism is socially sanctioned and accusations of racism are socially taboo. An intervention that taught individuals how to confront a rude comment, for example, may increase the likelihood that one would confront such behavior outside the intervention context; however, this intervention may not generalize to confronting prejudice. I propose that someone would need to be trained in a prejudice-relevant domain in order to increase the likelihood of confrontations outside the training context. Therefore, I will have two levels of my training variable: Prejudice Confrontation Training (PCT) and Rude Comment Training (RCT). Given that participants in the training conditions will receive both the confrontation strategies and practice responding to a comment, I included a third level to the training variable – no-training (NT) control group – to parse apart whether practice alone (i.e., control group) is sufficient to increase confronting behavior compared to practice plus the presence of confrontation strategies (i.e., PCT and RCT). To my knowledge, no previous studies have drawn a distinction between general training and domain-specific training. An investigation for differences between these two conditions is exploratory.

Furthermore, I test the idea that training is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to increase the likelihood of bystander confronting. While training may provide individuals with some strategies and practice to increase their likelihood of confronting prejudice, participants are likely to still be constrained by the social costs associated with

confronting. Hence, absent an intervention that reduces the impact of perceived social costs, individuals who receive training alone will still be unlikely to confront prejudice. In this case, including a belonging affirmation after the training could reduce social threat and increase the likelihood of confronting.

No previous studies have investigated the role that both training and belonging affirmation play in potentially increasing the likelihood of confronting prejudice. This study will test these two factors in a setting that can easily be generalized and used as an intervention to increase the likelihood of bystander confronting. Training and belonging affirmation are expected to jointly predict the likelihood that White bystanders will confront anti-Black racism. I predict that an individual who has received prejudice-confrontation training (PCT) will be more likely to confront compared to one who has received similar rude comment training (RCT) or one who has not had any training (NT). Furthermore, among the individuals who receive PCT, those who have had their belonging affirmed (compared to those who have not had this opportunity) will be more likely to confront.

Two previous studies have demonstrated that training has potential benefits with regard to increasing confrontation (Lawson, McDonough & Bodle, 2010; Plous, 2000). While these studies were promising, the present research adds to the literature by isolating factors that are responsible for increasing confrontations. Plous (2000) did not test whether using these strategies increased confronting. He merely administered the role-playing exercise to the class and evaluated their reaction to the exercise (Plous, 2000). In their test of the efficacy of the Plous (2000) role-playing exercise, Lawson and

colleagues (2010) did not incorporate a randomized control group design, so refining the study to incorporate such a design would contribute to our understanding of the causal pathways to increasing confrontation. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the mere presence of education about confrontation strategies was sufficient to increase confronting, or whether this increase was due to participants having the opportunity to practice confronting prejudice through the role-playing exercise. The current study will address these methodological issues by incorporating a randomized control group design and by including three training conditions: prejudice confrontation training (PCT), rude comment training (RCT), or no training (NT) control.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a. Individuals who receive training (both PCT and RCT) will be more likely to assertively confront racial prejudice than those who receive no training (NT).

Hypothesis 1b. Individuals who receive PCT will be marginally more likely to assertively confront racial prejudice compared to participants who receive RCT.

Hypothesis 2. Belonging and training will interact to predict participants' likelihood of assertively confronting racial prejudice. That is, among participants who receive training (both PCT and RCT), the increase in assertive confronting will only emerge when participants have had the opportunity to affirm the need to belong (compared to participants who have not had the opportunity to affirm the need to belong). Participants who do not receive training (NT control group) are not expected to differ in likelihood of assertively confronting racial prejudice.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Power Analysis

Previous research demonstrates a small to medium effect of training on

confronting prejudice (r = .24) (Lawson et al., 2010), and a large effect of the belonging

affirmation manipulation (r = .42) (Knowles & Gardner, 2008). Given these previous

findings and to provide a conservative sample estimate, I used a small to medium effect

size estimate (f2 = .24) to determine sample size. A prospective power analysis using

G*Power statistical software indicated that a sample of 171 would be required to achieve

80% power to detect effects (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007).

Participants

I recruited a sample of 309 undergraduate students from a mid-sized, midwestern

university. Participants either received partial course credit, or a gift card in the sum of

$8.00 for their participation. Of the participants recruited, data from eight participants

were lost due to a computer programming error. Twelve other participants failed one or

more manipulation checks, and were excluded from subsequent analyses leaving the final

sample size (n = 287); 187 were White, and 96 were participants of color including two

American Indian/Alaska Natives, six bi-racial participants, seven Blacks, eight Native

Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, 14 East Asians, 23 Hispanics/Latinos, 29 South

Asians, and seven who identified as 'other.' Participants ranged in age from 18-28 years,

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and the mean age was 19.02 years (SD = 1.24). The majority of participants were female (n = 208).

Design

Participants were randomly assigned to one of 6 conditions using a 3(Training manipulation: confronting prejudice, confronting rude comment, no confronting control) x 2(Belonging: affirmation, control) between-subjects design. The dependent variables are prejudice attribution, confrontation response style, use of confronting strategies, and aggressive tone in response to a racist Facebook comment using a computer-based script completion task.

Materials and Procedure

Participants signed up to complete a study ostensibly investigating interpersonal communication. Participants typically completed the study using a desktop computer with other participants present. Each desk was separated by a partition, ensuring participant privacy. After indicating consent, participants were instructed by the experimenter to read the instructions presented on the screen, and to begin the experiment. All verbal instructions were delivered using a pre-determined experimenter script.

Phase 1: Training Manipulation

The purpose of phase 1 was to provide participants with an opportunity to imagine and practice confronting someone. All participants were asked to imagine interacting with and attempting to persuade a co-worker. The wording for both the PCT and RCT scenarios was identical, except that participants in the PCT condition read a

prejudiced comment in place of the rude, but non-prejudiced, comment. To mask the fact that my hypotheses concerned confrontations of racial bias, the prejudiced comment in the PCT condition was related to homophobia rather than racism. The wording for the NT control scenario closely mirrored that of the PCT and RCT (See Appendix A for training scenario). The comment in the NT control scenario could be perceived as selfish, but not prejudiced. The NT control comment was not intended to arouse perceptions of rudeness from participants. Thus the three comments were expected to vary in their perceived offensiveness (i.e., prejudiced, rude, and selfish).

