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The Role of Identification in Black Individuals' Goals to Challenge Racism Through Confrontation and Collective Action

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE ROLE OF IDENTIFICATION IN BLACK INDIVIDUALS' GOALS TO CHALLENGE
RACISM THROUGH CONFRONTATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

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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CHICAGO, IL

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ABSTRACT

Anti-Black racism continues to harm Black individuals in the United States and throughout the world (e.g., police brutality, medical racism: Hoffman, Trawalter, Axt, & Oliver, 2016; Smiley & Fakunle, 2016; Stuber, Meyer, & Link, 2008). Psychological research has investigated the roots of prejudice and strategies to mitigate its negative consequences, including confrontation and collective action. However, research in this area has largely focused on ways that these strategies pose additional risk for targets of prejudice. This research determined if Black people who endorse individual-benefiting or group-benefiting goals following an instance of anti-Black racism use confrontation and collective action, respectively, to cope with racism. It also tested whether racial identification strengthens the influence of both individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals on intentions to use confrontation and collective action. Participants ($n = 131$) completed an identity measure, read a scenario that asked them to imagine an experience with anti-Black racism in a workplace, reported their individual-benefiting and group-benefiting confrontation goals, and finally reported their confrontation likelihood and their collective action intentions. As predicted, individual-benefiting goals were associated with confrontation and group-benefiting goals were associated with collective action. While racial identification affected both scores on confrontation likelihood and collective action intention directly, there was only a marginally significant interaction between identification and individual-benefiting goals for confrontation. Implications of this research are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The unfair treatment of individuals on the basis of their skin color is a worldwide issue (Reilly, Kaufman, & Bodino, 2003). In particular, anti-Black racism is an epidemic that is costing lives on a daily basis. For example, there are immense health disparities among Black and White Americans due to the unequal treatment of Black patients' pain or concerns (including mental illness) by health professionals, driven by medical misconceptions and racist stereotypes (Hoffman, Trawalter, Axt, & Oliver, 2016; Stuber, Meyer, & Link, 2008). Experiencing discrimination is a risk factor for mental and physical health, yet some people remain resilient by using a variety of coping strategies (Pascoe & Smart-Richman, 2009). These coping strategies may have the goal of protecting the individual or protecting Black people as a group. The present study will test whether racial identification moderates the impact of individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals on intentions to engage in confrontation and collective action.

The field of Psychology has amassed a large amount of literature on various theories of prejudice with the desire to decrease the negative consequences for people from historically marginalized groups (for a historical overview, see Stangor, 2016). I focus on ways in which targets of prejudice, specifically Black-identified individuals, take steps to mitigate the harm of racism for themselves as individuals and for their social group as a whole. I test whether endorsing individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals is associated with Black individuals using confrontation and collective action to cope with anti-Black racism. I also test whether their racial group identification plays a role in how they choose to cope.

Coping with Racism

Possessing a stigmatized or devalued social identity is a stressor that may have a detrimental impact on psychological and physical wellbeing, such as experiencing anxiety, depression, heightened cardiovascular activity, and a compromised immune system (Allport, 1954; Clark et al., 1999; Crocker & Major, 1989). Individuals who experience prejudice experience stress when they perceive a threat and they do not have the resources necessary to cope with the threat (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). When Black individuals experience racism, they are experiencing a stress response that research shows has adverse effects on their psychological and physical health (Clark et al., 1999). These effects are heightened by the pervasive nature of being a target of bias due to group membership (Kahn, Barreto, Kaiser, & Rego, 2016).

Coping is defined as a “conscious, volitional effort to regulate thought, behavior, physiology, and the environment in response to stressful events or circumstances” (Compas et al., 2001). When individuals who hold a stigmatized identity experience a stressor like a discriminatory event, they will use cognitive appraisals to decide what to do in response. Cognitive appraisals are judgements about a new situation, the process through which one interprets, assesses threats, and then selects appropriate reactions to new situations (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper, 2009; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2004; Schneider, Tomaka, & Palacios, 2001). After determining that a situation is harmful, people evaluate whether they are able to address the situation and then decide how they will cope with the situation (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel Schetter, DeLongis, & Gruen, 1986; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Tomaka, Blascovich, Kelsey, & Leitten, 1993).

There are various ways that targets can cope with or respond to prejudice. For example, Black adolescents who experience racial discrimination use various strategies to cope with racism such as interpersonal confrontation (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). In a similar manner, in a longitudinal study, Latine college students who engaged in activism (i.e., collective action) reported higher rates of psychological well-being (Cronin et al., 2012). I will focus on two ways that individuals may choose to address discriminatory encounters that target them as an individual or their racial group: confrontation and collective action.

Identity, Goals, and Confrontation

Targets of prejudice may choose to engage in confrontation when they individually face bias and are motivated to respond with the goal of changing their personal circumstance (e.g., reducing workplace discrimination). Confrontation is defined as using verbal or nonverbal behaviors to express dissatisfaction with discriminatory treatment to the person or people who are engaging in the discriminatory action(s) (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Confrontation may alter attitudes, reduce bias, and change discriminatory behaviors (see Mallett & Monteith, 2019). Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that participants felt guilt when confronted for bias, a negative self-directed emotion that is associated with learning, and change in prejudiced behavior (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1995; Monteith, 1993). Additionally, Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) found that confronted participants were less likely to make stereotypic inferences compared with a control group and the negative self-directed emotion that confrontations elicited decreased stereotypic responding in a photo inference task.

