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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE IMPACT OF REGULATORY FIT ON CONFRONTATIONS OF BIAS

A DISSERTATION PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO DR. ROBYN MALLET,
DR. VICTOR OTATTI, DR. TRACY DEHART, AND DR. NONI GAYLORD-HARDEN
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

RAYNE BOZEMAN

CHICAGO, IL

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ABSTRACT

Anti-Black racism remains a major problem in contemporary American life, with deleterious consequences for Blacks. White allies possess social power to change the status quo by confronting racism. Although confrontation reduces biased behavior and prejudiced attitudes, many people refrain from spontaneously confronting. Persuasive appeals may encourage ally confronting. When these appeals are strategically framed in a manner that matches people's regulatory orientation, they are expected to experience a sense of fit, which makes them feel better about the tasks they are engaged in. Two studies tested whether experiencing regulatory fit would enhance the persuasiveness of a pro-confrontation message. Participants were primed with a prevention or promotion regulatory focus before seeing a pro-confrontation message framed in terms of either approaching egalitarianism or avoiding prejudice. Results showed that relative to non-fit, experiencing regulatory fit did not affect feeling right about the pro-confrontation message nor did it produce shifts in confrontation behavior or future confrontation intentions. All participants felt right about the pro-confrontation message, and feeling right led to confrontation behavior (Study 2). A majority of participants in both studies confronted the racist comment. These findings indicate that encouraging White allies to speak up is effective at producing anti-racism behavior.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, 'When will you be satisfied?' We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

— Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1963)

Anti-Black racism has been a pressing problem throughout the history of the United States. The pivotal 'I Have a Dream' speech by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. drew attention to various forms of racial prejudice faced by Black Americans in the 1960's. White allies were critical in the push to outlaw and socially sanction blatant racism. This anti-discrimination movement led to the adoption of the Civil Rights Act, which made discrimination illegal. The effect of this legislative shift was to change public endorsement of overt expressions of bias, including anti-Black racism. The change in social norms left a contrast between old-fashioned and contemporary racism. Blatant racism was considered 'old-fashioned' because it became unfashionable to express such openly bigoted views (McConahay, Hardee & Batts, 1981).

Despite advances in legislation and overt racism becoming taboo, Blacks still struggle for social justice in modern America (Pettigrew, 2008). The need for White allies is as pressing today as it was during the Civil Rights Era. One need look no further than the nightly news to

realize that the concerns addressed by Dr. Martin Luther King regarding police brutality are still salient for communities of color today. Stories of unarmed Black citizens being killed have dominated social media and public discourse. In fact, racial bias in police decisions to shoot have been documented in social psychology literature long before these incidents became a constant feature in news broadcasts (Correll, Park, Judd, Wittenbrink & Sadler, 2007).

In February 2012, George Zimmerman – a White Hispanic – called 911 to report his concern about a Black male in his community. Zimmerman claimed that the teen looked, “Real suspicious ... like he [was] up to no good ... or on drugs” (Rudolph & Lee, 2012). After describing to the police that, “These assholes always get away,” Zimmerman shot and killed unarmed Trayvon Martin. Martin’s death sparked a public outcry and claims that the murder was racially motivated. One can only speculate as to Zimmerman’s motives. Nonetheless, racial bias is a viable explanation. Zimmerman claimed that he acted in self-defense, and that his actions were not racially motivated.

Trayvon Martin’s death highlights the ambiguous nature of modern prejudice. That is, absent blatant racial slurs or admissions of bias, how can someone attribute another person’s behavior to racism? Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, social psychologists were faced with the same question. Despite claims that racism had decreased, desegregation efforts were met with great resistance. Because overt racism had become illegal and unpopular, individuals offered non-racial justifications for their opposition to integration.

Social psychologists developed theories of contemporary prejudice to explain the apparent paradox of people claiming to be free of racial bias while simultaneously endorsing

racist policies. The remaining sections in this chapter will discuss these theories. The purpose of the current studies is to investigate factors that can increase Whites' involvement in anti-racism efforts through confrontations of bias. Although much is known about how targets respond to instances of bias, relatively little is known about how bystanders respond when they witness bias directed toward outgroup members.

The literature on interpersonal anti-racism efforts refers to allies as bystanders or as non-targets. For the sake of consistency, I will refer to these individuals as 'allies,' because this terminology implies that non-target bystanders who resist racism make a deliberative choice to support the fight against racial bias. By investigating the antecedents of Whites' anti-racism efforts, we can broaden our understanding of how allies can play a role in eliminating racial bias.

Modern/Symbolic Racism

The racial status quo was challenged by the Civil Rights act. This legislative and social shift threatened Whites' belief in values such as individualism and the Protestant Work Ethic. Symbolic racism theory posited that Blacks represented an abstract, symbolic threat to White American values (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Whites' belief that they had earned their socioeconomic advantages fostered the belief that Blacks deserved the disparate outcomes they experienced. White Americans perceived social justice policies as Blacks attempting to 'game the system.' Therefore, the bussing movement was seen as an attempt by Blacks to get more than they deserved.

Modern Racism Theory was developed from the theory of symbolic racism to describe a set of beliefs that derive from negative affect toward Blacks and abstract principles of justice (McConahay, 1983). By framing their racist beliefs in terms of policy preferences, Whites were able to distance themselves from accusations that they possess biased attitudes.

Aversive Racism

Aversive racists have egalitarian self-images and deny that they possess racial bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). However, Blacks trigger feelings of discomfort, disgust, and fear among Whites, which can lead to discrimination against Blacks. However, this discrimination emerges as Whites showing ingroup favoritism rather than derogating Blacks as an outgroup. Because aversive racists would prefer to avoid awareness of their own bias, acknowledging that they feel uncomfortable around Blacks is an aversive feeling. This aversive form of racism manifests itself when the situation does not proscribe clear anti-prejudice norms. When there is a viable non-racial justification, aversive racists express their bias in subtle, indirect, and rationalizable ways. For example, Zimmerman's claim of self-defense offered a non-racial justification for killing Trayvon Martin.

Colorblind Racism

The claim that race is no longer a problem is central Colorblind Racism Theory (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). This view suggests that racial justice policies are unnecessary because racial categories are unimportant. Individuals who endorse a colorblind ideology believe that others who claim that racism is a problem are actually the ones responsible for racial divisions. The

rationale is that merely discussing race invites racial division and tension. These individuals advocate for race-neutral social policies while ignoring existing racial disparities.

Everyday Racism

While not all instances of prejudice are fatal, the consequences for targets are pernicious. Black college students still report receiving poor treatment at restaurants forty years after the Civil Rights Act was signed into law (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).

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 beyond general life stress (Pieterse & Carter, 2007).

Systemic Racism

It is important to remember that interpersonal or individual racism such as the variants discussed above tell just one side of the story of discrimination and anti-Black prejudice. Racism is also a sociocultural condition (Adams, Edkins, Lacka, Pickett & Cheryan, 2008). Racism is a systemic force that is sustained through institutional practices, public policy, and shared cultural stereotypes.

The current studies rely on these individualistic perspectives of contemporary prejudice because they offer a clear opportunity for Whites to serve as allies in the anti-prejudice movement and overcome bystander apathy. By investigating the factors that influence ally confrontation, we may be able to interrupt the system of racism at the individual level. Chapter Two will address one possible solution to the problem of contemporary racism.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFRONTING AS A SOLUTION

Racism and bias was a hot-button issue in the 2016 U.S. election cycle. Both presidential nominees accused the other of bigotry. Presumably, these accusations were meant to elucidate the fact that the opposing candidate violated social norms prohibiting bias. These claims of bias could be considered confrontation. The purpose of the current studies is to consider confrontations in the service of reducing anti-Black racism. Chapter One highlighted the impact that such bigotry has on people of color. In the following chapters, I will make the case for interventions by White ally confronters – as opposed to racial minority allies and target-group confronters – and explain how theories of persuasion might be deployed to mobilize social action.

With much of the anti-prejudice literature focusing on intergroup harmony (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2010), or positive intergroup contact (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006 for a review), proposing confrontation as a solution to racial bias sounds counterintuitive. That is because the layperson or dictionary definition of confrontation connotes hostility and argumentativeness. Social psychologists, however, define confrontation as a verbal expression of disapproval toward the perpetrator of a prejudiced comment (Czopp & Ashburn-Nardo, 2012). One does not necessarily need to express hostility in order to communicate their disagreement. In fact, research

on confronting suggests that a hostile approach can backfire (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006). Other researchers suggest that confrontation need not even be verbalized (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore & Hill, 2006). For example, a facial expression of disgust at a sexist joke or silence in response to sexually-harassing job interview questions might signal one's dissatisfaction toward the perpetrator (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2011).

Benefits of Confronting

In one study, Czopp, Monteith Mark (2006) investigated participants' responses to being confronted for anti-Black racism. Naïve participants completed a computer-based inference task with a research confederate. This task was designed to lead participants to unwittingly make a stereotypic response about Black targets (e.g., "This person is on welfare"). The confederates then confronted participants for their prejudiced remarks. Participants later completed a similar inference task and showed decreased incidence of stereotypic responses following confrontation. Given that computers are commonly used as a tool for communication, this study demonstrates the effectiveness of online confrontations.

Mallett and Wagner (2011) found similar positive outcomes for face-to-face confrontations. In a study on the consequences of confronting sexism, male participants discussed moral dilemmas with a confederate. One topic concerned whether a nurse should be punished for seemingly negligent behavior. In the sexist confrontation condition, participants were accused of sexism for assuming that the nurse was female - regardless of their actual response. The researchers found that male participants compensated for their sexist behavior during a subsequent interaction by engaging in a range of verbal and non-verbal responses such

as smiling or offering an apology. In a subsequent task, these participants were better able to detect the use of sexist language (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 motivate perpetrators to refrain from engaging in future prejudice.

Despite the potential for prejudice reduction, confronting appears to be the exception rather than the rule. Across a variety of contexts, individuals are more likely to refrain from confronting instances of prejudice than they are to openly challenge the perpetrator (Ayers, Friedman & Leaper, 2009; Dickter, 2012; Dickter & Newton, 2013; Hyers, 2007; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2011). In fact, fewer than 50% of participants assertively confront; with some studies reporting no assertive confrontations (Rasinski, Geers & Czopp, 2013).

The Role of Allies

Much of the work on confronting has focused on members of the target group responding to discrimination. This trend is quite reasonable considering that targets are more likely to face discrimination compared to non-target group members. However, as the quote by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. suggests, outgroup allies value equality and therefore have a responsibility to uphold this value. Allies are an important part of any social justice movement because these individuals typically occupy positions of social power relative to target group members (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Therefore, allies (e.g., Whites) are uniquely suited to enact social change without facing the kinds of backlash that targets (e.g., Blacks) face for challenging bias.

Besides having the social power to challenge the racial status quo, Whites observe others engaging in bias, and therefore have ample opportunity to confront. In one study, White undergraduates reported hearing an average of 8.83 racist comments per week (Dickter & Newton, 2013). This figure does not account for the additional prejudiced statements participants heard being directed at other target groups (i.e., women and homosexuals) (Dickter & Newton, 2013). These weekly encounters with racial prejudice provide potential allies with the chance to stand up to perpetrators and challenge the status quo.

In contrast to ally confronters, members of racially stigmatized groups are vulnerable to the social costs of confronting. Social costs are the penalties one might incur for confronting. Executing the confrontation could result in being negatively evaluated by the perpetrator or other passive bystanders. Kaiser and Miller (2001) demonstrated that when a Black student made a claim of discrimination, participants labeled the student as a complainer and rated him as hypersensitive. In another study, participants who were accused of racism rated confronters as more of a complainer and were less accepting of the confrontation message when the confronters were Black rather than White (Gulker, Mark & Monteith, 2012).

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 outgroup members compared to when a fellow-ingroup member makes the same criticism. This intergroup sensitivity effect emerges because outgroup criticisms are viewed as less

constructive and less legitimate than the same criticisms from an ingroup member (Hornsey et al., 2002).

These social costs often deter targets from engaging in assertive confrontations. The greater the threat of inciting ridicule, dislike, or anger from the perpetrator, the lesser the likelihood of confronting (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012). Confronting can be especially costly when targets are concerned with making a good impression – such as during a job interview (Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Given the social constraints placed upon target confronters, allies emerge as a viable group to recruit in the effort to combat racism.

Several studies have noted the benefits of allies compared to target group confronters. Ally confronters elicit less negativity and greater feelings of compunction from perpetrators compared to target group confronters (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Compared to target group members, allies are rated as more persuasive for confronting (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). White ally confronters are a surprising source of the confrontation message because they challenge expectations about who might normally stand up to racial bias (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Also, assuming that the perpetrator is a fellow in-group member, ally confronters can help promote egalitarian norms endorsed by their racial in-group (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006). In fact, allies are liked and respected more when they decide to confront fellow ingroup members for offensive racist comments compared to when they do not confront (Dickter, Kittel & Gyurovski, 2012).

Barriers to Confronting

Research by Ashburn-Nardo and colleagues (2008) suggests that social costs are not the only barrier to ally confronting. The Confronting Prejudiced Responses model (CPR) delineates five steps that precede confrontations. This model was based on early work by Latané and Darley (1969) on bystander intervention. The CPR model posits that challenges during any of these five steps could short-circuit the decision to confront. According to the authors, the CPR model provides a heuristic for understanding the many hurdles allies face in the decision to confront. It does not provide an exhaustive account of the myriad direct or indirect effects – or the possible conditional nature of such factors – that predict confrontations. In designing an intervention to increase ally confrontation, it is more pragmatic to address these barriers broadly, rather than focus on the many possible permutations that predict confronting.

The first step in the CPR model is to detect discrimination. The subtle nature of modern prejudice and individual differences in the likelihood of detecting discrimination pose a barrier to this first step (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1998). For example, individuals who endorse colorblind racial ideology reject confrontations of racial bias (Zou & Dickter, 2013). However, allies may move quickly through this first step if they possess chronic egalitarian or activist goals (Hyers, 2007; Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, & Wasel, 1999). Such individuals may be quicker at identifying instances of prejudice. An intervention to increase ally confrontations may address this barrier by encouraging vigilance toward racist incidents.

The second step involves deciding if a situation is serious enough to warrant a response. Individuals are unlikely to confront a statement that they do not find highly offensive (Dickter,

2012; Dickter & Newton, 2013) or serious (Mallett, Ford & Woodzicka, 2016; Woodzicka, Mallett, Hendricks & Pruitt, 2015). Therefore, it is important to alert ally confronters to the deleterious effects of seemingly innocuous racist comments and jokes.

In the third step, allies must take personal responsibility to intervene. Allies who express a commitment to anti-racism are likely to feel a sense of responsibility to confront racial bias. Studies have shown that an individual commitment to social activism predicts confronting (Swim & Hyers, 1999). For example, women who self-identify as feminists are more likely to confront compared to those who do not endorse this identity (Ayers, Friedman & Leaper, 2009).

Before they finally decide to confront, the fourth step in the CPR model is for allies to identify an appropriate response. Allies may not have much experience dealing with racism. Therefore, they may not feel equipped with appropriate confrontation responses (Dickter & Newton, 2013). Additionally, they may feel constrained by politeness norms (Swim & Hyers, 1999). To overcome this possible barrier, allies could be trained in confrontation responses (Plous, 2000). Research shows that such interventions increase confrontations of bias (Lamb, Bigler, Liben & Green, 2009; Lawson, Bodle & McDonough, 2007).

Even after overcoming these first four barriers, allies may still decide not to confront because the anticipated costs outweigh the potential benefits. This reluctance could stem from two sources. First, allies may not believe that confronting will make a difference because they may not believe in the capacity for others to change. Rattan and Dweck (2010) demonstrated that implicit personality theories directly predict the motivation to confront. Individuals who

endorsed an incremental theory (i.e., belief that others can change) were more willing to confront compared to those who endorsed an entity theory (i.e., belief that personalities are fixed).

Second, allies may be reluctant to confront because they fear the social costs of confronting. The prospect of confronting cues the threat of inciting ridicule, dislike, or anger from the perpetrator, and these anticipated social costs decrease the likelihood of confronting (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012). These costs of confronting could include economic deprivation – such as when a woman is faced with the decision to confront sexually harassing job interview questions (Shelton & Stewart, 2004), or physical retaliation (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). In fact, when perpetrators occupy positions of social power, this has an even stronger inhibiting effect on the decision to confront (Ashburn-Nardo, Blanchar, Petersson, Morris & Goodwin, 2014). An intervention to increase the likelihood of confrontation could address this final hurdle by noting the efficacy of confrontations. That is, allies should be made aware that confronting could change perpetrators' behavior.