After reading the scenario, participants in the NT control condition then read the following dialogue-completion instructions, "Using the keyboard to type your responses, complete the dialogue between you and the other person in the scenario. Indicate who is speaking by typing 'me:' before anything you say and 'other person:' before anything the other person says. Use up to 5 lines to draw the conversation to a close (three lines for you and 2 lines for the other person)." Salk and Engeln (2011) employed a similar script-writing procedure to assess a typical conversation between friends on the topic of "fat talk." Prior to receiving the dialogue-completion instructions, participants in the two training conditions (PCT and RCT) receive instructions to refer to the sheet confrontation strategies on the desk beside them (modified from the Plous 2000 role-playing study). PCT and RCT participants read, "This sheet lists some strategies that have been identified as useful in persuasion. Try to incorporate one of these strategies in your response to your co-worker." Control participants did not receive the paper with strategies (see Appendix B for confrontation strategies).

After completing the training phase dialogue task, all participants completed a manipulation check for the training phase. The purpose of the manipulation check was to determine whether participants correctly identify the speaker in the dialogue as prejudiced in the PCT condition (i.e., participants were expected to agree more with the statement, "The other person was prejudiced."); participants were expected to evaluate the partner as rude in both the PCT and RCT conditions, but not in the NT control condition; and participants were expected to evaluate the partner as selfish in the NT control condition, but not in the RCT and PCT. Second, the manipulation check probed whether participants in the PCT and RCT conditions used the confrontation response strategies provided to them (adapted from Lawson et al., 2010). See Appendix C for complete wording of the training phase manipulation check. PCT and RCT participants were expected to use strategies more frequently than NT control participants.

Phase 2: Belonging Manipulation

In the second phase, participants were told that the experimenter forgot to administer an evaluation that should have been presented prior to the training. This cover story allowed the experimenter to administer the belonging manipulation without arousing suspicion, and created temporal separation between the training manipulation and the main dependent measure. Participants were told to read the instructions on the screen and begin (see Appendix D for belonging manipulation and cover story).

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two belonging manipulation conditions: belonging-affirmation or control. In the belonging-affirmation condition, participants wrote about a time they felt as if they belonged (Knowles & Gardner, 2008).

In the control condition, participants wrote about their commute to school that day. Instructions for the control condition were modified from Pickett, Gardner, and Knowles (2004), to more closely resemble those in the belonging-affirmation condition. Following the belonging manipulation, participants completed a four-item manipulation check to probe whether participants in the belonging affirmation condition reported more agreement with the statements, "I feel accepted" and "I feel included" compared to participants in the belonging control condition, using a 5-point scale from 1 not at all to 5 extremely. See Appendix E for complete wording of the belonging manipulation check. The items formed a reliable scale of belongingness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$), where higher numbers reflect greater feelings of belonging.

Phase 3: Primary Dependent Measure

To mask the true purpose of phase 3, I used a Facebook chat paradigm to solicit participant responses using the same script-writing procedure employed in phase 1. All participants read the following cover story, "We are conducting pilot testing for a new study that will be run next semester. We would appreciate you taking a few minutes to answer the following questions." They then read, "Many people use social media sites such as Facebook. We are interested in learning more about Facebook use by Loyola students. Please answer the following questions regarding your Facebook use." Participants were given a questionnaire probing their usual activities on Facebook. This questionnaire was intended to increase the plausibility of the cover story and to serve as a manipulation probing participants' prior experience with the online social networking site (see Appendix F for Facebook survey).

After completing the questionnaire, participants were asked to imagine how they might interact on Facebook (see Appendix G for instructions). Participants then read two scenarios involving different Facebook posts (see Appendix H for Facebook posts). The first post was a filler post intended to mask the true purpose of the primary dependent measures. The second post was the primary dependent measure in which a friend makes a racist comment. Participants were invited to type their responses to each post using the same script-writing procedure used in Phase 1. After typing their responses to each post, participants responded to several survey items assessing their evaluation of the interaction partner's comments and participants' satisfaction with their own response (see Appendix I for post-dialogue survey items).

Dependent Variables

Independent coders evaluated participants' responses to the racist comment. Coders rated participants' dialogue for the following three categories of responses: a) attribution of prejudice (i.e., whether participants identified the comment as being prejudiced); b) response style (assessing the assertiveness of participants' responses); c) confrontation strategy use (i.e., did participants use any of the Plous response strategies). See Appendix J for the confrontation response coding scheme. The coding scheme also captured a fourth response category reflecting participants' overall tone in responding. Two independent coders rated participants' tone in responding to the prejudiced comment using a dichotomous (present-absent) coding system. The codes for 'soften' and 'avoid' were reverse scored. Taken together with the code 'disdain' the three codes represent an 'aggressive tone' factor. These items show acceptable reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$).

Inter-rater reliabilities were measured using Cohen's Kappa (see Appendix K for reliabilities and frequency statistics).

Demographics and Suspicion Check

Participants were given a demographic questionnaire including items that asked about race, age, and gender. Participants were also probed for suspicion and hypothesis guessing (see Appendix L for complete wording of demographic questionnaire and hypothesis check questions).

Debriefing

All participants received a debriefing handout, and were thanked for their participation. See appendix M for debriefing handout.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Training

I started by testing the effectiveness of the training manipulation by investigating

participants' self-reported use of available confrontation strategies. I expected that

participants who were given confrontation strategies (PCT and RCT) would report more

use of confrontation strategies compared to those who did not receive any strategies (NT

control participants). Consistent with expectations, a one-way ANOVA with planned

comparisons showed that participants who received training with confrontation strategies

with a prejudiced comment (M_{PCT} = 3.40, SD_{PCT} = 1.10) and a rude comment (M_{RCT} =

3.36, SD_{RCT} = 1.10) reported greater strategy use compared to participants in the control

condition who did not receive strategies (M = 2.92, SD = 1.20), $t(284)$ = -3.27, $p < .001$.

Among participants who received training (PCT & RCT) there is no difference in

reported strategy use $t(284)$ = -0.23, p = .82. Thus, I have evidence that participants' use

of confrontation strategies was higher following training than control.

Next, I examined partner evaluation among the three training conditions. Given

that participants in the PCT condition read a prejudiced comment, while those in the RCT

read a rude comment, and NT control participants read a non-prejudiced, non-rude but

selfish comment, I expected that participants would evaluate the interaction partner as

more prejudiced in the PCT condition compared to the RCT or NT conditions. I expected

that participants would evaluate the partner as more rude in both the RCT and the PCT

compared to the NT condition. Finally, I expected participants to evaluate the partner as

more selfish in the NT condition compared to the RCT or PCT conditions.

