

# From confronted to confronter? Examining the enduring effects of prejudice confrontations

*Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*

1–23

© The Author(s) 2025

Article reuse guidelines:

sagepub.com/journals-permissions

DOI: 10.1177/13684302241309872

journals.sagepub.com/home/gpi



Kimberly E. Chaney,<sup>1</sup>  Conor J. O’Dea<sup>2</sup>  and  
Izilda Pereira-Jorge<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Prejudice confrontations are an interpersonal strategy to reduce bias in perpetrators, including up to 1 week later. Despite confrontations serving as an effective method to reduce bias, it is unclear if being confronted also motivates active allyship by becoming a confronter of prejudice. Replicating past research, White participants who were confronted for using negative Black stereotypes immediately reported greater negative self-directed affect and used fewer stereotypes 1 week later compared to participants who were not confronted. Novel to the present research, confronted White participants were more likely to confront prejudice in a hypothetical scenario, but not in self-reports of behaviors, and were more likely to indicate ruminating on their biases 1 month later compared to participants who were not confronted. Critically, the initial negative self-directed affect and prolonged rumination mediated the effect of confrontation on participants’ becoming confronters in a hypothetical scenario and self-reported monitoring of themselves and others for bias. Thus, our findings suggest that prejudice confrontation may not be limited to just a tool for encouraging stereotype inhibition in White people, but rather an ideological shift toward thinking and behaving in egalitarian ways.

## Keywords

allyship, prejudice confrontation, racism, rumination, social norms

Paper received 2 November 2023; revised version accepted 9 December 2024.

Prejudice against Black Americans remains prevalent in the United States (US; King et al., 2023; Lee et al., 2019). As such, efforts to reduce bias and promote active allyship are essential to achieving equality. Yet, research on social psychologically informed strategies to promote equality often examines independently strategies to reduce bias (Lai et al., 2014, 2016; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2022) and promote allyship (Chiu, 2022;

---

<sup>1</sup>University at Buffalo – SUNY, USA

<sup>2</sup>Butler University, USA

### Corresponding author:

Kimberly E. Chaney, Department of Psychology, University at Buffalo – SUNY, 197 Founders Prom, Buffalo, NY 14260, USA.

Email: kchaney@buffalo.edu

Williams & Gran-Ruaz, 2023). This focus on independently reducing prejudice and promoting allyship behavior suggests a disconnected process whereby reducing prejudice will not facilitate allyship. In the present study, we examine if prejudice confrontations may operate to not only reduce bias in perpetrators but also to promote allyship in the form of confronted perpetrators becoming confronters of prejudice. In two studies, we assess White Americans 1 week and 1 month after the initial confrontation, and examine if the confronted become confronters 1 month after the initial confrontation. We examine two pathways by which the confronted may become confronters: greater monitoring of bias in others and a stronger perceived norm of confronting prejudice.

### *Prejudice Confrontations*

Prejudice confrontations are verbal and nonverbal challenges expressing disapproval or dissatisfaction with a person's blatant, subtle, or nonverbal bias (Chaney et al., 2023; Saucier et al., 2018; Shelton et al., 2006). Consistent with a self-regulation model of prejudice reduction, research has indicated that after being confronted for using negative Black stereotypes, White participants demonstrate reduced use of stereotypes about Black Americans and other marginalized groups immediately (Chaney et al., 2021; Czopp et al., 2006) and 1 week later (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Prejudice confrontations make evident one's biases, a necessary step in motivating efforts to reduce bias (Monteith et al., 2002, 2009), and signal that bias is unacceptable and should not continue. Feelings of negative self-directed affect (i.e., neg-self) have been highlighted as critical in promoting lasting bias reduction in the prejudice confrontation literature (for review, see Monteith et al., 2022). Indeed, awareness of one's bias can increase neg-self, and prolonged feelings of neg-self (i.e., rumination over 1 week) have been associated with bias reduction 1 week after confrontation (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006; Devine & Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002).

Extending upon previous research integrating the self-regulation model of prejudice reduction (Chaney et al., 2021; Czopp et al., 2006; Monteith,

1993; Monteith et al., 2010) and research on social influence on prejudice acceptability (e.g., De Souza & Schmader, 2022; Ford & Ferguson, 2004; Zitek & Hebl, 2007), we hypothesized that when someone is confronted, neg-self and rumination may elicit heightened monitoring not just of one's own prejudicial expressions, but also of the expressions of others.

### *Monitoring for Bias*

While neg-self has often been examined as the immediate affective response that promotes motivated bias reduction, this motivation to reduce bias must be paired with a monitoring for potential future instances of bias. Indeed, theoretical models of self-regulation of prejudice argue that being confronted makes people develop cues for control (Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002). Cues for control are defined as stimuli in the environment associated with neg-self and one's past prejudiced behaviors (Monteith & Mark, 2005). Once such cues for control are identified, future encounters with these cues are believed to alert an individual of a situation in which they may express bias, initiating behavioral inhibition and prospective reflection in order to respond in a nonbiased way (Monteith et al., 2002; Monteith & Mark, 2005; Patterson & Newman, 1993). Yet, while theoretical models indicate that these cues for control may be established automatically (Monteith et al., 2002, 2009), with previous research making reference to potential links between cognitive accessibility and attributions to prejudice (Marti et al., 2000), we propose that people experiencing neg-self after being confronted may be actively monitoring themselves for instances that may elicit bias. That is, we propose that prejudice confrontations may ultimately increase monitoring of one's own (potential) biases, which in turn develops awareness of cues for control.

### *Beyond Prejudice Reduction*

Past research on outcomes of prejudice confrontations has frequently focused on perpetrators' bias reduction. This research has shown that con-

fronted perpetrators may be defensive (Czopp et al., 2006; Wessel et al., 2023) but do also reduce their immediate expressions of prejudice after confrontation (Czopp et al., 2006). One important outcome that has not been previously studied is whether, through increased monitoring of bias in themselves, individuals might also increasingly monitor other people's biases.

Increasing one's likelihood of detecting and responding to racism is important—White Americans make significantly fewer prejudiced attributions compared to Black Americans (e.g., Inman & Baron, 1996; Levin et al., 2002; Norton & Sommers, 2011). We propose that this White deficit in bias awareness and monitoring of bias may be somewhat mitigated after being confronted, an experience that produces deeper thinking about one's own biases (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2021), and, we propose, bias more broadly. For example, in a bias-reduction intervention that provided feedback on racial implicit bias and strategies to reduce bias, participants demonstrated greater recognition of bias in society 6 weeks after the intervention (Devine et al., 2012). While attention to bias in the self and others was not explicitly assessed in past research, we propose that prejudice confrontations may lead to greater monitoring of other people's biases in the future. In turn, such increased monitoring of bias in others may subsequently promote greater likelihood of confronting others' expressions of prejudice.

Indeed, awareness of bias in others is a critical step to becoming a confronter of prejudice. Research has demonstrated that a greater propensity to perceive prejudice is associated with actively perceiving prejudice differently (as more of a systemic issue), greater support for people protesting racial discrimination, and greater personal intentions to speak out against prejudice (Miller et al., 2021). These effects have also been demonstrated through interventions showing that people trained to recognize prejudice, later reported that it was more important to speak out against prejudice (Paluck, 2011), suggesting awareness (when paired with egalitarian motivations) may create motivation to confront prejudice. Notably, prolonged rumination following

being confronted is positively related to greater egalitarian motivation (Chaney et al., 2021), which we propose may lead to greater motivations to confront others' prejudices. As such, we propose that being confronted may lead to prolonged rumination about neg-self, which will in turn promote increased awareness of others' prejudice, and in turn motivate allyship behavior, such as confronting prejudice in others.<sup>1</sup>

### *Confronting Prejudice as a Norm*

Additionally, confronted perpetrators may come to perceive confrontations as more normative compared to perpetrators who have not been confronted. First, behaviors seen as more common are seen as more moral (Goldring & Heiphetz, 2020). Thus, in seeing confrontations as more normative, concerns about the social costs of confronting bias (e.g., backlash; Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Kutlaca et al., 2020; Schultz & Maddox, 2013) may be reduced. Supporting this theory, reading about confrontations of sexism leads to greater support of such confrontations (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2021).

Moreover, past research has found that people report more egalitarian attitudes after merely witnessing a prejudiced remark being condemned by just one person (compared to supported; Blanchard et al., 1994), including changes in reported attitudes 1 month later (Zitek & Hebl, 2007). Such changes in intergroup attitudes after merely witnessing prejudice being condemned by one person were believed to occur due to social influence, that is, awareness of social norms of prejudice as unacceptable (Monteith et al., 1994; Zitek & Hebl, 2007). Further, recent research has demonstrated that when prejudice is confronted by one or two people, compared to not confronted, perceivers believe an antiracism norm has been restored (Li et al., 2024). While this past research hypothesized that perceived social norms of prejudice expression guided attitude change, we propose that being confronted may promote allyship behavior in the form of confronting bias (in others) due to greater perceived normativity of prejudice confrontations.

Importantly, people generally report a desire to confront prejudice when it is witnessed (LeMaire & Oswald, 2016), but actual confrontation rates remain relatively low (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Low rates of prejudice confrontations may be due, in part, to beliefs that others do not confront prejudice. Indeed, a belief that others do not endorse egalitarian ideals or engage in allyship behaviors can prevent people from confronting prejudice (e.g., De Souza & Schmader, 2022). Yet, when witnessing just one ingroup member confront bias, people were more likely to strongly confront bias, in part due to beliefs that other members of the ingroup cared about inequalities (De Souza & Schmader, 2022). Further, when White Americans witness just one person confront prejudice, they report believing that prejudice confrontations are more of the norm, resulting in lower anticipated costs for confronting prejudice relative to when prejudice is not confronted (Pereira-Jorge & Chaney, 2024). As such, expanding past research on witnessed confrontations facilitating more confrontations, we propose that when people are themselves confronted, they may come to see confrontations as a social norm, increasing their own engagement in confrontation behaviors.