In addition to changing other people's behavior, confrontation can also have benefits for the target of discrimination. Confrontation is a form of coping that is oriented toward the stressor

and attempts to change the situation at hand (Ayres et al., 2009; Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Kaiser and Miller (2004) propose that confrontation is one way that individuals cope with discrimination or prejudice. Confronting perpetrators of prejudice can serve as a buffer to the otherwise negative effects of discrimination (Foster 2000; Landrine et al. 1995; Swim et al. 2001) like increased stress, anxiety, and depression.

Identification with the targeted group may also determine whether confrontation is used as a coping strategy. Neblett et al. (2004) found that Black people who held being Black as a central component of their identity did not experience the same levels of stress, depressive symptoms, and anxiety from “daily racial hassles” as their counterparts who reported less racial centrality. Ayres et al. (2009) investigated under what conditions women confronted sexism and found that feminist identity positively predicted whether women confront sexism. This means that the more a woman is strongly committed to challenging sexism the more she is likely to confront. Highly group identified racial minorities positively evaluate their fellow in-group members who confront a discriminatory incident (Kaiser et al., 2009) which supports the idea that highly identified group members react positively toward people who advocate on behalf of the group relative to those who do not, as proposed by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In sum, confrontation is sometimes used by targets of discrimination who have the goal of reducing bias at an individual level. Those who are highly identified with their group are likely to see confrontation as an effective response to prejudice.

Identity, Goals, and Collective Action

Collective action is defined as taking action as a representative of a group with the goal of improving the conditions of a group of which one is a part (Wright, Tylor, & Moghaddam,

1990, p. 995). Collective action may include actions such as participating in demonstrations and signing petitions (Becker et al., 2015). People experience a commons dilemma with collective action in that everyone will reap the benefits of collective action regardless of participation, which often means that few people participate (Olson, 1968). As such, engaging in collective action is rare (Klandermans, 2002).

The intention to engage in collective action is driven by perceived injustice, efficacy, and identification with a disadvantaged group (Klandermans, 1997). More specifically, collective action may occur following perceived injustice, if people believe that it is possible to affect change (i.e., efficacy), and they identify with the group who is disadvantaged by the injustice (Ellemers, 1993; Klandermans, 2002; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

The Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) illustrates the importance of social identity in motivating participation in collective action. People who are highly identified with their ingroup are often motivated to advocate for better treatment of their ingroup (Kelly, 1993). The SIMCA model explains that identity shapes the willingness of individuals to address prejudicial treatment toward the group to which they belong. In fact, the SIMCA demonstrates that social identity is a stronger predictor of collective action than perceived injustice and efficacy. Individuals are motivated to participate in collective action when they have strong group identification with the group they feel is being treated unjustly (Klandermans, 2002; van Zomeren et al., 2008). This occurs because ingroup categorization leads group members to perceive situations similarly and have a greater commitment to the group (Stets & Burk, 2000). Accordingly, individuals who identify with their

ingroup pursue goals that benefit the group. Along these lines, identification predicts having an activism orientation, or an emotional and intellectual resolution to future social justice action (Corning & Myers, 2002; Hope, Gugwor, Riddick, & Pender, 2019). In sum, identification with the target group enhances the goal to participate in social action to cope with perceived injustice.

Present Study - Individual Benefiting and Group Benefitting Goals Predict Intentions to Engage in Confrontation and Collective Action

While Black individuals may use both confrontation and collective action to better their personal and their group's circumstance, there are costs for doing so that are unique to being a member of the target group. Research shows that Black people who confront anti-Black racism are more likely to be seen as "unreasonable and overreacting" than White people who confront anti-Black bias (Czopp & Monteith, 2003, p. 542). In fact, targets of bias are often seen as complainers or whiners when they confront (Kaiser & Miller, 2001); even individuals in their ingroup may disagree with them engaging in confrontation (Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010). As such, many targets of prejudice may hesitate to confront due to the social costs and backlash that can result (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). This partially explains why intentions to confront do not always parallel actions (Brinkman, Garcia, & Rickard, 2011).

This begs the question – why would targets of prejudice risk confrontation? Most research takes an individual centered approach to understating target's motivations or goals to cope with prejudice (Munder et al., 2020). However, targets may also have a goal to respond on behalf of their social group. Targets are often seen as representing their group (Allport, 1954) and the discrimination they experience is often also directed at their social group (Kelly, 1993;

Miller & Kaiser, 2001). Therefore, the way that targets cope with discrimination may be driven by goals that correspond to the individual level, the collective level, or both.

Munder, Becker, and Christ (2020) addressed the ways in which a person's goals at the individual and group level are associated with different ways of coping with prejudice. Here, what Munder et al. (2020) labeled individual level and group level confrontation, I have defined as confrontation and collective action, respectively. Munder et al. (2020) considered individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals in response to sexism. They found that targets with individual-benefitting goals acted in order to change their personal circumstances such as addressing their mistreatment by a perpetrator (e.g., fighting for equal treatment by an employer). In comparison, targets with group-benefitting goals acted in order to change the circumstances of the social group they belong to such as a systemic injustice (e.g., fighting against workplace discrimination). In particular, Munder et al. (2020) found that individual-benefitting goals were associated with intentions to improve individual circumstances and coping with discrimination. Additionally, they found that group-benefitting goals were associated with intentions to improve group status and collective action. They found that highly group identified individuals were more likely to have high collective action intentions.

Building from Munder et al.'s research (2020), I tested whether I would find similar results for Black participants coping with anti-Black racism. Additionally, I tested whether identification moderates the relationship between individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals and coping. More specifically, the research questions that I tested were: (1) Do Black people use confrontation and collective action to cope with racism? (2) How does racial identification affect coping goals and intentions to use confrontation and collective action?

Hypotheses

Figure 1. Hypothesized Relationships Between Goals, Identification, and Coping



Hypothesis 1: Individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals will affect how Black people cope with anti-Black racism.