As expected, a one-way ANOVA revealed a significant difference in perceived partner

prejudice such that participants in the control condition ($M = 2.31$, $SD = 0.99$), perceived

their interaction partner as less prejudiced than participants in either of the other two

training conditions $t(284) = -6.57$, $p < .001$. As expected, participants who received PCT

($M_{PCT} = 3.25$, $SD_{PCT} = 1.02$), perceived the interaction partner to be more prejudiced than

did participants who received RCT ($M_{RCT} = 3.00$, $SD_{RCT} = 0.95$), although this result was

marginally significant, $t(284) = -1.75$, $p = .08$. There was a marginally significant

difference in perceived partner rudeness such that participants in the control condition (M

$= 2.92$, $SD = 1.18$) perceived their partner to be less rude than did PCT ($M_{PCT} = 3.15$,

$SD_{PCT} = 1.24$) and RCT ($M_{RCT} = 3.26$, $SD_{RCT} = 1.18$) $t(284) = -1.93$, $p = .06$. There was

no difference in perceived partner rudeness between PCT and RCT participants $t(284) =$

0.65, $p = .51$. As expected, there was a significant difference in perceived partner

selfishness such that participants in the control condition ($M = 3.40$, $SD = 1.18$),

perceived their partner to be more selfish than did PCT ($M_{PCT} = 2.64$, $SD_{PCT} = 1.06$) or

RCT ($M_{RCT} = 2.87$, $SD_{RCT} = .94$) participants, $t(284) = 4.74$, $p < .001$. There was no

difference in perceived partner selfishness between PCT and RCT participants $t(284) =$

1.54, $p = .12$. In sum, I found consistent support for the assertion that I effectively

manipulated training.

Belonging

Next, I tested the effectiveness of the manipulation of belonging. An independent-samples t-test showed that participants who completed the belonging affirmation reported greater feelings of belonging ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 0.48$), compared to participants who were in the control condition ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 0.76$), $t(285) = 8.36$, $p < .001$. This means that I was successful in manipulating participants' feelings of belonging.

Primary Analyses

Two independent coders rated each participants' dialogue on the racist Facebook scenario for a) attribution of prejudice, b) confrontation response style, c) use of available confrontation strategies, and d) tone.

I originally proposed a 3(Training Condition: PCT, RCT, Control) x 2(Belonging: Affirmation, Control) design. However, given the large influx of participants of color, I was able to analyze the data separately for White participants and participants of color, leaving me with a 3(Training Condition: PCT, RCT, Control) x 2(Belonging: Affirmation, Control) x 2(Race: White, Participant of Color) between subjects MANOVA. I expected that there would be an interaction between training condition, belonging condition, and participant race predicting participants' attribution of prejudice, response to the prejudiced comment, their use of confrontation strategies, and their tone toward the interaction partner.

Attribution of Prejudice

Two independent coders rated whether participants labeled the racist Facebook comment as prejudiced using a single, trichotomous (0 = no evidence, 1 = some evidence

2 = clear evidence) code. There was no main effect of training for participants' labeling the comment as prejudiced, $F(2, 265) = 1.31$, $p = .27$. Participants were equally likely to label the comment as prejudiced in the control condition, compared to when they were in the PCT or RCT. There was no main effect of belonging for participants' labeling the comment as prejudiced, $F(1, 265) = 1.19$, $p = .28$. Participants were equally likely to label the comment as prejudiced in the belonging affirmation condition, compared to when they were in the belonging control condition. There was no main effect of race for participants' labeling the comment as prejudiced, $F(1, 265) = .43$, $p = .51$. White participants were equally likely to label the comment as prejudiced, compared to participants of color. There was, however, a significant 2-way interaction between belonging condition and participant race predicting the likelihood that participants labeled the comment as prejudiced, $F(1, 265) = 5.65$, $p = .02$ (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Significant two-way interaction between belonging condition and participant race predicting the likelihood of labeling the comment as prejudiced.
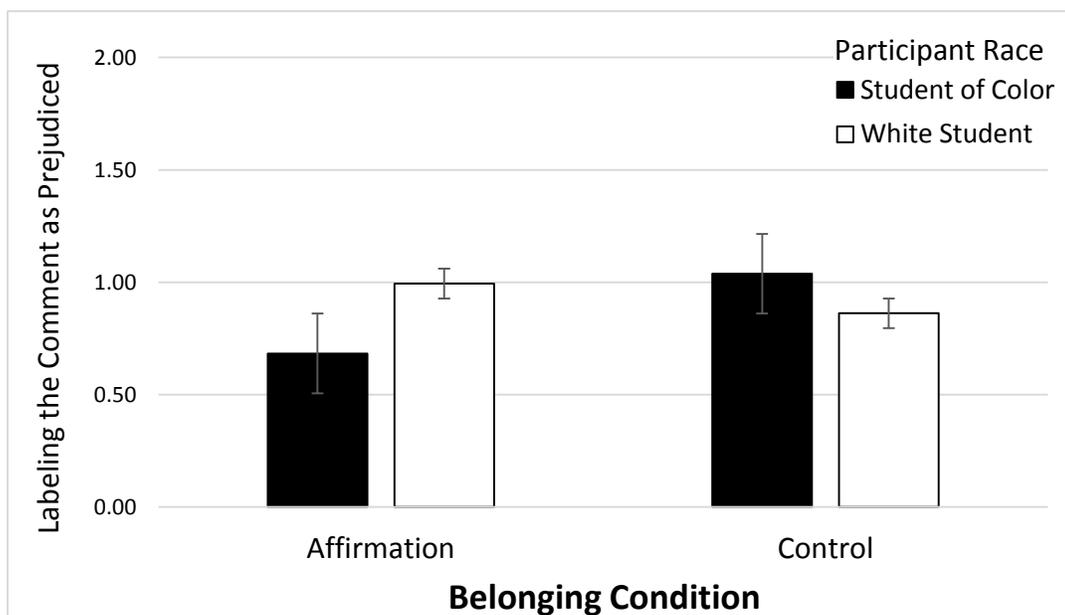
Pairwise comparisons revealed that White students ($M = 0.99$, $SD = 0.09$) were more likely than participants of color ($M = 0.68$, $SD = 0.13$) to label the comment as prejudiced after having their belonging needs affirmed. Whereas when belonging needs were not affirmed, White students and participants of color did not differ in the likelihood of labeling the comment as prejudiced. Interestingly, participants of color are more likely to label the comment as prejudiced when they have not had their belonging needs affirmed compared to when they affirmed the need to belong; the difference between the affirmation condition ($M = 0.68$, $SD = 0.13$) and control condition ($M = 1.04$, $SD = 0.11$) is significantly different, $p = .03$. None of the other interactions were significant, Fs < 3.0, ps > .05.