### *Longitudinal Examination*

Importantly, research on prejudice confrontations, as with many prejudice reduction strategies, often focuses on immediate or short-term effects (cf. Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Devine et al., 2012, 2017; Paluck et al., 2021). Indeed, research on in-person prejudice confrontations has not examined outcomes beyond 1 week (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), except for research on social media prejudice confrontations that found some support for bias reduction over 4 weeks (Hangartner et al., 2021). Yet, in acknowledging that prejudices are learned over time (e.g., through parental socialization; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Pahlke et al., 2021; Rodriguez-Garcia & Wagner, 2009), it becomes imperative to study the unfolding process of unlearning prejudices over time. Indeed, changes in bias, or efforts to

promote egalitarianism, are unlikely to occur right away. Research has suggested an initial avoidance phase (or even a short-term increase in bias; Bosson et al., 2015) may occur when confronted with one's implicit racial bias, followed by a more active-approach phase to reduce racial biases (e.g., by reading about strategies to reduce bias; Amodio et al., 2007). While this transition occurred within one study session, transitioning from recognizing oneself as a perpetrator to enacting efforts as an active ally is likely to be a drawn-out process. As such, it is essential that research continues to examine the enduring effects of prejudice confrontations, including monitoring for bias and confronting bias in others.

### **Current Research**

In two experiments, the present research tests our hypothesis that White participants who are confronted for their use of negative Black stereotypes are more likely to become confronters of racial bias 1 month later compared to White participants who are not confronted. We assess this transition to confronter via confrontation in a hypothetical scenario as well as participants' self-reported confrontation of prejudice in their daily lives 1 month after being confronted (or not being confronted) during a laboratory session. We propose that such a process may unfold via two paths. First, we hypothesize that participants who have been confronted, versus not, will experience greater *neg-self*, leading to greater pondering rumination and, in turn, greater monitoring of bias in others that will facilitate greater confrontation behavior. Second, we hypothesize that participants who have been confronted, versus not, will come to see prejudice confrontations as a norm, which will in turn facilitate greater confrontation behavior. Finally, in a replication of past research, we assess the use of stereotypes about Black Americans 1 week after the manipulation (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), and, as an extension of the model of cues for control (Monteith & Mark, 2005), we hypothesize that confronted participants will also report monitoring their own biases more than nonconfronted

participants. Studies 1–2 include indices of internal and external motivation to respond without bias (Plant & Devine, 1998), and Study 1 includes a measure of social desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) to ensure any detected effects are not related to external motivations or social desirability concerns.

As such, the present studies offer the first assessment of the enduring effects of prejudice confrontations 1 month after White participants were confronted (or not) and seek to determine if confronted perpetrators can become confronters of prejudice. All conditions, exclusions, and measures are reported; data and materials are available on the Open Science Framework (OSF; [https://osf.io/bmeyt/?view\\_only=68244002fff0429395bf885eda179de9](https://osf.io/bmeyt/?view_only=68244002fff0429395bf885eda179de9)). This research was conducted with Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval at the University of Connecticut. Studies were not preregistered.

## Study 1

We sought to test the above outlined hypotheses in Study 1. To minimize demand effects, we included minimal measures of our proposed mechanisms (i.e., perceived norm, monitoring bias in self and others) until after assessing participants' confrontation intentions and behaviors 1 month after being confronted or not.

### Method

**Participants.** A total of 337 participants who identified as White were recruited, and completed the Time 1 (T1) session in the lab. However, 34 participants (10.10%) did not use any negative Black stereotypes during the baseline task and were removed from analyses, leaving an analytic sample of 303 participants at T1. Participants were undergraduates at a Northeastern U.S. university ( $M_{\text{age}} = 18.95$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.36$ ). In all, 92 identified as cisgender men, 203 as cisgender women, two as genderqueer, and one as nonbinary. The sample was relatively moderate with regard to political orientation ( $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 1.49$ ) on a 7-point scale (1 = *very conservative*, 7 = *very liberal*).

Of the 303 participants who completed T1, 249 (82.18%) completed Time 2 (T2), an online survey 1 week after T1, and 151 (49.83%) completed Time 3 (T3), an online survey 1 month after T1. Participants completed T1 during either the fall or spring semesters of the 2022–2023 academic year. We aimed to recruit as many participants as possible across two semesters. A sensitivity power analysis for a two-cell, between-subjects analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed the T3 sample had 80% power to detect a medium effect of  $d = 0.46$ .

**Procedure.** Participants who identified as White during a large prescreen survey were eligible to sign up for a three-part study about “inferences.” During this large prescreen, participants also completed a measure of social desirability (see Supplemental Material). Participants who signed up attended the 30-min portion of T1 in a lab space where they were the only participant, and were greeted by one of five undergraduate research assistants who were all White women (given some research finding backlash against people of color who confront prejudice; e.g., Alt et al., 2019; Czopp et al., 2006; and as in past research, Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). After providing consent, participants completed a stereotype application task that has been used in prior work to elicit negative stereotypes about Black people (Czopp et al., 2006; Monteith et al., 2002). This task involves making inferences about a person when only an image and a brief descriptive sentence (e.g., “This person works with numbers”) are provided. Three trials typically elicit stereotypically negative inferences about Black people (see detailed description below). After completing all trials, participants who were randomly assigned to the confrontation condition were confronted by the experimenter, who said, “I thought some of your answers seemed a little offensive. [The Black guy wandering the streets could be a lost tourist.] People shouldn't use stereotypes, you know?” (the portion in brackets was tailored to one of participants' responses). Participants in the control (nonconfrontation) condition received no feedback. All experimenters were instructed to remain

neutral and, if participants responded, to simply respond “Okay” before moving on to the next portion of the study. Participants then completed measures of affect, followed by several filler inference tasks. Finally, participants received instructions regarding the second and third part of the study and were dismissed from the lab session.

One week after their lab session, participants received an email instructing them to complete a follow-up survey that included a shorter, modified version of the stereotype application task and a measure of rumination.<sup>2</sup> Participants were requested to complete this survey within 48 hours. Thus, participants completed the stereotype application task at the beginning of the study, during which, participants were either confronted or not (T1), and a modified version of the task 7 days later (T2).

One month after their lab session, participants received another email instructing them to complete another follow-up survey (T3). During this survey, participants were first presented with a scenario and asked to indicate how likely they would be to confront a perpetrator. After this, participants indicated if they had witnessed interpersonal discrimination in the last week, and if so, how frequently they confronted that discrimination. Next, participants completed the T2 measure of rumination and new measures of monitoring bias in themselves and others during the previous week. Participants also completed measures of internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS, EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998), which are reported in the Supplemental Material.<sup>3</sup> After this, participants were debriefed. Participants who did not complete T3 received an email with the debriefing. Participants received partial course credit for T1 and T2, and a US\$10.00 gift card for completion of T3.

### Materials

*Baseline stereotyping task.* During the stereotype application task, participants viewed 16 images of White and Black men and women with neutral expressions (images selected from the Aging Mind Face Database, Minear & Park, 2004; and

images used in past research, Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), each paired with a descriptive sentence (e.g., “This person works with numbers”; entire paradigm borrowed from Czopp et al., 2006). Participants were instructed to make an inference about this person (e.g., they are an accountant). Three of the 16 images paired Black male faces with descriptive sentences intended to evoke stereotypical responses (e.g., “This person can be found behind bars”; response: criminal), but which could also evoke neutral responses (e.g., bartender). Participants were instructed to say their responses aloud and the experimenter recorded the participant’s verbal answers on a separate computer. Participants who were randomly assigned to the confrontation condition were confronted by the experimenter at the end of the trials, while participants in the control condition received no feedback.

*T1 affect.* Participants completed measures regarding neg-self and neg-other affect during their session. Participants were presented with 15 affective words or phrases (Czopp et al., 2006) and asked to rate the extent to which they experienced these feelings during the session so far on a 7-point scale (1 = *does not apply to me*, 7 = *applies very much*). Sample neg-self items (10 items) included “guilty” and “angry at myself”; and neg-other items (five items) included “frustrated” and “angry at experimenter.” These scales were both found to be reliable (neg-self:  $\alpha = .95$ ; neg-other:  $\alpha = .92$ ).

*T2 stereotyping task.* Participants completed a modified version of the stereotype application task from the in-lab session that included 17 trials not presented during the T1 stereotyping task. Three trials included images of Black men and descriptive sentences meant to evoke negative stereotypes, and three trials included images of White women meant to elicit gender-based stereotypes about women (e.g., “This person works on a plane”; possible responses include: flight attendant or pilot; Chaney et al., 2021). The remaining trials included images of White, Black, Asian, and Hispanic men and women. Participants could see

a timer on each screen that counted down from 15 seconds, the time allotted for them to type in an answer for each trial. The order in which these trials were presented was randomized. Results of gender stereotypes are reported in the Supplemental Material.

*T2 and T3 rumination.* Participants completed a four-item measure of rumination ( $T2 \alpha = .93$ ;  $T3 \alpha = .95$ ), with items such as “Over the last week, how often did you find yourself feeling guilty about the experience you had in the lab” and “Over the last week, how often did you find yourself feeling negatively about the experience you had in the lab” (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Items were completed on a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *all of the time*).