Considering the low rates of confrontation, and the many possible barriers to confronting, it is important to consider ways to overcome these barriers and increase confrontation. This is especially important for White allies who encounter instances of racial bias because they are uniquely suited to challenge the racist status quo. Persuasive appeals are an important topic of social psychological inquiry, and have been applied to prejudice reduction in such contexts as workplace diversity training and public service announcements (Paluck &

Green, 2009). The current studies attempt to combine theories of persuasion with the known antecedents of confronting in the service of increasing confrontations of racial bias.

CHAPTER THREE

USING PERSUASION THEORIES TO INCREASE CONFRONTATION

There is a disconnect between people's attitudes and their behavior regarding confrontation. The research reviewed above suggests that bystanders have volitional control over the decision to confront. If this is true, then what ought to predict people's confrontation behavior is their willingness to confront. With this rationale in mind, much of the research on confronting focuses on the antecedents of people's willingness to confront, including a range of dispositional and situational factors. However, the low incidence of confronting suggests that focusing on people's willingness to confront is insufficient for increasing confrontation behavior.

We know that many individuals have a favorable view of confronting, yet they refrain from engaging in this behavior (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Therefore, additional research is needed to account for the discrepancy between people's desire to confront and their actual confrontation behavior. The current studies attempt to fill this theoretical gap. I will explore the effect of pro-confrontation persuasive appeals on ally confronting behavior.

Interventions to Increase Confrontation

The proposed studies are unique in recommending persuasion as an intervention to increase ally confrontation. While there have been nearly 1,000 studies investigating prejudice reduction interventions (see Paluck & Green, 2009 for a review), only two studies address interventions aimed at increasing confrontation (i.e., Lamb, Bigler, Liben & Green, 2009; Lawson, Bodle & McDonough, 2007). These confrontation interventions suggest that training people to engage in confrontation can increase the likelihood of confronting.

For example, Plous (2000) developed 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 a focus on reducing rather than reinforcing prejudice. Students took turns playing the role of speaker (i.e., the perpetrator of the prejudiced comment), responder (i.e., the confronter), and coach (i.e., 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 that might minimize negative reactions from the perpetrator. One general recommendation was to approach the perpetrator with respect rather than self-righteous indignation (Plous, 2000). Another recommendation was to remember that many people do not intend to come across as prejudiced, therefore it would be unproductive to try and convince someone to stop being prejudiced. Instead, it is better to alert them to how their behavior affects others. 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 their evaluation of the intervention, participants reported that they felt more prepared to deal with daily encounters with prejudice after completing the role-playing exercise (Plous, 2000).

Lawson, Bodle and McDonough (2007) experimentally tested the effectiveness of the Plous (2000) strategies for increasing students' likelihood of confronting prejudice. They 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 could address the barrier of generating an appropriate confrontation response (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008).

Despite the possible benefits, training interventions do little to address the other barriers present in the CPR model. Even with a reservoir of potential confrontation strategies, people may refrain from confronting because they do not feel personally responsible to address a given instance of prejudice, or because they doubt the effectiveness of confrontation as a prejudice reduction strategy.

Persuasive Appeals to Increase Confrontation

Merely presenting allies with confrontation strategies would not motivate them to employ the strategies in their everyday lives. However, theories of persuasion suggest that people might be convinced to change their behavior following a persuasive appeal. A persuasive message needs to be appropriately processed by the message recipient in order for attitude change to occur. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) developed the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) of persuasion, which accounts for two possible routes by which individuals process a persuasive appeal. The first route – known as the central route – involves controlled, effortful processing whereas the second route – known as the peripheral route – relies on automatic, effortless processing. According to the ELM, individuals' motivation and ability to elaborate on a persuasive message determine whether they take the central or the peripheral route. The route by which you are persuaded determines whether you are moved more by the merits of the persuasive argument (i.e., central route), or by some peripheral cue (i.e., peripheral route).

Motivation and ability to elaborate. Motivation describes one's desire to expend mental effort in processing the persuasive message. Someone might not care enough to attend to a persuasive message promoting confrontation. One reason they may not care is because the topic of confronting racism does not seem personally relevant. For Whites who may not have a vested interest in dismantling racism, the issue of personal relevance is particularly important. However, many Whites possess egalitarian motives (Moskowitz, Gollwitzer & Wasel, 1999). These chronic egalitarians may see the issue of anti-Black racism as personally important, and

could become allies in the anti-prejudice movement. It is reasonable to assume that someone who self-identifies as an ally would not only perceive anti-racism messages as personally relevant, but may also feel a sense of personal responsibility to comply with the advocated message.

An individual's ability to process a persuasive appeal depends in part on the availability of cognitive resources. In other words, any influence that taxes cognitive resources will impede an individual's ability to elaborate, even if they are motivated to process the message. Factors like distraction, time-pressure, cognitive load, and message comprehensibility can hinder individuals' ability to elaborate (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Therefore, it is important to consider these factors when crafting a persuasive message that promotes confrontation.

Persuasion variables. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) acknowledge that characteristics of the source, message, recipient, and context are important persuasion variables, however they do not explicitly operationalize these constructs. Instead, they refer to seminal persuasion research that framed these variables in the form of a question, "Who says what to whom in what channel?" I will discuss how each of these persuasion variables impacts the pro-confrontation message in light of the current studies.

The source's credibility and similarity with the message recipient influence the persuasiveness of a pro-confrontation message. According to Petty and Wegener (1998), sources are perceived as highly credible when they demonstrate both expertise and trustworthiness. In presenting a pro-confrontation message, it will be important to present the message from a credible source. This source should have expertise on the topic of

confrontation; they should be able to point to sound scientific rationale for confrontation as a prejudice reduction strategy. Additionally, having the message endorsed by a celebrity could enhance persuasiveness.

In order to produce attitude change, the source should be seen as trustworthy. By advocating for an anti-racism message, the source may be seen as having a vested interest in the topic. This could undermine perceived trustworthiness among message recipients who might be inclined to reject or counter argue the message because the source would be seen as biased.

Sources who are similar to the message recipient in terms of salient identity factors are likely to be viewed more favorably than dissimilar sources. For instance, if the message source was seen as a group of Black social justice advocates, White message recipients might perceive dissimilarity between themselves and the source. This perceived dissimilarity could hinder allies from evaluating the persuasive message favorably. However, if the message is endorsed by an outgroup celebrity, this peripheral cue could outweigh the barriers of trustworthiness and dissimilarity. For example, if the pro-confrontation message was endorsed by Beyoncé, White allies who have an affinity towards her might be inclined to comply with the request given her perceived physical attractiveness and trustworthiness.

Regarding the message, a pro-confrontation persuasive appeal should address the barriers to confronting discussed in the CPR model. Allies are likely to have the ability to identify instances of prejudice relative to non-allies. Therefore, the pro-confrontation message need not address this first hurdle to confronting. However, the message may need to highlight

the seriousness of racism, and alert message recipients to the responsibility they have to respond. In order to enable allies to respond, the message could be followed-up with a presentation of confrontation strategies. Finally, the message should prompt recipients to overcome possible fears related to confronting.

This message would be processed differently for recipients who take the central route compared to the peripheral route. Therefore, it is important to include both strong persuasive arguments that would appeal to central route processors and superficial cues that would convince a peripheral processor. Another recipient factor that influences people's processing ability is their prior knowledge on the topic. Prior knowledge biases individuals processing in the direction of their prior attitudes (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). That is, if people have a negative view of confrontation, they may have a difficult time being convinced that confrontation is a good thing. The message recipients are unlikely to have prior knowledge on the utility of confrontations for prejudice reduction. Therefore, prior knowledge is unlikely to serve as a peripheral cue or to bias information processing. However, this lack of prior knowledge may motivate recipients to more carefully process the message. The present study will use this knowledge gap as an opportunity to shape new attitudes about this unfamiliar topic.

One critical context variable is distraction. Distracting influences disrupt cognitive processing. This could have one of two effects: (1) it could decrease persuasion by interfering with favorable thoughts generated in response to the message; or (2) it could increase persuasion by interfering with counter arguing. Distraction is particularly problematic when the source has little control over the environment in which the message is received. For instance,

many message recipients encounter persuasive messages in highly distracting contexts such as in crowded public places (e.g., malls, airports, or public transit). Additionally, traditional advertisements are often encountered on television or online where recipients' attention is already divided.

According to the ELM, these source, message, recipient, and context variables can affect the amount and direction of attitude change in one of three ways. First, when elaboration likelihood is high, these variables can serve as persuasive arguments. Persuasive arguments consist of pieces of information that enable an individual to determine the merits of the presented message. When elaboration is high, a message containing strong persuasive arguments will be more persuasive than one containing weak arguments. Second, under conditions of low elaboration, variables can influence persuasion by serving as peripheral cues. These cues trigger acceptance or rejection of the persuasive message without involving argument processing. Third, these persuasion variables could affect the extent or direction of message processing. This can occur in either an objective or biased manner. When functioning objectively, variables can increase argument scrutiny. When functioning in a biased fashion, the same variable could impact the favorability of the thoughts generated.

Taken together, we know that allies face many barriers in the decision to confront. However, we also know that people are susceptible to persuasion attempts, and we can construct a message that encourages confrontation. Depending on allies' motivation and ability to process such a message, they could be swayed by the merits of the argument or by some other superficial cue. Characteristics of the message, source, recipient, and context are

important considerations. However, we can enhance the persuasiveness of the pro-confrontation message by incorporating the theory of regulatory fit.

CHAPTER FOUR

REGULATORY FIT AND CONFRONTATION

According to regulatory focus theory, individuals are motivated to adopt either a promotion focus or a prevention focus when pursuing their goals. That is, there are dispositional and situational differences in whether people are primarily oriented toward promoting positive outcomes or preventing negative ones (Higgins, 2000). Furthermore, individuals can differ in the means by which they pursue any given goal. Regulatory focus theory refers to these means as either eagerness or vigilance. I will refer to them as approach (i.e., eagerness) or avoidance (i.e., vigilance) strategies for consistency.

The theory of regulatory fit was developed from regulatory focus theory. Regulatory fit theory suggests that there is a natural fit between certain goal orientations and means of goal pursuit. Promotion focus fits approach strategies while prevention focus fits avoidance strategies (Higgins, 2000). The relative favorability of an outcome (i.e., costs and benefits) determines the value of that decision, or how the decision is evaluated. However, according to regulatory fit theory, outcome value is not the sole source of perceived value. Rather, people can perceive value – or worth – from the experience of regulatory fit. In other words, regardless of the outcome, when the means of goal-pursuit fit the individual's regulatory focus, the value of what they are doing increases (Higgins, 2000).

There are five postulates that explain the value-from-fit hypothesis. Specifically, under conditions of higher regulatory fit: (a) strategies that fit people's regulatory orientation are preferred over those that do not fit; (b) people will be more motivated during goal pursuit; (c) prospective feelings about future decisions will be stronger (i.e., more positive for a desirable choice and more negative for an undesirable choice); (d) evaluations of past decisions will be more favorable; and (e) objects will be assigned higher value. When people experience regulatory fit, they feel better about the activity they are engaged in and are more strongly engaged in the pursuit of the goal.

The value-from-fit hypothesis could predict responses to a pro-confrontation message because people's decisions are not solely driven by outcome value. People also perceive value from regulatory fit. One way to achieve regulatory fit is through message framing. Persuasive messages could be framed in terms of approach or avoidance strategies. That is, a message source could convince the recipient to pursue their goals by either approaching desired end-states or by avoiding undesirable ones. If the proposed strategy aligned with recipients' chronic regulatory orientation, regulatory fit would result. Additionally, regulatory fit could be situationally induced through subtle priming manipulations that momentarily activate a particular regulatory focus. However, if the proposed strategy failed to align with someone's regulatory focus, there would be misfit.

If people were solely concerned with outcome value, they may avoid confronting because they do not see the value or utility of confronting. However, if people perceive value from fit, this could increase favorable attitudes toward confronting. Specifically, if the

confrontation message frame matches the recipient's regulatory focus, they would experience regulatory fit, and this experience in itself would connote value.

Regulating Prejudice

The idea that individuals can self-regulate the expression of prejudice is not new (e.g., Devine, 1989; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). For instance, Devine (1989) argued that an egalitarian person could inhibit automatically activated stereotypes through controlled processes. Monteith (1993) developed a model describing the process by which low-prejudice individuals exhibit inhibitory responses after experiencing a prejudice-related discrepancy. Similarly, Crandall and Eshleman (2003) posited that people attempt to suppress their prejudice unless there is a viable justification for expressing it. Examples of justifications are stereotypic beliefs, ideologies, and attributions.

One thing that these theories share is the notion that self-regulation of prejudiced responses involves suppression or inhibition of underlying prejudice. That is, individuals often have anti-prejudice goals, and therefore expend effort to avoid responding in a biased manner. Thus, someone would need a prevention regulatory focus to achieve the goal of inhibiting expressions of prejudice. The dual-process notion of prejudice self-regulation suggests that there are two routes by which individuals can control their prejudice. They could adopt anti-bias goals and avoid the expression of prejudice, or they could adopt egalitarian goals and approach desired end-states.

One of the earliest studies to test the dual-process notion of prejudice reduction was conducted by Trawalter and Richeson (2006). They found that adopting a prevention rather

than a promotion focus in an interracial interaction led to greater cognitive impairment. That is, among White participants who were concerned about appearing racist, efforts to avoid expressions of bias depleted their cognitive resources. In contrast, those who regulated their prejudice by adopting a promotion focus showed less cognitive impairment. This study and previous research on the self-regulation of prejudice suggests that people's default strategy is to adopt an avoidance focus. Together, these findings suggest that this strategy is cognitively depleting for individuals who wish to avoid the appearance of prejudice.

The current studies test the idea that avoidance strategies need not necessarily result in negative outcomes. Participants in Trawalter and Richeson's (2006) study were asked to adopt a particular regulatory strategy. They were either told to adopt an avoidance strategy or to adopt an approach strategy. The researchers did not measure or manipulate regulatory focus. According to regulatory fit theory, regulatory strategies are operationally distinct from regulatory focus. Therefore, it is possible that participants' chronic regulatory focus did not change with the strategy manipulation in the Trawalter and Richeson (2006) study. The current studies will manipulate regulatory focus and regulatory strategies orthogonally to investigate the distinct role that regulatory fit plays in ally confrontation.

Regulatory Fit, Persuasion, and Prejudice Reduction

Phills, Santelli, Kawakami, Struthers and Higgins (2011) used the idea of regulatory fit to increase the effectiveness of anti-racism persuasive messages. The rationale was that individuals could be persuaded to pursue the goal of prejudice reduction using the aforementioned dual process approach. That is, they could either be convinced to approach

egalitarianism or avoid prejudice. The researchers predicted that participants would pursue these strategies more intensely when the contextual valence of the persuasive appeal matched the situationally-induced regulatory strategy (study 1) or when they experienced regulatory fit (study 2). Phillips and colleagues (2011) further predicted that matching regulatory strategies with contextual valence and regulatory focus would lead to reductions in implicit prejudice – as measured by the Implicit Associations Test.

In study 1, the researchers manipulated the instructions for adopting a particular prejudice reduction strategy through an anti-racism advertisement. Participants were either encouraged to ‘say yes to equality’ or ‘say no to prejudice’. They also manipulated the contextual valence of the advertisement by including images of racial harmony or discord. They then measured participants’ implicit prejudice and found that implicit prejudice decreased when there was a match between the regulatory strategy and the contextual valence. Specifically, when participants saw images of racial harmony paired with instructions to ‘say yes to equality,’ there was a reduction in their implicit prejudice. Similarly, when participants saw images of racial discord paired with instructions to ‘say no to prejudice,’ they showed a decrease in implicit prejudice.

In study 2, the researchers manipulated regulatory focus by priming participants with either a promotion or a prevention focus via an autobiographical writing task. As in study 1, Phillips et al. (2011) manipulated the prejudice reduction strategy. However, instead of using an anti-racism advertisement, they gave participants feedback regarding their use of stereotypes in a photograph inference task. That is, participants were either told that they should try to be

egalitarian like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., or avoid being prejudiced like the KKK. The researchers found that implicit prejudice was only reduced when there was a match between the regulatory focus prime and the prejudice-reduction strategy. When people in a promotion-focus condition were told to adopt an approach strategy and when people in a prevention-focus condition were told to adopt an avoidance strategy, implicit prejudice decreased.

Together, these studies by Phills et al. (2011) suggest that when people experience regulatory fit, a message encouraging prejudice reduction is more effective compared to when they experience misfit. Furthermore, study 1 suggests that people may be responsive to an advertisement encouraging prejudice reduction, but that the content and context of the message are important. These findings are consistent with the literature on attitude change from the ELM, which suggests that it is important to consider who says what to whom and in which context.