Confrontation Response Style

Two independent coders rated participants' confrontation response style when responding to the racist comment using a dichotomous (present-absent) coding scheme (see Appendix J for coding scheme). We summed across the 6 response style codes for each participant. Possible scores range from 0 to 6, where 6 indicates the greatest possible use of confrontational responses. There was no main effect of training predicting the number of responses, $F(2, 265) = 2.10$, $p = .13$. Participants in the control condition, ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.48$) used the same number of confrontation responses as the PCT ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.56$) and RCT ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.55$) participants. There was no main effect of belonging for the number of responses to the prejudiced comment, $F(1, 265) = 0.28$, $p = .60$. Participants used about the same number of responses when they were in the belonging affirmation condition, compared to when they were in the belonging control

condition. There was no main effect of race for the number of responses to the prejudiced comment, $F(1, 265) = 0.17$, $p = .68$. White participants used about the same number of confrontation responses, compared to participants of color. However, there was a significant crossover interaction between belonging and participant race predicting the number of responses to the prejudiced comment, $F(1, 265) = 4.07$, $p = .05$ (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Significant interaction between belonging condition and participant race predicting the number of confrontation responses used.
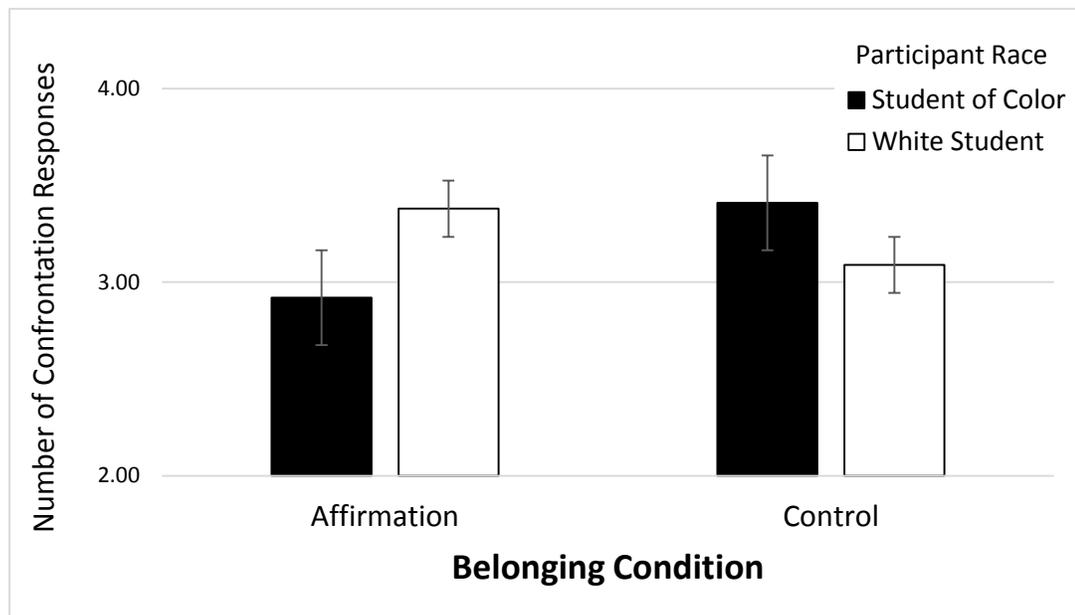

When participant belonging was affirmed, White students used a higher number of confrontation responses than did participants of color. In contrast, when participants did not have their belonging needs affirmed, participants of color used a higher number of confrontation responses than did White students. None of the other interactions were significant, Fs < 3.0, ps > .05.

Confrontation Training Strategy Use

Two independent coders rated participants' use of the four Plous (2000) strategies in response to the racist comment using a dichotomous (present-absent) coding system (see Appendix J for coding scheme). We summed across the four strategy codes for each participant. Possible scores range from zero to four, with four indicating the greatest number of confrontation training strategies used. There was no main effect of training for participants' overall use of confrontation training strategies, $F(2, 265) = 2.10$, $p = .13$. Confrontation training strategy use did not differ when participants were in the control condition, compared to when they were in the PCT or RCT. However, when I collapsed across the two training conditions (PCT & RCT) and compared the confrontation strategy use to the control group, a marginal effect of training emerged, $F(2, 265) = 3.32$, $p = .07$ That is, participants who received training with strategies were more likely to use the confrontation strategies compared to control participants – who received practice responding to the interaction partner, but did not receive strategies. There was no main effect of belonging for participants' overall use of confrontation training strategies $F(1, 265) = .034$, $p = .56$. Participants were equally likely to use confrontation training strategies in the belonging affirmation condition and the belonging control condition. There was no main effect of race for participants' overall use of confrontation training strategies, $F(1, 265) = 2.55$, $p = .11$. White participants were equally likely to label the comment as prejudiced, compared to participants of color. There was, however, an interaction between participant race and training condition

predicting participants' overall use of confrontation training strategies, $F(2, 265) = 3.18$,

$p = .04$ (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Significant interaction between participant race and training condition predicting the number of confrontation strategies used.
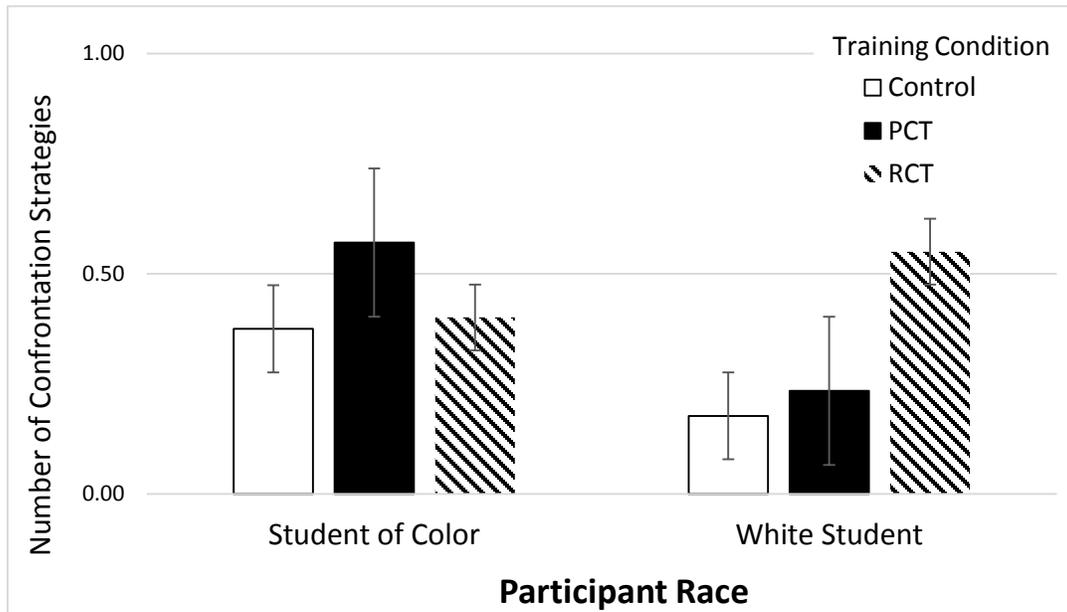
Follow-up comparisons revealed that among participants who received PCT, participants of color were more likely to use confrontation training strategies ($M = 0.56$, $SD = 0.84$) compared to White participants ($M = 0.23$, $SD = 0.53$). Among White participants, individuals were more likely to use strategies after receiving RCT ($M = 0.54$, $SD = 0.85$) compared to PCT ($M = 0.23$, $SD = 0.53$) and the control condition ($M = 0.18$, $SD = 0.39$).