*T3 confrontation scenario.* Participants were asked to imagine the following scenario (Chaney & Chasteen, 2024):

Yesterday, Jamie was on the downtown bus. After a few stops, a Black family boarded and sat down near Jamie. Shortly after the family sat down, he got up, walked down the aisle, and held a handrail. Jamie did not get off at the next stop.

After this, participants were asked, “If you were riding on the bus and witnessed Jamie’s behavior, what would you do or say?” These open-ended responses were then coded by three research assistants who were blind to condition and hypotheses. Codings were dichotomous: confrontation or no confrontation. The three coders were in agreement for 93% of responses. A tie-break was used to decide the remaining responses. After providing the open-ended responses, participants also indicated, on a 7-point scale (1 = *very unlikely*, 7 = *very likely*), “How likely would you be to confront Jamie for his behavior?”

*T3 self-reported confrontation.* Participants were provided with a definition of interpersonal discrimination, including “any action that denies social participation or human rights to someone

based on prejudice,” and indicated if, in the last week they “witnessed or noticed discrimination on an interpersonal level (e.g., hear a racist joke, a marginalized student ignored in class)?” Only participants who indicated witnessing prejudice (yes vs. no) were prompted with a question, “In the last week, how frequently did you express dissatisfaction when you saw discrimination (e.g., via a confrontation with someone, over social media, a verbal complaint to others)?” Responses were provided on a 7-point scale (1 = *never*, 7 = *always*).

*T3 monitoring bias.* Participants completed two items assessing monitoring of their own biases,  $r(148) = .78$ ,  $p < .001$ , and two items assessing monitoring of other people’s biases,  $r(148) = .75$ ,  $p < .001$ . On a 7-point scale (1 = *never*, 7 = *very frequently*), participants responded to “How frequently did you find yourself thinking about your own [other people’s] prejudices in the last week” and “How frequently did you find yourself consciously monitoring yourself [other people] this week for any prejudiced behavior.”

*T3 perceived confronting norm.* Participants completed a five-item measure ( $\alpha = .87$ ) assessing perceptions that confronting prejudice was perceived to be a descriptive norm on a 7-point scale (1 = *never*, 7 = *very frequently*). Participants were asked to indicate, for example, to what extent they believed that others “confront someone for using racial stereotypes” and “express disapproval to someone for acting racially discriminatory.” All items are provided in the Supplemental Material.

## Results

Correlations of all variables are presented in the Supplemental Material. Analyses of conditional effects are presented below in order of their measurement. See Table 1 for condition descriptive statistics.<sup>4</sup>

### Time 1

*Baseline stereotype use.* A two-cell analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated no effect of condition on baseline stereotype use,  $F(1, 301) = 1.04$ ,

**Table 1.** Conditional descriptive statistics: Study 1.

Session	Outcome	Confronted	Not confronted
		<i>M</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	<i>M</i> ( <i>SE</i> )
<b>Time 1</b>	Neg-self	2.69 (0.10) <sub>a</sub>	1.79 (0.10) <sub>b</sub>
	Neg-other	1.41 (0.05) <sub>a</sub>	1.00 (0.05) <sub>b</sub>
<b>Time 2</b>	Black stereotype use	0.43 (0.09) <sub>a</sub>	1.20 (0.08) <sub>b</sub>
	Rumination	2.48 (0.10) <sub>a</sub>	1.55 (0.10) <sub>b</sub>
<b>Time 3</b>	Scenario confrontation	2.63 (0.16) <sub>a</sub>	2.16 (0.16) <sub>b</sub>
	Scenario response code	0.26 (0.05) <sub>a</sub>	0.12 (0.04) <sub>b</sub>
	Witness discrimination	0.74 (0.05) <sub>a</sub>	0.65 (0.05) <sub>a</sub>
	Self-report confrontation	2.29 (0.25) <sub>a</sub>	2.27 (0.24) <sub>a</sub>
	Monitoring self	2.84 (0.16) <sub>a</sub>	2.57 (0.16) <sub>a</sub>
	Monitoring others	3.36 (0.18) <sub>a</sub>	2.98 (0.18) <sub>a</sub>
	Rumination	1.83 (0.12) <sub>a</sub>	1.38 (0.12) <sub>b</sub>
	Perceived confrontation norm	4.14 (0.12) <sub>a</sub>	4.07 (0.12) <sub>a</sub>

*Note.* Cells not sharing a subscript significantly differed. Neg-self = feelings of negative self-directed affect; Neg-other = feelings of negative affect towards others.

$p = .309$ ,  $d = 0.06$  ( $M_{\text{control}} = 2.12$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ;  $M_{\text{confront}} = 2.21$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ ). As such, baseline stereotype use was not controlled for in the remaining analyses.

*T1 affect.* A two-cell ANCOVA controlling for the research assistant serving as the experimenter (coded 1–5) on T1 affect revealed confronted participants reported greater neg-self than control participants,  $F(1, 300) = 42.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.75$ . Confronted participants also reported greater neg-other than control participants,  $F(1, 300) = 31.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.64$ . Note the research assistant variable was a significant factor for neg-self,  $F(1, 300) = 4.02$ ,  $p = .046$ ,  $d = 0.23$ , but not neg-other,  $F(1, 300) = 2.71$ ,  $p = .101$ ,  $d = 0.19$ . Based on an a priori decision plan, we opted to control for research assistant in all remaining analyses due to the critical role of neg-self in downstream outcomes of prejudice confrontations.

*Time 2.* An initial chi-square analysis indicated no effect of condition on completion of the T2 survey that was completed 1 week after T1,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.06$ ,  $p = .800$ . In all, 120 participants who were confronted completed T2 (82.76%), and

129 participants who were not confronted completed T2 (81.65%).<sup>5</sup> On average, participants took the T2 survey 7 days after T1 ( $M = 7.21$ ,  $SD = 1.43$ ; range: 7–16). Given this range and an a priori decision to control for time between sessions, T2 analyses were conducted as ANCOVAs controlling for days between T1 and T2.<sup>6</sup> We again controlled for research assistant based on T1 effects.

Participants who were confronted 1 week prior, used significantly fewer negative Black stereotypes,  $F(1, 245) = 41.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.83$ , and reported greater pondering rumination about their experience in the lab,  $F(1, 245) = 42.06$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.83$ , than participants who were not confronted.

*Time 3.* An initial chi-square analysis indicated no effect of condition on completion of the T3 survey that was completed 1 month after T1,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.41$ ,  $p = .522$ . In all, 76 participants who were confronted completed T3 (52.41%), and 77 participants who were not confronted completed T3 (48.70%). On average, participants completed the T3 survey 28 days after T1 ( $M = 28.38$ ,  $SD = 2.05$ ; range: 27–43). Again, based on an a priori



decision, days between T3 and T1 was included as a covariate, with experimenter code, in T3 ANCOVAs.

*T3 becoming a hypothetical confronter.* A binary logistic regression examining the effect of condition, controlling for time between T3 and T1 and experimenter code, on dichotomous codings of participants' written responses (1 = confronted, 0 = did not confront) revealed condition was a significant predictor of confrontation,  $B = 0.94$ ,  $SE = 0.46$ ,  $p = .040$ . Among confronted participants, 19 responses were coded as confrontations and 55 were coded as nonconfrontations. However, among nonconfronted participants, only nine responses were coded as confrontations, while 68 were coded as nonconfrontations. Moreover, the ANCOVA examining participants' self-reported Likert-scale response of how likely they would be to confront the perpetrator revealed that after being confronted 1 month prior, participants were more likely to indicate they would confront the perpetrator in the hypothetical scenario than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 147) = 4.86$ ,  $p = .029$ ,  $d = 0.34$ .

*T3 self-reported detection and confrontation of discrimination.* A binary logistic regression revealed no effect of condition on self-reported detection of discrimination in the last week,  $B = 0.48$ ,  $SE = 0.37$ ,  $p = .195$ . Among participants in the confronted condition, 54 (73.97%) reported witnessing discrimination in the last week, and 19 indicated no discrimination. Among participants in the control condition, 50 (64.94%) reported witnessing discrimination in the last week, and 27 indicated not witnessing discrimination. Additionally, participants who had been confronted 1 month prior were not significantly more likely to say they confronted discrimination in the last week than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 147) = 0.01$ ,  $p = .940$ ,  $d = 0.01$ .

*T3 bias monitoring.* An ANCOVA revealed that participants who were confronted 1 month prior did not report monitoring their own biases more

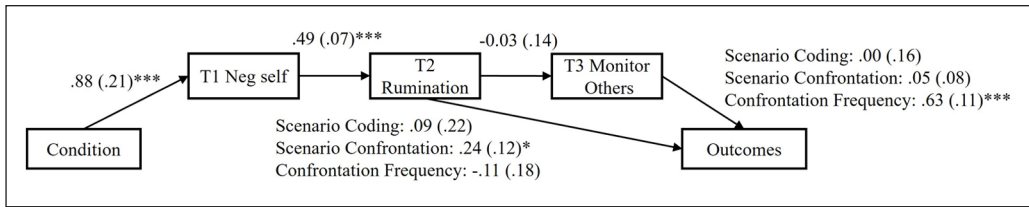
in the previous week than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 147) = 1.40$ ,  $p = .239$ ,  $d = 0.18$ . Additionally, confronted participants did not report greater monitoring of others' biases compared to participants in the control condition,  $F(1, 147) = 2.25$ ,  $p = .135$ ,  $d = 0.23$ .