By highlighting participants' prejudice in study 2, Phills and colleagues (2011) confronted participants for their biased responses. Although they did not directly test the prediction that confrontation leads to prejudice reduction, their findings offer additional support for the efficacy of confrontation in reducing prejudice. Unlike the work by Trawalter and Richeson (2006), which suggests that a prevention focus can lead to negative outcomes, Phills and colleagues (2011) demonstrated that either type of strategy could work when there is a match with someone's regulatory focus.

The current studies will build on Phills and colleagues (2011) by constructing persuasive messages to encourage ally confrontations of racial bias. Allies may be persuaded to confront

bias if the message frame fits their salient regulatory focus. To induce fit, allies would be primed with a prevention focus and asked to confront in order to avoid bias or they could be primed with a promotion focus and asked to confront in order to promote equality. By inducing fit, rather than misfit, allies may be more inclined to respond favorably to the pro-confrontation message (Cesario, Higgins & Scholer, 2008).

Despite demonstrating that regulatory fit increases persuasiveness (Cesario, Higgins & Scholer, 2008) and reduces implicit racism (Phills et al., 2011), researchers have not tested the effectiveness of the regulatory focus manipulation. One critical component of experimental research is to explain observed changes in a dependent variable by isolating and constraining all other influences besides the independent variable (Haslam & McGarty, 2004). One way to claim that the manipulated variable had the intended effect is to conduct a manipulation check. To my knowledge, only one previous study included a test of the regulatory focus manipulation using a 2-item measure (Wan, Hong & Sternthal, 2008). For the current studies, I will more thoroughly test the effectiveness of the regulatory focus manipulation by conducting a pilot study using a manipulation of regulatory focus from Higgins and colleagues (2001).

Feeling Right about the Persuasive Message

While Phills and colleagues (2011) showed that regulatory fit increases persuasion with both a simple contextual valence manipulation (i.e., study 1) and a detailed message frame manipulation (i.e., study 2), the researchers did not examine the mechanism involved. According to regulatory fit theory, a match between goal strategies and regulatory focus makes people 'feel right.' The present study will replicate and extend the work of Phills and colleagues

(2011) by investigating the impact of regulatory fit on confrontation behavior and by explicitly measuring subjective experiences of 'feeling right' about the message.

According to Cesario, Grant, and Higgins (2004), regulatory fit increases persuasion because feeling right could be perceived as relevant to the decision. This proposition is derived from the feelings-as-information model, which states that people use phenomenological experiences as information in decision-making. For example, if someone considers the decision to confront, they may ask themselves, "How do I feel about it?" Irrelevant preexisting feelings may influence the judgment at hand because people often confuse the source of their affective experiences. Given this source confusion, 'feeling right' from regulatory fit can be transferred to the evaluation of the pro-confrontation message thereby leading people to feel right about what they hear. Source confusion is also referred to as the misattribution effect because people misattribute the source of their affective experiences. This misattribution effect only emerges when someone perceives the feelings as relevant to the judgment and cannot attribute them to another source.

Across four studies, Cesario, Grant, and Higgins (2004) tested the effect of regulatory fit on persuasion through transfer from feeling right. They found that regulatory fit increased agreement with and persuasiveness of a pro-health message. They also demonstrated that this effect was independent of mood. Furthermore, when participants were made aware of the source of feeling right, the effect of regulatory fit was eliminated. In other words, when the misattribution of 'feeling right' was blocked, participants were equally persuaded in both the fit and misfit conditions.

However, the study by Cesario et al. (2004) showed that the effects of regulatory fit on persuasion are not uniformly positive. That is, this effect depends on the favorability of thoughts generated in response to the persuasive appeal. Under high-fit conditions, favorable thoughts increase persuasiveness whereas unfavorable thoughts decrease persuasiveness. This is because the fit effect increases 'feeling right' about what one is doing. If the thoughts generated in response to a persuasive appeal are positive, then 'feeling right' amplifies these positive thoughts and increases persuasiveness. However, if the thoughts generated are negative, 'feeling right' amplifies the negative thoughts and decreases persuasiveness. Variations in thought favorability did not influence persuasiveness in the non-fit condition (Cesario et al., 2004).

Cesario and Higgins (2008) tested whether 'feeling right' influenced the effectiveness of a persuasive appeal. They used a subtle manipulation of body language to influence whether message recipients interpreted a message frame as either approach or avoidance oriented. Consistent with regulatory fit theory, the researchers found that a match between the message frame and recipients' chronic regulatory focus resulted in greater perceived message effectiveness. Furthermore, this match – or regulatory fit – also increased subjective feelings of 'rightness' in response to the message. The more that participants felt right, the more effective they perceived the message to be. The researchers did not explicitly test whether feeling right mediated the link between regulatory fit and perceived effectiveness despite the fact that regulatory fit increased message effectiveness and feelings of 'rightness.' The present study

attempts to resolve this methodological gap by testing the mechanism by which regulatory fit impacts persuasiveness for a pro-confrontation appeal.

CHAPTER FIVE

STUDY DESIGN

Confrontation has the potential to reduce racial bias, especially when performed by an ally confronter. However, there are many barriers that could keep allies from spontaneously deciding to confront. Together, the theories of persuasion and regulatory fit provide an opportunity to develop interventions to increase ally confrontation of anti-Black racism. I will construct a persuasive appeal to encourage confrontation behavior. It will not be enough to simply encourage allies to confront. I will also equip them with specific confrontation strategies (e.g., Plous, 2000; Swim & Hyers, 1999). This message will provide recipients with ways to enact the desired behavior.

To increase the persuasiveness of the message, I will account for the factors that influence the elaboration likelihood. Specifically, I will measure participants' ability to process the message by including manipulation and attention check items (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Most research participants diligently assume the role of 'experimental participant' and comply with experimental instructions (Orne, 1962). Therefore, I will assume that participants are motivated to process the pro-confrontation message. Additionally, individuals who espouse egalitarian values will be motivated to process the message because it is personally relevant (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). High motivation and ability to elaborate suggest that participants are likely to carefully consider the

merits of the pro-confrontation argument. However, if people lack either the motivation or the ability to process this message, they may still be convinced to confront. This is because our message would contain superficial cues to entice people to engage. The persuasiveness of the message will depend on whether the message frame matches participants' regulatory focus. The proposed research is unique in suggesting that regulatory fit could improve the persuasiveness of a pro-confrontation appeal.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Priming participants with a promotion focus will increase state levels of promotion focus, and priming participants with a prevention focus will increase state levels of prevention focus.

Hypothesis 2: (a) There will be an interaction between participants' regulatory focus and message frame predicting 'feeling right' about the message. When participants experience regulatory fit – compared to non-fit – they will be more likely to 'feel right.' Participants will experience a **promotion-fit** when a promotion-focused prime is paired with an 'increase equality' message frame and **prevention-fit** when a prevention-focused prime is paired with a 'decrease prejudice' message frame. Conversely, participants will experience a **promotion non-fit** when a promotion-focused prime is paired with a 'decrease prejudice' message frame and **prevention non-fit** when a prevention-focused prime is paired with an 'increase equality' message frame.

(b) There will be an interaction between participants' regulatory focus and message frame predicting confrontation behavior for an imagined chat partner. When participants

experience regulatory fit, they will be more likely to confront an imagined chat partner (see Figure 1) compared to when they experience non-fit (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Predicting increased confrontation from regulatory fit

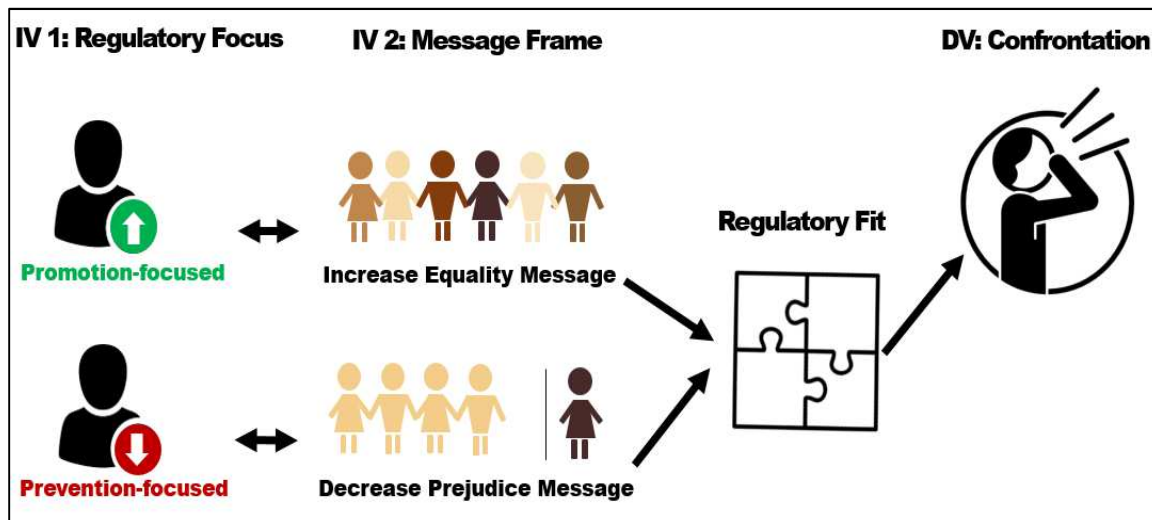
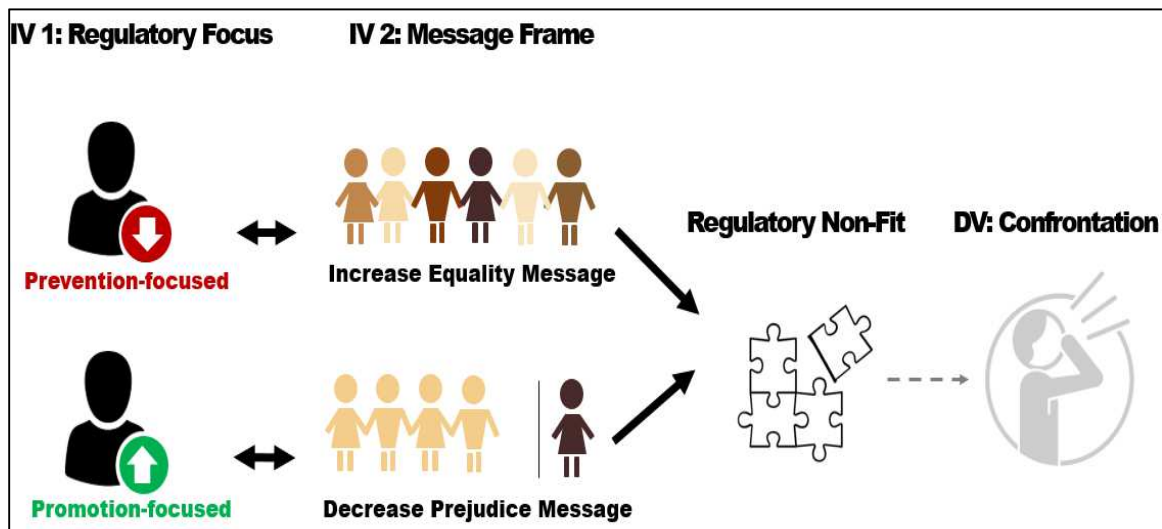


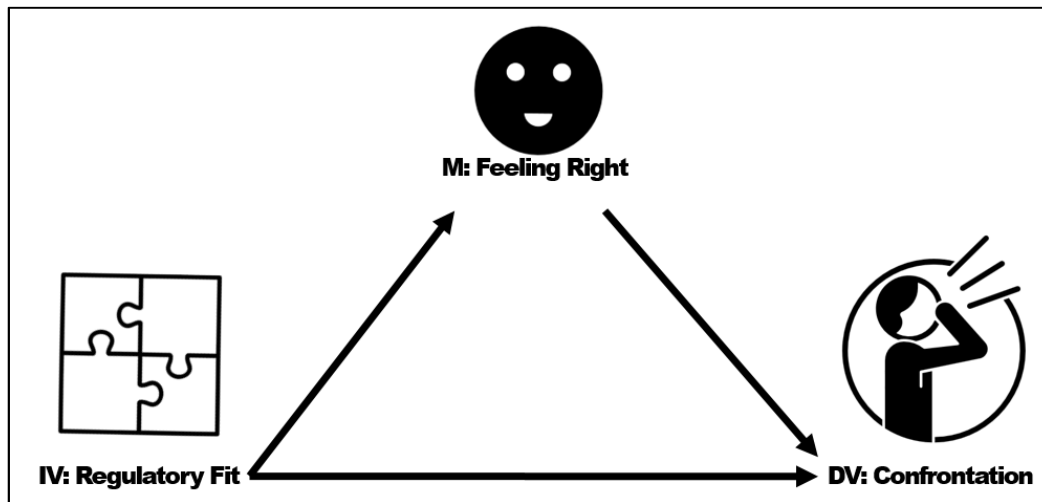
Figure 2. Predicting no change in confrontation from regulatory non-fit



(c) When participants experience regulatory fit – compared to non-fit – they will be more likely to self-report future confrontation intentions.

(d) The effect of regulatory fit on confrontation behavior will be mediated by ‘feeling right’ about the pro-confrontation message (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Theoretical mediation model predicting confrontation from regulatory fit through feeling right about the pro-confrontation message.



Hypothesis 3: (a) When participants experience regulatory fit – compared to misfit – they will be more likely to feel right about the pro-confrontation message.

(b) When participants experience regulatory fit – compared to non-fit – they will be more likely to confront a live chat partner.

(c) When participants experience regulatory fit – compared to non-fit – they will be more likely to self-report future confrontation intentions.

(d) The effect of regulatory fit on confrontation behavior will be mediated by ‘feeling right’ about the pro-confrontation message

Pilot Study 1

The purpose of the pilot study was to test hypothesis 1, that priming participants with a promotion focus will increase state levels of promotion focus, and priming participants with a prevention focus will increase state levels of prevention focus.

Pilot Study 1 Method

Design

I used a 2(regulatory focus prime: promotion, prevention) between-subjects design to assess the relative effectiveness of priming either a promotion or prevention focus on participants' state regulatory focus.

Prospective Power Analysis

Higgins and colleagues (2001) found a medium effect size ($r = .36$) for their regulatory focus manipulation. I used a similar effect size ($r = .30$) to estimate the sample size necessary to detect an effect at 80% power. G*Power statistical software indicated that a sample of $n = 82$ participants would be required to achieve 80% power to detect effects (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). In anticipation that some participants would guess the purpose of the study, fail a manipulation check, or fail to fully complete the survey materials, I recruited additional participants.

Participants

I recruited a sample of 196 White, adult U.S. residents using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (M-Turk) website. Participants received \$0.50 compensation for their participation. Data from 26 participants was excluded due to participants' failure to follow study procedure. Of the

remaining 170 participants, the majority were female ($n = 103$). Participants gave consent by agreeing to take part in the study.

Procedure

Prior to indicating informed consent, participants were alerted to the general study procedures. Participants were told that they would complete a short autobiographical recall task and respond to several survey questions about their personality.

Materials and Measures

Demographics screener. All materials were presented via the experimental survey software Inquisit, by Millisecond Software. All procedures were approved prior to data collection by the Loyola University Chicago Institutional Review Board (IRB). All participants responded to a series of demographic questions assessing their eligibility to participate in the study. In order to participate in the study, survey respondents must have indicated that they were White, U.S. citizens, and over 18 years old. They also reported their sex.

Regulatory focus questionnaire. Participants completed the 11-item Regulatory Focus Questionnaire (RFQ) (Higgins et al., 2001), which assesses their chronic regulatory focus using a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *extremely* (see Appendix A for RFQ). The promotion sub-scale is comprised of six items ($\alpha = .72$). For example, one item that measures promotion focus is, "I have often accomplished things that got me 'psyched' to work even harder." The prevention sub-scale is comprised of eight items ($\alpha = .80$). One item that measures prevention focus is, "Not being careful enough has gotten me into trouble at times."

Attention check items. To mask the true purpose of the survey instrument, the RFQ was embedded among nine filler questions and one attention check question. A sample filler question is, "I feel that I have less scholastic ability than others" (see Appendix B for filler and attention check items). The purpose of the attention check item was to ensure that participants paid careful attention to the experimental procedure (Meade & Craig, 2012).

