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Effects of Affiliative Motivation and Confrontation Style on Anti-Black Attitudes and Social Consequences

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

EFFECTS OF AFFILIATIVE MOTIVATION AND CONFRONTATION STYLE ON ANTI-
BLACK ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

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ABSTRACT

Anti-Black racism occurs on a daily basis and comes with both physical and psychological costs to its targets. One effective way to reduce discrimination is through confrontation, which could come in the form of a hostile accusation of racism (hot confrontation) or a polite emphasis on egalitarian values (cold confrontation). However, confronting often has social costs that may include damaging the relationship between the confronter and the perpetrator. This research determined whether social relationships can reduce anti-Black bias while also serving as a buffer against the social consequences of confronting. Participants ($n = 168$) were randomly assigned to a 2(*affiliative motivation*: high v. low) x 2(*confrontation type*: hot v. cold) x 2(*racial content of the confrontation*: yes v. no) between-subjects design. Affiliative motivation had no effect on prejudice reduction or the social consequences for the confronter. Moreover, the type and content of the confrontation had no effect on prejudice reduction. However, similar to past research, participants who received a confrontation with racial content liked the confronter more when they received a cold (versus hot) confrontation. Implications of this research are discussed in terms of the role confrontations play in relationships and their influence on social consequences over biased attitude reduction.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Black individuals experience the effects of racism on a daily basis. Anti-Black discrimination has moved away from an old-fashioned or overt expression of racism (Sniderman & Carmines, 1997), toward a more modern or subtle expression of racism (Zárate, 2009). Termed “everyday racism” by Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003), this type of discrimination typically encompasses offensive comments and subtle behaviors, such as staring, bad service, and other forms of disrespectful behavior.

Everyday racism has many costs for Black individuals. Blacks tend to receive poorer health care than their White counterparts, which results in elevated mortality rates. Psychological distress, for example depression, anger, and anxiety, also result from the daily experience of racial bias (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999; Stangor, Swim, Sechrist, Decoster, Van Allen, & Ottenbreit, 2003). Moreover, targets of discrimination exhibit emotional distress (Stangor, et al., 2003) in part because such discrimination leaves unsatisfied core needs for belonging, causing feelings of rejection (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009).

Despite studies showing that everyday racism is frequently experienced and has many negative consequences for its targets, everyday racism often remains unchallenged or unacknowledged. Dickter and Newton (2013), for example, found that after keeping a log of prejudice, White undergraduate students heard almost nine direct or indirect racist comments by other majority group members over the course of one week. White students, however, were

unlikely to confront the people who made these comments, even though they were frequently family, friends, or acquaintances (Dickter & Newton, 2013). This lack of confrontation was partly driven by the fear of damaging the relationship between the confronter and the perpetrator of discrimination. This is unfortunate as challenging or drawing attention to everyday racism is an effective way to reduce many of its negative outcomes.

The Risks and Benefits of Confrontation

Confronting everyday racism is an effective way to reduce prejudice through attitude change (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Unfortunately, confronting perpetrators to make them aware of their prejudice is rare (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). According to Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, and Goodwin (2008), several hurdles need to be overcome before an individual goes from experiencing a discriminatory situation to actually confronting the perpetrator. The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model proposes that four steps (i.e., detection, interpretation, responsibility, and ability) need to occur in order for an individual to confront. If all four of the conditions delineated in the model have been met, only then will the observer confront the discrimination. Even if the observer makes it to the final step, however, the perceived costs of confronting often still outweigh the perceived benefits resulting in a lack of confrontation.

The overall lack of confrontation may be due to the fear of experiencing dire social costs such as being ridiculed or disliked (Good, Moss-Racusin & Sanchez, 2012), or the possible risk of losing one's sense of social connectedness, or belonging, for which human beings strive (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Black people risk being labeled as a "complainer" or "hypersensitive" if they choose to confront racial discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2001) and their confrontations are often written off as invalid by the perpetrator (Gulker, Mark, &

Monteith, 2012). While the opportunity to confront anti-Black discrimination frequently presents itself to White individuals, few utilize this strategy to combat racial injustice. Even White individuals who hold egalitarian values are not likely to confront in a real-world situation. When asked to imagine their reaction to discrimination, most people report confronting the perpetrator as a likely response. However, upon experiencing a situation in which a perpetrator expresses anti-Black racist behaviors, White individuals do not confront nearly as often as they say they would in an imagined scenario (Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009).

White people can avoid at least some of the negative social consequences of confronting experienced by their Black counterparts and should therefore be recruited in the effort to confront racism. Czopp and Monteith (2003) demonstrated that participants reacted less negatively and felt more guilt and self-criticism when confronted by a White person as opposed to a Black person. When experienced after being confronted for bias, such negative self-directed affect has been linked to greater prejudice reduction (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils & Czopp, 2002). Furthermore, White individuals elicit more respect and liking (Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2012) and are more persuasive (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010) than Blacks when confronting on behalf of an outgroup member.

Although individuals often worry about experiencing negative social consequences (i.e., being disliked) as a result of confronting racial bias, research suggests that the social costs of confronting are not inevitable and the act of confronting may play out better than people imagine. Mallett and Wagner (2011) conducted a study during which male participants were accused of sexism for assuming the gender of a nurse. The authors found positive outcomes for these face-to-face confrontations in that the accused compensated for their sexist behavior in a subsequent interaction by offering an apology and smiling. The compensatory behaviors

correlated with mutual liking between the participant and the confronter, and resulted in better detection of sexist language.

Prejudice Reduction

Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) showed that confronting White individuals about their prejudiced statements on a photograph-inference task (to be used in this study) led to a change in stereotypical responding on a subsequent photograph-inference task. On each trial of the task, participants see a photograph of a person along with a short description and are instructed to type a 1-2 word inference regarding that person's job or hobby. On critical trials, the description of the individual along with the photo elicits a prejudiced response (e.g., photo of a Black man with "Can be found behind bars" description). Post-confrontation, stereotypic responding to the task was curbed even if participants disliked the confronter. Additionally, confronting was such an effective tool in reducing anti-Black bias that it even translated to participants' ratings of self-reported prejudiced attitudes. White participants who were confronted showed a greater decrease on the Attitudes Towards Blacks (ATB) scale (Brigham, 1993), indicating an overall decrease in anti-Black biased attitudes compared to a control group.