*T3 rumination.* The ANCOVA revealed participants who were confronted 1 month prior reported greater pondering rumination than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 147) = 6.76$ ,  $p = .010$ ,  $d = 0.42$ .<sup>7</sup>

*T3 confronting norm.* The ANCOVA revealed no effect of condition,  $F(1, 146) = 0.19$ ,  $p = .661$ ,  $d = 0.06$ .

*Mediation analyses.* Our primary hypothesized mediation analyses focused on T3 outcomes related to becoming a confronter.<sup>8</sup> We did not move forward with hypothesized analyses examining a perceived confronting norm as a mechanism by which being confronted might facilitate becoming a confronter due to the null effect of condition on perceived norm. We did, however, examine the hypothesized alternative model, in which we examined the effect of condition (confront = 0, control = 1) on T3 confronting outcomes, with T1 neg-self, T2 rumination, and T3 monitoring of others' biases as serial mediators (see Figure 1). These analyses were conducted in PROCESS (Version 4; Hayes, 2012) with 5,000 bootstrapped samples. Analyses controlled for research assistant, time between T1 and T3, and between T1 and T2. Confronted participants reported significantly greater T1 neg-self, which was associated with greater T2 rumination. T2 rumination did not significantly predict greater T3 monitoring of others' biases. As such, the serial indirect effects via the three proposed mechanisms were not significant.

Yet, we examined the alternative, exploratory indirect effect paths that utilized just one or two of the proposed mechanisms, as provided by PROCESS. Two significant indirect effects emerged. The indirect effect of condition on T3

**Figure 1.** Mediation analyses: Study 1.

scenario confrontation was significant via T1 neg-self and T2 rumination,  $B = -0.11$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ , 95% CI [0.01, 0.28]. The indirect effect of condition on T3 reported confrontation frequency in the last week was significant via T1 neg-self and T3 monitoring of others' biases,  $B = -0.15$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ , 95% CI [0.02, 0.33].

### Discussion

Study 1 provided the first examination of prejudice confrontations over a 1 month period. While participants who were confronted at T1 indicated they would be more likely to confront prejudice in a hypothetical scenario, in both free-response and on a Likert scale, no effects of condition emerged for self-reported confrontation in the previous week nor on the proposed mechanisms of perceived confrontation norm and monitoring of others' biases. Yet, significant indirect effects of being confronted emerged on scenario confrontation (Likert scale, not codings) and self-reported confrontation in the previous week, though via different mechanisms: T1 neg-self and T2 rumination for scenario confrontation, and T1 neg-self and T3 monitoring of others' biases for self-reported confrontation frequency.

Study 1 suffered from very low rates of retention. Additionally, we opted to assess minimal measures at T2 to minimize demand effects on T3 outcomes; yet this approach also minimized our ability to adequately assess processes over time that might facilitate the confronted becoming confronters. Thus, while Study 1 offered evidence of confronted participants becoming a

confronter 1 month later in a hypothetical scenario, we found inconsistent support for the confronted to confronter mechanisms.

### Study 2

Study 2 sought to replicate Study 1. The study was largely identical except additional efforts were taken to ensure retention (e.g., email reminders), and additional measures were assessed at T2, including monitoring of one's own bias and the proposed mechanisms and monitoring of bias in others and perceptions of a confrontation norm. By including these proposed mechanisms at T2 and T3, we aimed to examine the persistence of these effects across time and provide a more rigorous assessment of mechanisms. Our hypotheses mirrored Study 1 except for one adjustment in mediations. As monitoring of others' biases was not assessed at T2 in Study 1, Study 1 analyses examined T2 pondering rumination. In Study 2, our first hypothesized mediation analysis examined T1 neg-self and T2 monitoring of others' biases as serial mediators. We again tested for perceived confrontation norm as a mechanism from condition to T3 confrontations. Exploratory mediation analyses examined the role of T2 rumination.

### Method

**Participants.** In all, 107 White undergraduate participants completed T1; however, two participants were excluded from all analyses for not using any Black stereotypes during the baseline stereotyping task. The analytic T1 sample ( $N = 105$ ;  $M_{age} = 18.73$ ,  $SD_{age} = 0.86$ ) included 72

cis-women, 29 cis-men, and four participants who identified as transgender, nonbinary, or another identity. The sample was politically moderate ( $M = 4.79$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ). Of the 105 participants retained at T1, 99 completed T2 (94.29%), and 81 completed T3 (77.14%). Reminders were sent every 3 days to participants who had not yet completed the subsequent survey, and no 48-hour restriction was placed on survey completion. Participants again received partial course credit for T1 and T2, and a US\$10.00 gift card for T3.

We aimed, a priori, to recruit as many participants as possible in the spring 2024 semester. A sensitivity power analysis indicated 80% power to detect a medium–large ( $d = 0.60$ ) effect at T3 in two-cell, between-subjects ANCOVAs. However, many analyses were conducted as mixed ANCOVAs examining the effect of condition and time; a sensitivity power analysis for a 2 (condition)  $\times$  2 (time) ANCOVA indicated the T3 sample had 80% power to detect a small effect ( $d = 0.31$ ).

*Procedure.* The study was identical to Study 1 except for the following changes. First, only three White women research assistants ran the experiment. Second, at T2, participants now also completed measures of monitoring of own and others' biases and perceived norm of confronting (using the same measures completed at T3 in Study 1).<sup>9</sup> Third, at T3, participants indicated how often they witnessed discrimination in the last week on a continuous sliding scale from 0 to 10+; Study 1 utilized a dichotomous measure. See Table 2 for all scale reliability measures and full indicator of scale measurement at each time point. Table 2 reports condition descriptive statistics. See Supplemental Material for correlations.

## Results

*Time 1.* A two-cell ANOVA indicated no effect of condition on baseline stereotype use,  $F(1, 103) = 0.61$ ,  $p = .440$ ,  $d = 0.04$  ( $M_{\text{control}} = 2.01$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ;  $M_{\text{confront}} = 1.90$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ). As such, baseline stereotype use was not controlled for in the

remaining analyses. A two-cell ANCOVA controlling for the research assistant serving as the experimenter (coded 1–3) on T1 affect revealed confronted participants reported greater neg-self than control participants,  $F(1, 102) = 10.28$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $d = 0.64$ . Confronted participants also reported greater neg-other than control participants,  $F(1, 102) = 8.68$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $d = 0.58$ . The research assistant variable was not a significant factor for neg-self,  $F(1, 102) = 0.09$ ,  $p = .772$ ,  $d = 0.06$ , or neg-other,  $F(1, 102) = 1.29$ ,  $p = .258$ ,  $d = 0.23$ . As such, the remaining Study 2 analyses did not control for the research assistant.

*Time 2.* A chi-square analysis indicated no effect of condition on completion of the T2 survey that was completed 1 week after T1,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.75$ ,  $p = .387$ . Of the six participants who did not complete T2, four were confronted at T1. On average, participants took the T2 survey 9 days after T1 ( $M = 8.54$ ,  $SD = 3.31$ ; range: 7–23). Based on an a priori decision, we again controlled for days between T1 and T2 for the remaining T2 analyses.

Participants who were confronted 1 month prior used significantly fewer negative Black stereotypes,  $F(1, 96) = 18.54$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.88$ ; reported greater pondering rumination,  $F(1, 96) = 17.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.87$ ; greater monitoring of their own bias,  $F(1, 96) = 5.46$ ,  $p = .022$ ,  $d = 0.48$ ; and reported that confronting prejudice was more of a norm,  $F(1, 96) = 4.97$ ,  $p = .028$ ,  $d = 0.45$ , than participants who were not confronted prior. No effect of condition emerged for monitoring of other people's biases,  $F(1, 96) = 1.62$ ,  $p = .206$ ,  $d = 0.42$ .

*Time 3.* A chi-square analysis indicated no effect of condition on completion of the T3 survey,  $\chi^2(1) = 0.97$ ,  $p = .326$ . In all, 38 participants who were confronted and 43 participants who were not confronted completed T3. On average, participants completed the T3 survey 31 days after T1 ( $M = 30.57$ ,  $SD = 5.02$ ; range: 27–52). We again controlled for time between T1 and T3 based on an a priori decision.<sup>10</sup>

**Table 2.** Conditional descriptive statistics: Study 2.

Session	Outcome	Scale reliability	Confronted	Not confronted
		$\alpha$	$M (SE)$	$M (SE)$
<b>Time 1</b>	Neg-self	.92	2.60 (0.15) <sub>a</sub>	1.93 (0.15) <sub>b</sub>
	Neg-other	.95	1.43 (0.10) <sub>a</sub>	1.02 (0.10) <sub>b</sub>
<b>Time 2</b>	Black stereotype use	-	0.35 (0.14) <sub>a</sub>	1.20 (0.14) <sub>b</sub>
	Rumination	.90	2.49 (0.16) <sub>a</sub>	1.57 (0.15) <sub>b</sub>
	Monitoring self	.87	3.14 (0.22) <sub>a</sub>	2.44 (0.21) <sub>b</sub>
	Monitoring others	.92	2.83 (0.21) <sub>a</sub>	2.46 (0.20) <sub>a</sub>
<b>Time 3</b>	Perceived confrontation norm	.93	4.49 (0.19) <sub>a</sub>	3.88 (0.19) <sub>b</sub>
	Scenario confrontation	-	3.68 (0.23) <sub>a</sub>	2.84 (0.21) <sub>b</sub>
	Witness discrimination	-	2.21 (0.14) <sub>a</sub>	1.81 (0.13) <sub>b</sub>
	Self-report confrontation	-	2.97 (0.33) <sub>a</sub>	1.94 (0.31) <sub>b</sub>
	Monitoring self	.88	2.84 (0.24) <sub>a</sub>	2.47 (0.22) <sub>a</sub>
	Monitoring others	.93	3.43 (0.28) <sub>a</sub>	2.90 (0.27) <sub>a</sub>
	Rumination	.87	1.63 (0.11) <sub>a</sub>	1.18 (0.11) <sub>b</sub>
	Perceived confront. norm	.89	4.78 (0.16) <sub>a</sub>	4.33 (0.15) <sub>b</sub>

*Note.* Cells not sharing a subscript significantly differed by condition. Neg-self = feelings of negative self-directed affect; Neg-other = feelings of negative affect towards others.