Distractor task. To create temporal distance from the measure of participants' chronic regulatory focus, I administered a distractor task (See Appendix C). Participants completed a measure of word fluency (Borkowski, Benton & Spreen, 1967) by typing as many words as possible that begin with a certain letter. Participants completed a total of three trials using the letters A, F, and S. They were given one minute to complete each trial, with a 10 second rest between trials.

Regulatory focus manipulation. Following the distractor task, participants were randomly assigned to one of two regulatory focus manipulation conditions borrowed from Higgins et al. (2001). All participants completed an autobiographical recall task by writing about events from their past. In the prevention-focus condition, participants were asked to write about three occasions in the past when they experienced a prevention success by: (1) being careful enough to [avoid] getting into trouble; (2) [stopping themselves] from acting in a way that others considered objectionable; and (3) [being] careful not to get on other people's nerves. In the promotion-focus condition, participants were asked to write about three occasions in the past when they experienced a promotion success by: (1) [making] progress toward being successful in life; (2) [getting] what [they] wanted out of life; and (3) trying to

achieve something important, [performing] as well as [they] ideally would have liked to. See Appendix D for the exact wording of the regulatory focus autobiographical recall task.

Regulatory focus manipulation check. To test the effectiveness of the regulatory focus manipulation, I administered a measure of state regulatory focus. I created this measure by modifying items from the RFQ to focus participants' attention on their feelings in the immediate moment, rather than on generalizations from the past (Higgins et al., 2001). I also included the two regulatory focus manipulation check items used by Wan, Hong, and Sternthal (2008). This measure used a scale from 1 *definitely false* to 7 *definitely true*. Seven items made up the promotion-focus subscale ($\alpha = .83$). For example, a promotion item read, "Right now, I am doing well at different things that I try." Four items made up the prevention-focus subscale ($\alpha = .38$). A prevention item read, "Not being careful enough right now may get me into trouble." See Appendix E for the State Regulatory Focus Manipulation Check.

Hypothesis guess and debriefing. Participants then responded to three suspicion check questions to determine whether they guessed the study hypotheses (see Appendix F for hypothesis guess). Finally, all participants read a debriefing statement. See Appendix G for pilot study debriefing document.

Pilot Study 1 Results

Because the promotion sub-scale of the state RFQ was reliable, whereas the prevention sub-scale was not, I used the promotion sub-scale to test the effectiveness of the manipulation of regulatory focus. Although participants who were assigned to the promotion-focus condition ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.17$) were more likely to agree with the state RFQ promotion sub-scale

compared to participants in the prevention-focus condition ($M = 5.04, SD = 1.00$), an independent samples t-test showed that these differences did not reach statistical significance, $t(168) = -1.40, p = .16$.

Next, I tested the effectiveness of the manipulation by comparing participants' baseline RFQ scores to their state RFQ scores following the regulatory focus manipulation. Although this is not a true pre-test, post-test procedure, I expected state level regulatory focus to shift in the direction of the experimental manipulation participants were exposed to. Among participants assigned to the promotion-focus condition, a paired-samples t-test revealed that participants were significantly more likely to agree with the state promotion-focus items at time 2 ($M = 5.27, SD = 1.17$), compared to the traditional promotion-focus taken at time 1 ($M = 4.97, SD = 0.98$), $t(91) = -4.12, p = .001$. Similarly, among participants assigned to the prevention-focus condition, a paired-samples t-test revealed that participants were significantly more likely to agree with the state prevention focus items at time 2 ($M = 5.08, SD = 0.97$), compared to the traditional prevention focus items at time 1 ($M = 4.56, SD = 1.20$), $t(77) = -4.26, p = .001$. In other words, after completing the regulatory focus manipulation, participants were more likely to agree with RFQ sub-scale items matching their assigned condition.

Only one published study has reported a manipulation check testing the effectiveness of a regulatory focus manipulation (Wan et al., 2008). The findings from Pilot Study 1 partially replicated this effect by demonstrating that participants' chronic regulatory focus is susceptible to momentary shifts in the direction of the regulatory focus condition they were assigned to.

Pilot Study 2

Given the mixed findings from the first pilot study, I conducted a second pilot study to strengthen the manipulation of regulatory focus. The materials and procedure for Pilot Study 2 were similar to those for Pilot Study 1, with a few minor adjustments. Specifically, I removed the initial RFQ preceding the experimental manipulation to examine the effect of randomly assigning participants to the two experimental conditions without initially priming the constructs of past prevention or promotion success. I included two more regulatory focus manipulations in addition to the existing Higgins et al. (2001) autobiographical recall task to strengthen the manipulation.

Pilot Study 2 Method

Design

I used the same 2(regulatory focus: promotion, prevention) between-subjects design to assess the relative effectiveness of priming either a promotion or prevention focus on participants' state regulatory focus.

Participants

I recruited a sample of 164 White, adult U.S. residents using M-Turk. Participants received \$0.50 compensation for their participation. Data from 16 participants was excluded due to participants' failure to follow study procedure. Of the remaining 148 participants, the majority were female ($n = 90$). Participants gave consent by agreeing to take part in the study.

Procedure

Participants completed the demographics screener and consent procedure from Pilot Study 1. They were then randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions (i.e., prevention or promotion). In addition to the autobiographical task describe in Pilot Study 1, participants also completed a proverb task and a word fragment completion task that matched their assigned condition. Finally, participants completed the same hypothesis guess and suspicion check items as in Pilot Study 1 before seeing a debriefing statement.

Materials and Measures

Proverb task. Participants completed a proverb interpretation task borrowed from van Stekelenburg (2006). Participants were told that they would view a series of proverbs, explain each proverb in their own words, and then rate how much each saying applied to their life using a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *very much*. Participants assigned to the prevention focus condition responded to four prevention-themed proverbs such as, “Don’t put all your eggs in one basket.” Participants in the promotion focus condition responded to four promotion-themed proverbs such as, “When the going gets tough, the tough get going.” See Appendix H for the regulatory focus proverbs.

Word fragment completion task. Participants received a word fragment completion task used in Wan, Hong and Sternthal (2008). Participants in the prevention-focus condition saw four words related to prevention (i.e., safe, vigilant, secure, prevent), whereas participants in the promotion-focus condition saw four words related to promotion (i.e., eager, promote, active, growth). For each word, two letters were missing, and participants were asked to fill in

the missing letters to complete the word. Participants were then asked to use each word in a sentence.

Autobiographical recall task. Next, participants completed the autobiographical recall task used to manipulate regulatory focus in Pilot Study 1 (Higgins et al., 2001). As a reminder, all participants were given three writing prompts and were asked to write about each prompt for two minutes. Participants in the promotion-focus condition were asked to recall promotion successes, whereas participants in the prevention-focus condition were asked to recall prevention successes.

Dependent measure. To test the effectiveness of the additional regulatory focus manipulations in Pilot Study 2, I administered the 11-item measure of state regulatory focus used in Pilot Study 1 (modified from Higgins et al., 2001). Responses were on a scale from 1 *definitely false*, to 7 *definitely true*. Consistent with findings from Pilot Study 1, the promotion-focus sub-scale was reliable ($\alpha = .78$), however, the prevention-focus sub-scale was not reliable ($\alpha = .09$).

Pilot Study 2 Results

Consistent with the procedure from Pilot Study 1, I used the promotion sub-scale of the state RFQ to test the effectiveness of the manipulation of regulatory focus using an independent samples t-test because the promotion sub-scale was reliable, whereas the prevention sub-scale was not. As expected, participants assigned to the promotion-focus condition were significantly more likely to agree with the state RFQ promotion sub-scale ($M = 5.33$, $SD = 0.98$) compared to participants assigned to the prevention-focus condition ($M = 4.82$,

$SD = 0.84$), $t(130) = -3.10$, $p = .002$. Whereas these results were not statistically significant in Pilot Study 1, they were significant in Pilot Study 2, indicating that the addition of two more regulatory focus inductions had the intended effect of strengthening the experimental manipulation.

Pilot Study 1 & 2 Discussion

Although I was able to produce within-category shifts in regulatory focus from pre-test to post-test in Pilot Study 1, these shifts were insufficient to produce significant differences between experimental groups in the intended direction. However, temporarily priming participants to adopt a particular regulatory focus did produce shifts in their responses to the traditional chronic RFQ measure at time 1 and the modified state RFQ at time 2.

It is possible that the single manipulation of regulatory focus was insufficient to produce a shift in momentary regulatory focus. That is, the manipulation may have been too subtle. This potential limitation was addressed in a follow-up pilot study in which two additional regulatory focus manipulations were added. I expected that adding these additional manipulations would strengthen the regulatory focus priming effect. The results from Pilot Study 2 were consistent with these predictions.

One possibility is that momentarily priming a motivational orientation that was incompatible with people's chronic orientations caused interference which may have depleted participants' cognitive resources (Lisjak, Molden & Lee, 2012). In other words, being asked to complete a state RFQ measure after receiving a regulatory focus prime incongruent with their chronic orientation may have been cognitively taxing for participants. This proposition is central

to the primed interference hypothesis. Because people's motivational orientations are considered to be knowledge structures in memory, temporarily activating a non-congruent structure may require the deployment of limited cognitive resources to reconcile the discrepancy. This possibility should be tested in future research by having participants complete a task to assess cognitive depletion.

Study 1

The purpose of Study 1 was to test Hypothesis 2. Recall that Hypothesis 2 predicted that regulatory fit (i.e., a match between participants' primed regulatory focus and the pro-confrontation message frame) would affect: (a) feeling right about the pro-confrontation message; (b) actual confrontation behavior; and (c) future confrontation intentions. Hypothesis 2d predicted that the effect of regulatory fit on confrontation behavior would be explained by the mediating mechanism of 'feeling right.'

Method

Design

I used a 3(Regulatory focus: prevention, promotion, control) x 2(Message frame: increase equality, decrease prejudice) between-subjects design.

Prospective Power Analysis

I conducted a prospective power analysis using G*Power software for six groups (i.e., three levels of regulatory focus and two levels of message frame) to achieve 80% power. Research on the effects of regulatory fit on prejudice reduction report a medium to large effect size of message frame and regulatory focus on IAT scores (Phills et al., 2011). To avoid under-

powering my study, I estimated a low-medium effect. G*Power indicated that I needed a total sample size of 158 participants. I recruited additional participants in anticipation that some participants will guess the purpose of the study, fail a manipulation check, or fail to fully complete the survey materials.

Participants

I recruited a sample of 316 White-identified, adult U.S. citizens through M-Turk. Data from 18 participants were excluded for failure to adhere to the experimental procedure. Of the remaining 298 participants, the majority were female ($n = 194$) and reported having at least some college education ($n = 250$). Participants ranged from 18 to 77 years old ($M = 39.35$, $SD = 12.27$). Participants received \$2.00 compensation for about 60 minutes of 'work' time.

Procedure

All materials were presented to the participants via the experimental survey software Inquisit, by Millisecond Software. Participants indicated consent by clicking a link to participate in the study. After reading the cover story, participants were randomly assigned to one of three regulatory focus conditions (i.e., prevention, promotion, control). Participants were also randomly assigned to one of two message frame conditions (i.e., increase equality, decrease prejudice). Together, these conditions formed the six experimental groups shown in Table 1. Four of these cells (2, 3, 5, 6) were critical to testing my hypothesis regarding the experience of regulatory fit versus non-fit.

Table 1. Six experimental groups combining regulatory focus with message frame

MESSAGE FRAME	REGULATORY FOCUS PRIME		
	Control	Prevention	Promotion
Decrease Prejudice	1. Control-decrease	3. Prevention-fit	5. Promotion non-fit
Increase Equality	2. Control-increase	4. Prevention non-fit	6. Promotion-fit

After responding to a few message recall items, all participants completed a measure of 'feeling right.' Participants were then asked to complete a dialogue with a co-worker who made a racist comment. This dialogue was coded for the presence of confrontation responses. Participants then indicated their perceptions of the dialogue before completing a measure of their future confrontation intentions.

Materials and Measures

As a cover story, Study 1 participants were told that the researchers were interested in their opinions on workplace training materials.

Regulatory focus manipulations. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three regulatory focus conditions. In each condition, participants completed the three regulatory focus manipulations used in Pilot Study 2 (i.e., proverb interpretation, word fragment completion, autobiographical recall). To conserve time, one of the four sets of proverbs and one of the four stimuli from the word fragment completion task that were used in Pilot Study 2 were excluded from Study 1. Since Pilot Study 2 used the same manipulations for the promotion- and prevention-focused conditions, I will describe only those changes that were

made to create each of the control conditions for Study 1. See Appendix I for the exact wording of the control regulatory focus manipulations.

Proverb interpretation task. Participants began by completing the proverb interpretation task borrowed from van Stekelenburg (2006). In the control condition, participants were asked to re-state neutral proverbs in their own words and then rate how much each proverb applied to them using a scale from 1 *not at all*, to 7 *very much*. An example of a neutral proverb is, “One person’s trash is another person’s treasure.”

Word fragment completion task. Following the proverb task, participants saw a word fragment completion task used in Wan, Hong and Sternthal (2008). Participants in the control condition were asked to respond to four neutral words that were of similar length to those in both the promotion- or prevention-focus conditions (i.e., finger, shape, student).

Autobiographical recall task. Next, participants completed the autobiographical recall task (Higgins et al., 2001). Participants in the control condition were asked to write for two minutes about each of the following topics: (a) [their] commute to work; (b) the last movie [they] saw at a movie theatre; and (c) a time [they] were surprised.

Message frame manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two message frame conditions based on work by Phills et al. (2011). All participants saw a PowerPoint presentation with four slides containing information about the importance of confronting racism. In the ‘increase equality’ condition, participants were told that confrontation is important to help increase equality, whereas in the ‘decrease prejudice’

condition they were told that it is important to reduce bias. Sample text for the approach egalitarianism (*avoid-prejudice condition in parentheses*) training includes,

Increase equality (*end discrimination*) at work. . . It is important to treat everyone equally, regardless of their race (*to refrain from treating others differently because of their race*). [People] are afraid to speak up for equality (*speak out against bias*) . . . Challenge your co-workers to treat others fairly (*avoid treating people unfairly*). Speak out for equality (*Speak out against prejudice*). . . Speaking out for equality (*against prejudice*) can change other people's biased behavior. We all have a responsibility to encourage tolerance (*discourage intolerance*) . . . Everyone deserves to be treated fairly (*no one deserves to be treated unfairly*).

See Appendix J for the exact wording of the message frame manipulation. Embedded within the presentation were the four confrontation strategies from Plous (2001).

Message frame recall check. To gauge whether participants carefully attended to the pro-confrontation message presentation, participants were asked to recall one of the Plous (2000) confrontation strategies from among four response options. They were also asked to restate the gist of the pro-confrontation presentation in their own words. To boost the cover story, participants were asked to anticipate how their co-workers might respond to the presentation and whether they would recommend any changes to make the presentation more effective. See Appendix K for the message frame recall check and cover story items.

Feeling right scale. Next, participants completed an eight-item measure of their subjective feelings regarding the pro-confrontation message (Cesario & Higgins, 2008). Items were measured using a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *extremely*. Some items were reverse-scored such that higher numbers on this scale reflect greater feelings of 'rightness' ($\alpha = .87$). A sample item includes, "I feel good about this presentation." See Appendix L for the exact wording of the 'feeling right' scale.

Dependent measures. Following the ‘feeling right’ scale, participants were asked to imagine that a co-worker inquired about their opinion of the presentation they just saw. During the course of this imagined conversation, the co-worker made the following racist comment, “Honestly, I don't think racism is a major problem anymore. I don't understand why black people keep pulling the race card.” Participants were instructed to respond to the co-worker and complete the dialogue between the two of them using a script-writing procedure. Salk and Engeln (2011) employed a similar script-writing procedure to assess a typical conversation between friends on the topic of ‘fat talk.’ Participants were asked to write up to three lines of dialogue between themselves and the imagined co-worker (see Appendix M for chat scripts).

Coded confrontation responses. Independent raters coded participants’ chat scripts in response to the racist statement mentioned above. Prior to resolving any discrepancies, the coders had reached 84% agreement. After reconciling their disagreements, coders settled on one code for each participant (100% agreement). Chat scripts were coded for the presence or absence of the four confrontation strategies that appeared in the presentation (Plous, 2000). Seven alternative confrontation responses were included in the coding scheme such as expressions of disagreement with the prejudiced remark and use of humor or sarcasm (Swim & Hyers, 1999). An example of a ‘disagree’ coded response was, “Racisim (sic) is very much alive and people need to be educated on the fact that there is a way to stop others from harming you.” I also coded whether participants agreed with the racist comment. Confrontation scores ranged from zero to 11 with higher numbers indicating more nuanced confrontations. I

included a code for 'agreement' in the confrontation score because some participants used

agreement in addition to other confrontation responses. For example, one participant wrote,

I agree that in today's society, people of all colors generally have the same opportunities for success. People of other races may not feel that though so they must be shown by action that they are valued equally. You can't show value to a person if you're cracking jokes about their ethnicity.