The present research seeks to replicate the effect found in Czopp, and colleagues' (2006) research. In order to maximize attitude change in White participants who were confronted for a biased remark, Czopp and colleagues (2006) varied the type of confrontation that participants experienced. Hot confrontations were hostile and accusatory. They disregarded the norms of politeness and impugned the participants' egalitarian values. Hot confrontations feel like a firm blow to an individual's self-concept and egalitarian views and tend to evoke positive attitude and behavior change. For example, "You should really try to think about Blacks in other ways that are less prejudiced. It just seems that you are some kind of racist. You know what I mean?" was

labeled a hot confrontation. In contrast, a cold confrontation was less threatening and emphasized concepts such as fairness and egalitarianism. “Maybe it would be good to think about Blacks in other ways that are a little more fair? It just seems that a lot of times Blacks don’t get equal treatment in our society. You know what I mean?” was labeled a cold confrontation. Both types of confrontations proved equally effective at reducing participants’ prejudiced attitudes.

Affiliative Motivation

One important difference between the two types of confrontations was that hot confrontations resulted in less liking for the confronter than cold confrontations (Czopp, et al., 2006). I will test whether the relationship between the perpetrator of racism and the confronter shapes the effectiveness of the different types of confrontations for attitude change and protects the confronter from the social consequences of confronting.

Although the drive to preserve social relationships may at times undermine confrontation, harnessing the power of social relationships may provide a way to reduce anti-Black attitudes. Shared reality is a key ingredient to social relationships (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009). Shared reality theory assumes that human beings are driven to achieve commonality or share inner states, such as beliefs and judgments. Creation of shared reality satisfies two fundamental needs: the need to preserve and maintain social relationships and the need to understand the world (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009). This motivation to share an understanding of the world, and in particular the social world, is distinct to humans. The absence of social sharing is detrimental because it undermines feelings of social connection and our ability to conceptualize reality. The ability to interpret cues regarding how others think and feel enables us to evaluate other groups, or in a more practical sense, determine which movies to attend, which political

candidate to vote for, or whether to stand up for the target in a discriminatory situation (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009).

One way to achieve shared reality is to “tune” beliefs toward an interaction partner, a process called social tuning. This process of social tuning beliefs and attitudes is, in part, driven by affiliative motivation, or a desire to form or maintain social bonds with another (Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005). Research shows that when affiliative motivation is engaged individuals will spontaneously adopt the attitudes and beliefs of individuals with whom they interact, and when affiliative motivation is absent or low, individuals will adopt attitudes and beliefs opposite to those of individuals with whom they interact. When targets of stereotypes are faced with an individual who holds stereotypical views of their group, for example, targets who have high affiliative motivation toward this person will come to see themselves in a stereotypic fashion (i.e., they will engage in self-stereotyping; Sinclair et al., 2005). However, targets who have low affiliative motivation toward this person will come to see themselves in the opposite fashion (i.e., they will form a counter-stereotypic view of themselves).

Affiliative motivation has been manipulated in a variety of ways. Sinclair and colleagues (2005), for instance, simply varied two aspects of the impending social interaction. High affiliative motivation was achieved by telling the participants that they shared the same birthday as the other participant and that the two individuals would be interacting for an extended period of time (i.e., 30 minutes). On the other hand, low affiliative motivation was achieved by informing the participants that they had different birthdays and that they would be interacting for only 5 minutes. Affiliative motivation has been manipulated in other ways as well. Sinclair, Lowery, Hardin, and Colangelo (2005) induced liking for the experimenter by varying whether the participants were offered candy by the experimenter before beginning the study (high

affiliative motivation) or by denying candy to participants (low affiliative motivation). With these simple manipulations of affiliative motivation, individuals experience social tuning toward their interaction partner.

As can be seen, social tuning as the result of affiliative motivation is a powerful tool by which negative intergroup attitudes can be reduced. When applied to confronting everyday racism, the presence of affiliative motivation on the part of the perpetrator toward the confronter may cause the perpetrator to socially tune his or her racial attitudes toward the expressed egalitarian attitudes of the confronter. Confrontation, in such a situation, may then result in a reduction of intergroup bias. It is further assumed that, because the effects of social tuning appear quite general, the particular form of confrontation used should have little effect on the process of social tuning. That is, all that is needed to cause a reduction of intergroup bias via social tuning is the presence of affiliative motivation toward the confronter and clearly expressed egalitarian attitudes. It matters little how those attitudes are communicated during the interaction.

Overview of the Proposed Study

The present research will measure social consequences for the confronter to determine whether affiliative motivation can act as a protective factor for the confronter, especially when the chosen confrontation strategy is hostile. Although hot confrontations may typically lead to the most negative social consequences for the confronter, this outcome could depend upon affiliative motivation. If a perpetrator receives a hot confrontation, I expect they will express a more favorable evaluation of the confronter if they have a high affiliative motivation with the confronter than if they have a low affiliative motivation. I expect that affiliative motivation will also serve as a protective factor for cold confrontations, but the magnitude of the effect will be smaller.

I further build on Czopp and colleagues' (2006) study by including a hot and cold confrontation that does not have an accusation of racism. Although the social stigma associated with being labeled a bigot tends to reduce biased attitudes and behavior (Czopp et al., 2006), people tend to dislike individuals who draw their bias to their attention. Therefore I predict that participants will like the confronter less if the confrontation relates to the perpetrator's racist attitudes as opposed to another personal characteristic. I expect to find the same pattern of social consequences occur for confrontation, but to a lesser degree when confrontations are unrelated to race.

Hypotheses

I will manipulate the level of affiliative motivation between the confronter and participants (high v. low; Sinclair et al., 2005), the type of confrontation that participants receive (hot v. cold; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006), and whether or not the confrontation contains racial content (yes v. no). I will measure anti-Black racism and social consequences for the confronter. Below, I outline hypotheses for prejudice reduction and social consequences.

Prejudice Reduction

Hypothesis A1. As in Sinclair and colleagues (2005), I expect a main effect of affiliative motivation in that high affiliative motivation should cause less racist attitudes than low affiliative motivation.

Hypothesis A2. Past research indicates that hot and cold confrontations are equally effective (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006); therefore, I do not expect a main effect of confrontation type in terms of reducing anti-Black attitudes. However, there may be a main effect of racial content such that the confrontations containing racial content will cause less racist attitudes toward Blacks compared to the non-racial content confrontations.

Hypothesis A3. I expect a 3-way interaction such that in the racial content condition I expect the 2-way (confrontation type x affiliative motivation) interaction to be significant. That is, when participants receive a hot confrontation, racist attitudes will be lower when affiliative motivation is high versus low. When participants receive a cold confrontation, I expect the same pattern but the magnitude should be reduced. In the non-racial content confrontation conditions I do not expect the 2-way (confrontation type x affiliative motivation) interaction to be significant. That is, affiliative motivation will have no impact on racist attitudes.

Social Consequences for the Confronter

Hypothesis B1. I expect a main effect of affiliative motivation in that high affiliative motivation will produce less social consequences for the confronter than low affiliative motivation (Sinclair et al., 2005).