*T3 becoming a hypothetical confronter.* A binary logistic regression examining the effect of condition, controlling for time between T3 and T1, on dichotomous codings of participants' written responses (1 = confronted, 2 = did not confront) revealed a significant effect of condition,  $B = -1.30$ ,  $SE = 0.49$ ,  $p = .008$ . Of the 34 participants who confronted (41.98% of T3 sample), 22 were confronted 1 month prior. Moreover, the ANCOVA examining participants' self-reported, Likert-scale response of how likely they would be to confront the perpetrator revealed that after being confronted 1 month prior, participants were more likely to indicate they would confront the perpetrator in the hypothetical scenario than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 78) = 3.28$ ,  $p = .009$ ,  $d = 0.61$ .

*T3 self-reported detection and confrontation of discrimination.* Participants who were confronted 1 month prior reported greater detection of discrimination compared to nonconfronted participants,  $F(1, 78) = 4.51$ ,  $p = .037$ ,  $d = 0.48$ . Further, participants who had been confronted 1 month prior were significantly more likely to

say they confronted the witnessed discrimination than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 78) = 5.22$ ,  $p = .025$ ,  $d = 0.52$ .

*T3 bias monitoring.* Participants who were confronted 1 month prior did not report monitoring their own biases,  $F(1, 78) = 2.33$ ,  $p = .131$ ,  $d = 0.26$ , or others' biases,  $F(1, 78) = 1.85$ ,  $p = .178$ ,  $d = 0.31$ , more than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior.

*T3 rumination.* Participants who were confronted 1 month prior reported greater pondering rumination than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 78) = 8.50$ ,  $p = .005$ ,  $d = 0.66$ .

*T3 confronting norm.* Participants who were confronted 1 month prior reported a greater confrontation norm than participants who were not confronted 1 month prior,  $F(1, 78) = 4.23$ ,  $p = .043$ ,  $d = 0.46$ .

*Repeated measures analyses.* To demonstrate stability of pondering rumination, monitoring of own

**Table 3.** Mixed ANOVA analyses: Study 2.

	Condition			Time			Interaction		
	<i>F</i> (1, 78)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i> (1, 78)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>F</i> (1, 78)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
Rumination	15.85	< .001	0.90	31.99	< .001	1.25	5.39	.023	0.53
Monitor own bias	4.83	.031	0.50	2.28	.135	0.34	0.19	.663	0.09
Monitor others' bias	2.49	.118	0.36	10.00	.002	0.72	0.29	.595	0.13
Perceived norm	8.93	.004	0.68	6.26	.014	0.56	1.05	.309	0.23

and others' biases, and perceptions of a confrontation norm from T2 and T3, exploratory 2 (condition)  $\times$  2 (time) mixed ANOVAs were conducted. As time was a factor, we did not control for time between sessions (see Table 3).

For rumination, significant main effects of condition and time were qualified by a significant interaction. Confronted participants reported greater rumination than nonconfronted participants at T2 ( $M_{\text{confronted}} = 2.40$ ,  $SE = 0.17$ ;  $M_{\text{control}} = 1.51$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ),  $F(1, 78) = 15.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 0.89$ , and T3 ( $M_{\text{confronted}} = 1.62$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ;  $M_{\text{control}} = 1.18$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ),  $F(1, 78) = 8.08$ ,  $p = .006$ ,  $d = 0.64$ , though the effect of condition was larger at T2.

For monitoring of own biases, a main effect of condition emerged. There was no main effect of time and no significant interaction. Confronted participants reported monitoring their own biases ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ) more than nonconfronted participants ( $M = 2.39$ ,  $SE = 0.18$ ).

For monitoring of others' biases, there was a main effect of time, but not condition. The interaction was not significant. Participants reported monitoring others' biases more at T3 ( $M = 3.13$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ) than at T2 ( $M = 2.65$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ).

For confrontation norm, main effects of condition and time emerged. There was no significant interaction. Participants perceived a stronger confrontation norm if they had been confronted ( $M = 4.67$ ,  $SE = 0.15$ ) compared to not confronted ( $M = 4.05$ ,  $SE = 0.14$ ), and at T3 ( $M = 4.56$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) more than at T2 ( $M = 4.17$ ,  $SE = 0.15$ ).

*Mediation analyses.* We first tested our hypothesized serial mediation analyses examining the effect of condition (confront = 1, no confront = 2) on T3 confronting outcomes (coded scenario confrontation, scenario confrontation Likert scale, confrontation frequency), with T1 neg-self and T2 monitoring of others' biases as serial mediators. As indicated in Figure 2, the serial indirect effects of condition on scenario confrontation and confrontation frequency, but not the coded confrontation, were significant via T1 neg-self and T2 monitoring of others. Findings did not significantly change when controlling for time between T1 and T2 or T3.<sup>11</sup>

To test our second hypothesized mechanism, we conducted simple mediations examining the effect of condition on confrontation outcomes via T2 confrontation norm perceptions. Only the indirect effect of condition on confrontation frequency was significant (see Figure 3).<sup>12</sup>

## Discussion

Study 2 participants who were confronted, compared to not, were more likely to report pondering rumination at T2 and T3, more likely to perceive confronting as a norm at T2 and T3, more likely to report monitoring their own biases at T2, but not T3, and more likely to indicate confronting prejudice across the three measures at T3 (scenario confrontation and coding, self-reported confrontation in the last week). Participants' monitoring of their own bias was stable across T2 and T3, while perceptions of a confrontation norm

Figure 2. Monitoring bias mediation: Study 2.

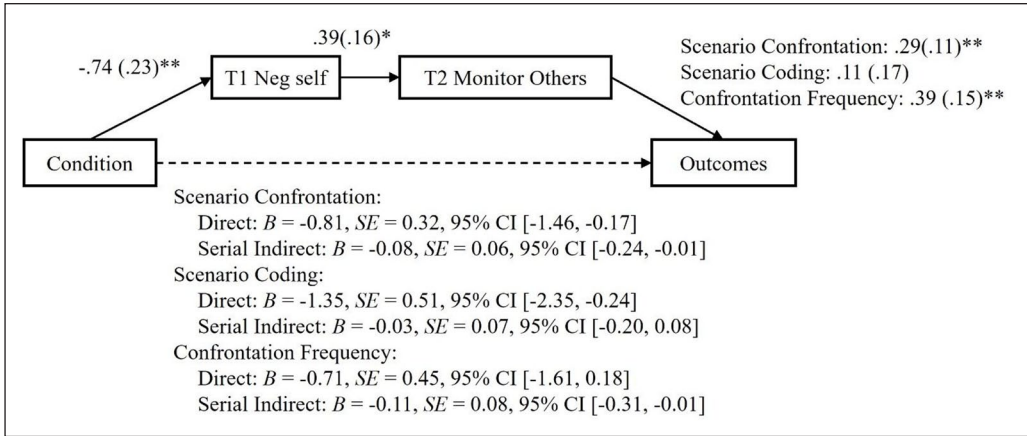
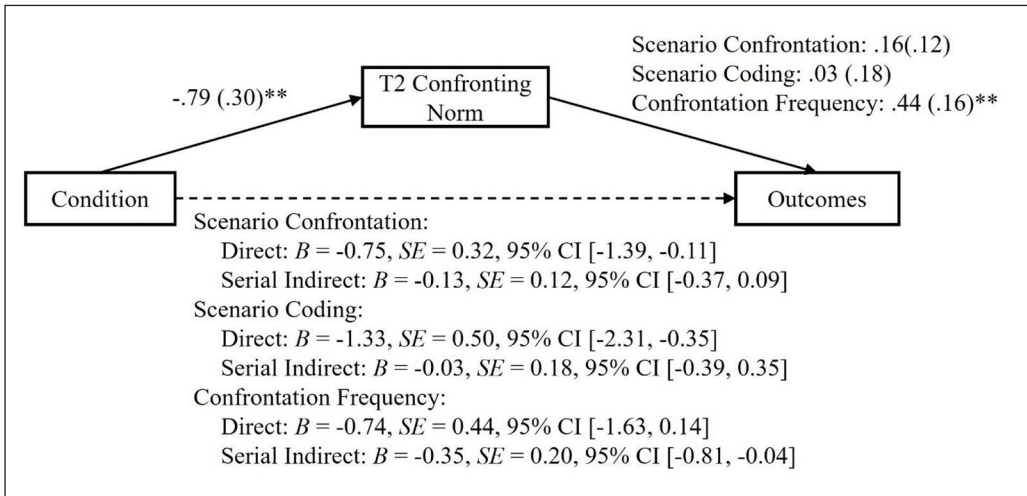


Figure 3. Confrontation norm mediation: Study 2.



and monitoring of others' biases increased from T2 to T3, regardless of participant condition. Participants' pondering rumination decreased from T2 to T3 among confronted participants, demonstrating that while effects of confrontation on pondering rumination last up to 1 month, the effect size is significantly smaller over time. Lastly, mediation analyses demonstrated that perceived

confrontation norms may mediate the effect of being confronted on confronting in a hypothetical scenario, while neg-self and monitoring of others' biases may mediate the effects of self-reported confrontation and hypothetical scenario confrontation (Likert, not coded). Study 2 thus largely supported hypotheses that confronted perpetrators may transition to ally confronters, due in part

to shifting confrontation norm perceptions and monitoring of bias in others, although we encourage a future replication with a larger sample size.