Data from 30 participants were not included in the analysis of confrontation behavior because they agreed with the original racist statement without providing any confrontation responses ($n = 268$ remaining). See appendix N for the exact wording of the confrontation coding scheme.

Post-confrontation evaluation. All participants completed a post-confrontation evaluation to gauge their perceptions of their responses during the chat and their impressions of the imagined interaction partner on a scale from 1 *not at all*, to 7 *extremely*. Some items on each sub-scale were reverse-scored such that higher numbers on this scale reflect more favorable self and partner evaluations. Eight items tapped participants' perceptions of their responses (self-evaluation $\alpha = .84$). A sample self-evaluation item included, "I felt good about my response." Six items tapped participants' impressions of the imagined interaction partner (partner evaluation $\alpha = .86$). A sample partner evaluation item included, "The other person was likable." Participants indicated how many pages they would recommend that their co-worker should read about anti-racism from 0 to 1000 pages. See Appendix O for the exact wording of the post-confrontation evaluation.

Confrontation intentions. Participants then completed a 20-item measure of future confrontation intentions using a scale from 1 *not at all*, to 7 *definitely*. Items were borrowed from several previous studies tapping participants' confrontation intentions or actual confrontation behavior (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012; Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Plant, Devine & Peruche, 2010; Plous, 2000; Rattan & Dweck, 2010; Swim & Hyers, 1999). See Appendix P for the complete wording of the Race CARD measure. An exploratory factor analysis revealed a 4-factor structure for the Race CARD measure: confrontation, altercation, reconciliation, and deflection. Eleven items loaded onto factor one – confrontation ($\alpha = .89$). A sample confrontation item includes, "I would tell the racist person that they offended me." Two items loaded onto factor two – altercation ($r = .42$). A sample altercation item includes, "I would yell at the racist person." One item loaded onto factor three – reconciliation. The wording of this item was, "I would try hard to make the racist person comfortable during the interaction." Six items loaded onto factor four – deflection ($\alpha = .73$). A sample altercation item includes, "I would avoid future interactions with the racist person."

Demographics. All participants responded to a series of demographic items asking about their age, hometown, and highest level of education completed.

Hypothesis guess and debriefing. Before receiving compensation, participants completed a series of suspicion check items to determine whether they accurately guessed the study hypotheses. Finally, all participants read a debriefing handout (see Appendix Q).

Study 1 Results

Message Frame Recall Check

The majority of participants accurately identified the Plous (2000) confrontation strategies in the pro-confrontation presentation ($n = 267$). An independent samples t-test revealed that there was no significant difference between participants assigned to the decrease prejudice condition ($M = 0.89, SD = 0.31$), and those assigned to the increase equality condition ($M = 0.90, SD = 0.30$) in terms of accurately identifying the confrontation strategies, $t(296) = -0.07, p = .94$.

Generic recall. Recall that participants saw one of two PowerPoint presentations containing a pro-confrontation message. I coded participants' self-descriptions of the message frame to gauge whether they accurately recalled the message frame manipulation. Participants were coded as giving a 'generic' response if they did not mention the valence/direction (i.e., either increase equality or decrease prejudice) of the message in their recall. Participants who gave a 'generic' response simply stated that people ought to speak up about racism. A sample 'generic' response includes, "That they should speak up if they see incidents of racism."

Accurate recall. An 'accurate' statement explicitly matched the direction/valence of the original message frame. For example, an 'accurate' recall for someone assigned to the decrease prejudice condition was, "It is important to discourage prejudice." An example of an 'accurate' recall for the increase equality condition was, "Speak up for racial equality in the workplace."

Mixed-message and opposite recall. When participants mentioned both increasing equality and decreasing prejudice in their recall statement, they were coded as providing a

'mixed-message'. For example, a 'mixed-message' recall included, "The main message of the presentation was to treat everyone equally. People should avoid racial slurs and other forms of racism (sic) because it can harm intrapersonal relationships and lower worker productivity." Participants were coded as 'opposite' if they provided a recall that contradicted the direction/valence of the original message frame.

A chi-square test revealed that there was a significant relationship between message frame condition and message recall accuracy, $\chi^2(3, n = 298) = 53.45, p = .001$ (see Table 2). The majority of participants provided a generic statement about speaking up when a racist incident occurs ($n_{\text{total}} = 145; n_{\text{increase}} = 76; n_{\text{decrease}} = 69$). Participants in the decrease prejudice ($n = 81$) condition were more likely to provide an accurate re-statement of the original message compared to those in the increase equality condition ($n = 33$). Some participants ($n = 8$) from both conditions offered a mixed message.

Only participants in the increase equality condition reported a message opposite to the frame they were given ($n = 31$). In other words, they recalled that the message was about decreasing prejudice, when in fact they saw a message about increasing equality. Therefore, these results suggest that even when presented with an increase equality message frame, participants tend to interpret such messages as relating to prejudice reduction.

Table 2. Study 1 chi-square analysis of self-reported message frame recall

Message Frame	Generic	Accurate	Opposite	Mixed-Message
Increase Equality	76	33	31	2
Decrease Prejudice	69	81	0	6

'Feeling right' Scale

I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions (promotion-fit, prevention-fit, promotion non-fit, prevention non-fit, control increase equality, control decrease prejudice) to test the effect of regulatory focus prime and message frame manipulation on subjective perceptions of 'feeling right' about the pro-confrontation message. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on participants' subjective evaluation of 'feeling right' (Hypothesis 2a).

Contradicting Hypothesis 2a, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting 'feeling right,' $F(5, 292) = 1.53, p = .18$. Participants who experienced regulatory fit ($M_{prevention-fit} = 5.27, SD_{prevention-fit} = 1.21; M_{promotion-fit} = 5.59, SD_{promotion-fit} = 0.99$), were just as likely to 'feel right' about the pro-confrontation message as participants who experienced regulatory non-fit ($M_{prevention non-fit} = 5.58, SD_{prevention non-fit} = 1.26; M_{promotion non-fit} = 5.76, SD_{promotion non-fit} = 0.84$) and those in the regulatory focus control conditions ($M_{control increase} = 5.24, SD_{control increase} = 1.25; M_{control decrease} = 5.53, SD_{control decrease} = 1.25$).

Coded Confrontation Responses

The majority of participants gave at least one confrontation response (90%, $n = 267; M = 2.72, SD = 1.44$; range = 0 - 7). Table 3 displays the frequencies with which each confrontation response appeared (sorted in descending order).

Table 3. Study 1 coding response frequencies, mean and standard deviation

Confrontation code	Freq. Yes	Freq. No	Mean	SD
Contradict	152	115	0.57	0.50
Questioning	103	164	0.39	0.49
Confront	99	168	0.37	0.48
Disagree	97	170	0.36	0.48
Surprise	65	202	0.24	0.43
Perspective Taking	59	208	0.22	0.42
Appeal to Egalitarianism	50	217	0.18	0.39
Attribution of Prejudice	39	228	0.15	0.35
State Feelings	28	239	0.11	0.31
Acceptance (with confrontation)	18	249	0.16	0.37
Humor/Sarcasm	15	252	0.06	0.23
Acceptance (without confrontation)	30	267	1.00	0.00

I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions to test the effect of regulatory fit on coded confrontation responses. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on participants' confrontation behavior toward the imagined interaction partner (Hypothesis 2b).

Contradicting Hypothesis 2b, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting coded confrontation responses, $F(5, 292) = 0.18, p = .97$. Participants who experienced regulatory fit ($M_{prevention-fit} = 2.63, SD_{prevention-fit} = 1.33; M_{promotion-fit} = 2.86, SD_{promotion-fit} = 1.43$) were just as likely to confront the imagined interaction partner as participants who experienced regulatory non-fit ($M_{prevention non-fit} = 2.68, SD_{prevention non-fit} = 1.50; M_{promotion non-fit} = 2.69, SD_{promotion non-fit} = 1.55$) and those in the regulatory focus control conditions ($M_{control increase} = 2.63, SD_{control increase} = 1.31; M_{control decrease} = 2.81, SD_{control decrease} = 1.56$).

Future Confrontation Intentions

I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions to test the effect of regulatory fit on participants' self-reported future confrontation intentions. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on future confrontation intentions (Hypothesis 2c).

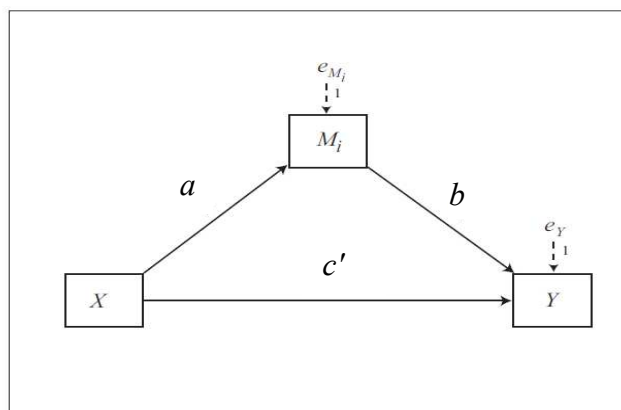
Contradicting Hypothesis 2c, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting participants' future willingness to engage in confrontation, $F(5, 292) = 1.76, p = .12$, altercation $F(5, 292) = 0.71, p = .61$, reconciliation $F(5, 292) = 0.96, p = .44$, or deflection $F(5, 292) = 0.59, p = .71$.

Conditional Process Model

I used the PROCESS macro for SPSS to test mediation (Preacher, Rucker & Hayes, 2007; Model 4; see Figure 4). Recall that I predicted that the positive effect of regulatory fit on confronting behavior would be explained by the mediating mechanism of 'feeling right' (Hypothesis 2d). The PROCESS model computes the total effect of the independent variable (X ; 1 = fit, 2 = non-fit) on the dependent variable (Y = confrontation behavior) which is the summation of the direct effect (c') of the independent variable and the indirect effect through the mediator ($M = ab$; feeling right) (see equation 1).

$$c = c' + ab \quad (1)$$

Figure 4. Statistical diagram of a simple mediation model



As can be seen in Table 4, there were no effects of regulatory fit predicting whether participants ‘felt right’ about the pro-confrontation message. This is consistent with the findings reported in the one-way ANOVA above, which did not support Hypothesis 2a. Consistent with the findings above, which did not support Hypothesis 2c, there were also no direct effects of regulatory fit on confrontations of racism. Additionally, contradicting Hypothesis 2d, there was no effect of ‘feeling right’ about the pro-confrontation message predicting participants’ confrontation behavior.

Table 4. Study 1 model coefficients for the effect of regulatory fit (versus non-fit) on confrontation through feeling right about the pro-confrontation message

Antecedent	Consequent					
	M (FEELRIGHT)			$Y_{indirect}$ (CONFRONT)		
		Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	
constant	i_1	5.47**	0.25	i_2	1.88**	0.68
REGULATORY FIT	a	0.12	0.15	c'	-0.08	0.22
M (FEELRIGHT)				b	0.17	0.11
			$R^2 = .01$			
			$F(1, 177) = 0.60, p = .44$	$R^2 = .01$		
				$F(2, 176) = 1.27, p = .28$		

** $p < .01$

Study 1 Discussion

The results for Study 1 support the general proposition that individuals are responsive to pro-confrontation persuasive appeals. Regardless of whether it was framed in terms of increasing equality or decreasing prejudice, after receiving a pro-confrontation message, the majority of participants confronted a racist statement made by an imagined co-worker. The results of the current study suggest that we can increase confrontation behavior simply by encouraging people to confront and providing them with specific confrontation strategies. In fact, nearly 90% of participants in the current study confronted the racist comment. These findings are promising considering that research has shown that individuals confront less than half of the discrimination they experience (Ayres et al., 2009; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), particularly when those remarks are humorous (Mallett et al., 2016). Future research should investigate this possibility independent of the effect of regulatory focus and in a face-to-face setting.

Previous research has demonstrated positive effects of regulatory fit on prejudice reduction (Phills et al., 2011). The purpose of Study 1 was to replicate this past research in a new prejudice reduction domain: confrontations of racism. Overall, I did not find support for the proposition that regulatory fit would increase confrontation behavior (Hypothesis 2b). Phills et al. (2011) found that experiencing regulatory fit led to reductions in implicit prejudice. It appears that this effect does not generalize to confrontation behavior. The current study differs from Phills et al. (2011) in terms of the volitional control participants could exert over their own behavior. That is, having participants complete a reaction time measure such as the IAT is quite

different from encouraging them to actively confront racial bias. However, previous research suggests that the experience of regulatory fit during a persuasive appeal leads to subsequent compliance in the direction of the appeal (Spiegel, Grant-Pillow & Higgins, 2004). Therefore, the positive effect of regulatory fit on persuasion should have generalized across prejudice reduction domains.

Prior to testing the four specific hypotheses, I examined participants' recall of the pro-confrontation message they received. I expected recall to align with exposure to experimental condition, however, this was true for less than half of participants. Regardless of the message they were exposed to, most participants recalled a generic entreaty to speak up when they notice racism. One possibility is that participants were not carefully attending to the pro-confrontation message. Another possibility is that my method of assessing participants' message reception was prone to the problems associated with memory recall. Specifically, participants may have experienced difficulty in retrieving specific details from the presentation, choosing to provide the gist of the message instead.

Additionally, the information recalled could have been contaminated through storage biases, which can occur when message content is integrated with prior evaluations, and/or other extraneous information (Mackie & Asuncion, 1990). Storage biases could explain the fact that dozens of participants who saw a presentation about increasing equality recalled a message about decreasing prejudice. Whites tend to spontaneously adopt an avoidance motivational orientation during interracial interactions (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). For example, when thinking about their prejudice-reduction goals, Whites are motivated to avoid

appearing prejudiced (for a review, see Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). This avoidance orientation matches a strategic focus on decreasing prejudice. Thus, presenting participants with a pro-confrontation message (encouraging anti-racism behavior) may have triggered their default avoidance orientation, leading them inaccurately to recall a message about decreasing prejudice when they actually saw a message about increasing equality. This possibility could be elucidated in future research by including a control condition for the message frame manipulation in which participants see a generic ‘speak up’ message.

Study 2 Method

The purpose of Study 2 was to replicate and extend the findings of Study 1 using a high-impact live chat paradigm, thereby testing hypothesis 3. Recall that Hypothesis 3 predicted a relation between regulatory fit and (a) feeling right about the pro-confrontation message, (b) actual confrontation behavior, and (c) future confrontation intentions. Hypothesis 3d predicted that the effect of regulatory fit on confrontation behavior would be explained by the mediating mechanism of ‘feeling right.’

Participants

I recruited a sample of 223 White undergraduate students from a mid-sized Midwestern university. Participants received either partial course credit, or a gift card in the sum of \$8.00 for their participation. Of the participants recruited, data from 12 participants were lost due to a computer programming error. Of the remaining participants, seven failed a combination of attention and manipulation check items, and 22 others reported that they were highly suspicious of the experimental paradigm. Data from these participants were excluded from all

analyses, leaving the final sample size ($n = 182$). Given that the design for Study 2 was identical to that of Study 1, I retained adequate power to detect the expected effect of regulatory fit on confrontations (G*Power indicated that I needed a total sample size of 158 participants).

Design

Study 2 used the same 3(Regulatory focus: prevention, promotion, control) x 2(Message frame: increase equality, decrease prejudice) between-subjects design used in Study 1, resulting in six experimental conditions: (1) control-increase, (2) control-decrease, (3) prevention-fit, (4) promotion-fit, (5) prevention non-fit, (6) promotion non-fit.

Procedure

All procedures were approved prior to data collection by the Loyola University Chicago Institutional Review Board (IRB). All materials were presented to the participants via the experimental survey software Inquisit, by Millisecond. Participants indicated informed consent and were seated at a private computer workstation. First, the experimenter administered a bogus survey as part of the cover story. Participants were told that the researchers were interested in students' opinions of first-year orientation and that we were pilot testing materials for future orientations. Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of three regulatory focus conditions (i.e., prevention, promotion, control). They were then randomly assigned to one of two message frame conditions in which they saw a pro-confrontation PowerPoint presentation (framed either in terms of increase equality or decreasing prejudice). Following the pro-confrontation message presentation, participants completed the 'feeling right' measure along with message recall and attention check items. Next, participants were

instructed to begin an online chat with another participant about their perceptions of the presentation. In reality, all participants chatted with a research confederate. During the chat, the confederate made a racist statement, and participants were given the opportunity to respond. Following the chat, participants responded to a series of survey items assessing their perceptions of the conversation. Participants completed the Race CARD measure before responding to a series of suspicion check items. Finally, participants were asked a series of additional suspicion check items via a structured debriefing interview.