- 1a. The pursuit of individual-benefitting goals will be positively associated with individual coping (i.e., confrontation).
- 1b. The pursuit of group-benefitting goals will be positively associated with group coping (i.e., collective action).
- 1c. When considered in the same equation, I expect that individual-benefitting goals will explain more of the variance in confrontation intentions than group-benefitting goals. I expect that group-benefitting goals will explain more of the variance in collective action intentions than individual-benefitting goals.

Hypothesis 2: Racial identity will moderate the effect of goals on coping.

- 2a. The association between individual-benefitting goals and confrontation will increase as identity with one's racial group increases, even when controlling for group-benefitting goals.
- 2b. The association between group-benefitting goals and collective action will increase as identity with one's racial group increases, even when controlling for individual-benefitting goals. I expect the same will be true for confrontation as confrontation may be

seen as a way of advocating for the group. That is, the association between group-benefitting goals and confrontation will increase as identity with one's racial group increases. (See Figure 1)

METHOD

Participants

Based on research by Munder et al. (2020) which found a moderate effect size ($r = .30$), results of a prospective power analysis using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007; Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) indicated that 119 participants were needed to detect moderate effects with 95% power. Participants were recruited from two samples: Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) website ($n = 141$) and the Loyola University Chicago participant pool on SONA ($n = 82$). Participants completed the study online via a Qualtrics survey. Out of the total 223 participants recruited, 92 participants were excluded for the following reasons: submitting a duplicate response ($n = 2$), failing an attention check ($n = 8$), indicating that their answers were not reliable ($n = 8$), completing the study unrealistically quickly ($n = 17$), and not indicating Black or African American as their racial category ($n = 57$). The remaining 131 participants were Black or African Americans ranging in age from 18 to 68 years old ($M = 34.48$, $SD = 12.56$). The sample was moderately liberal ($M_{\text{political affiliation}} = 2.75$, $SD = 1.50$) on a 7-point scale ranging from strongly liberal to strongly conservative. Within the sample, 32.1% of participants had a bachelor's degree, 31.3% had some college credit, no degree, 13.0% had a high school diploma or equivalent, 11.5% had a master's degree, 8.4% had an associate degree, 0.8% had a doctorate degree, and 0.8% had completed some high school but no diploma. Participants from MTurk were compensated \$0.50 for the completion of the tasks, and a bonus

incentive of \$0.50 was given for passing 100% of attention checks. Participants from the participant pool were granted 1 credit on SONA.

Procedure and Measures

The methods and materials I used for this study were adapted from Study 5 of Munder et al. (2020). I modified the study by omitting measures of disidentification or distancing goals from Munder et al.'s Confrontation Goals scale. I included an additional demographic question on political views and used a confrontation likelihood scale by Rattan and Dweck (2010) (see Appendix for full questionnaire packet). Additionally, my sample is composed of Black individuals whereas Munder et al. (2020)'s sample was women.

Participants were presented with the materials in the form of a Qualtrics survey (see Appendix). Participants were asked to click to indicate their consent to proceed with the survey.

Participants were first presented with demographic questions on their age, race/ethnicity, their level of education, and their political preferences. Unfortunately, data on participant gender was not collected. Following this, participants completed an identification measure. Next, they were asked to read and imagine themselves in a scenario in which they experience workplace discrimination on the basis of their race/ethnicity. The scenario was adapted from Lindsey et al. (2015) as an example of overt formal discrimination. It was altered to reference an instance of racism rather than sexism. In the scenario, participants are told that they did not receive a pay raise after recently receiving a higher performance evaluation than their White co-worker who did get a pay raise. They are asked to imagine that when they approach their White supervisor to

ask for a comparable increase, their supervisor refuses and claims that “Blacks do not deserve to make as much as Whites” (see Appendix for full scenario). Participants then completed measures on individual and group benefiting goals, their confrontation likelihood, and their collective action intentions.

Identification. For identification, participants completed a measure by Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennekamp, Doosje, Ouwerkerk, and Spears (2008). This 14-item measure was altered to include “Black person” wherever “woman” was previously mentioned. Participants rated items like “*I have a lot in common with the average Black person,*” from 1 (*don't agree at all*) to 7 (*fully agree*) ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 0.98$). I averaged these items to form a scale ($\alpha = .91$).

Goals. To measure individual and group benefiting goals, participants completed Munder et al.'s Confrontation Goals Scale (2020). Participants only answered nine items which measure individual-benefitting goals (e.g., “*I want my reaction to ensure that... I defend myself*”) ($M = 5.86$, $SD = 1.22$) and eight items which measure group-benefitting goals (e.g., “*I want my reaction to ensure that... discrimination against Black people is reduced*”) on a scale of 1 (*don't agree at all*) to 7 (*fully agree*) ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.35$). All the items were counter-balanced to control for an order effect. I averaged these items to form two scales, one for individual-benefitting goals ($\alpha = .87$), and one for group-benefitting goals ($\alpha = .92$).

Confrontation. To measure confrontation likelihood, I used eight items that were administered to participants in Rattan and Dweck (2010) rather than the single-item confrontation likelihood scale that is used in Munder et al. (2020). When all of Rattan and Dweck's (2010) items were included in a reliability analysis, the Chronbach's alpha did not

reach an acceptable level ($\alpha = .50$). Thus, I primarily focused on the single item that Rattan and Dweck used in their paper, “*I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him,*” which participants rated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*) ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.72$). However, I will also test whether the other individual items showed support for my hypotheses.

Collective Action. For collective action intentions, participants completed a measure by Becker, Barreto, Kahn, and de Oliveira Laux (2015). Participants rated four items like “*I would participate in a demonstration to stop the discrimination of Black people,*” from 1 (*don’t agree at all*) to 7 (*fully agree*) ($M = 5.72$, $SD = 1.51$). I averaged these items to form a scale ($\alpha = .89$).