Hypothesis B2. I expect a main effect of confrontation type whereby cold confrontations, regardless of racial content, will elicit less social consequences for the confronter than hot confrontations (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006).

Hypothesis B3. I predict a significant 2-way interaction (confrontation type x affiliative motivation) such that high affiliative motivation will act as a protective factor in terms of social consequences for the confronter. When participants receive a hot confrontation, social consequences will be lower when affiliative motivation is high versus low. When participants receive a cold confrontation, I expect the same pattern but the magnitude should be reduced. Both the racial and non-racial content conditions will exhibit the same pattern of results, but overall social consequences will be lower in the non-racial content condition.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Design

This 2(*affiliative motivation*: high v. low) x 2(*confrontation type*: hot v. cold) x 2(*racial content*: yes v. no) between-subjects design measures prejudice reduction (Symbolic Racism, Henry & Sears, 2002; Attitudes Toward Blacks, Brigham, 1993) and social consequences (liking) for the confronter.

Participants

Based on prior research (e.g., Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Monteith, 2016) and a moderate effect size ($r = .30$), results of a prospective power analysis using G*Power 3.1 (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996; Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) indicated that 150 participants were needed to detect effects with 95% power. In anticipation of experimental error, 168 White undergraduates at a Midwestern university were recruited from the university's participant pool, undergraduate classes, and various campus locations. Nine participants were excluded from the analyses based on a high level of suspicion regarding the deception ($n = 5$) and their self-identification as South Asian ($n = 1$), East Asian ($n = 1$), Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander ($n = 1$), or more than one race ($n = 1$). The remaining 159 participants were women ($n = 109$), men ($n = 49$), and nonbinary/genderqueer ($n = 1$) individuals ranging in age from 17-23 years old ($M = 19.43$, $SD = 1.12$). Individuals received either partial fulfillment of course credit, class extra credit, or an \$8 gift card in exchange for their participation in the study.

Procedure and Materials

After consenting to participate in the study, which was described as examining reasoning ability, participants were randomly assigned to one of the eight conditions. Cell sizes were relatively even with 19-21 participants falling within each cell. Once assigned, one of seven White experimenters led participants to believe that they would be interacting with another White participant for the remainder of the study. They were instructed to draw one number from a mug to decide which participant would complete a reasoning ability task first. The drawing was rigged so that participants always drew the number one. After filling out a demographic questionnaire, experimenters followed an affiliative motivation induction procedure similar to that used in Sinclair and colleagues (2005), whereby participants either learned that they shared the same birthday and favorite snack with their interaction partner (high affiliative motivation) or were not given this extra information (low affiliative motivation). Participants were then told that they would complete the reasoning ability task first while the other participant watched their computer screen through a closed-circuit computer system. The other participant would subsequently provide feedback about their performance in the form of a randomly assigned hot or cold confrontation through an online chat paradigm. In reality, there was no other participant but the experimenter was acting as the interaction partner in another room. Experimenters were exclusively White so that the most effective confrontation (i.e., one delivered by one's own ingroup member) could be utilized (Hornsey & Imani, 2004). Participants completed a survey measuring prejudicial attitudes and social consequences for the confronter and were subsequently debriefed.

Affiliative Motivation

Participants were randomly assigned to either the high or low affiliative motivation condition. To manipulate affiliative motivation, participants completed a short questionnaire with information such as their birthday, gender, favorite snack, and favorite location on campus. The experimenter ostensibly collected the same information from the (nonexistent) participant in the other room. Following Sinclair and colleagues (2005), in the high affiliative motivation condition, participants were told that they shared the same birthday and favorite snack as the person in the other room and that they would spend 30 minutes interacting with their partner throughout the study. Participants in the low affiliative motivation condition were not given any information about the other participant (i.e., birthday and favorite snack) and were told that they would only be interacting for a total of 5 minutes during the experimental procedure.

In order to ascertain whether the affiliative motivation manipulation was effective, participants filled out a short questionnaire indicating how similar and close they felt to the other participant on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). The two target items were mixed in with questions such as, “How alert do you feel right now?” and “How many psychology studies have you participated in?” as to disguise the purpose of the measure.

Confrontation

Participants then completed a photo-description inference task (Czopp, Monteith & Mark, 2006) that elicited stereotypic responses. On each trial of the task (Appendix D), participants saw a photograph of a person along with a short description and they were instructed to type a 1-2 word inference regarding that person’s job or hobby. For example, a picture of a White man with the description, “This person can be found in a theater,” might elicit the response, “Actor”. The critical trials contained a photograph of a Black man along with a description (e.g. “This person

can be found behind bars”) that could evoke a stereotypic response (e.g., “Criminal”) or a nonstereotypic response (e.g., “Bartender”; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006).

The other participant (actually the experimenter) who was purportedly watching the task then had the opportunity to comment on the participant’s performance after the task’s completion through an Internet chat paradigm. The feedback provided by the alleged partner was similar to that used in Czopp et al. (2006). Participants were randomly assigned to receive either a hot or cold confrontation. Participants were also randomly assigned to either receive racial content (or not) in the confrontation. In the *hot confrontation with racial content condition*, the participant saw, “You should really try to think about Blacks in other ways that are less prejudiced. It just seems that you are some kind of racist. You know what I mean?” The *cold confrontation with racial content condition* read, “Maybe it would be good to think about Blacks in other ways that are a little more fair? It just seems that a lot of times Blacks don’t get equal treatment in our society. You know what I mean?” Participants assigned to the *hot confrontation without racial content condition* saw, “Were you even paying attention to what you were doing? It was impossible for me to follow you. You know what I mean?” The *cold confrontation without racial content condition* read, “It would have been nice if you slowed down a little bit. I had a hard time following you. You know what I mean?” After receiving the confrontation and having the opportunity to respond, the experimenter entered the room to move participants on to the next part of the study. Participants were told they were being moved along for the sake of time.

Anti-Black Attitudes

Next, participants filled out the Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002; Appendix A) which contains 8 items (e.g., “Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve”) answered on a scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). After

reverse-scoring the appropriate items, the Symbolic Racism Scale was scored by creating standardized (z) scores for each of the items in the scale and averaging the responses in order to equate the variability across items ($\alpha = .81$; Sears & Henry, 2005).

Participants also completed the Attitudes Toward Blacks (ATB) scale (Brigham, 1993; Appendix A) which contains 20 items (e.g., “I would rather not have Blacks live in the same apartment building I live in”) answered on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After reverse-scoring the appropriate items, these items were averaged to form a scale ($\alpha = .69$). Lower scores are indicative of less prejudice toward Blacks for both the Symbolic Racism and ATB scales.