Materials and Measures

Orientation survey. After indicating informed consent, the experimenter began to read from a script about the ostensible purpose of the experiment. Participants began by responding to a series of questions from a bogus survey assessing their perceptions of first-year orientation. A sample item includes, “On a scale from 1 (not at all) to 10 (very much), how much did you enjoy orientation.” Researchers recorded participants’ responses on a sheet of paper containing the participant’s identification number. See Appendix R for the complete wording of the orientation survey.

Regulatory focus manipulations. Next, participants were told that the remainder of the experimental procedure would take place via computer, and that instructions would be displayed on the screen. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three regulatory focus manipulation conditions following the procedure in Study 1. Participants began by completing the proverb interpretation task in which they wrote three proverbs in their own words and indicated how much each proverb was applicable to them (van Stekelenburg, 2006). Next,

participants saw a series of three word-fragment completion tasks (Wan, Hong & Sternthal, 2008). Finally, participants responded to three short writing prompts in the autobiographical recall (Higgins et al., 2001).

Message frame manipulation. Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of two message-frame conditions used in Study 1. To remain consistent in the cover story, the pro-confrontation presentations were modified to contain images and branding standards the participants would recognize as coming from their undergraduate institution. All substantive content remained the same. In the ‘increase equality’ condition, participants were told that it is important to speak up *for equality*, whereas in the ‘decrease prejudice’ condition, they were told that it is important to speak up *against prejudice*. Recall that all participants were given a set of four confrontation strategies they could use to formulate a response (Plous, 2000). Participants then completed the message frame recall check used in Study 1 (see Appendix K for recall check questions). Specifically, they were asked to restate the message in their own words.

Feeling right scale. Next, participants completed the eight-item measure of their subjective feelings regarding the pro-confrontation message used in Study 1. Items were measured using a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *extremely* ($\alpha = .84$). A sample item includes, “I feel right about this presentation.” See Appendix L for the exact wording of the ‘feeling right’ scale.

Demographics. Each participant was then told that the experimenter would set up the online chat so that they could chat with another participant about their perceptions of the presentation they just saw. At this time, participants were asked to complete a demographics

questionnaire to report their race and gender, among other demographic variables (see Appendix S for complete wording of the demographics questionnaire). Participants were told that the researcher would share their demographics information with the chat partner, and that they would also be able to see their chat partner's demographics. The purpose of this procedure was to ensure that participants would believe that they were chatting to someone of the same race and gender as themselves. The researcher showed participants a screen shot of the demographics of the ostensible chat partner. The demographics sheet for the chat partner always matched the gender the participants had reported.

Dependent measures. After opening up the participant's chat window, the experimenter left the room to ostensibly do the same for the 'other participant.' In reality, the experimenter acted as a confederate, and pretended to be the chat partner by initiating the conversation with the participant (see Appendix M for live chat script). The confederate began by asking the participant's opinion of the orientation materials. In the course of the chat, the confederate made the following racist comment, "Honestly, I don't think racism is a major problem anymore. Times have changed. I don't understand why black people keep making everything about race. People need to chill!" Participants were given the opportunity to respond to each comment from the confederate, including the racist comment. After the participant responded to the racist comment, the experimenter interrupted the chat and told the participant that it was necessary to move on with the rest of the experiment due to time constraints.

Coded confrontation responses. Following the procedure in Study 1, participants' responses to the racist comment were coded for the presence of the 11 confrontation responses. Data from 30¹ participants were not included in the analysis of confrontation behavior because they agreed with the original racist statement without providing any confrontation responses ($n = 152$ remaining).

Post-confrontation evaluation. Participants then completed the post-confrontation evaluation assessing their perceptions of the chat comprised of the eight-item self-evaluation ($\alpha = .83$) and the six-item partner evaluation ($\alpha = .85$) on a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *extremely*. Recall that higher numbers on this post-confrontation scale reflects more favorable self and partner evaluations respectively. Consistent with Study 1, these sub-scales had adequate internal consistency.

Future confrontation intentions. The final dependent measure was the Race CARD measure of future confrontation intentions which was measured on a scale from 1 *not at all* to 7 *definitely*. Recall that this measure contained four factors: confrontation ($\alpha = .85$), altercation ($r = .46$), reconciliation (single-item), and deflection ($\alpha = .58$). Unlike Study 1, the deflection scale was not reliable.

Hypothesis guess and debriefing. All participants responded to a series of suspicion check items to determine whether they accurately guessed the study hypotheses. They also

¹ Note that although the number of participants who agreed with the racist comment without providing a confrontation response in Study 2 was identical to that of Study 1, there were fewer participants in Study 2; therefore, a greater proportion of people agreed with the racist statement in Study 2 (16%) compared to Study 1 (10%).

completed a structured debriefing interview (see Appendix T) before being given the debriefing handout used in Study 1.

Study 2 Results

Message Frame Recall Check

The majority of participants accurately identified the Plous (2000) confrontation strategies in the pro-confrontation presentation ($n = 173$). Replicating the findings from Study 1, an independent samples t-test revealed that there was no significant difference between participants assigned to the decrease prejudice condition ($M = 0.96$, $SD = 0.20$), and those assigned to the increase equality condition ($M = 0.94$, $SD = 0.24$) in terms of accurately identifying the confrontation strategies, $t(180) = 0.54$, $p = .59$.

I coded participants' self-descriptions of the message frame to gauge whether they accurately identified the message frame manipulation. As in study 1, less than half of participants accurately identified the confrontation strategies in the presentation ($n = 79$). A chi-square test revealed that there was a significant relationship between message frame condition and message interpretation accuracy, $\chi^2(3, n = 182) = 39.79$, $p = .001$ (see Table 5).

Table 5. Study 2 chi-square analysis of self-reported message frame recall

Message Frame	Generic	Accurate	Opposite	Mixed-Message
Increase Equality	27	23	27	8
Decrease Prejudice	37	56	4	0

Consistent with the findings from Study 1, several participants provided a generic statement about speaking up when a racist incident occurs ($n_{\text{decrease}} = 37$; $n_{\text{increase}} = 27$). Participants in the decrease prejudice condition were more likely to provide an accurate re-statement of the original message ($n = 56$) compared to those in the increase equality condition ($n = 23$).

Unlike Study 1 – in which only participants in the increase equality condition reported a message opposite to the frame they were given – participants in both conditions were susceptible to this error in recall in Study 2 ($n_{\text{decrease}} = 4$, $n_{\text{increase}} = 27$). Additionally, only participants in the increase equality condition provided a mixed-message recall response ($n = 8$).

Feeling Right Scale

I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions (promotion-fit, prevention-fit, promotion non-fit, prevention non-fit, control increase equality, control decrease prejudice) to test the effect of regulatory focus prime and message frame manipulation on subjective perceptions of feeling right about the pro-confrontation message. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on participants' subjective evaluation of 'feeling right' (Hypothesis 3a).

Contradicting Hypothesis 3a, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting feeling right, $F(5, 176) = 0.60$, $p = .70$. Participants who experienced regulatory fit ($M_{\text{prevention-fit}} = 5.43$, $SD_{\text{prevention-fit}} = 0.90$; $M_{\text{promotion-fit}} = 5.40$, $SD_{\text{promotion-fit}} = 0.82$) were just as likely to 'feel right' about the pro-confrontation message as participants who experienced regulatory non-fit

($M_{prevention\ non-fit} = 5.36$, $SD_{prevention\ non-fit} = 0.93$; $M_{promotion\ non-fit} = 5.12$, $SD_{promotion\ non-fit} = 1.04$) and

those in the regulatory focus control conditions ($M_{control\ increase} = 5.21$, $SD_{control\ increase} = 1.03$;

$M_{control\ decrease} = 5.15$, $SD_{control\ decrease} = 0.98$).

Coded Confrontation Responses

The majority of participants gave at least one confrontation response (84%, $n = 152$; $M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.17$; range = 0 - 6). Table 6 displays frequencies with which each confrontation response appeared (sorted in descending order).

Table 6. Study 2 coding response frequencies, mean and standard deviation

Code	Freq. Yes	Freq. No	Mean	SD
Contradict	120	62	0.66	0.48
Acceptance (confront)	93	89	0.51	0.50
Disagree	80	102	0.44	0.50
Confront	56	126	0.31	0.46
Questioning	37	145	0.20	0.40
Perspective Taking	16	166	0.09	0.28
State Feelings	9	173	0.05	0.22
Humor/Sarcasm	9	173	0.05	0.22
Surprise	4	178	0.02	0.15
Attribution of Prejudice	4	178	0.02	0.15
Appeal to Egalitarianism	3	179	0.02	0.13
Accept (no confront)	30	152	1.00	0.00

I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions to test the effect of regulatory fit on coded confrontation responses. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on participants' confrontation behavior toward the live chat partner (Hypothesis 3b).

Contradicting Hypothesis 3b, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting coded confrontation responses, $F(5, 146) = 0.77, p = .57$. Participants who experienced regulatory fit ($M_{prevention-fit} = 2.44, SD_{prevention-fit} = 1.05; M_{promotion-fit} = 2.60, SD_{promotion-fit} = 0.82$) were just as likely to confront the live chat partner as participants who experienced regulatory non-fit ($M_{prevention non-fit} = 2.39, SD_{prevention non-fit} = 0.98; M_{promotion non-fit} = 2.97, SD_{promotion non-fit} = 1.35$) and those in the regulatory focus control conditions ($M_{control increase} = 2.61, SD_{control increase} = 1.40; M_{control decrease} = 2.64, SD_{control decrease} = 1.22$).

Future Confrontation Intentions

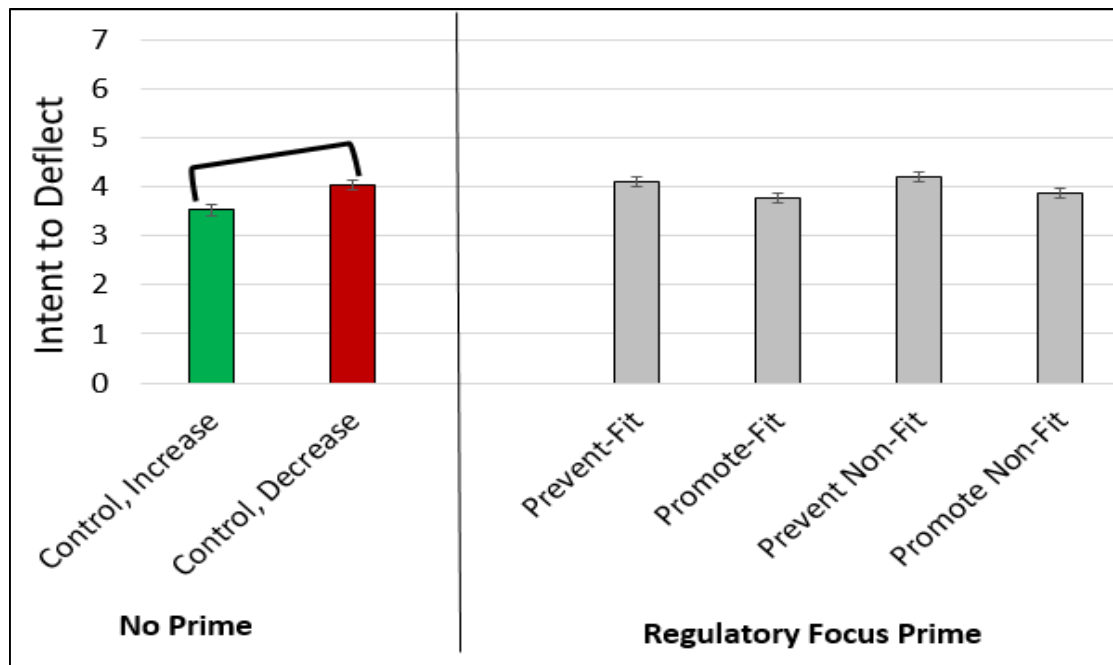
I conducted a one-way ANOVA of the six experimental conditions to test the effect of regulatory fit on participants' self-reported future confrontation intentions. Recall that I predicted a positive effect of regulatory fit – relative to regulatory non-fit or the control conditions – on future confrontation intentions (Hypothesis 3c).

Contradicting Hypothesis 3c, I did not find a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting participants' future willingness to engage in confrontation, $F(5, 176) = 1.13, p = .35$, altercation, $F(5, 176) = 0.82, p = .54$, or reconciliation, $F(5, 176) = 1.83, p = .11$.

In partial support of Hypothesis 3c, there was a significant effect of regulatory fit predicting future intentions to engage in deflection, $F(5, 176) = 2.59, p = .03$. Planned contrasts revealed a significant difference among participants in the two control conditions, $t(176) = -2.47, p = .02$ (see Figure 5). Furthermore, among participants in the control conditions, individuals were more willing to deflect a racist comment (e.g., try to avoid an argument or say nothing) when they saw a pro-confrontation message framed in terms of decreasing prejudice

($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.74$) compared to one framed in terms of increasing equality ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.53$).

Figure 5. Significant effect of message frame predicting future intentions to deflect



Conditional Process Model

I used the PROCESS macro for SPSS which estimates a process model of mediation (Preacher, Rucker & Hayes, 2007; Model 4). Recall that I predicted that the positive effect of regulatory fit on confronting behavior would be explained by the mediating mechanism of ‘feeling right’ (Hypothesis 3d).

As can be seen in Table 7, there were no effects of regulatory fit predicting whether participants ‘felt right’ about the pro-confrontation message. This is consistent with the findings reported in the one-way ANOVA above, which did not find support for Hypothesis 3a.

Consistent with the findings above, which did not find support for Hypothesis 3c, there were also no direct effects of regulatory fit on confrontations of racism. However, there was a significant effect of feeling predicting confrontation behavior, $b = 0.28$ ($SE = 0.12$), $p = .02$. The more participants ‘felt right’ about the pro-confrontation message, the more likely they were to confront the live chat partner.

Table 7. Study 2 model coefficients for the effect of regulatory fit (versus non-fit) on confrontation through feeling right about the pro-confrontation message

Antecedent	Consequent				
	M (FEELRIGHT)			$Y_{indirect}$ (CONFRONT)	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	
constant	i_1 5.57**	0.28	i_2 0.74	0.75	
REGULATORY FIT	a -0.17	0.18	c' 0.27	0.21	
M (FEELRIGHT)			b 0.28*	0.12	
	$R^2 = .01$			$R^2 = .05$	
	$F(1, 97) = 0.86, p = .35$			$F(2, 96) = 3.23, p = .04^*$	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Study 2 Discussion

The results from Study 2 partially replicated those from Study 1 using a live-chat paradigm. Although I did not find the expected effect of regulatory fit predicting whether participants ‘felt right’ about the pro-confrontation message (Hypothesis 3a), the results showed that participants generally ‘felt right’ about the messages they received². This pattern is consistent with that of Study 1 and suggests that regardless of how the message is framed (increase equality v. decrease prejudice) or the self-regulatory goals that are activated

² The average response was greater than 5 on a 7-point scale.

(prevention v. promotion), anti-racism messages may be equally effective when paired with specific strategies participants can employ in their daily lives (Plous, 2000). Furthermore, the more participants that 'felt right', the more likely they were to confront the live chat partner. This finding is consistent with previous research demonstrating that 'feeling right' increases the persuasiveness of a given message (Cesario et al., 2004).

Consistent with the findings from Study 1, I did not find the expected effect of regulatory fit predicting confrontation behavior (Hypothesis 3b). However, the high rate of confrontation across both studies indicates that participants took the pro-confrontation appeal to heart. As mentioned in the discussion of Study 1 above, the frequency of confrontation behavior in these studies well exceeds that of previous work in which participants are expected to spontaneously confront bias (Mallett et al., 2016; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Previous research indicates that there are several reasons why individuals might be reluctant to spontaneously confront (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). The results from the current work suggest that a little bit of training and nudging might go a long way to increasing the likelihood that allies confront racism in their daily lives. The results from Study 2 are especially promising given that most participants believed that they were chatting with a peer. Their willingness to openly challenge someone else's brazen racism points to the fact that participants likely felt efficacious in their ability to confront and overcame any fear of reprisal. Previous research indicates that feelings of efficacy increase the likelihood of confronting (Dickter & Newton, 2013), while fear of reprisal diminishes it (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012).