Attention checks. Additionally, participants responded to attention and suspicion checks. Participants were asked to “*Please answer strongly agree for this item*” once as they were completing the scales to ensure that they were paying attention to the questions they were asked. In order to detect bots, the survey included a math problem in the form of an image of a handwritten note after they had completed the confrontation goals scale. Participants were also asked a suspicion check question toward the end of the study (“*What do you think we are investigating in this study?*”). They also answered the item, “*Should we rely on the answers that you provided in the study to inform our research?*” to assess answer quality.

RESULTS

Confrontation Goals and Coping Actions

I began by testing hypothesis 1, that individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals will affect how Black people cope with anti-Black racism. I predicted that the pursuit of individual-benefitting goals would be positively associated with individual coping (i.e., confrontation). I also predicted that the pursuit of group-benefitting goals would be positively associated with group coping (i.e., collective action). I examined hypothesis 1a and 1b in two ways. I first computed a correlation matrix of all of the variables measured in the study (see Table 1).

Table 1. Correlation Matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Age	1													
2. Education	0.30**	1												
3. Political Views	-0.04	0.05	1											
4. Identification	0.01	0.02	-0.03	1										
5. Individual Goals	0.07	-0.08	0.07	0.13	1									
6. Group Goals	-0.10	-0.17*	-0.04	0.40**	0.72**	1								
7. Collective Action	-0.29**	-0.17*	-0.16*	0.47**	0.06*	0.46**	1							
8. Confrontation 1	-0.13	-0.07	0.02	0.25**	0.04	0.14	0.20*	1						
9. Confrontation 2	0.14	-0.04	-0.06	0.12	0.18+	0.16*	0.17*	0.12	1					
10. Confrontation 3	-0.01	-0.04	-0.12	0.27**	0.28**	0.28**	0.20*	0.04	0.28**	1				
11. Confrontation 4	0.17*	-0.02	0.08	0.13	0.19*	0.09	-0.02	-0.13	0.03	0.44**	1			
12. Confrontation 5	0.19*	0.01	-0.23*	-0.22*	0.07	-0.09	-0.11	-0.23**	0.32**	-0.02	0.29**	1		
13. Confrontation 6	0.13	-0.02	-0.06	0.18*	0.04	0.05	0.12	0.53**	0.13	-0.09	-0.16*	-0.06	1	
14. Confrontation 7	-0.03	-0.01	0.02	0.22*	0.15*	0.27**	0.19*	0.21*	0.15	0.41**	0.25**	-0.22*	0.04	1
15. Confrontation 8	-0.03	-0.06	-0.02	-0.09	0.04	0.10	0.11	0.07	0.20*	0.05	-0.14	0.16*	0.10	0.16*

Note. Confrontation Item 5 was reverse scored. See Table 2 for full list of confrontation likelihood items.

**p < .01

*p < .05

+ marginally significant

Considering the correlation matrix, the demographic variables of age, education, and political views were not systematically correlated with any of the variables of interest in the study. Identification was significantly correlated with group-benefiting goals, collective action, and five of the eight confrontation items. Identification was not correlated with individual-benefiting goals. Individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals were strongly significantly correlated, like the correlation in Munder et al. (2020). Individual-benefiting goals were correlated with four of the confrontation items; two of the correlations were marginally significant and two were significant. Group-benefiting goals were significantly correlated with collective action and two of the confrontation items and marginally correlated with one confrontation item. Collective Action was significantly correlated with three of the confrontation items and marginally correlated with one confrontation item. Confrontation items three, five, and seven had a high number of correlations with other items in the correlation matrix and they are also significantly correlated with each other.

I also ran a multiple regression analysis to test hypotheses 1a to c, that individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals will affect how Black people cope with anti-Black racism, via confrontation or collective action. I entered individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals as predictors of each confrontation item. In a separate analysis, I entered individual-benefiting and group-benefiting goals as predictors of collective action. Table 2 shows the results of the regression analysis testing these hypotheses.

Table 2. Coefficient Table from Multiple Regression Analysis to Test Hypothesis 1

Collective Action	Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
		Individual Goals	-0.65	0.13	-0.52	-4.86	0.001*	-0.92
Group Goals	0.92	0.12	0.82	7.71	0.001*	0.68	1.16	
Confrontation Likelihood Item	Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
		1. To tell the truth, I would try to humiliate him and make him sorry for what he said.	Individual Goals	-0.17	0.23	-0.10	-0.74	0.46
	Group Goals	0.35	0.20	0.22	1.72	0.09 ⁺	-0.05	0.75
2. I would mention that I disagree with the comment.	Individual Goals	0.17	0.13	0.17	1.31	0.19	-0.09	0.43
	Group Goals	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.18	0.86	-0.21	0.24
3. I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.	Individual Goals	0.23	0.18	0.16	1.30	0.20	-0.12	0.59
	Group Goals	0.19	0.16	0.15	1.21	0.23	-0.12	0.51
4. I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.	Individual Goals	0.41	0.24	0.22	1.73	0.09 ⁺	-0.06	0.88
	Group Goals	-0.11	0.21	-0.07	-0.51	0.61	-0.52	0.31
5. I would probably just make light of it. (recoded)	Individual Goals	0.44	0.19	0.30	2.32	0.02*	0.07	0.81
	Group Goals	-0.39	0.17	-0.30	-2.32	0.02*	-0.72	-0.06
6. I would forcefully argue against that type of comment.	Individual Goals	0.08	0.24	0.04	0.33	0.74	-0.39	0.54
	Group Goals	0.04	0.21	0.02	0.17	0.86	-0.38	0.45
7. Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.	Individual Goals	-0.17	0.22	-0.10	-0.79	0.43	-0.61	0.26
	Group Goals	0.54	0.20	0.34	2.74	0.01*	0.15	0.92
8. I would turn him in to a supervisor.	Individual Goals	-0.19	0.18	-0.14	-1.05	0.29	-0.53	0.16
	Group Goals	0.23	0.16	0.19	1.44	0.15	-0.08	0.54