There was also a significant 2-way interaction between training type and participant race for the strategy of perspective taking (i.e., the participant encouraged the interaction partner to take another person's perspective. The perspective taking

interaction was qualified by a higher-order 3-way interaction between training, race and

belonging, $F(1, 265) = 3.80$, $p = .02$. (See Figure 4).

Figure 4. 3-way interaction between participant race, belonging and training conditions predicting the likelihood that participants encourage the interaction partner to engage in perspective taking.
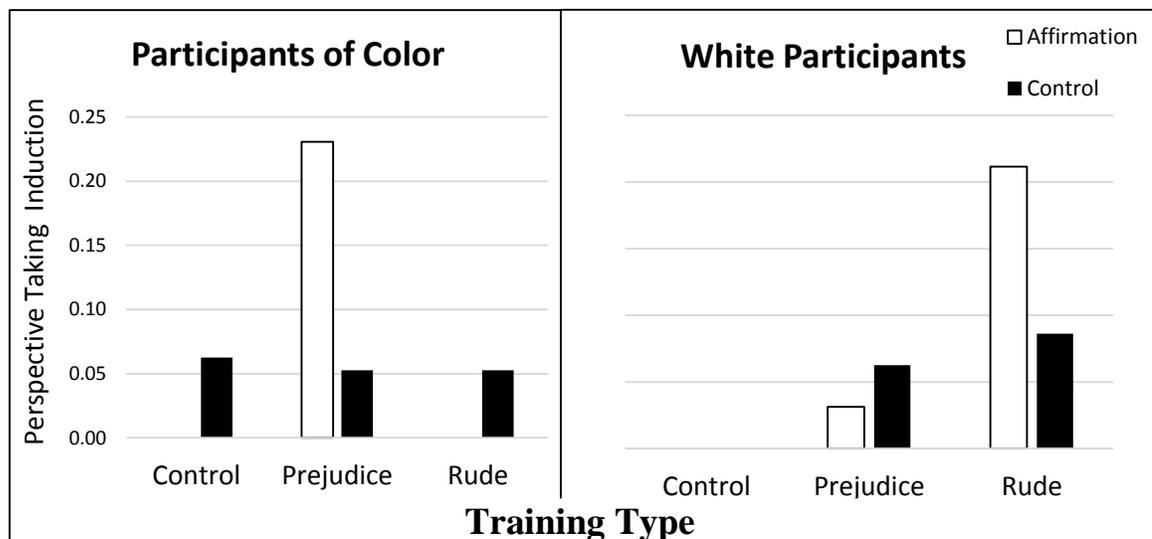
Aggressive Tone

Two independent coders rated participants' tone in responding to the racist

comment using a dichotomous (present-absent) coding system (see Appendix J for

coding scheme). There was no main effect of training for participants' use of an

aggressive tone in responding to the prejudiced comment, $F(2, 263) = 0.06$, $p = .95$.

Participants' tone did not differ when participants were in the control condition,

compared to when they were in the PCT or RCT. There was no main effect of belonging

for participants' use of an aggressive tone in responding to the prejudiced comment, $F(1,$

$263) = 0.29$, $p = .59$. Participants' tone did not differ when participants were in the

belonging affirmation condition, compared to when they were in the belonging control

condition. There was a marginal effect of race for participants' use of an aggressive tone in responding to the prejudiced comment, $F(1, 263) = 3.44$, $p = .07$. White participants were more likely to use an aggressive tone ($M = 4.30$, $SD = .13$) compared to participants of color ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .16$). None of the interactions were significant.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

Why do bystanders fail to confront racial prejudice? The present research tested the idea that allowing individuals to practice using confrontation strategies would increase the likelihood that they confront a racist statement. I further tested the idea that assuaging people's belongingness concerns would provide an added boost to the likelihood that they confront. From the outset, I intended to hold participant race constant – focusing on White outgroup members as a viable group to confront anti-Black prejudice. However, given the influx of participants of color, I was able to run post-hoc analyses comparing White participants to participants of color. I made no a priori predictions regarding race differences.

The prediction that training type and belonging affirmation would interact to predict confronting behavior did not receive full support in the data. Interestingly, the belonging manipulation had a different effect on White students and participants of color. More specifically, the belonging affirmation showed the predicted pattern of responses for White participants, but not for participants of color. That is, having their belongingness need affirmed gave White participants the impetus to 'call out' the interaction partner for saying something racist, and freed White participants to use more of the confrontation strategies. In contrast, the belonging affirmation diminished the extent to which participants of color labeled the comment as racist and used confrontation strategies.

One exception to this pattern emerged with the confrontation training strategy of asking the interaction partner to engage in perspective taking. In this case, participants of color were more likely to promote partner perspective-taking when their belonging needs were affirmed. Given that the perspective-taking induction requires the interaction partners to imagine how their behavior might affect someone they care about, this strategy could connote the least threat for participants of color in light of the other available strategies. The other strategies could be perceived as more threatening because the participants either choose to directly question the interaction partner's behavior or egalitarian values, or they directly tell the interaction partner how they are affected by the prejudiced statement. While these strategies are intended to facilitate conflict-free confrontations, participants of color might anticipate that the interaction partners would not respond favorably to being questioned, nor would they care about how the participant is affected. This would be especially true if participants of color assume that the interaction partner making the prejudiced comment is White, and is therefore an outgroup member. On the other hand, participants of color might anticipate that the interaction partner cares about close others (who also might be expected to share racial group membership with the interaction partner), thus a perspective taking induction might connote less threat for these participants.