Consistent with the pattern observed in Study 1 in which there was not an overall effect of regulatory focus predicting future confrontation intentions, Hypothesis 3c was not fully supported. Nonetheless, there was a significant effect of message frame in the control condition such that people were more willing to deflect when they received a message framed in terms of decreasing prejudice. This finding is surprising given that Whites tend to default to an avoidance prejudice-reduction orientation and adopt strategic preferences for decreasing prejudice (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Past research suggests that participants in the current study should have been less willing to deflect when they saw a decrease prejudice message compared to an increase equality message. However, this past research involved participants self-regulating their own expressions of bias, whereas the current study involves participants self-regulating their confrontations of others' expressions of bias. There are likely substantive differences between monitoring one's own actions and impugning someone else's behavior in terms of how these divergent goals are regulated. Future research should explore this possibility.

Unlike the findings from Study 1, Study 2 showed that 'feeling right' predicted the likelihood that participants would confront a racist chat partner; partially supporting Hypothesis 3d. This finding is consistent with previous research demonstrating that 'feeling right' increases the persuasiveness of a given message (Cesario et al., 2004). Additionally, the average response on the 'feeling right' scale (1 *not at all* to 7 *extremely*) was above the scale midpoint, indicating that participants 'felt right' about the message regardless of the regulatory fit condition they were assigned to. Finding that Hypothesis 3d was partially supported indicates that 'feeling

right' is an antecedent to confronting behavior. It remains to be seen whether there is a direct link between 'feeling right' about a pro-confrontation message and ones' efficacy in confronting. This possibility should be explored in future research.

Despite the fact that a majority of participants in Study 2 believed the cover story and thought they were really chatting with another participant, there were many participants who were highly suspicious that they were in fact chatting with a research confederate while others thought that the chat responses were generated by a. When pressed for a justification for this suspicion, participants indicated surprise that the other person would feel comfortable disclosing their racist beliefs to a stranger.

Further inquiry revealed two predominant themes related to participants' disbelief regarding their interaction partner's blatant racism. First, participants indicated that openly espousing racist beliefs was atypical of ingroup members (i.e., fellow college students or their friends). For example, one participant noted, "I was suspicious about who I was talking to. It seemed unlikely that someone would respond in that way. No one I know would talk like that. It was weird for a stranger to express themselves like that." Another responded, "Most college students don't talk like that."

The views espoused above are consistent with a tendency among Whites to distance themselves from accusations of racism. Research suggests Whites are unprepared to deal with blatant racism (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). Whites are motivated to disconfirm the stereotype that they are racist and reject the belief that they are beneficiaries of systemic racial oppression. Perceptions of racism as a systemic, institutional problem threaten Whites' positive

self-image because it raises their awareness of unearned group privileges and the ingroup's role in perpetuating outgroup disadvantage (Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). Although Whites are more willing to conceive of racism as an individual rather than a systemic phenomenon, they nevertheless engage in strategic efforts to minimize perceptions of racism overall to avoid personally appearing biased (Apfelbaum, Sommers & Norton, 2008) and defend against accusations of prejudice (Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson & Stevenson, 2006). Therefore, participants' beliefs that their friends and colleagues do not engage in racist behavior aligns with evidence for Whites' identity-based self-presentation concerns around appearing racist.

The second theme related to participants' suspicion involved the belief that blatant racism contradicts the organizational values of a liberal college environment that publicly touts a social justice mission. For example, participants noted that, "Yes, I haven't heard anything like that, I feel like we are an accepting school." Another noted that, "Yes, it seems like a fairly liberal school that pushes social justice a lot." These concerns could be addressed in a future study involving a face-to-face dialogue. Perhaps participants will be less suspicious if the racist comments are made in person rather than via an anonymous chat session.

Relative to their racial minority counterparts, White students tend to characterize campus race relations favorably (Chang, 2013; Lo, McCallum, Hughes, Smith, & McKnight, 2017; Miller & Sujitparapitaya, 2010; Rankin & Reason, 2005). A university's public commitment to diversity might actually contribute to this racial discrepancy in perceptions of the prevalence of racism on campus. Kaiser and colleagues (2013) found that institutions' diversity structures – such as policies, trainings, and awards – create an illusory sense of fairness for members of high

status groups. In other words, White participants in the current study may artificially amplify their belief that the campus climate is fair based on the university's public commitment to diversity and inclusion.

In their recall of the pro-confrontation message, Study 2 participants mirrored the pattern from Study 1 in that fewer than half of participants provided an accurate restatement of the message frame in terms of the valence of the message. However, the proportion of participants in Study 2 who gave an accurate restatement was greater than that of Study 1. Perhaps this difference occurred because Study 2 participants were sampled from a pool of undergraduates who were accustomed to participating in research studies in exchange for course credit. Thus, they may have anticipated that their memory of experimental stimuli would be assessed. Additionally, in Study 2, participants in both the increase equality and the decrease prejudice message frame conditions provided a recall response opposite to the condition they were assigned to, whereas in Study 1 this only occurred in the increase equality condition. Future research should explore people's lay theories about anti-racism. I would like to investigate what messages spontaneously emerge when someone is asked to think of speaking up when they hear a racist comment. This could help fine-tune future studies on the effectiveness of anti-racism messaging.

CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Racism has yet to disappear. Whether it has shrunk to undetectable levels is a point of debate. The billions of dollars expended in service of anti-racism and diversity trainings in the U.S. each year point to an opportunity for social psychological research to have a tangible impact on this pressing social problem. The purpose of the current research was to investigate the interplay of people's fundamental motivational orientations and anti-racism rhetoric to inform interventions that might encourage someone to speak up when they encounter racism.

The results of my pilot studies provided the initial empirical support for the effect of regulatory focus inductions on people's state regulatory focus. While studies on regulatory focus abound, only one has reported a manipulation check testing the efficacy of the regulatory focus manipulation (Wan et al., 2008). This work replicated these findings by showing that people's chronic regulatory focus was susceptible to momentary shifts through a subtle priming manipulation.

A Spoon Full of Encouragement Makes the Confrontation Training Go Down

While I did not find the expected overall effect of regulatory fit predicting confrontation behavior or future confrontation intentions (Phills et al., 2011), I did find that an overwhelming majority of participants across both studies expressed a willingness to confront future instances of racism and actually confronted the interaction partner for making a racist comment.

These findings replicate previous research suggesting that training people to use confrontation strategies can effectively increase rates of confrontation (Lawson, Bodle & McDonough, 2007). These findings also replicate the results from a previous study in which I provided participants with confrontation strategies and found increased rates of confrontation compared to participants who did not receive these strategies (Bozeman, 2015). These results are promising considering that confrontations have the power to disrupt discrimination and prejudice (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011), yet the rates of confronting reported in the literature often fall below a level expected by chance (Mallett et al., 2016; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Thus, the present studies suggest that merely encouraging confrontation and providing practical confrontation tips can lead to more instances of people speaking up when they encounter a racist comment.

When Confrontation Feels Right

My findings did not replicate previous research finding that regulatory fit increases 'feeling right' about the persuasive message, but they did support the notion that 'feeling right' increases confrontation behavior (Cesario, Grant & Higgins, 2004). Although regulatory fit did not make participants 'feel more right' about the pro-confrontation message compared to regulatory non-fit and the control conditions, the majority of participants in Study 1 and 2 indicated that they 'felt right' about the message. Regardless of the message frame, the pro-confrontation appeals were designed to have the greatest persuasive impact (e.g., relying on expert sources, using simple language, and employing emotional appeals). Furthermore, the messages were intended to be practically applicable because participants were given specific

confrontation strategies they could employ (e.g., appealing to the other person's egalitarian values or asking the other person questions). Perhaps these strategic choices resonated with participants, making them feel good about the message to either speak up for equality or speak up against bias.

You Say Equality, I Say Discrimination

Although most participants 'felt right' about the message and accurately identified the Plous (2000) confrontation strategies in the PowerPoint presentation, it remains unclear whether they detected the intended message frame manipulation. Across both studies, participants were just as likely to provide a generic recall response (44%) compared to an accurate recall of the message frame (41%). Furthermore, 14% of all participants reported retaining the opposite of the message they actually received, and the majority of the cases occurred when participants had been assigned to receive a message framed in terms of increasing equality. This finding was surprising, and suggests that for some people, promoting equality is interpreted as an effort to decrease discrimination.

Recall from the discussion of Study 1 that Whites tend to spontaneously adopt an avoidance motivational orientation during interracial interactions (Richeson & Shelton, 2007) in part because they want to avoid appearing prejudiced (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Therefore, anti-racism messaging – such as the presentations participants saw in the current studies – might trigger a default prevention-focus thereby activating a 'decrease prejudice' schema regardless of the actual message frame participants encountered. However, participants may have inaccurately recalled 'decrease discrimination' messages when they actually saw an

'increase equality' message frame because they view anti-racism efforts as a racial minority issue rather than an issue affecting people of all racial backgrounds, including fellow Whites.

For example, Lowery, Knowles and Unzueta (2007) showed that White participants preferred to frame racial inequality as anti-Black discrimination compared to White privilege because the latter view threatens Whites' positive self-image. White people strategically distance themselves from the view that the ingroup benefits from unearned advantages. Not only do they strategically alter their perceptions of racism, but Whites tend to feel as though the ingroup is threatened when others advocate for diversity and equality. One series of studies demonstrated that Whites tend to perceive multiculturalism as an ideology that is only for racial minorities and excludes fellow Whites (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). This research showed that White participants tended not to support diversity initiatives in part because they do not associate multiculturalism with themselves and feel excluded by multicultural messages. These findings are consistent with Social Dominance Theory, which posits that Whites perceive equality as a threat to their advantaged position in the social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), and the zero-sum mindset in which Whites view gains for racial minorities as losses for the ingroup (Norton & Sommers, 2011).

Limitations and Future Research Directions

One possible limitation of this study is that racism was operationalized as a written expression of modern racism. In other words, participants who endorse modern/symbolic racism may not have interpreted the confederates' comment as racism because it aligns with the belief that Black people tend to make unfair or unnecessary claims of discrimination

(McConahay, 1983). By only assessing responses to one type of racist comment, I may have missed an effect that would emerge for a comment of greater or lesser seriousness. People may be more willing to confront a comment that they perceive as more serious or offensive because social norms discourage confronting instances of ambiguous prejudice (Zou & Dickter, 2013). Future research should vary comment seriousness by introducing conditions that assess responses to racist jokes and more extreme racist statements.

Furthermore, because I did not investigate face-to-face confrontations, these studies have low ecological validity. For instance, participants in Study 1 were asked to anticipate what the interaction partner might say – rather than actually interacting with a confederate or another naïve participant. Similarly, Study 2 participants were asked to respond to an online chat. The social constraints of a face-to-face interaction are likely to differ substantially from simply filling in what your partner might say or chatting anonymously to another person. Therefore, I cannot make any reasonable claims about whether this behavior will generalize to face-to-face interactions. As we know from previous studies, how people anticipate behaving in response to prejudice is quite different from how they actually respond. Moreover, individuals may try to portray an idealized view of the self online. Thus, responses may be constrained by social desirability concerns such as the desire to appear egalitarian. Future work would benefit from a face-to-face confrontation paradigm.

It is important to consider that the current study reflects the attitudes and behavior of advantaged majority group members: Whites with a high degree of educational attainment. Both in terms of generalizability and equity, future research should consider how diversity

interventions (such as pro-confrontation appeals) affect People of Color (POC). There are several reasons to believe that Whites and POC might respond differently to anti-racism messaging and differentially activate self-regulatory resources in the service of prejudice reduction. For example, past research has shown that minorities believe that prejudice toward them is much more common and pervasive than do Whites (for a review, see Carter & Murphy, 2015). Additionally, because prejudice can easily pose a threat to the physical and psychological wellbeing of minorities, they may often be concerned about protecting themselves from discrimination (Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002, Shelton et al. 2005). In short, minorities may generally feel that reducing prejudice is an issue of ensuring safety and security, leading them to chronically view this as a prevention-focused goal.

Some research on self-affirmation is somewhat consistent with this proposal. Self-affirmation has generally been shown to function by reducing concerns with a wide variety of threats (Cohen & Sherman, 2014), and after engaging in such affirmation, minorities diverge less from Whites in how prevalent they believe prejudice to be. Also, somewhat consistent with the idea that minorities represent prejudice reduction in terms of prevention motivations are findings by Eibach and Ehrlinger (2006). Whereas Whites tend to think about racial bias by comparing current societal advancements to the atrocious conditions of the past, minorities instead focus on how society has not yet eliminated bias or met the obligation of equity. This too represents a more prevention-focused mindset by minorities. Whereas majority groups might typically view reducing prejudice more in terms of promoting harmony and be more likely to confront prejudiced behavior if motivated by these egalitarian concerns, minority

groups might typically view reducing prejudice more in terms of reducing conflict and be more likely to confront prejudiced behavior if motivated by these safety concerns. Thus, different types of circumstances and interventions might be needed to optimally encourage the confrontation of prejudice by both majority and minority groups.

Conclusion

The current work was driven by the observation that people, especially allies, can have a powerful impact on racism by simply speaking up. Sue (2017) noted that most anti-racism interventions place a disproportionate focus on self-awareness: encouraging Whites to explore their racial identity and challenge their own biases. He goes on to say that:

[W]e fail to prepare our White brothers and sisters for the alternative roles they will need to play to be effective; we do not provide them with the strategies and skills needed for antiracist interventions; and we do not prepare them to face a hostile and invalidating society that pushes back hard, forcing them to either readopt their former White biased roles or maintain their silence in the face of White supremacist ideology and practice. (p. 713).

The current studies suggest that equipping allies to confront is effective. People often desire to 'do the right thing' when it comes to racism, but they may not know how. By informing people of the effectiveness of confrontations as an anti-racism action and by providing specific verbiage that demystifies the process, people may be more likely to step up to the plate and challenge prejudice.

I sought to establish the boundary conditions of anti-racism messaging with two particular questions in mind: (1) which message is more effective (i.e., one that promotes equality or one that condemns bias); and (2) does the effectiveness of the message depend on

people's salient or predominant motivational orientation (i.e., promotion or prevention regulatory focus). The results of the current work suggest that both kinds of messages are equally effective and their effectiveness is not limited to people with one particular self-regulatory orientation. These results are promising because diversity is big business.

Corporations, health-care organizations, universities, and philanthropic initiatives all funnel billions of dollars into the burgeoning diversity training industry. Taken together, the current study suggests that we can inspire allies to overcome the barriers to confrontation and speak out. By speaking out, allies will help to enact Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of a united people striving together for our collective freedom. Considering that the struggle for civil rights is still relevant for Black Americans, this research can contribute to the solution.

APPENDIX A

REGULATORY FOCUS QUESTIONNAIRE

Regulatory Focus Questionnaire (Higgins et al., 2001)
[Scale: 1 not at all, 7 extremely]

Instructions. This set of questions asks you about specific events in your life. Please indicate your answer to each question by selecting the appropriate number on the slider. Indicate to what extent you generally feel this way, that is, how you feel on the average.

1. Compared to most people, I am typically unable to get what I want out of life
2. Growing up, I sometimes 'crossed the line' by doing things that my parents would not tolerate
3. I have often accomplished things that got me 'psyched' to work even harder
4. I got on my parents' nerves often when I was growing up
5. I often obeyed rules and regulations that were established by my parents
6. Growing up, I sometimes acted in ways that my parents thought were objectionable
7. I often do well at different things that I try
8. Not being careful enough has gotten me into trouble at times.
9. When it comes to achieving things that are important to me, I find that I don't perform as well as I ideally would like to do.
10. In general, feel like I have made progress toward being successful in my life.
11. I have found very few hobbies or activities in my life that capture my interest or motivate me to put effort into.

APPENDIX B

PILOT STUDY FILLER ITEMS AND ATTENTION CHECK

Pilot Study Filler Items and Attention Check

Items were derived from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988) and the State Self Esteem Scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991). Items are listed in the order in which they appear among the target RFQ items from Appendix A, and use the same 7-point response scale.

1. Compared to most people, I am worried about whether I am regarded as a success or failure.
2. In general, I feel that others respect and admire me.
3. I generally feel displeased with myself.
4. Compared to most people, I feel enthusiastic.
5. I am generally pleased with my appearance.
6. I often feel hostile.
7. I will click 'not at all' to indicate that I am carefully attending to all survey items."
8. Compared to most people, I feel confident that I understand things.
9. Compared to most people, I feel determined.
10. I feel that I have less scholastic ability than others.