Social Consequences

Finally, participants completed a measure of liking for the confronter to determine social consequences (e.g., see Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Appendix B). The scale ranged from 1 (*absolutely not*) to 5 (*absolutely*) and included 6 items such as, “I have respect for the other participant”. These items were averaged to form a scale ($\alpha = .72$). Removing the item, “The other participant is sensitive”, significantly increased the scale reliability (5 items; $\alpha = .85$). To further support separately examining the sensitivity item, I conducted a factor analysis. Initial Eigen values of the principal components analysis indicated that the first factor explained 52% of the variance. All items except the sensitivity item loaded .70 or above on the first factor. Based on the reliability and factor analyses, all analyses were conducted separately on the sensitivity item and the average response of the other 5 items¹.

¹ Removing the sensitivity item from the overall measure of liking did not alter the pattern of results presented.

All scale items were embedded within the NegSelf Questionnaire (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink & Elliot, 1991; Appendix C) to throw participants off of the hypothesis. The NegSelf scale ranges from 1 (*does not apply at all*) to 7 (*applies very much*) and includes items like, “Please indicate the extent to which you are feeling the following emotions: Angry at myself, Guilty, Frustrated, Good.” The NegSelf scale will not be analyzed for this project.

Debriefing

At the end of the study, participants went through a detailed verbal debriefing process to probe whether they were suspicious and able to guess the hypothesis of the study. The true hypothesis of the study was revealed to them and any questions were answered. Participants were compensated and thanked for their time.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

All data underwent visual inspection to ensure that participants did not simply acquiesce (i.e., input all midpoint values [4's] on dependent measures). No participants demonstrated acquiescence. The data were also visually inspected to ensure that participants in the hot and cold confrontation conditions received the correct confrontations in each instance.

Affiliative Motivation Manipulation Check

To determine whether the affiliative motivation manipulation was effective, I conducted an independent-samples t-test to compare participants' feelings of similarity and closeness to their interaction partner. As anticipated, participants in the high affiliative motivation condition reported feeling more similar to their partner ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.50$) than participants in the low affiliative motivation condition ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.46$), $t(157) = -3.68$, $p < .001$. Additionally, participants in the high affiliative motivation condition reported feeling closer to their partner ($M = 2.61$, $SD = 1.60$) than participants in the low affiliative motivation condition ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 1.18$) condition, $t(157) = -3.01$, $p = .003$. These results indicate that the affiliative motivation manipulation was successful.

Prejudice Reduction

I used a multivariate ANOVA with the averaged response scores for the Symbolic Racism Scale and ATB scale as dependent variables and affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) as fixed factors. I tested hypothesis

A1, that high affiliative motivation would cause less racist attitudes compared to low affiliative motivation. This would appear as a main effect of affiliative motivation on the racism measures.

Failing to support hypothesis A1, there was no main effect of affiliative motivation for the Symbolic Racism Scale, $F(1,158) = 2.54, p = .11$, or the ATB scale, $F(1,158) = .12, p = .73$.

Table 1 shows that the means for Symbolic Racism were in the predicted direction with participants reporting lower Symbolic Racism in the high, versus low, affiliative motivation condition.

I tested hypothesis A2, that racial content in the confrontation would cause less racist attitudes compared to no racial content. This would appear as a main effect of content on the racism measures. Failing to support hypothesis A2, there was no main effect of racial content in the confrontation for the Symbolic Racism Scale, $F(1,158) = 1.89, p = .17$, or the ATB scale, $F(1,158) = .53, p = .47$. Again, Table 1 shows that the means were in the predicted direction for Symbolic Racism with participants reporting lower Symbolic Racism in the racial content, versus no racial content, condition.

Independent Variables		Symbolic Racism Scale	Attitude Toward Blacks	Liking Measure	Sensitivity Item
Level	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	Mean (SE)	
Affiliative Motivation	Low	0.08 (.08)	2.09 (.06)	2.85 (.08)	2.56 (.13)
	High	-0.09 (.08)	2.12 (.06)	2.79 (.08)	2.78 (.13)
Confrontation Type	Cold	-0.02 (.08)	2.11 (.06)	3.06 (.08)	2.61 (.12)
	Hot	0.01 (.08)	2.10 (.06)	2.58 (.08)	2.73 (.13)
Racial Content	Nonracial	0.07 (.08)	2.07 (.06)	2.70 (.08)	2.27 (.13)
	Racial	-0.08 (.08)	2.13 (.06)	2.94 (.08)	3.07 (.13)

Table 1. Estimated marginal means for the (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) ANOVAs for prejudice reduction and social consequences.

I tested hypothesis A3, that participants who received a hot confrontation would exhibit less racist attitudes when affiliative motivation was high versus low, and those who received a cold confrontation would show a similar pattern with reduced magnitude. This would appear as an interaction of affiliative motivation and confrontation type in the racial content condition. Failing to support hypothesis A3, there was no 3-way interaction (see Table 2, Figure 1 and Figure 2).

	Symbolic Racism Scale	Attitude Toward Blacks	Liking Measure (5 Item)	Sensitivity Item
	F (p-value)	F (p-value)	F (p-value)	F (p-value)
Affiliative Motivation (AM)	2.54 (.11)	0.12 (.73)	0.26 (.61)	1.58 (.21)
Confrontation Type (CT)	0.10 (.76)	0.01 (.91)	19.38 (< .001)	0.52 (.47)
Racial Content (RC)	1.89 (.17)	0.53 (.47)	4.72 (.03)	20.73 (< .001)
AM*CT	0.42 (.52)	0.76 (.39)	0.00 (.97)	0.44 (.51)
AM*CT*RC	0.82 (.37)	0.72 (.40)	0.10 (.76)	0.63 (.43)

Table 2. F statistics and significance (*p*) values for the affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) ANOVAs for prejudice reduction and social consequences.