Similar to the differential effects of the belonging manipulation, the training manipulation affected Whites and participants of color differently. Prejudice comment training (PCT) yielded more overall use of confrontation strategies for participants of color than it did for White participants. White participants, on the other hand, used more

of the Plous (2000) confrontation strategies after receiving training to confront a rude

comment (RCT). The fact that PCT increased confrontations for participants of color is

especially interesting considering that these participants rated the interaction partner more

favorably after responding to the racist statement than did White participants. On a 5-

point scale, participants of color rated the interaction partner significantly more favorably

($M= 2.49$, $SD = .93$) than did White participants ($M= 2.18$, $SD = .85$). A score of 2.5 falls

just below the scale midpoint and captures the evaluation of 'a little bit' to 'somewhat'

favorable. Despite these more favorable partner evaluations, participants of color were

more concerned ($M = 2.08$, $SD = .95$) than White participants ($M = 1.89$, $SD =.97$) about

how the interaction partner would evaluate them when they had not had their belonging

needs affirmed. These findings might be interpreted as compensation on the part of

participants of color for confronting the interaction partner. That is, perhaps participants

of color rated the interaction partner more favorably to compensate for confronting the

racist statement and maintain positive relations with the interaction partner. This

compensation is further reflected in a concern for how the partner would evaluate

participants of color. Similar compensatory behaviors were observed in Mallett and

Wagner's (2010) study. These researchers found that men who were confronted for sexist

behavior later compensated by engaging in ingratiating tactics and evaluating the

interaction partner favorably.

Links to Past Research

Previous research suggests that completing the confrontation training exercise led

undergraduate students of various racial backgrounds to engage in more confrontations of

prejudice in their daily lives (Lawson et al., 2010). The results of the present study provide partial support for the efficacy of training in a controlled lab setting. That is, participants who received the confrontation training strategies (PCT & RCT) reported greater strategy use immediately after receiving training, compared to the control group. Although the use of confrontation strategies did generalize to later use of strategies in responding to a racist Facebook statement, this effect was only marginally significant.

Research by Crocker and colleagues (2008) reveals that affirming the need to belong reduces threat. In the present study, the efficacy of the belonging affirmation in diminishing perceived threat from confrontation only emerged for White participants. That is, the potential social threat of confronting was diminished when Whites affirmed the need to belong compared to the no-affirmation control. Most surprising was that this pattern was reversed for participants of color. That is, in the no-affirmation control condition participants of color engaged in more confrontations compared to when their belongingness needs were affirmed. One explanation for this finding emerges from research by Adams, Tormala and O'Brein (2005). These researchers found that affirmations increased attributions of racism for Whites, but diminished attributions of racism for participants of color. The reason for this difference was attributed to the different motivational pressures that Whites and people of color face regarding perceptions of racism toward stigmatized groups (Adams et al., 2005). Whereas Whites are motivated to minimize perceptions and attributions of racism because these scenarios are threatening to their egalitarian identity, individuals of color are motivated to either be vigilant to – and amplify perceptions of racism – or to minimize these perceptions so as

to diminish the chronic threat of discrimination. Thus, Whites and participants of color in the present study might have experienced different confrontation-induced threats, and the belonging affirmation might have been successful at diminishing these different group threats.

Limitations and Future Research Suggestions

The primary limitations of the present study are concerns regarding the external validity. First, regarding the ecological validity of the study, participants were asked to anticipate what the interaction partner might say – rather than actually interacting with a confederate or another naïve participant. The social constraints of a face to face interactions are likely to differ substantially from simply filling in what your partner might say. Furthermore, individuals who encounter racist statements on Facebook might simply delete the comment so as to not appear that they endorse racism. Might such actions 'count' as confronting behavior? Participants in the current study were encouraged to type a chat response. Perhaps Facebook users might wait for someone else to respond, or ignore the comment entirely. Future research should investigate this possibility using a 'live' Facebook account rather than static images.

A second threat to external validity is the use of a convenience sample of college students. College students are known to possess more liberal attitudes compared to individuals in the general population. Thus, these findings should not be expected to generalize to community samples. Furthermore, given the relatively small numbers of minority student subgroups in the sample, I had to collapse across all participants of color in order to draw race group comparisons. We cannot assume that all participants of color

represent a monolithic category with shared attitudes. Future research could specifically focus on differences between Whites and Blacks, given that the racialized history of the United States has consistently involved conflicts between these two groups.

One extension of the current study could be to investigate whether motivations to respond to prejudice explain the difference between Whites and participants of color following the belonging affirmation. Perhaps these motivations mediate the relation between belonging affirmation and confronting behavior, such that accounting for the motivation would be expected to attenuate this effect.

Conclusions

The present study suggests that training people to use confrontation strategies increases the likelihood that individuals confront racial prejudice. Whether affirming the need to belong boosts this likelihood seems to depend on individuals group membership. More research is needed to determine this latter finding. This research is particularly relevant, considering that many individuals use social media such as Facebook to communicate, and opportunities to confront racism present themselves in these online forums just as they might in person. If people are adequately equipped to respond to these prejudiced encounters, they might be more likely to take a stand against instances of racism.

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APPENDIX A

TRAINING SCENARIOS

Rude Comment (Prejudice Comment). You are a student at a local university. To earn some extra money, you decide to take a job as an orientation leader for the incoming first-year students. During one of the scheduled breaks, a group of students comes up to you to ask what time the Financial Aid talk is supposed to start. After they leave, a co-worker points to one of the students and comments, "Check out that shirt. That's so dumb! (That's so gay)Why do people dress so ridiculously?" Normally, you would ignore a comment like that, but you remember that you are both orientation leaders, so you feel a sense of responsibility to set a good example.

Think about what you would say to your co-worker. It can sometimes be difficult to try and convince someone to change their views or behavior. On the desk next to you is a sheet with a list of strategies that have been identified as useful in persuasion. Try to incorporate one of these strategies in your response to your co-worker.

Control Scenario. You are a student at a local university. To earn some extra money, you decide to take a job as an orientation leader for the incoming first-year students. During one of the scheduled breaks, a group of students comes up to you to ask what time the Financial Aid talk is supposed to start. After they leave, a co-worker says, "I'm ready to get out of here. The rest of you can do this campus tour." Normally, you would ignore a comment like that, but you feel that everyone should share the responsibility.

Think about what you would say to your co-worker. It can sometimes be difficult to try and convince someone to change their views or behavior.