*p < .05

+ = marginal significance

In partial support of hypothesis 1a, individual-benefiting goals were positively associated with two confrontation items. The association was marginally significant for the item, “I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.” The association was significant for the item, “I would probably just make light of it (reverse-scored).” As individual-benefiting goals increased, so did endorsement of the confrontation items. None of the other confrontation items were associated with individual-benefiting goals in the regression analysis. In support of hypothesis 1b, group-benefiting goals were positively associated with the collective action scale. As group-benefiting goals increased, so did endorsement of the collective action scale.

Per hypothesis 1c, when considered in the same equation, I expected that individual-benefitting goals will explain more of the variance in confrontation intentions than group-benefitting goals. I expected that group-benefitting goals would explain more of the variance in collective action intentions than individual-benefitting goals. To test this hypothesis, I examined the amount of variance explained by each type of goal, using the R^2 change value (see Table 3).

Table 3. Regression Model Summary w/ R^2 Change

Collective Action	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	Change Statistics			Sig. F Change
						F Change	df1	df2	
Confrontation Likelihood Item	.58 ^a	0.34	0.32	1.25	0.34	30.16	2	120	0.001*
1. To tell the truth, I would try to humiliate him and make him sorry for what he said.	.17 ^a	0.03	0.01	2.13	0.03	1.73	2	121	0.18
2. I would mention that I disagree with the comment.	.19 ^a	0.03	0.02	1.21	0.03	2.14	2	121	0.12
3. I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.	.29 ^a	0.08	0.07	1.68	0.08	5.56	2	121	0.01*
4. I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.	.18 ^a	0.03	0.02	2.21	0.03	2.05	2	121	0.13
5. I would probably just make light of it. (recode)	.22 ^a	0.05	0.03	1.76	0.05	3.15	2	120	0.05 ⁺
6. I would forcefully argue against that type of comment.	.06 ^a	0.00	-0.01	2.19	0.00	0.22	2	121	0.80
7. Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.	.28 ^a	0.08	0.06	2.05	0.08	5.17	2	121	0.01*
8. I would turn him in to a supervisor.	.13 ^a	0.02	0.00	1.64	0.02	1.04	2	121	0.36

*p<.05

+ = marginal significance

In support of hypothesis 1c, the regression model showed that individual-benefitting goals significantly explained more of the variance than group-benefitting goals for three confrontation items: “I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him”, “I would probably just make light of it (reverse-scored)”, and “Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.” The remaining confrontation likelihood items did not show the predicted effect.

Additionally, the regression model showed that group-benefitting goals explained more of the variance than individual-benefitting goals for collective action.

Identification

I next tested hypothesis 2, that racial identity would moderate the effect of goals on coping. I predicted that the association between individual-benefitting goals and confrontation would increase as identity with one's racial group increased, even when group-benefitting goals were controlled for in the equation. I also predicted that the association between group-benefitting goals and collective action would increase as identity with one's racial group increases, even when individual-benefitting goals were controlled for in the equation. I expected the same would be true for confrontation as confrontation may be seen as a way of advocating for the group. That is, the association between group-benefitting goals and confrontation would increase as identity with one's racial group increases.

I ran a multiple regression analysis to test hypotheses 2a and b. I entered individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals along with racial identification in step 1 of the equation. I entered the two-way interaction between individual-benefitting goals and racial identification and the two-way interaction between group-benefitting goals and racial identification in step 2 of the equation (see Table 4).

Table 4. Coefficient Table from Multiple Regression Analysis to Test Hypothesis 2