## General Discussion

Past research on prejudice confrontations has overwhelmingly focused on immediate and short-term bias reduction in White people confronted for their prejudice, at most 1 week after confrontation (e.g., Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006), or separately examined how to promote allyship behavior, such as prejudice confrontations (e.g., Chiu, 2022; Gonzalez et al., 2015). The present research is the first to examine whether being confronted for racial bias might produce not just a reduction in stereotyping, but also greater engagement in allyship behaviors, such as confronting others in the future.

For the first time, the present studies demonstrated that White participants who were confronted for the use of negative Black stereotypes were more likely to become confronters of prejudice 1 month later compared to participants who were not confronted for using stereotypes, in a hypothetical scenario (Studies 1–2) and self-reported confrontation in day-to-day activities (Study 2). Moreover, compared to participants who were not confronted, confronted participants reported greater pondering rumination 1 month later compared to participants who were not confronted (Studies 1–2). Greater monitoring of one's own bias appeared to occur 1 week after confrontation (Study 2), but not 1 month after (Studies 1–2), and direct effects of confrontation condition on monitoring of others' biases did not emerge 1 week or 1 month after (Studies 1–2). Lastly, our findings on perceptions of a norm of prejudice confrontations were inconsistent across studies, with effects of confrontation condition only occurring in Study 2 (both 1 week and 1 month after).

While we found a significant effect of being confronted on becoming a confronter on five of the six confrontation outcomes across Studies 1–2, mediation analyses were not consistent in indicating mechanisms for this process. Study 1

findings suggested that neg-self and rumination mediated the effect of condition on confronting prejudice in the hypothetical scenario, while neg-self and monitoring of others' biases mediated the effect of condition on self-reported confrontation of prejudice in participants' day-to-day lives. Yet, Study 2 suggested that neg-self and monitoring of others' biases mediated the effect of condition on scenario confrontation and self-reported confrontation in day-to-day experiences, while perceived confrontation norms mediated the effect of condition on confrontation in day-to-day experiences. While these findings are inconsistent, the correlations do suggest the pivotal role of monitoring others' biases and norms of prejudice confrontation in facilitating prejudice confrontations.

Together, these findings offer the longest examination to date of prejudice confrontations and demonstrate the first examination of prejudice confrontations promoting allyship and monitoring for cues for control, with some evidence for perceived norms of confronting and monitoring of others' biases as mechanisms.

### *Confronted to Confronter*

Importantly, the present research expands the empirical evidence of prejudice confrontations as an interpersonal strategy to not only reduce bias, but also to promote egalitarianism. The present research explored two ways this process might unfold, confrontation norms and monitoring for others' biases. While past work theorized that participants who were confronted would become active allies (Chaney et al., 2015), no previous research, to our knowledge, has examined this process. Studies 1–2 generally supported that confronted participants were more likely to become confronters than nonconfronted participants were. Yet, we relied on self-reported confrontations over a 1-week period and responses (free-response, Likert scale) to a hypothetical scenario in which the prejudiced behavior was relatively ambiguous. Moreover, it is possible that prejudice confrontation rates from confronted people may be higher in settings that more closely match the

instance on which they, themselves, were confronted. That is, the confronted may become confronters in more closely matched situations via behavioral modeling (e.g., Lamb et al., 2009). As such, it will be imperative for future research to utilize an interpersonal behavioral assessment of confrontation in replications of this research. Nevertheless, the present research suggests that confronted participants at least recognized a need or intention to confront prejudice.

*Confrontation norm.* While being confronted did not increase perceptions that confrontation was a norm 1 month later in Study 1, this effect did occur 1 week and 1 month later in Study 2. Notably, this effect on perceived norm occurs from witnessing just one person confronting prejudice. While witnessing more people confronting prejudice would likely result in a greater perceived norm shift (e.g., affirmed confrontations; Hildebrand et al., 2020), past research has frequently found changes in perceived norms based on just one actor (e.g., De Souza & Schmader, 2022; Li et al., 2024; Pereira-Jorge & Chaney, 2024; Zitek & Hebl, 2007). While that one actor was a research assistant in the present study, the research assistant could also be considered an ingroup member (shared racial and university identity across participants, shared gender identity for the majority of participants). We anticipate that an outgroup individual would be less likely to facilitate a perceived shift in norms, and we encourage future research to explore this effect.

Moreover, we encourage a preregistered replication of this finding given the effect of perceived norm did not emerge in Study 1. In general, prejudice confrontations were perceived as more of a norm in Study 2 than in Study 1, perhaps due to the U.S. political climate during Study 2, during which there were significant protests on college campuses confronting U.S. policies on the Israel–Palestine conflict. Finally, future research should consider assessing beliefs about confronting norms across varied social contexts (e.g., with friends, strangers), as well as assessing beliefs that prejudice confrontations are

an injunctive norm rather than merely a descriptive norm.

*Monitoring for bias in others.* Previous research has argued that detection of prejudice, or recognition that a comment or action is discriminatory, is a necessary step in facilitating confrontations (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008, 2014). White participants in our study may not have recognized actions outside of the laboratory as being prejudicial or reaching the threshold of racism they were familiar with (e.g., more easily detecting overt racism compared to subtle or ambiguous racism). Yet, the significant serial mediation and relationship between neg-self, rumination, and monitoring of bias in the self and others suggest that being confronted could increase vigilance towards bias or shift definitions of what is considered biased. Thus, future research should consider including more objective assessments of bias monitoring, such as attributional paradigms (Simon et al., 2013, 2019).

Notably, the documented discrepancy in how marginalized and advantaged groups detect racism is due in part to literacy on what constitutes racism (e.g., Carter & Murphy, 2015; Gonzalez et al., 2015). Yet, by promoting allyship, prejudice confrontations may open a window to bias recognition (in the self and others) that may encourage a self-education on prejudice, which may sharpen socially advantaged group members' awareness of the various covert and overt forms of prejudice manifesting in their natural environment (e.g., learning about critical race theory or gender bias; Martin & Johnson, 2023; Pietri et al., 2017). As such, we encourage future research to examine alternative downstream outcomes of prejudice confrontations, including interest in learning about inequalities and attributions of racial inequalities to interpersonal or structural bias (e.g., Miller & Saucier, 2016; Rucker & Richeson, 2021).

Additionally, we note that confrontation rates remained relatively low, though such levels are comparable with estimates of confrontation rates (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Swim & Hyers, 1999).



While both measures of confrontation (hypothetical scenario and self-report) are inherently prone to bias in reporting, participants' social desirability was not significantly related to any outcomes (Study 1). Nevertheless, we encourage future research to examine rates of confrontation in an interpersonal, behavioral paradigm in which participants are unaware of the connection between the study portion during which they are confronted and the study portion where they may confront others. Such a design will be critical in advancing the study of prejudice confrontations, though creates ethical concerns about incomplete debriefings.

### *Future Considerations*

We encourage future research to consider individual differences, such as internal motivations to respond without prejudice, that may moderate effects of being confronted on becoming a confronter.<sup>13</sup> Further, future research may consider how even privileged social group members who are not internally motivated to engage in egalitarian behaviors may still confront prejudice (to avoid looking bad or to gain positive evaluations, i.e., performative allyship; see Kutlaca & Radke, 2023). Relatedly, as people who are confronted experience social costs, it is possible that other performative motives may facilitate confronted people to "restore" a favorable image by engaging in prejudice confrontations of others. That is, more work is needed to discern how motives to engage in allyship and to behave in egalitarian ways may impact the process from confronted to confronter.

The present findings are potentially affected by all confronters being White women and the utilization of a confrontation of an unambiguous stereotype. Previous research has highlighted the importance of majority group allies in reducing prejudice and promoting egalitarianism (Dickter et al., 2012; Drury & Kaiser, 2014). However, our results may have been different had the confronter been a man, matched the gender of the participant, or if the confronter were a racial

minority group member compared to the confronter being a racial majority group member. Future research should continue to evaluate the effects of prejudice confrontation by members of different groups on promoting and inspiring allyship behaviors in the future rather than just on prejudice reduction (Czopp et al., 2006). Moreover, the present paradigm to confront prejudice is the prototype for prejudice confrontation research (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2021; Czopp et al., 2006). While it reliably elicits the use of stereotypes, this type of paradigm does not map onto many real-life prejudice confrontation scenarios in which bias is harder to detect and feedback is not expected. Indeed, the scenario used to assess if participants confronted at T3 involves a situation where the scenario's actor's actions are ambiguous, in direct contrast to the unambiguous T1 stereotype use by participants (for the importance of perceiving a confrontation as "valid," see Monteith et al., 2022). We encourage future research to expand prejudice confrontation paradigms.