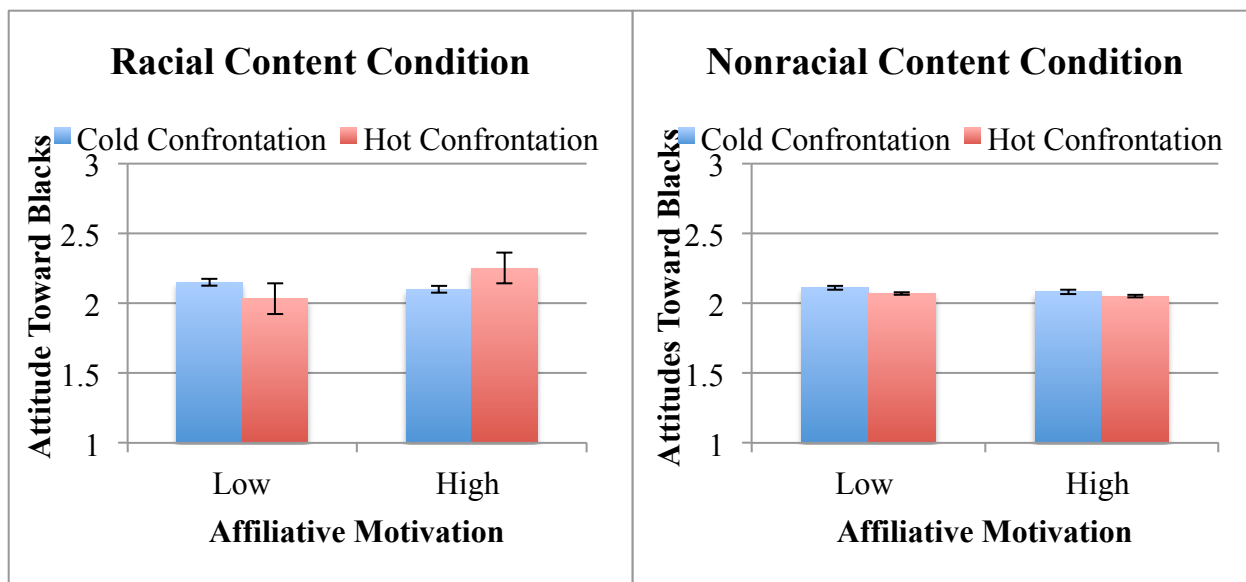


Figure 1. Estimated marginal means for the affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) ANOVAs for the Attitude Toward Blacks scale.

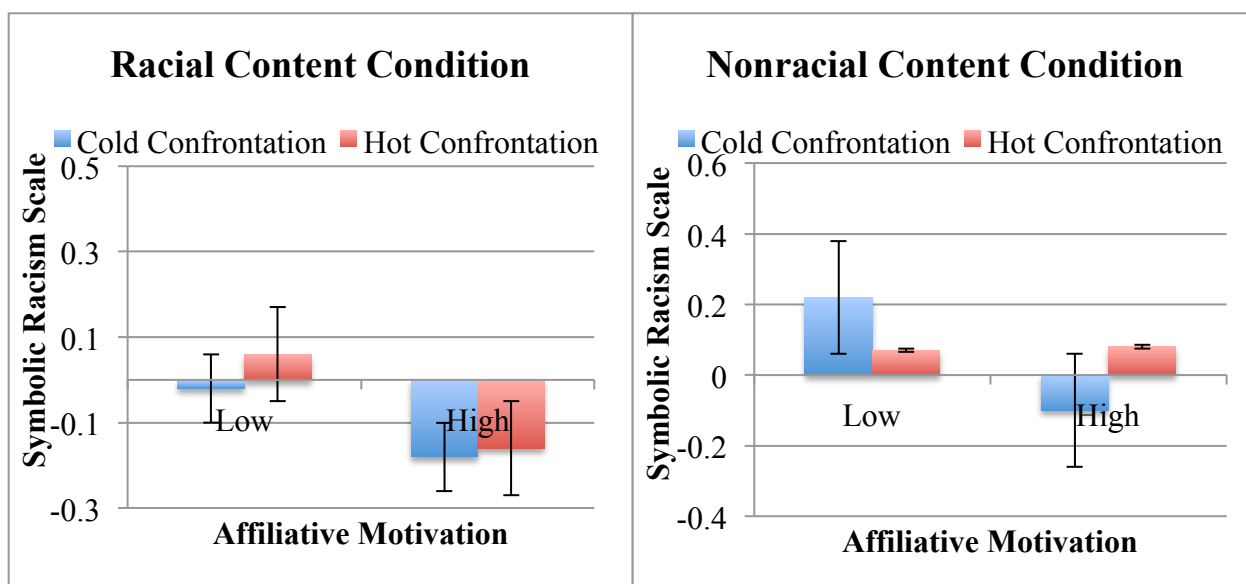


Figure 2. Estimated marginal means for the affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) ANOVAs for the Symbolic Racism Scale.

Social Consequences

I used a multivariate ANOVA with the liking measure and the single sensitivity item as dependent variables and affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) as fixed factors. I tested hypothesis B1, that high affiliative motivation

would cause less social consequences for the confronter compared to low affiliative motivation. This would appear as a main effect of affiliative motivation on the liking measure and sensitivity item. Failing to support hypothesis B1, there was no main effect of affiliative motivation for the liking measure, $F(1,158) = .26, p = .61$, or the sensitivity item, $F(1,158) = 1.58, p = .21$ (see Table 1).

I tested hypothesis B2, that cold confrontations would result in less social consequences for the confronter than hot confrontations. Supporting hypothesis B2, the main effect of confrontation type was significant for the liking measure, $F(1,158) = 19.38, p < .001$. Cold confrontations resulted in more liking for the confronter ($M = 3.06, SD = .08$) than hot confrontations ($M = 2.58, SD = .08$). However, the main effect of confrontation type was not significant for the sensitivity item, $F(1,158) = .52, p = .47$.

The analyses also showed an unexpected main effect of the content of the confrontation for both the liking measure, $F(1,158) = 4.72, p < .05$, and the sensitivity item, $F(1,158) = 20.73, p < .001$. Participants who received racial content in their confrontation exhibited more liking for the confronter ($M = 2.94, SD = .08$) than those who did not receive a confrontation with racial content ($M = 2.70, SD = .08$). For the sensitivity item, those individuals who received racial content in their confrontation found the confronter to be more sensitive ($M = 3.07, SD = .13$) than those who did not receive racial content ($M = 2.27, SD = .13$).

Finally, I tested hypothesis B3, that participants in the high affiliative motivation condition who received a hot confrontation would exhibit less social consequences for the confronter than participants in the low affiliative motivation condition, and participants who received nonracial content in their confrontation would show a similar pattern of results with reduced magnitude. This would appear as an interaction of affiliative motivation and

confrontation type in the racial content condition. Failing to support hypothesis B3, there was no 3-way interaction (see Table 2, Figure 3 and Figure 4).