APPENDIX B

CONFRONTATION RESPONSE STRATEGIES

1. Statements generate resistance, whereas questions generate answers. Questions offer no target to strike at, no position to attack. Use questions such as "Why do you say that?" or "Do you feel that way about every person in that group?"

2. Arouse cognitive dissonance in the speaker by appealing to the speaker's sense of fairness. An example of this strategy would be a response such as "I'm surprised to hear you say that, because I've always thought of you as someone who is very open-minded."

3. Tell the other person how you feel (e.g., "It makes me uncomfortable to hear that") rather than how to behave (e.g., "You shouldn't say that"). The latter statement can be disputed, but the former cannot.

4. Try to get the other person to imagine the consequences of the comment by considering how it would affect someone they care about. For example, "How would you feel if someone said that to your friend/cousin/parent/sibling?" or "Would you say that in front of your friend/cousin/parent/sibling?"

APPENDIX C

POST-TRAINING EVALUATION

Please answer the following questions regarding the dialogue task you just completed.

1. What was your primary relationship to the person in the dialogue?
      a) Friend
      b) Co-worker
      c) Family member
      d) Classmate
      e) Other (Please specify) _____

2. How close were you with the other person in the dialogue?
      a) Not at all close
      b) Somewhat close
      c) Very close

Please indicate how true each of the following statements is of the dialogue task you just completed using a 1-5 scale (1= not at all true, 2= a little bit true, 3= somewhat true, 4=very true, 5=extremely true).

1.   The dialogue task was easy.
2.   I had a difficult time completing the dialogue.
3.   I made an appeal to the other person's sense of fairness.
4.   I asked the other person questions.
5.   I told the other person how I felt.
6.   I told the other person how to behave.
7.   I tried to get the other person to think about the situation from my/another person's perspective.
8.   I tried to view the situation from the other person's perspective.
9.   I tried to anticipate possible counter-arguments.
10.   I effectively communicated my intended message.

Please rate extent to which the following statements are true of the other person in the dialogue using a 1-5 scale (1= not at all, 2= a little bit, 3= somewhat, 4=very much, 5=extremely).

1.   The other person was friendly.
2.   The other person was rude.
3.   The other person was prejudiced.
4.   The other person was cooperative.
5.   The other person was flexible.
6.   The other person was selfish.
7.   The other person was likable.
8.   What the other person was saying was accurate.

APPENDIX D

BELONGING MANIPULATION INSTRUCTIONS

General cover story (All participants read). We are interested in people's memory of everyday situations. Please read the following writing prompt, which asks you to recall an everyday situation. Try to recall the situation as it really happened. Using the keyboard, type your response to the writing prompt.

Belonging Affirmation. Write about a time in which you felt very accepted in some way, a time that you felt as if you belonged. This acceptance can be interpersonal in nature (e.g., a time in which someone wished to date you or wanted to be your friend) or can be an acceptance by a group (e.g., a time in which you were chosen for a team or included in a clique).

Control. Write in detail about your experience commuting to school today. This could be a story about something you saw while you were in the car or on public transportation. If you walked to school, describe this experience instead.

APPENDIX E

BELONGING MANIPULATION CHECK

Please answer the following questions regarding the recall task you just completed. Using a 5-point scale (1= not at all true, 2= a little bit true, 3= somewhat true, 4=very true, 5=extremely true) indicate the extent to which the following statements are true of how you feel right now. When you have answered the questions, please let the researcher know you are done with this task.

A) I feel accepted.

B) I feel included.

C) I feel rejected.

D) I feel excluded.

APPENDIX F

FACEBOOK USE QUESTIONNAIRE

Do you have a Facebook account?   Yes   No

If yes, please answer the remaining questions below. If no, please skip to the next section.

How often do you use your Facebook account?

A) Multiple times per day
B) Once a day
C) 3 – 5 times per week
D) 1 – 2 times per week
E) Less than once a week

When you log on to your Facebook account, how long do you normally spend online?
_____

Why do you use Facebook? _____

When reading Facebook posts, how often do you engage in the following behaviors?

(Using a 1-5 scale where 1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = sometimes, 4 = often, 5 = always)

A) I publicly express disagreement to a post by posting a response
B) I privately disagree with a post, but do not publicly post a response
C) I publicly express agreement by 'liking' the post
D) I privately agree, but do not publicly 'like' the post

How much does your Facebook profile reflect your true personality?

1 – Not very much at all
2 – A little bit
3 – Very much

How likely are you to interact with the following types of people on Facebook?
(Using a 1-5 scale where 1 = not at all likely, 2 = unlikely, 3 = neither likely nor unlikely, 4 = somewhat likely, 5 = very likely)

A) Current friends
B) Former friends
C) Family
D) Classmates or co-workers
E) Strangers

APPENDIX G

FACEBOOK SCENARIO INSTRUCTIONS

Now that we know a little bit about your Facebook use, we are interested in learning more about how you communicate with your Facebook contacts. In the scenarios that follow, you will read two different Facebook posts. Imagine that you made these posts over the last week, and some of your Facebook contacts have responded to the posts. Think about what you might say in response to those comments, and try to imagine anything the other person would say after you have responded. In other words, try to complete the dialogue between you and the other person. Using the keyboard to type your responses, respond to the other person's comment, and then type what you imagine their response would be back to you. You must use at least 1 line per speaker, and you may use up to 5 lines to draw the conversation to a close.

APPENDIX H

FACEBOOK SCENARIOS

Scenario 1 (filler scenario). Imagine that it is the end of spring semester and you are almost done with classes for the year. You are excited for the upcoming summer break. You decide to post a Facebook status about your excitement.

You: _____

Other Person: _____

Scenario 2 (dependent measure). Imagine that you have been working at a local chain restaurant for almost a year. Since working there, you have become friendly with a few of your co-workers, and you frequently interact with each other on Facebook. One day, you decide to post a Facebook status about your frustration with your current job.

You: _____

Other Person: _____

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONS ABOUT FACEBOOK SCENARIO

Please answer the following questions regarding the Facebook scenario you just completed.

1. What was your primary relationship to the other person?
      a) Friend
      b) Co-worker
      c) Family member
      d) Classmate
      e) Other (Please specify) _____

2. How close were you with the other person?
      a) Not at all close
      b) Somewhat close
      c) Very close

Please rate extent to which the following statements are true of the other person in the dialogue using a 1-5 scale (1= not at all, 2= a little bit, 3= somewhat, 4=very much, 5=extremely).
1.   The other person was friendly.
2.   The other person was rude.
3.   The other person was prejudiced.
4.   The other person was cooperative.
5.   The other person was flexible.
6.   The other person was selfish.
7.   The other person was likable.
8.   What the other person was saying was accurate.