APPENDIX C

PILOT STUDY DISTRACTOR TASK

Letter Fluency Task (Borkowski, Benton & Spreen, 1967)

Instructions: Please type in all the words you can think of that begin with a certain letter into the provided textbox. You will be asked to do this task for 3 different letters. Proper Nouns and Plural words do NOT count as words. You will have 1 minute per letter.

A: _____

F: _____

S: _____

APPENDIX D

REGULATORY FOCUS AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL RECALL TASK

Regulatory Focus Manipulation: Regulatory Successes (Higgins et al., 2001)**Promotion-Focus:**

Please write about a time in the last 5 years when:

- a) you felt you made progress toward being successful in life
- b) compared to most people you were able to get what you wanted out of life
- c) trying to achieve something important to you, you performed as well as you ideally would have liked to

Prevention-Focus:

Please write about a time in the last 5 years when:

- a) being careful enough avoided getting you into trouble,
- b) you stopped yourself from acting in a way that others considered objectionable
- c) you were careful not to get on other people's nerves

APPENDIX E

STATE REGULATORY FOCUS MANIPULATION CHECK

State Regulatory Focus Manipulation Check

Items were derived from the RFQ (Higgins et al., 2001) and borrowed from Wan, Hong & Sternthal (2008).

Instructions: Please indicate how true these statements are of you right now (in the current moment): using a scale from 1 *definitely false*, 7 *definitely true*

1. I feel unable to get what I want out of life right now.
2. Accomplishing things gets me 'psyched' to work even harder right now.
3. Right now, I obey rules and regulations that are established.
4. I am focused on avoiding negative outcomes in my life right now.
5. Right now, I am doing well at different things that I try.
6. Not being careful enough right now may get me into trouble.
7. When it comes to achieving things that are important to me right now, I perform as well as I ideally would like to do.
8. Right now, I feel like I have made progress toward being successful in my life.
9. Very few hobbies or activities in my life right now capture my interest or motivate me to put effort into.
10. Right now, I act in ways that others find objectionable.
11. I am focused on achieving positive outcomes in my life right now.

APPENDIX F
HYPOTHESIS GUESS QUESTIONS

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 G
PILOT STUDY DEBRIEFING SHEET

Debriefing

People use self-regulation strategies when pursuing their goals. Most individuals adopt one of two foci: they are either prevention focused – where they are more concerned with avoiding negative outcomes, or they are promotion focused – where they are more concerned with pursuing positive outcomes. In other words, individuals can pursue the same goal by adopting distinctly different regulatory foci. Regulatory focus is typically considered at the trait level, which means that a person's focus is relatively stable over time. However, research suggests that this focus can shift momentarily to fit the situation. The present research tests the possibility that regulatory focus can be situation-specific.

You completed several survey items to assess your dispositional regulatory focus. You then completed a task where you wrote about your promotion goals or prevention goals. Finally, you answered additional survey items to assess whether the writing task influenced your regulatory focus in the moment.

We ask that you not discuss this experiment with others, 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:

Higgins, E. T. (2000). Making a good decision: value from fit. *American Psychologist*, 55(11), 1217. doi: 101037//0003-066X.55.11.1230

Higgins, E. T., Friedman, R. S., Harlow, R. E., Idson, L. C., Ayduk, O. N., & Taylor, A. (2001). Achievement orientations from subjective histories of success: Promotion pride versus prevention pride. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 31(1), 3-23.

APPENDIX H
REGULATORY FOCUS PROVERBS

Regulatory Focus Proverbs

Promotion-Focus:

1. Where there's a will, there's a way
2. Nothing ventured, nothing gained
3. When the going gets tough, the tough get going
4. If at first you don't succeed, try, try again

Prevention-Focus:

1. Prevention is better than cure
2. Better safe than sorry
3. Keep your friends close and your enemies closer
4. Don't put all your eggs in one basket

APPENDIX I

REGULATORY FOCUS CONTROL CONDITIONS

Regulatory Focus Control Conditions

Proverb Interpretation Task

1. Absence makes the heart grow fonder.
2. One person's trash is another person's treasure.
3. You can't teach an old dog new tricks.

Autobiographical Recall Task

1. Your commute to work today
2. The last movie you saw at a movie theatre
3. Specific time when you were surprised

APPENDIX J

MESSAGE FRAME MANIPULATION

Increase Equality Pro-Confrontation Message

Content modified from Phills et al. (2011).

<p>INCREASE EQUALITY AT WORK</p> <p>YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!</p> 	<p>DID YOU KNOW?</p>  <p>People overhear racial slurs and derogatory comments on a weekly basis.</p> <p>Researchers at Yale have shown that racism leads to psychological distress and poor health. Experiencing racism can hinder performance and interpersonal relationships.</p> <p>Many people believe that it is important to treat everyone equally, regardless of their race. However, people are afraid to speak up for equality. You can challenge your co-workers to treat others fairly.</p>
<p>SPEAK OUT FOR EQUALITY!</p>  <p>Research shows that <i>speaking out for equality</i> can change other people's biased behavior. Don't stay silent. If you see something racist, say something. The other person might think twice because you set a good example.</p> <p>We all have a responsibility to <i>encourage tolerance</i>.</p> <p>If you believe that <i>everyone deserves to be treated fairly</i>, let your voice be heard!</p>	<p>WHAT CAN YOU SAY TO <u>INCREASE EQUALITY</u>?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ask the other person questions, rather than making statements. Questions generate answers, while statements generate resistance. An example of this strategy is, "Why do you say that?" 2. Arouse cognitive dissonance in the speaker by appealing to the speaker's sense of fairness. An example of this strategy is, "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?" or "Would you say that in front of your parents/siblings?"

1

2

3

4

Decrease Prejudice Pro-Confrontation Message

DECREASE PREJUDICE AT WORK

YOU CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!



1

DID YOU KNOW?



People overhear racial slurs and derogatory comments on a weekly basis.

Researchers at Yale have shown that racism leads to psychological distress and poor health. Experiencing racism can hinder performance and interpersonal relationships.

Many people believe that it is important to refrain from treating others differently because of their race. However, people are afraid to speak out against prejudice. You can challenge your co-workers to avoid treating people unfairly.

2

SPEAK OUT AGAINST PREJUDICE!



Research shows that *speaking out against prejudice* can change other people's biased behavior. Don't stay silent. If you see something racist, say something. The other person might think twice because you set a good example.

We all have a responsibility to *discourage intolerance*.

If you believe that *no one deserves to be treated unfairly*, let your voice be heard!

3

WHAT CAN YOU SAY TO DECREASE PREJUDICE?

1. Ask the other person questions, rather than making statements. Questions generate answers, while statements generate resistance. An example of this strategy is, "Why do you say that?"
2. Arouse cognitive dissonance in the speaker by appealing to the speaker's sense of fairness. An example of this strategy is, "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?" or "Would you say that in front of your parents/siblings?"

4

APPENDIX K
MESSAGE FRAME RECALL CHECK

Message Frame Recall Check

Instructions: Please answer the following questions regarding the materials you just read

1. In your own words, describe the main message of this presentation?
2. How do you think incoming students will react to this message?
3. Which of these **was not** a suggested strategy?
 - a. Tell the other person how you feel
 - b. Tell the other person you were surprised
 - c. Tell the other person how they ought to behave
4. What, if any, changes would you recommend to this presentation before it is administered to incoming first-year students at orientation?

APPENDIX L
FEELING RIGHT QUESTIONNAIRE

Feeling Right Questionnaire (Cesario & Higgins, 2008)

Instructions: Please use the following scale to indicate the degree to which you agree with each of the following statements (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).

1. I feel right about this presentation.
2. I feel happy about this presentation.
3. I feel relaxed about this presentation.
4. I feel wrong about this presentation.
5. I feel bad about this presentation.
6. I feel sad about this presentation.
7. I feel good about this presentation.
8. I feel anxious about this presentation.

APPENDIX M

CHAT SCRIPTS

Imagined Chat Script

Instructions: Imagine that you and your co-worker are having a discussion about the presentation you just saw. Your co-worker seems interested in getting your opinion on the presentation. Imagine that your co-worker makes the following comment. Respond to your co-worker's comment, and then imagine what they might say back. Complete the dialogue between you and your co-worker for up to 5 lines.

Co-Worker: "Honestly, I don't think racism is a major problem anymore. I don't understand why black people keep pulling the race card."

You: _____

Co-Worker: _____

You: _____

Live Online Chat Script (sic)

Confederate: I guess were supposed to chat about the presentation?

Participant: _____

Confederate: I think they should show some videos or something to make it more interesting

(pause)

What about you?

Participant: _____

Confederate: I liked that they had pictures of Loyola, but I think they could have used a video or something to keep people engaged a bit more. (pause)

I kinda got bored reading all those facts and stuff

Participant: _____

Confederate: What did you think about the whole social justice thing? (pause)

I know that Loyola is super liberal, but I think it focused too much on the race issue

Participant: _____

Confederate: honestly, I dont think racism is a major problem anymore. (pause)

Times have changed. (pause)

I don't understand why black people keep making everything about race. People need to chill!

APPENDIX N
CONFRONTATION CODING SCHEME

Confrontation Coding Scheme modified from Plous (2000); Swim and Hyers (1999)

Item	Code:	
1. Attribution of prejudice	0 = <u>no evidence</u> that participant labeled the comment as prejudiced	1 = <u>clear evidence</u> that participant labeled the comment as prejudiced
2: Surprised exclamations	0 = the participant did not express surprise or make any exclamations	1 = the participant expressed surprise or made an exclamation
3: Questioning	0 = the participant did not ask the other person any questions	1 = the participant asked the other person a question
4: Contradict	0 = the participant did not contradict the other person's remark	1 = the participant gave a response that contradicted the other person's remark
5: Disagree	0 = the participant did not state that he or she disagreed with the with the other person	1 = the participant stated that he or she disagreed with the with the other person
6: Direct confrontation	0 = the participant did not confront the other person	1 = the participant directly confronted the other person
7: Appeal to egalitarianism	0 = the participant did not attempt to appeal to the other person's sense of fairness or open-mindedness	1 = the participant attempted to appeal to the other person's sense of fairness or open-mindedness
8: Statement of feelings	0 = the participant did not tell the other person how he or she felt	1 = the participant told the other person how he or she felt
9: Perspective taking	0 = the participant did not try to get the other person to imagine the consequences of the comment by considering how it would affect someone he or she cares about	1 = the participant tried to get the other person to imagine the consequences of the comment by considering how it would affect someone he or she cares about
10: Humor or sarcasm	0 = the participant did not make any jokes or sarcastic remarks	1 = the participant tried to make a joke or responded sarcastically
11: Acceptance or agreement	0 = the participant failed to express agreement with the prejudiced remark	1 = the participant agreed with the other person

APPENDIX O
POST-CONFRONTATION EVALUATION

Post-Confrontation Evaluation

Instructions: Please use the following scale to indicate the degree to which you agree with each of the following statements regarding your chat with the other person (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely).

Self-evaluation

1. I effectively communicated my intended message.
2. I felt confident about my ability to respond.
3. I felt frustrated about my response.
4. I felt self-conscious.
5. I felt good about my response.
6. I felt concerned about the impression I was making.
7. I was worried that the other person would dislike me.
8. I was worried that the other person would react negatively (e.g., get angry, upset).

Partner-evaluation

9. The other person was friendly.
10. The other person was rude.
11. The other person was prejudiced.
12. The other person was funny.
13. The other person was likable.
14. I would be interested in having another conversation with this person.
15. I would recommend that the other person attend a training on racism and bias.
16. Imagine that the office on Diversity and Inclusion recommended a book on understanding racism. Please indicate how many pages you would want the other person to read (from 1 to 100). _____

APPENDIX P
RACE CARD SCALE

Race CARD Scale of Future Confrontation Intentions

In the future, how likely would you be to react in the following ways if you just heard a racist comment being directed toward another person? Use a scale from 1 = *not at all likely*, to 7 = *extremely likely*

Confrontation

1. I would ask the racist person questions about their behavior
2. I would confront the racist person
3. I would express surprise at the comment
4. I would tell the person that what they said was racist (biased or prejudiced)
5. I would tell the other person that what they said was mean or unkind
6. I would tell the racist person that they offended me
7. I would visibly express disgust in my facial expression
8. I would try to get help from others
9. I would express my disagreement with the comment
10. I would contradict the racist person
11. I would try to get the racist person to see how their comments negatively impacted others

Altercation

12. I would yell at the racist person
13. I would use physical force against the racist person

Reconciliation

14. I would try hard to make the racist person comfortable during the interaction

Deflection

15. I would try to avoid an argument
16. I would say nothing if I heard someone else being called a racial slur
17. I would leave as soon as possible
18. I would try to change the topic
19. I do not expect that saying something would make a difference
20. I would avoid future interactions with the racist person

APPENDIX Q
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 taking personal responsibility to confront racism. 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. Providing confronting training through the use of strategies and practice is one way to overcome the barrier of a lack of knowledge. However, we also wanted to know whether people respond more favorably to a message that promotes equality or one that decreases bias.

You completed a task where you wrote about your goals and aspirations or your duties and obligations. Next, you read some materials about confronting racism. You either read that it was important to increase equality, or decrease prejudice. Finally, you engaged in a web-based chat with another person who made a racist comment, and had the opportunity to assertively confront this person. We used a chat paradigm for responding to the racist comment because many adults use online mediums to communicate, and instances of prejudiced are frequently found online.

We ask that you not discuss this experiment with others, 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. 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

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APPENDIX R
ORIENTATION SURVEY

Decision-Making Study Orientation Survey

Date: _____ PID: _____

What year are you: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th

Did you attend first year orientation: yes no

On a scale from 1 (NOT AT ALL) to 10 (VERY MUCH), how much did you enjoy orientation

In 2-3 sentences, please tell me what (if anything) you would change about orientation if you could?

APPENDIX S
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questionnaire

PID:

What is your class standing?

- 1st-year
- 2nd-year
- 3rd-year
- 4th-year

What is your major? _____

Please indicate your sex: _____

Please indicate your age: _____

Please indicate your race:

- White
- Black / African American
- Latino / Hispanic
- Native American / Alaskan Native
- Hawaiian / Pacific Islander
- Asian
- Other (Please specify)

APPENDIX T
STRUCTURED DEBRIEFING INTERVIEW

We're almost finished, but first I need to ask you a few questions. This will help us understand your experience in the study. It's very important that you share your true thoughts with me because it will really help our research to know about your experience.

1. First, what was your overall impression of the study?

2. Do you have any concerns about the study (circle one)? YES NO

3. A lot of people in psychology experiments are suspicious that we're hiding something from them. Were you suspicious at all? *[If yes, why?] "I didn't think I was talking to a real person"*
 - 3 B) What made you suspicious [OR: Did you suspect that] that you were not actually chatting with another student? *[if they say that a student would not make the comment about the race card, say: what makes you say that?]*

 - 3 C) Would it surprise you to hear that comments like this are made at Loyola? [If they say no one they know would make those comments, ask: so you've never heard someone say anything like this?]

- 4 If the suspicion started after THE COMMENT, say "Was there any point before that that made you suspicious?"

- 5 Was there anything that seemed to take the chat in a different direction, or throw you off for a second (circle one)? YES NO

- 6 What was your impression of the other participant in this study?

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

- 8 Have any of your friends have been in this study? YES NO

Okay, now I'd like to tell you a bit more about this study. **I ask that you not share this information with any friends you have who might also participate in the study so that we can get the most authentic responses.**

If people ask, just say we were looking at how people interview via the computer, okay?

[Make eye contact and get a head nod or verbal acknowledgement]

You took part in a computer-mediated experiment. Although we told you that you were interacting with another participant, in reality, all participants interacted with the experimenter. I was pretending to be the other participant. We do this to ensure that all participants have a similar experience in the study.

We are really interested in how people respond to messages that promote confrontations of racial bias. The same message could be framed in two completely different ways. One way is to say that it is important to increase equality and pursue positive outcomes. The other is to say that we should decrease prejudice and avoid negative outcomes.

The idea is that either of these two messages could 'sit' very differently depending on your personality. Some people are naturally more promotion focused, where they go after their goals by seeking positive outcomes. Other people are naturally more prevention focused, where they go after the same goal by avoiding negative outcomes.

Which of the two messages resonate with you will probably depend on your personality. In other words, people who are prevention focused should be more persuaded by a message that encourages them to decrease prejudice, whereas people who are promotion focused should be more persuaded by a message that encourages them to increase equality.

Do you have any questions about the study that you would like me to answer?

Thanks for helping with the study. I'll update your credit later today.

Experimenter, please answer these questions.

	Not at all	Somewhat			Very Much		
Level of Suspicion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Not at all	Somewhat			Very Much		
Involvement in Study	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Comments

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VITA

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