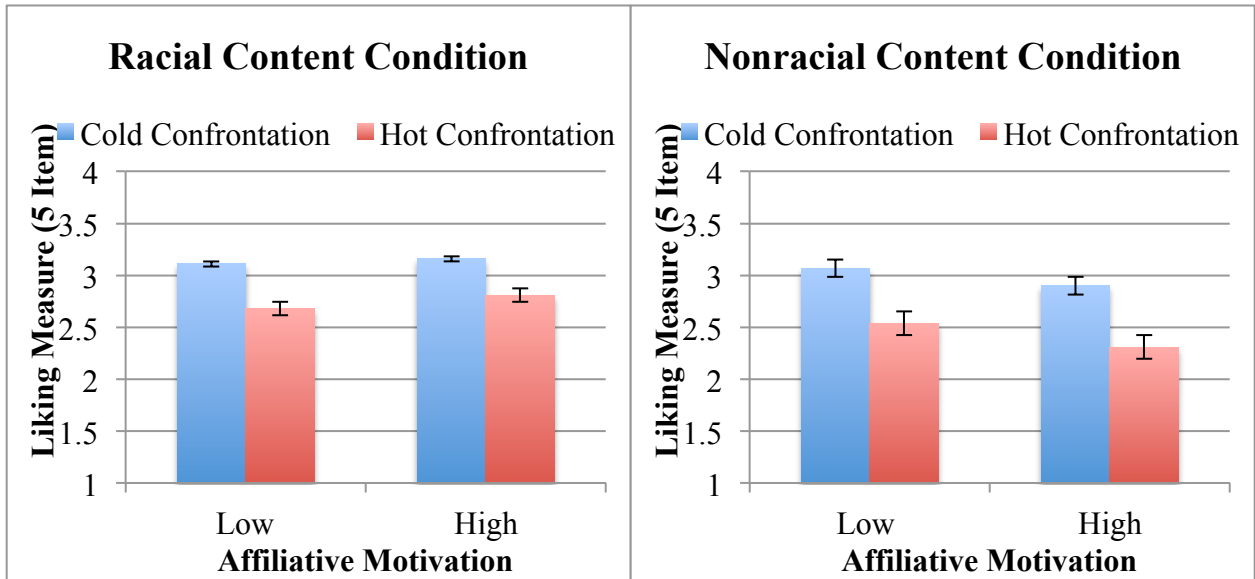


Figure 3. Estimated marginal means for the affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) MANOVA for the liking measure.

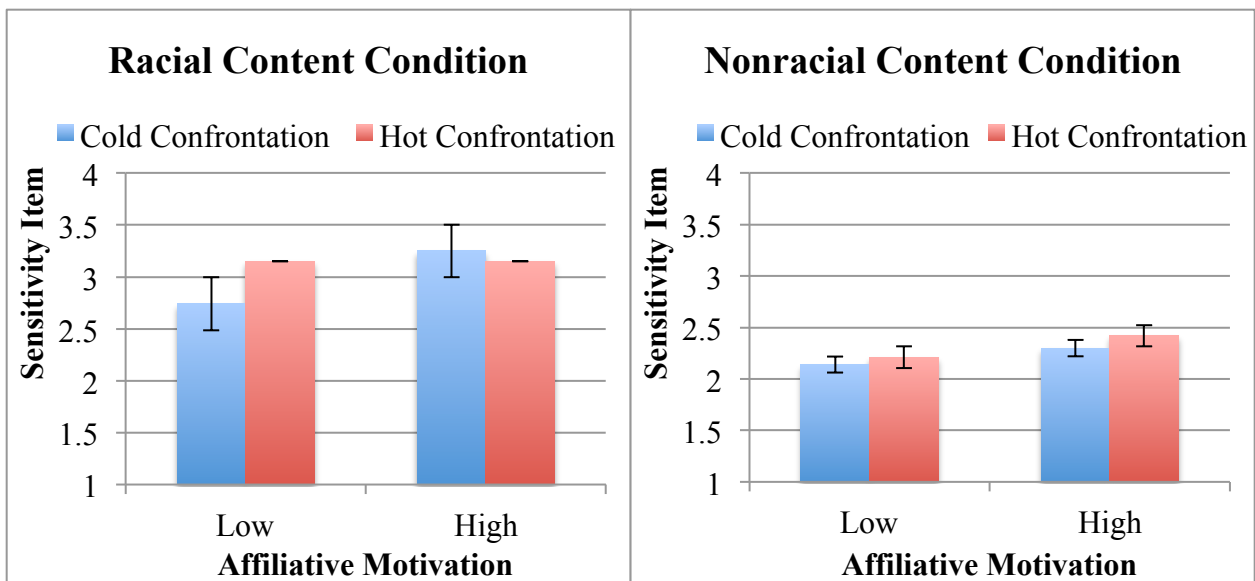


Figure 4. Estimated marginal means for the affiliative motivation (high v. low), confrontation type (hot v. cold), and racial content (yes v. no) MANOVA for the sensitivity item.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

Can personal connections serve as a buffer against the social costs of confronting bias while simultaneously reducing said bias? The present research tested the notion that a person's motivation to affiliate with the confronter and the type of confrontation would reduce anti-Black bias and social consequences for the confronter. The affiliative motivation manipulation was successful in this study in that those participants who were randomly assigned to the high affiliative motivation condition reported feeling more similar and closer to their interaction partner than those who were in the low affiliative motivation condition. However, affiliative motivation had no impact on bias reduction in this study as it has in past research.

Sinclair and colleagues (2005) found that harnessing the power of a shared social relationship reduced implicit prejudice. While their findings show that those experiencing high affiliative motivation adopted the egalitarian beliefs of their interaction partner and those with low affiliative motivation remained steadfast in their beliefs or adopted an opposite belief system, the results of the current study did not follow suit. Perhaps the failure to replicate can be attributed to the fact that the current study used a virtual confederate rather than a face-to-face interaction. It may be necessary to recruit friendship pairs into the lab and randomly assign one friend to provide the other friend (or a stranger) feedback on the photo-inference task to induce the type of affiliative motivation necessary to move explicit attitudes

Interestingly, unlike past research (Czopp et al., 2006) being confronted for racism

(versus typing fast) did not reduce racist attitudes. Previous research has found that confronting White individuals about their biased responding on a photo-inference task results in a decrease of self-reported prejudice, specifically on the Attitudes Toward Blacks scale (Czopp et al., 2006). The present study failed to replicate this effect. The main difference in study design was the addition of the affiliative motivation manipulation, which may have interrupted the explicit bias reduction process. Participants were less likely to endorse the Symbolic Racism scale following confrontation for racism, but only when they wanted to affiliate with the confronter. It is unclear why we would see shifts in Symbolic Racism but not the Attitudes Toward Blacks scale.

Most research on the effects of confrontation measures a change in stereotypic responding rather than on a change in attitudes. In fact, most researchers who study confrontation focus solely on the behavioral changes, or intentions to change future behavior (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Confrontation triggers regulation of similar future behavior, such as changing answers to a photo-inference task or controlling the use of sexist language (Czopp et al., 2006; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). However, it may take more time to change explicit attitudes via confrontation. It is possible that, over time, observing one's change in concrete behaviors (e.g., stereotypic inference, use of sexist language) will change one's attitudes. Bem's (1972) self-perception theory states that individuals infer their attitudes from observing their own behavior and the circumstances under which it occurs. Perhaps confronting racial prejudice may immediately curb prejudicial behavior but take time to alter the attitudes associated with that behavior.