Finally, our results only examined a general form of prejudice confrontation (expressing disapproval). Previous research has tested hot/cold confrontations (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006) and has identified a number of strategies (Chaney & Sanchez, 2022), such as educational (seeking to help the perpetrator of prejudice understand how what they said was wrong), argumentative (berating the perpetrator of prejudice by arguing with them), help-seeking (seeking to get others involved in the confrontation), empathy (seeking to get the perpetrator to empathize with the group[s] they are targeting), and humor (using jokes or other forms of humor to confront in a way that be perceived as less aggressive and negative; see also Saucier et al., 2018). Such varied prejudice confrontation styles may differentially impact the likelihood of neg-self and rumination (see Chaney et al., 2023; for null effect of confrontation style on rumination, see Burns and Granz, 2021) and may subsequently affect the likelihood of allyship in the future. For example, an empathy confrontation approach may make perpetrators more aware of

the harm caused by prejudice, thus motivating allyship actions.

Relatedly, participants' written responses to the T3 scenario were, at times, two-pronged, indicating both support for the Black student and confrontation of the White student (e.g., "If I witnessed Jamie's behavior, I would start a conversation with the Black student to make them feel more comfortable. Then, I might confront Jamie later on about his actions"). As such, it will be important to consider other forms of allyship that may occur as a result of being confronted.

## Conclusion

In the first examination of prejudice confrontations over 1 month rather than much shorter durations, the present study demonstrates that prejudice confrontations offer an interpersonal strategy to not only reduce prejudice, but also to promote allyship. White participants confronted for their use of negative Black stereotypes demonstrated greater attention to bias in the environment, themselves, and others 1 month later; continued to ruminate about negative self-directed affect 1 month later; and were more likely to confront prejudice in a hypothetical scenario (Studies 1–2) and in their day-to-day lives (Study 2) 1 month later, compared to White participants who were not confronted for their stereotype use. Thus, our findings suggest that prejudice confrontation may not be limited to just being a tool to encourage stereotype inhibition in White people, but rather an ideological shift toward thinking and behaving in egalitarian ways.

## Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Data Availability

Data and materials are available on the Open Science Framework repository ([https://osf.io/bmeyt/?view\\_only=68244002fff0429395bf885eda179de9](https://osf.io/bmeyt/?view_only=68244002fff0429395bf885eda179de9)).

## ORCID iDs

Kimberly E. Chaney  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6450-9488>

Conor J. O'Dea  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9727-1779>

## Supplemental Material

Supplemental material for this article is available online.

## Notes

1. While past research has found that men who were confronted for sexism were more likely to engage in compensatory behavior towards women (Mallet & Wagner, 2011), such action is not inherently allyship.
2. The T2 stereotyping task also included a measure of gender stereotypes, which are reported in the Supplemental Material. These results replicate past research (Chaney et al., 2021).
3. Participants also completed a measure of social dominance orientation (SDO) at the end of T1 and T3 surveys (see Supplemental Material). As reported in the Supplemental Material, there was no effect of condition on T3 IMS or EMS.
4. A measure of social desirability was assessed during a large prescreen survey at the beginning of the semester. As a check of robustness, analyses controlling for participants' social desirability are reported in the Supplemental Material. No findings significantly change from the analyses reported in the manuscript when controlling for social desirability.
5. See the Supplemental Material for additional tests finding no effect of research assistant, participant gender, T1 neg-self, and T1 neg-other on T2 retention.
6. Note that across studies and outcomes, reported effects do not significantly change when not controlling for time or experimenter. Time between T1 and T2 was significantly correlated with T3 scenario confrontation,  $r(140) = -.17, p < .05$ . Time between T3 and T1 was significantly

correlated with T3 rumination,  $r(148) = .189$ ,  $p < .05$ , and T3 monitoring of own bias,  $r(148) = .194$ ,  $p < .05$ .

7. See the Supplemental Material for analysis of rumination by condition and time (T2, T3).
8. An exploratory serial mediation of condition on T3 monitoring the self for bias via T1 neg-self and T3 rumination revealed a significant indirect effect,  $B = 0.13$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ , 95%  $CI_{boot}$  [0.01, 0.26]. The indirect effect was not significant when instead plugging in T2 rumination,  $B = 0.06$ ,  $SE = 0.06$ , 95%  $CI_{boot}$  [-0.05, 0.18]. See the Supplemental Material for other mediation analyses that utilize T3 rumination.
9. Participants also completed measures of SDO, IMS, and EMS at T2. These are reported in the Supplemental Material.
10. See the Supplemental Material for additional tests finding no effect of research assistant, participant gender, T1 neg-self, and T1 neg-other on T3 retention.
11. As an exploratory analysis, we also conducted serial mediations mirroring Study 1's model (see Figure 1). The serial mediation via T1 neg-self, T2 rumination, and T3 monitoring of others was not significant for scenario confrontation,  $B = 0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.02$ , 95%  $CI_{boot}$  [-0.03, 0.06]; coded confrontation,  $B = 0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.02$ , 95%  $CI_{boot}$  [-0.04, 0.07]; or confrontation frequency,  $B = 0.01$ ,  $SE = 0.03$ , 95%  $CI_{boot}$  [-0.04, 0.09].
12. An exploratory path model in MPlus 8 examining, in parallel, the mediation models depicted in Figures 2 and 3 was also conducted. While the individual indirect effects were not significant, the total indirect effects were significant for confrontation frequency,  $B = -0.09$ ,  $SE = 0.04$ ,  $p = .026$ , and scenario confrontation,  $B = -0.23$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $p = .033$ .
13. Per reviewer comments, we examined IMS as a moderator of our effects. In Study 1, IMS did not moderate the effect of condition on neg-self (interaction term,  $B = 0.10$ ,  $SE = 0.19$ ,  $p = .627$ ), T2 pondering rumination (interaction term,  $B = 0.25$ ,  $SE = 0.18$ ,  $p = .163$ ), T3 pondering rumination (interaction term,  $B = 0.22$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ,  $p = .181$ ), T3 scenario confrontation (interaction term,  $B = 0.19$ ,  $SE = 0.20$ ,  $p = .349$ ), or T3 confrontation frequency (interaction term,  $B = 0.46$ ,  $SE = 0.38$ ,  $p = .239$ ). Given these null effects in Study 1 and our smaller sample size in Study 2, these tests were not conducted for Study 2.

## References

- Alt, N. P., Chaney, K. E., & Shih, M. J. (2019). "But that was meant to be a compliment!": Evaluative costs of confronting positive racial stereotypes. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 22(5), 655–672. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430218756493>
- Amodio, D. M., Devine, P. G., & Harmon-Jones, E. (2007). A dynamic model of guilt: Implications for motivation and self-regulation in the context of prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 18(6), 524–530. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01933.x>
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Blanchard, J. C., Petersson, J., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2014). Do you say something when it's your boss? The role of perpetrator power in prejudice confrontation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 615–636. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12082>
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The confronting prejudiced responses (CPR) model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 7(3), 332–342. <https://doi.org/10.5465/AMLE.2008.34251671>
- Blanchard, F. A., Crandall, C. S., Brigham, J. C., & Vaughn, L. A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of applied Psychology*, 79(6), 993–997. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.79.6.993>
- Bosson, J. K., Parrott, D. J., Swan, S. C., Kuchynka, S. L., & Schramm, A. T. (2015). A dangerous boomerang: Injunctive norms, hostile sexist attitudes, and male-to-female sexual aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 41(6), 580–593. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21597>
- Burns, M. D., & Granz, E. L. (2021). Confronting sexism: Promoting confrontation acceptance and reducing stereotyping through stereotype framing. *Sex Roles*, 84(9), 503–521. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-020-01183-5>
- Carter, E. R., & Murphy, M. C. (2015). Group-based differences in perceptions of racism: What counts, to whom, and why? *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 9(6), 269–280. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12181>
- Chaney, K. E., & Chasteen, A. L. (2024). Do beliefs that older adults are inflexible serve as a barrier to racial equality? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 58(8), 1151–1166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231159767>
- Chaney, K. E., & Sanchez, D. T. (2018). The endurance of interpersonal confrontations as a prejudice