To what extent is each of the following statements true of the Facebook comments you just read. Using a 5-point scale (1= not at all true, 2= a little bit true, 3= somewhat true, 4=very true, 5=extremely true).

1.   The comment(s) were inappropriate.
2.   The comment(s) were funny.
3.   The comment(s) were realistic.

Please indicate the extent to which you think the following statements were true of your response to the Facebook comments using a 1-5 scale (1= not at all, 2= a little bit, 3= somewhat, 4=very much, 5=extremely).

1.   I felt confident about my ability to respond.
2.   I felt frustrated about my response.
3.   I felt self-conscious.
4.   I felt displeased with my response.

5.   I felt good about my response.
6.   I was worried about what the other person thought of me.
7.   I felt concerned about the impression I was making.
8.   I was worried about looking foolish.
9.   I was worried that the other person would dislike me.
10.   I was worried that the other person would react negatively (e.g., get angry, upset).

APPENDIX J

CODING SCHEME FOR CONFRONTATION RESPONSES

Attribution of Prejudice

0 = no evidence that participant labeled the comment as prejudiced
1 = some evidence that participant labeled the comment as prejudiced
2 = clear evidence that participant labeled the comment as prejudiced

Response Style (modified from Swim & Hyers, 1999; Coders may choose more than one style per response) 0 = not present, 1 = present

A = acceptance or agreement; the participant agreed with the prejudiced comment
B = humor or sarcasm; the participant tried to make a joke or responded sarcastically
C = surprised exclamations; the participant expressed surprise or made an exclamation
D = questioning of the conversation partner; the participant asked a question
E = response that contradicted the conversation partner's remark
F = expression of disagreement; the participant stated that he or she disagreed with the statement
G = direct confrontation (e.g., saying that the person or remark was prejudiced or telling the perpetrator to change his or her behavior;

Strategy Use (modified from Plous, 2000; Coders may choose more than one response strategy) 0 = not present; 1 = present

A = participant asked questions
B = participant attempted to create dissonance by appealing to the speaker's sense of fairness
C = participant told the speaker how he or she felt
D = participant tried to get the speaker to imagine the consequences of the comment by considering how it would affect someone he or she cares about

Tone 0 = none, 1 = a little, 2 = a lot

A = disdain/disapproval
B = softening/appeasement
C = avoid/ignore

APPENDIX K

TABLE OF DEPENDENT MEASURES

Table 1. Coding inter-rater reliabilities, response frequencies, mean and standard deviation for dependent measures

Code	Kappa	Freq. No	Freq. Yes	Mean	SD
Attribution of Prejudice	0.87	106	169	0.91	0.81
Acceptance	0.99	230	47	0.17	0.38
Humor/Sarcasm	0.97	245	32	0.12	0.32
Surprise	0.98	217	60	0.16	0.37
Questioning	0.99	232	45	0.22	0.41
Contradict	0.97	158	119	0.43	0.50
Disagree	0.98	63	214	0.77	0.42
Confront	0.96	88	189	0.68	0.47
Ask Questions	0.99	231	46	0.17	0.37
Appeal to Egalitarianism	0.95	260	17	0.06	0.24
State Feelings	0.98	259	18	0.07	0.25
Perspective Taking	0.91	259	18	0.06	0.24
Disdain	0.78	74	202	1.00	0.71
Softening	0.81	153	123	0.56	0.68
Avoidance	0.83	183	93	0.45	0.68

APPENDIX L

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE AND HYPOTHESIS GUESS

Demographics:

Please indicate your sex: Male   Female   Prefer not to answer

Please indicate your age: _____

Please indicate your race (Check all that apply):   White
Black / African American
Latino / Hispanic
Native American / Alaskan Native
Hawaiian / Pacific Islander
Asian
Other (Please specify)

Open-ended Hypothesis Guess Questions:

1 = What was your overall impression of the study?

2 = Were you suspicious at all? If yes, please explain:

3 = If you had to guess, what would you say this study was trying to figure out? What was our hypothesis?

APPENDIX M

DEBRIEFING HANDOUT

Debriefing

Most Americans have either personally experienced or witnessed another person experiencing prejudice, including sexist comments and racial slurs. Most people imagine that they would say something when these events happen, yet research shows that people are hesitant to confront prejudice (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). The present study is part of a program of research that explores how people respond to racism. Specifically, we are interested in the conditions that increase or decrease the likelihood that bystanders will respond to racism.

There are several barriers to confronting. One such barrier is knowing how to confront. Another barrier is the perceived social costs of confronting. The current research examines whether we can increase the likelihood that people will confront racism by providing individuals with strategies to use and practice confronting and by affirming their sense of belonging. Providing confronting training through the use of strategies and practice is one way to overcome the barrier of a lack of knowledge. Affirming individuals' sense of belonging is one way to overcome the barrier of perceived social costs of confronting.

You completed a task that manipulated training type. You either received domain-specific training where you practiced confronting a prejudiced comment or domain-general training where you practiced confronting a rude, but non-prejudiced comment. Some people did not receive any training, but still practiced responding to another person. Next, you completed an autobiographical recall task which manipulated sense of belonging. You either wrote about a neutral topic such as your commute to school, or you wrote about a time you felt a strong sense of belonging. Finally, you imagined interacting with another person who made a racist comment, and had the opportunity to assertively confront this person. Facebook was used as the medium for responding to the comment because many college students use online social media and such instances of prejudiced posts are frequently found on these social media sites.

We ask that you not discuss this experiment with other students, as that may bias individuals who may become participants in this study at a later time.If you would like to learn more about the research that inspired the present studies, please contact Dr. Robyn Mallett, rmallett@luc.edu. You may also wish to read the following articles:

Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K. A. & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model: Applying CPR in organizations. Academy of Management Learning & Education, 7, 332-342. doi: 10.5465/AMLE.2008.34251671

Czopp, A. M. & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2012). Interpersonal confrontations of prejudice. In D. W. Russell (Ed.), The psychology of prejudice: Contemporary issues. Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Plous, S. (2000). Responding to overt displays of prejudice: A role-playing exercise. Teaching of Psychology, 27(3), 198-200.

VITA

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While at Loyola, Bozeman served on the Department of Psychology's Committee on Diversity Affairs. She also worked as a lab manager and teaching assistant in the Social Justice and Inter-group Relations Lab under the direction of Dr. Robyn Mallett and Dr. Jeffrey Huntsinger.