I found partial support for the predictions pertaining to the social consequences for the confronter. Neither affiliative motivation alone, nor its interaction with the content of the confrontation, affected social consequences for the confronter. However, I did replicate past

research (Czopp et al., 2006), and showed that the type (hot/cold) of confrontation affected social consequences such that participants who received a polite, or cold, confrontation liked the confronter more than participants who received a hostile, or hot, confrontation. This result only appeared for the liking measure and not for the sensitivity item. Participants who received a hot or cold confrontation showed no difference in their thoughts about the confronter's level of sensitivity.

Surprisingly, a confrontation that contained an accusation of racism (i.e., "You should really try to think about Blacks in other ways that are less prejudiced. It just seems that you are some kind of racist. You know what I mean?" and "Maybe it would be good to think about Blacks in other ways that are a little more fair? It just seems that a lot of times Blacks don't get equal treatment in our society. You know what I mean?") increased confronter likability compared to a neutral confrontation (i.e., "Were you even paying attention to what you were doing? It was impossible for me to follow you. You know what I mean?" and "It would have been nice if you slowed down a little bit. I had a hard time following you. You know what I mean?"). One explanation for this effect is that participants who received a confrontation without reference to racism found the confronter to be rude, while those who received racial content in the confrontation recognized that the feedback was at the very least, partially based in reality. In fact, Parker, Monteith, Moss-Racusin, and Van Camp (2018) suggest that providing concrete evidence of bias enhances the effectiveness of a confrontation; participants take the confrontation more seriously when it is backed by tangible data.

Future research should continue to investigate the way that participants interpreted the item, "The other participant is sensitive." Previous research has measured social consequences for the confronter in terms of being labeled a "complainer" rather than as "sensitive" (Kaiser &

Miller, 2001; Gulker, Mark & Monteith, 2013). Some participants may have interpreted “sensitive” to mean the other person was easily offended. If the sensitivity item was interpreted to mean that the confronter was easily offended, or “hypersensitive”, then the increase in ratings of sensitivity following the confrontation with racial content are in line with past research that shows the social costs of confrontation (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). When Eliezer and Major (2012) presented participants with a vignette in which a bystander either confronted or ignored sexism experienced by a co-worker, participants evaluated the confronter as more of a complainer and troublemaker than someone who did not confront. Similarly, Cadieux and Chasteen (2015) showed that confronting an anti-gay remark (versus ignoring the remark) both in a vignette and through an online interaction increased ratings that the confronter was a complainer.

Although interpreting the sensitivity item in a negative light conforms to past research, it goes against the results for the likeability scale that shows that participants liked the confronter more when the confrontation contained racial content (versus neutral content). Thus, it is more likely that participants saw being sensitive as a good thing in this study. Recall that in the current study, participants were confronted for their own racist behavior. Because the confrontation came from an ingroup member (i.e., a White person) and provided evidence from the participant’s behavior, the participant may have appreciated being “called out” with the concrete feedback provided about their behavior. This could have caused them to like the confronter rather than attempt to explain away the confrontation as the result of an unlikable and touchy interaction partner (Parker, Monteith, Moss-Racusin & Van Camp, 2018). Such a discrepancy in results between the current study and past research (Cadieux & Chasteen, 2015; Eliezer & Major, 2012) underscores the importance of comparing imagined scenarios with how people respond to actual confrontations.

Limitations and Future Directions

A notable strength of this study is that attitudes were measured after an actual confrontation rather than relying on an imagined scenario whereby participants are expected to act as a third party observer and evaluate a confrontation scene. We know from past research that reading vignettes or imagining scenarios involving discrimination is much different than being a key player in a real scenario in that people tend to act differently in the real-world versus their imagination (Kawakami et al., 2009). Only a handful of studies, including Czopp and colleagues (2006), have confronted participants for actual stereotypic behavior. Because of the real confrontation situation participants were exposed to in this study, the implications then become just as real.

One limitation in this research is the use of a computer simulated confrontation. The scripted delivery of the confrontation and the lack of a conversational style between the participant and their interaction partner may have influenced the results of the study. Delivering the confrontation within a larger conversational context may strengthen the affiliative motivation manipulation and cause more prejudice reduction and less social consequences for the confronter. Moreover, the confrontation manipulation could have been made even more effective by training a confederate to deliver a believable confrontation face-to-face. The presence of another person in the room, rather than over the computer, may strengthen the affiliative motivation manipulation and cause the anticipated reduction in racist attitudes.

Additionally, the sample used in this study is unique in that the university attended emphasizes social justice. This may partially explain the lack of movement in the explicit measures of prejudice as students may have already been inclined to report egalitarian attitudes. Indeed, racist attitudes rarely crossed the scale midpoint in any condition. Students from

universities without a social justice orientation or adults in the workplace may show more variability in their existing explicit racial attitudes.

Conclusions

The present study suggests that the way in which a confrontation of racism is phrased and delivered may have more of an influence on the social costs experienced by the confronter than on explicit prejudice reduction. It is important to pinpoint other ways to use the experimental method in existing relationships to explore whether personal connections can serve as both a buffer to the social costs of confronting bias and a strategic tool to reduce prejudice. Given the frequency with which bias occurs in close relationships (Swim et al., 2003), it is important to determine the impact of challenging that bias on relationships and behavior.

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APPENDIX A
ANTI-BLACK ATTITUDES MEASURES

The Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002)

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

2. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

3. Some say that Black leaders have been trying to push too fast. Others feel that they haven't pushed fast enough. What do you think? (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Trying to push very much too fast (2) Going too slowly (3) Moving at about the right speed

4. How much of the racial tension that exists in the United States today do you think Blacks are responsible for creating? (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) All of it (2) Most (3) Some (4) Not much at all

5. How much discrimination against Blacks do you feel there is in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead?