Collective Action	Model	Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		95.0% Confidence Interval for B		
			B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	1	Individual Goals (IG)	-0.57	0.13	-0.46	-4.28	0.001*	-0.84	-0.31
		Group Goals (GG)	0.75	0.13	0.67	5.83	0.001*	0.49	1.00
		Identification (ID)	0.41	0.13	0.26	3.18	0.002*	0.15	0.66
	2	Interaction: IGxID	0.16	0.14	0.97	1.13	0.26	-0.12	0.43
		Interaction: GGxID	-0.19	0.13	-1.33	-1.46	0.15	-0.46	0.07
Confrontation Likelihood Item	Model	Variable	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		95.0% Confidence Interval for B		
			B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1. To tell the truth, I would try to humiliate him and make him sorry for what he said.	1	Individual Goals (IG)	-0.06	0.23	-0.04	-0.26	0.79	-0.52	0.40
		Group Goals (GG)	0.16	0.22	0.10	0.70	0.49	-0.29	0.60
		Identification (ID)	0.46	0.22	0.21	2.08	0.04*	0.02	0.89
	2	Interaction: IGxID	0.23	0.24	1.02	0.97	0.33	-0.24	0.70
		Interaction: GGxID	-0.004	0.23	-0.02	-0.02	0.99	-0.45	0.45
		Individual Goals (IG)	0.19	0.13	0.19	1.43	0.16	-0.07	0.44
2. I would mention that I disagree with the comment.	1	Group Goals (GG)	-0.03	0.13	-0.04	-0.27	0.79	-0.28	0.21
		Identification (ID)	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.91	0.36	-0.13	0.36
		Interaction: IGxID	0.03	0.13	0.27	0.25	0.80	-0.23	0.30
	2	Interaction: GGxID	0.11	0.13	0.98	0.87	0.39	-0.14	0.36
		Individual Goals (IG)	0.33	0.18	0.23	1.82	0.07*	-0.03	0.69
		Group Goals (GG)	-0.003	0.17	-0.00	-0.02	0.98	-0.35	0.34
3. I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.	1	Identification (ID)	0.45	0.17	0.25	2.59	0.01*	0.11	0.79
		Interaction: IGxID	-0.36	0.18	-1.98	-1.98	0.05*	-0.73	0.00
		Interaction: GGxID	0.18	0.18	1.10	1.03	0.30	-0.17	0.53
	2	Individual Goals (IG)	0.50	0.24	0.27	2.05	0.04*	0.02	0.98
		Group Goals (GG)	-0.28	0.23	-0.17	-1.21	0.23	-0.74	0.18
		Identification (ID)	0.40	0.23	0.17	1.72	0.09*	-0.06	0.85
4. I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.	2	Interaction: IGxID	-0.10	0.25	-0.41	-0.39	0.70	-0.59	0.40
		Interaction: GGxID	0.17	0.24	0.79	0.70	0.49	-0.31	0.64
		Individual Goals (IG)	0.36	0.19	0.24	1.86	0.07*	-0.02	0.74
	1	Group Goals (GG)	-0.26	0.19	-0.20	-1.42	0.16	-0.63	0.10
		Identification (ID)	-0.31	0.18	-0.17	-1.71	0.09*	-0.67	0.05
		Interaction: IGxID	0.17	0.20	0.90	0.86	0.39	-0.22	0.56
5. I would probably just make light of it. (recode)	2	Interaction: GGxID	-0.20	0.19	-1.16	-1.04	0.30	-0.57	0.18
		Individual Goals (IG)	0.20	0.24	0.11	0.86	0.39	-0.27	0.67
		Group Goals (GG)	-0.17	0.23	-0.11	-0.77	0.44	-0.62	0.28
	1	Identification (ID)	0.52	0.22	0.24	2.34	0.02*	0.08	0.97
		Interaction: IGxID	0.26	0.24	1.14	1.08	0.28	-0.22	0.73
		Interaction: GGxID	0.03	0.23	0.14	0.12	0.90	-0.43	0.48
6. I would forcefully argue against that type of comment.	2	Individual Goals (IG)	-0.11	0.23	-0.07	-0.50	0.62	-0.56	0.33
		Group Goals (GG)	0.41	0.22	0.26	1.90	0.06*	-0.02	0.84
		Identification (ID)	0.26	0.21	0.12	1.24	0.22	-0.16	0.69
	1	Interaction: IGxID	0.03	0.23	0.13	0.13	0.90	-0.43	0.49
		Interaction: GGxID	-0.19	0.22	-0.95	-0.86	0.39	-0.63	0.25
		Individual Goals (IG)	-0.25	0.18	-0.18	-1.39	0.17	-0.61	0.11
7. Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.	1	Group Goals (GG)	0.34	0.17	0.28	1.98	0.05*	0.00	0.68
		Identification (ID)	-0.28	0.17	-0.16	-1.61	0.11	-0.61	0.06
		Interaction: IGxID	0.01	0.19	0.07	0.06	0.95	-0.36	0.38
	2	Interaction: GGxID	-0.11	0.18	-0.70	-0.62	0.54	-0.46	0.24

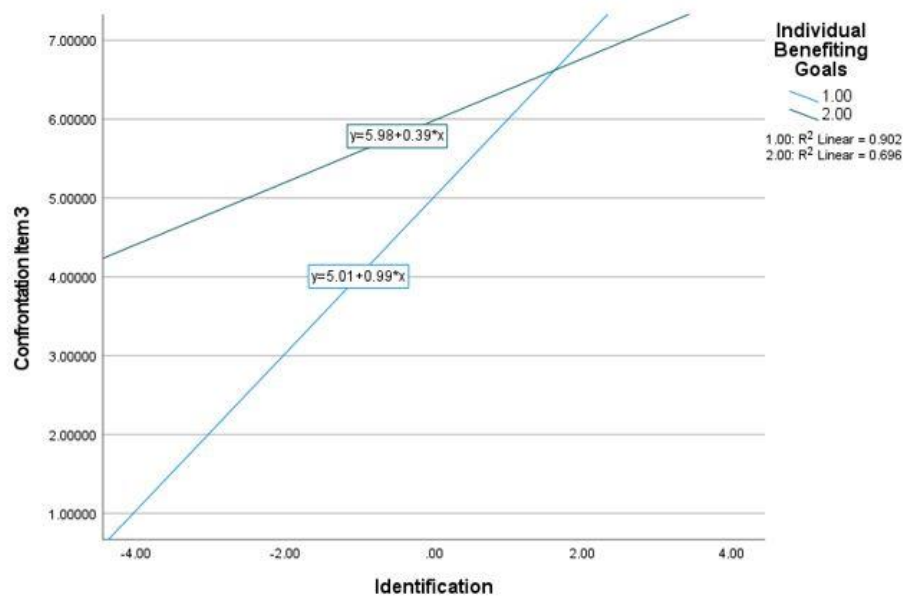
*p<.05
+ = marginal significance

Considering the effects of racial identification in step 1 of the equation, I found significant main effects of identification on three confrontation items, marginally significant main effects on two confrontation items, and a significant main effect for collective action (see

Table 4). This means that individuals who were highly identified with their racial group were more likely to engage in behaviors that challenged anti-Black racism, whether that be by interpersonal confrontation or collective action.

In partial support of hypothesis 2a, there was a marginally significant interaction for one of the confrontation items, “I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view.” Figure 2 shows that the association between individual-benefitting goals and confrontation increases as identity with one’s racial group increases, with group-benefitting goals controlled for in the equation. Additionally, the effect of identification on confrontation likelihood is stronger for participants who have weaker individual-benefitting goals, as indicated by the steeper slope for line 1 versus line 2 in Figure 2. Hypothesis 2b was not supported as there were no significant interactions between group-benefitting goals and identification.

Figure 2. Plotted Interaction of Individual Benefitting Goals and Identification on Confrontation Item 3



Note. In the figure, the line labeled 1.00 represents scores on individual-benefitting goals that fall from the response with the lowest score on the scale up to one standard deviation below the mean. The line labeled 2.00 represents scores on individual-benefitting goals that fall in between one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean. There were no scores which were more than one standard deviation above the mean.

DISCUSSION

Why do Black individuals engage in actions which challenge anti-Black racism despite potential risks? The present research tested the notion that a Black person's goals, whether they are individual-benefitting or group-benefitting will affect which type of coping action they take, confrontation or collective action, respectively. Additionally, the study aimed to see how racial identification moderated the predicted relationships. Many of the hypotheses were either fully or partially supported. As predicted, as endorsement of individual-benefitting goals increased so did endorsement of the confrontation items. Similarly, as endorsement of group-benefitting goals increased, so did collective action intentions. In one case, identification affected the association between individual-benefitting goals and confrontation. However, identification did not moderate the association between group-benefitting goals and collective action. Interestingly, identification did correlate with several confrontation items and collective action on its own.

Like Munder et al. (2020) found in their studies, individual-benefitting goals and group-benefitting goals were strongly correlated. This was expected by Munder et al. (2020) to be the case because previous research has shown that experiencing discrimination involves being categorized and devalued because of group membership (Branscombe et al., 1999; Stroebe et al., 2009). For this reason, a person may be motivated to confront for both individual and group-based reasons. The present study aimed to determine if individual-benefitting goals determined more of the variance in confronting than group-benefitting goals and if group-benefitting goals

determined more of the variance in collective action. I found partial support for this prediction, but further research may be needed to come to a stronger conclusion.

Both types of goals were significantly correlated with a few of the confrontation items. When looking at the correlations between individual-benefitting goals and specific confrontation items, there were two significant correlations: for item three (“I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.”) and item four (“I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.”) Meaning that, individuals who scored high in individual-benefitting goals were more likely to want to educate and explain their point of view to the perpetrator of racism in the scenario. Interestingly, group-benefitting goals were correlated with a few confrontation items, perhaps indicating that these items elicited a feeling of acting on behalf of a group. The significant correlations were with item three (“I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.”) and seven (“Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.”). As endorsement of group-benefitting goals increased, so did the desire to want to educate the perpetrator and emphasize that they are deserving. Both types of goals were significantly correlated with the third confrontation item, the same one that Rattan and Dweck (2010) used in their research. This finding could be because educating the supervisor in the scenario is both an action that can result in individual benefit (i.e., getting a raise) and create change which benefits the group (i.e., Black employees getting paid as much as White employees). To summarize, these findings illustrate that while collective action may be more explicitly seen as a group focused action, interpersonal confrontation can have a broader impact than just at an individual level. Interestingly, while individual and group-benefitting goals were

correlated with the desire to educate the perpetrator, they did not have a significant main effect on this item in the regression analysis. This could mean that goals by themselves are not a direct determinant of whether participants report that they want to confront in this manner.

The Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) demonstrated that identity plays a vital role in individuals' willingness to address prejudicial treatment. Consistent with SIMCA, racial identification did positively affect participants' reported likelihood to engage in confrontation and collective action. This further supports findings from previous research that have shown how group identification positively influences confrontation actions (e.g., Ayres et al., 2009). Identification was significantly correlated with and had a significant main effect on the desire to confront by educating the perpetrator, which was significantly correlated with both individual and group-benefiting goals. While I predicted that identification could also influence the association between goals and coping, the results did not support this prediction completely. I found a single marginally significant interaction between identification and individual-benefiting goals for the third confrontation item (i.e., educate the perpetrator) and nonsignificant results for all the other confrontation items and collective action. This result may mean that while identification does directly influence coping actions, it does not necessarily change the strength of the relationship between goals and coping. For the interaction that was found to be marginally significant, identification influenced those who scored lower in individual-benefiting goals more than those who scored higher in individual-benefiting goals. So, identification gave these participants a small boost in their confrontation likelihood.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study was successful in expanding research by Munder et al. (2020) to include Black individuals' confronting goals, however, it had some limitations. One limitation in this research is that some participants were recruited using MTurk, which may not be representative of the national Black population. Having MTurk as an additional data source was necessary as there are a limited number of Black identifying students in the participant pool of the University and using MTurk allowed for there to be responses from a wider range of ages. However, having a more representative sample would positively affect the generalizability of the findings and additional studies using different data sources may be helpful to achieve this.

Additionally, the study was correlational so the associations found cannot be used to come to a definite causal conclusion. The study design relies on self-reported behavioral intentions so a different study design which measures actual behavior and includes a manipulation is needed to examine the role of the predictor variables studied here. Participants responded to measures after reading about a scenario that they were told to imagine experiencing. While the imagined scenario and measures are based on real life examples of discrimination, participants may overestimate when reporting on their imagined actions versus their actual behavior (e.g., confrontation likelihood; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). This is another reason why measuring actual behavior would be beneficial.

The scenario that I used was a form of blatant racism which may not be as realistic for participants because previous research has shown that more subtle forms of bias are often used as explicit bias has become less acceptable in certain social contexts over the years (e.g., the creation of the Symbolic Racism Scale; Kinder & Sears, 1981 and Modern Racism Scale;

McConahay, 1986). Of course, blatant racism is still used today by individuals who hold racist views and are not motivated to hide their true feelings, such as declaring that Black individuals do not deserve to be paid the same as White individuals. It would add to the existing research if future studies investigated how the type of racism (blatant or subtle) makes a difference in confrontation goals and coping actions.