(1) A lot (2) Some (3) Just a little (4) None at all

6. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

7. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

8. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly agree (2) Somewhat agree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Strongly disagree

Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale (Brigham, 1993)

1. If a Black person were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

2. If I had a chance to introduce Black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

3. I would rather not have Blacks live in the same apartment building I live in. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

4. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Black person in a public place. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

5. I would not mind it at all if a Black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

6. I think that Black people look more similar to each other than white people do. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

7. Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the “who-am-I?” confusion, which the children feel. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

8. I get very upset when I hear a White person make a prejudicial remark about Black people.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

9. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

10. It would not bother me if my new roommate were Black.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

11. It is likely that Blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

12. I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

13. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices Black people suffer at the hands of local authorities.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

14. Black and White people are inherently equal.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

15. Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5) Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

16. Whites should support Blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5)
Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

17. Generally, Blacks are not as smart as Whites. (REVERSE SCORED)

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5)
Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

18. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5)
Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

19. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both Whites and Blacks.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5)
Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

20. Some Blacks are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Somewhat disagree (4) Neutral (5)
Somewhat agree (6) Agree (7) Strongly agree

APPENDIX B
LIKING MEASURE

1. The other participant is sensitive.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

2. The other participant is likeable.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

3. The other participant is good-natured.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

4. The other participant is warm.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

5. I have respect for the other participant.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

6. I would want the other participant as a friend.

(1) Absolutely not (2) Somewhat (3) Neutral (4) Very much (5) Absolutely

APPENDIX C
NEGSELF QUESTIONNAIRE

Please indicate the extent to which you are feeling the following emotions:

1 (does not apply at all) to 7 (applies very much)

1. Angry at myself
2. Fearful
3. Friendly
4. Depressed
5. Angry at others
6. Guilty
7. Uneasy
8. Happy
9. Sad
10. Irritated with others
11. Annoyed with myself
12. Embarrassed
13. Energetic
14. Helpless
15. Disgusted with others
16. Disappointed with myself
17. Bothered
18. Optimistic
19. Low
20. Disgusted with myself
21. Anxious

22. Good
23. Regretful
24. Tense
25. Shameful
26. Threatened
27. Self-critical
28. Uncomfortable
29. Frustrated

APPENDIX D
PHOTO-INFERENCE TASK

Reasoning Task Instructions (same across all studies):

This reasoning task assesses your ability to describe people from a single photograph and just a small amount of information. You will be presented with a picture of a person, along with a sentence relevant to the person. For example:

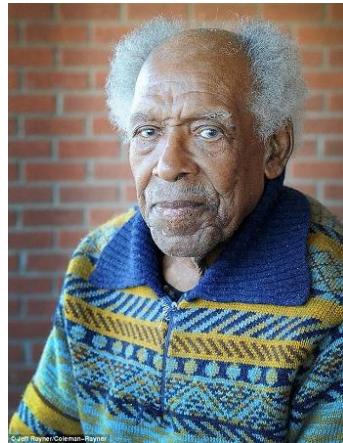
“This person can be found in a theater.”

Your task is to generate an inference for the person, such as a job or a hobby the person is likely to have based on the photograph and the sentence. For example, you might generate MOVIE FAN because this guy looks like he could be a movie fan OR you might generate ACTOR because this man also looks like he could be an actor.

You should generate and type your inferences as quickly as possible, but make sure that you spend enough time so that you provide responses that reflect your reasoning about the photos and sentences. We generally find that people perform best when they give the first reasonable responses that come to mind.

SET 1

- This person can be found on the streets.



SET 1

- This person uses needles for recreation.



SET 1

- This person can be found behind bars.



SET 1

- This person is often found in a school.



SET 1

- This person often speaks in front of large groups of people.



SET 1

- This person is often behind a desk.



SET 1

- This person works with food.



SET 1

- This person helps people with their problems.



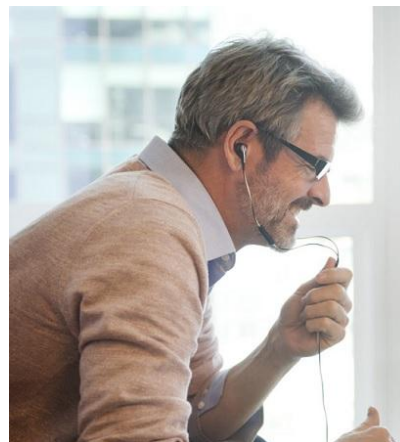
SET 1

- This person often travels cross country.



SET 1

- This person often works with computers.



SET 1

- This person can be found in a hospital.



SET 1

- This person works with children.



SET 1

- This person works with numbers.



SET 1

- This person can be found at the mall.



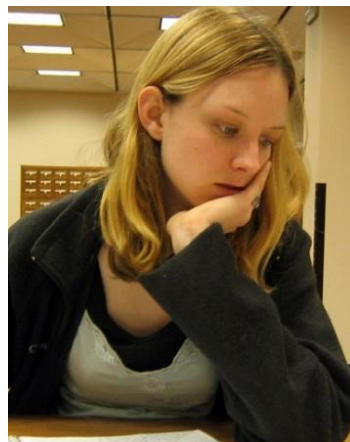
SET 1

- This person works with a team of others.



SET 1

- This person wears a uniform to work.



SET 1

- This person works outside.



SET 1

- This person is often on their phone.



SET 1

- This person works at home.



SET 1

- This person is found behind the wheel of a car.



SET 2

- This person depends on money from the government.



SET 2

- This person handles other people's money.



SET 2

- This person is good at getting into locked doors.



SET 2

- This person can be found in restaurants.



SET 2

- This person can often be found fighting.



SET 2

- This person often encounters law enforcement.



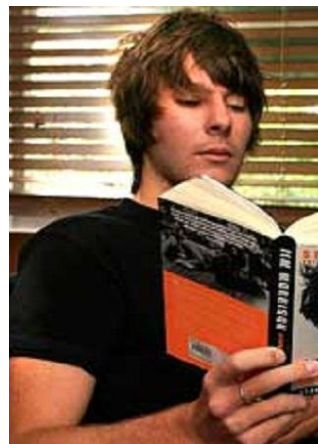
SET 2

- This person often gets into arguments.



SET 2

- This person asks a lot of questions.



SET 2

- This person is often found in a library.



SET 2

- This person often writes.



SET 2

- This person is often found with a camera.



SET 2

- This person works with paint.



SET 2

- This person can be found in the forest.



SET 2

- This person can be found at the ocean.



SET 2

- This person often flies in a plane.



SET 2

- This person can often be found at sporting events.



SET 2

- This person spends a lot of time organizing events.



SET 2

- This person can often be found in casinos.



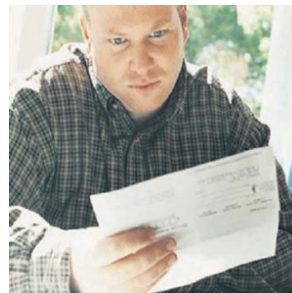
SET 2

- This person can be found working nights.



SET 2

- This person can be found delivering things.



VITA

Jamie Patrianakos graduated from The Pennsylvania State University with highest distinction in 2012. She worked in the field of Psychology at Temple University until she began graduate school at Loyola University Chicago. While at Loyola, Patrianakos served on the Department of Psychology's Committee on Diversity Affairs and the Graduate Diversity Orientation Committee. She also worked as a compliance assistant for Loyola's Institutional Review Board. She is a member of the Behavioral Research on Acceptance and Diversity lab under the direction of Dr. Robyn Mallett.