Lastly, one challenge that this research study faced is that the confrontation likelihood items that I adapted from Rattan and Dweck (2010) did not form a reliable scale. This made it difficult to draw conclusions about confrontation in general. Instead, I analyzed the individual confrontation items and considered the implications for each type of confrontation. The confrontation likelihood items that Rattan and Dweck (2010) used included items that described both avoidant behaviors and confrontation behaviors. I modified the measure to only include confrontation behaviors. If I were to do this study again, I would use a different scale that better fit the operationalization of the variable of interest.

Conclusions

The present study suggests that individual-benefitting and group-benefitting goals, as well as racial identification influence the ways in which Black individuals engage in two types of coping actions: confrontation and collective action, in order to challenge anti-Black racism. Given the various deterrents that targets of prejudice face from challenging bias (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), it is important to better understand what factors motivate targets to do so despite the risks in order to change their personal and their group's circumstance.

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APPENDIX A
STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographics

Please answer the following demographic questions:

1. How old are you (in years)?
2. Please specify your race/ethnicity.
 - White
 - Hispanic or Latina
 - Black or African American
 - Native American or American Indian
 - Asian / Pacific Islander
 - Other, please specify:
3. What is your highest degree or level of school you have completed?
 - No schooling completed
 - Elementary school to 8th grade
 - Some high school, no diploma
 - High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent
 - Some college credit, no degree
 - Trade/technical/vocational training
 - Associate degree
 - Bachelor's degree
 - Master's degree
 - Professional degree
 - Doctorate degree
4. What are your political views on social issues?
 - Strongly liberal
 - Moderately liberal
 - Slightly liberal
 - Neither liberal nor conservative
 - Slightly conservative
 - Moderately conservative
 - Strongly conservative

Identification (Leach et al., 2008).

Please indicate for each statement how much you agree or disagree. If you do not agree at all with a statement, choose option "1 - Don't agree at all"; if you fully agree with a statement, choose option "7 - Fully agree".

1. I am similar to the average Black person.
2. I feel a bond with Black people.
3. Being a Black person gives me a good feeling.
4. Black people are very similar to each other.

5. I often think about the fact that I am a Black person.
6. I feel solidarity with Black people.
7. I have a lot in common with the average Black person.
8. I am glad to be a Black person.
9. I think that Black people have a lot to be proud of.
10. Black people have a lot in common with each other.
11. It is pleasant to be a Black person.
12. Being a Black person is an important part of how I see myself.
13. I feel committed to Black people.
14. The fact that I am a Black person is an important part of my identity.

The scenario (Lindsey et al., 2015).

Please read the following description of a situation and try to imagine yourself having this experience as vividly as possible. Take your time for this.

“Imagine that you overhear your White co-worker discussing his recent pay raise. Although you received higher performance evaluations than he did, you did not receive an increase in pay. You decide to approach your White supervisor Mr. S. to ask for a comparable increase in pay. He refuses, and tells you that, ‘Blacks do not deserve to make as much as Whites.’ You disagree with him.”

Confrontation Goals Scale (Munder et al., 2020).

Please imagine you have just experienced this situation and opposed Mr. S. On the following pages, you will see statements about what you (possibly) want to achieve with this reaction.

Please indicate your agreement with each statement. If you do not agree at all with a statement, choose option "1 - Don't agree at all"; if you fully agree with a statement, choose option "7 - Fully agree".

I want my reaction to ensure that...

1. ... Mr. S. stops treating me this way. (I)
2. ... Mr. S. realizes that it was not okay to behave like that. (I)
3. ... Mr. S. makes up for his behavior. (I)
4. ... I am treated fairly. (I)
5. ... I defend myself. (I)
6. ... I can make my point. (I)
7. ... it becomes clear that I am not going to put up with anything. (I)
8. ... I feel better. (I)
9. ... I feel like I can take action. (I)
10. ... discrimination against Black people is reduced. (G)

11. ... White people are less prejudiced against Black people in the future. (G)
12. ... Black people have better chances in the future. (G)
13. ... more people stand up for Black people's rights. (G)
14. ... people reflect more on racism. (G)
15. ... Black people stick together more. (G)
16. ... Black people support each other. (G)
17. ... Black people fight back. (G)

** I = factor individual-benefitting goals, G = factor group-benefitting goals

Confrontation likelihood (Rattan & Dweck, 2010).

Recall the scenario you read earlier. Please indicate from 1 (not likely at all) to 7 (extremely likely), how likely you are to do or feel the following.

1. To tell the truth, I would try to humiliate him and make him sorry for what he said.
2. I would mention that I disagree with the comment.
3. I would calmly but firmly communicate my point of view to try to educate him.
4. I would wait to speak to him privately and then explain my point of view.
5. I would probably just make light of it.
6. I would forcefully argue against that type of comment.
7. Once the topic turned to another subject, I would be sure to casually mention the achievements that make me qualified to be here.
8. I would turn him in to a supervisor.

Collective Action Intentions (Becker et al., 2015).

1. I would participate in a demonstration to stop discrimination against Black people.
2. I would sign a petition to support the equal treatment of Black people.
3. I would take an active stand against racism in my lifetime.
4. I would take part in a rally for more racial equity.

Suspicion Check and Further Comments

1. What do you think we are investigating in this study?
2. Should we rely on the answers that you provided in the study to inform our research?
Your answer to this question will not affect your compensation. My answers are ...1 - Not at all reliable to 7 - Completely Reliable

VITA

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