- reduction strategy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 44(3), 418–429. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217741344>
- Chaney, K. E., & Sanchez, D. T. (2022). Prejudice confrontation styles: A validated and reliable measure of how people confront prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 25(5), 1333–1352. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302211005841>
- Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., Alt, N. P., & Shih, M. (2021). The breadth of confrontations as a prejudice reduction strategy. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 12(3), 314–322. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620919318>
- Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Remedios, J. D. (2023). Confronting first impressions: Motivating self-regulation of stereotypes and prejudice through prejudice confrontation. In E. Balcetis & G. Moskowitz (Eds.), *The handbook of impression formation: A social psychological approach* (pp. 435–458). Routledge.
- Chaney, K. E., Young, D. M., & Sanchez, D. T. (2015). Confrontation's health outcomes and promotion of egalitarianism (C-HOPE) framework. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(4), 363–371. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000042>
- Chiu, L. W. (2022). Conceptualising allyship for coaching to promote social change. *International Journal of Evidence Based Coaching and Mentoring*, (S16), 40–54. <https://doi.org/10.24384/AJWW-CE78>
- Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3), 414–446. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.414>
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1960). A new scale of social desirability independent of psychopathology. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 24(4), 349–354. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0047358>
- Czopp, A. M., Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2006). Standing up for a change: Reducing bias through interpersonal confrontation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 784–803. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.784>
- De Souza, L., & Schmader, T. (2022). The misjudgment of men: Does pluralistic ignorance inhibit allyship? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 122(2), 265–285. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000362>
- Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. (2012). Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(6), 1267–1278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.06.003>
- Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Cox, W. T., Kaatz, A., Sheridan, J., & Carnes, M. (2017). A gender bias habit-breaking intervention led to increased hiring of female faculty in STEM departments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 73, 211–215. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.07.002>
- Devine, P. G., & Monteith, M. J. (1993). The role of discrepancy-associated affect in prejudice reduction. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition and stereotyping* (pp. 317–344). Academic Press.
- Dickter, C. L., Kittel, J. A., & Gyurovski, I. I. (2012). Perceptions of non-target confronters in response to racist and heterosexist remarks. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(1), 112–119. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.855>
- Dickter, C. L., & Newton, V. A. (2013). To confront or not to confront: Non-targets' evaluations of and responses to racist comments. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43(S2), E262–E275. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12022>
- Drury, B. J., & Kaiser, C. R. (2014). Allies against sexism: The role of men in confronting sexism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 637–652. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12083>
- Ford, T. E., & Ferguson, M. A. (2004). Social consequences of disparagement humor: A prejudiced norm theory. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8(1), 79–94. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0801\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0801_4)
- Goldring, M. R., & Heiphetz, L. (2020). Sensitivity to ingroup and outgroup norms in the association between commonality and morality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 91, Article 104025. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2020.104025>
- Gonzalez, K. A., Riggle, E. D. B., & Rostosky, S. S. (2015). Cultivating positive feelings and attitudes: A path to prejudice reduction and ally behavior. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(4), 372–381. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000049>
- Hangartner, D., Gennaro, G., Alasiri, S., Bahrigh, N., Bornhofs, A., Boucher, J., Demirci, B. B., Derksen, L., Hall, A., Jochum, M., Munoz, M. M., Richter, M., Vogel, F., Wittwer, S., Wüthrich, F., Gilardi, F., & Donnay, K. (2021). Empathy-based counterspeech can reduce racist hate speech in a social media field experiment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA*, 118(50), Article e2116310118. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2116310118>

- Hayes, A. F. (2012). *PROCESS: A versatile computational tool for observed variable mediation, moderation, and conditional process modeling* [White paper]. Semantic Scholar. <https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:22220661>
- Hildebrand, L. K., Jusuf, C. C., & Monteith, M. J. (2020). Ally confrontations as identity-safety cues for marginalized individuals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(6), 1318–1333. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2692>
- Inman, M. L., & Baron, R. S. (1996). Influence of prototypes on perceptions of prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*(4), 727–739. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.4.727>
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Stop complaining! The social costs of making attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(2), 254–263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201272010>
- King, D. D., Hall, A. V., Johnson, L., Carter, J., Burrows, D., & Samuel, N. (2023). Research on anti-Black racism in organizations: Insights, ideas, and considerations. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 38*(1), 145–162. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-022-09804-4>
- Kutlaca, M., Becker, J., & Radke, H. (2020). A hero for the outgroup, a black sheep for the ingroup: Societal perceptions of those who confront discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 88*, Article 103832. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.103832>
- Kutlaca, M., & Radke, H. R. (2023). Towards an understanding of performative allyship: Definition, antecedents and consequences. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 17*(2), Article e12724. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12724>
- Lai, C. K., Marini, M., Lehr, S. A., Cerruti, C., Shin, J. L., Joy-Gaba, J. A., Ho, A. K., Teachman, B. A., Wojcik, S. P., Koleva, S. P., Frazier, R. S., Heiphetz, L., Chen, E., Turner, R. N., Haidt, J., Kesebir, S., Hawkins, C. B., Schaefer, H. S., Rubichi, S., . . . Nosek, B. A. (2014). Reducing implicit racial preferences: I. A comparative investigation of 17 interventions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 143*(4), 1765–1785. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036260>
- Lai, C. K., Skinner, A. L., Cooley, E., Murrar, S., Brauer, M., Devos, T., Calanchini, J., Xiao, Y. J., Pedram, C., Marshburn, C. K., Simon, S., Blanchard, J. C., Joy-Gaba, J. A., Conway, J., Redford, L., Klein, R. A., Roussos, G., Schellhaas, F. M. H., Burns, M., . . . Nosek, B. A. (2016). Reducing implicit racial preferences: II. Intervention effectiveness across time. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 145*(8), 1001–1016. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000179>
- Lamb, L. M., Bigler, R. S., Liben, L. S., & Green, V. A. (2009). Teaching children to confront peers' sexist remarks: Implications for theories of gender development and educational practice. *Sex Roles, 61*, 361–382. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9634-4>
- Lee, R. T., Perez, A. D., Boykin, C. M., & Mendoza-Denton, R. (2019). On the prevalence of racial discrimination in the United States. *PLoS One, 14*(1), Article e0210698. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0210698>
- LeMaire, K. L., & Oswald, D. L. (2016). How gender affects heterosexual allies' intentions of confronting sexual prejudice. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 3*(4), 453–464. <https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000190>
- Levin, S., Sinclair, S., Veniegas, R. C., & Taylor, P. L. (2002). Perceived discrimination in the context of multiple group members. *Psychological Science, 13*(6), 557–560. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00498>
- Li, A. H., Noland, E. S., & Monteith, M. J. (2024). Following prejudiced behavior, confrontation restores local anti-bias social norms. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672241229006>
- Mallet, R. K., & Wagner, D. E. (2011). The unexpectedly positive consequences of confronting sexism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*(1), 215–220. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.10.001>
- Marti, M. W., Bobier, D. M., & Baron, R. S. (2000). Right before our eyes: The failure to recognize non-prototypical forms of prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 3*(4), 403–418. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430200003004005>
- Martin, K. J., & Johnson, K. L. (2023). You can't dismantle what you don't recognize: The effect of learning critical Black history in healthcare on perspective-taking. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0001482>
- Miller, S. S., O'Dea, C. J., & Saucier, D. A. (2021). "I can't breathe": Lay conceptualizations of racism

- predict support for Black Lives Matter. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 173, Article 110625. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110625>
- Miller, S. S., & Saucier, D. A. (2016). Individual differences in the propensity to make attributions to prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 21(2), 280–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216674342>
- Minear, M., & Park, D. C. (2004). A lifespan database of adult facial stimuli. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 36, 630–633. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03206543>
- Monteith, M. J. (1993). Self-regulation of prejudiced responses: Implications for progress in prejudice-reduction efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(3), 469–485. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.3.469>
- Monteith, M. J., Ashburn-Nardo, L., Voils, C. I., & Czopp, A. M. (2002). Putting the brakes on prejudice: On the development and operation of cues for control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(5), 1029–1050. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.83.5.1029>
- Monteith, M. J., Lybarger, J. E., & Woodcock, A. (2009). Schooling the cognitive monster: The role of motivation in the regulation and control of prejudice. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 3(3), 211–226. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2009.00177.x>
- Monteith, M. J., Mallett, R. K., & Hildebrand, L. K. (2022). Confronting intergroup biases: Validity and impugment as determinants of other-confrontation consequences. In B. Gawronski (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 66, pp. 1–57). Academic Press.
- Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2005). Changing one's prejudiced ways: Awareness, affect, and self-regulation. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 16(1), 113–154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280500229882>
- Monteith, M. J., Mark, A. Y., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2010). The self-regulation of prejudice: Toward understanding its lived character. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 13(2), 183–200. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209353633>
- Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink, J. R., & Devine, P. G. (1994). Prejudice and prejudice reduction: Classic challenges, contemporary approaches. In P. G. Devine, D. L. Hamilton, & T. M. Ostrom (Eds.), *Social cognition: Impact on social psychology* (pp. 323–346). Academic Press.
- Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). Whites see racism as a zero-sum game that they are now losing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(3), 215–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691611406922>
- Pahlke, E., Patterson, M. M., & Hughes, J. M. (2021). White parents' racial socialization and young adults' racial attitudes: Moral reasoning and motivation to respond without prejudice as mediators. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 24(8), 1409–1426. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220941065>
- Paluck, E. L. (2011). Peer pressure against prejudice: A high school field experiment examining social network change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(2), 350–358. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.11.017>
- Paluck, E. L., Porat, R., Clark, C. S., & Green, D. P. (2021). Prejudice reduction: Progress and challenges. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 72, 533–560. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-071620-030619>
- Patterson, C. M., & Newman, J. P. (1993). Reflectivity and learning from aversive events: Toward a psychological mechanism for the syndromes of disinhibition. *Psychological Review*, 100(4), 716–736. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295x.100.4.716>
- Pereira-Jorge, I. A., & Chaney, K. E. (2024, February 8–10). *Descriptive social norms impact perceived social costs and benefits to confronting anti-Asian bias* [Poster presentation]. Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, San Diego, CA.
- Pietri, E. S., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Dovidio, J. F., Guha, D., Roussos, G., Brescoll, V. L., & Handelsman, J. (2017). Using video to increase gender bias literacy toward women in science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 41(2), 175–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316674721>
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811–832. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811>
- Rodriguez-Garcia, J., & Wagner, U. (2009). Learning to be prejudiced: A test of unidirectional and bidirectional models of parent–offspring socialization. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33(6), 516–523. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.08.001>
- Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2021). Toward an understanding of structural racism: Implications

- for criminal justice. *Science*, 374(6565), 286–290. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.abj7779>
- Saucier, D., Strain, M., Miller, S., O'Dea, C., & Till, D. (2018). “What do you call a Black guy who flies a plane?”: The effects and understanding of disparagement and confrontational racial humor. *Humor*, 31(1), 105–128. <https://doi.org/10.1515/humor-2017-0107>
- Schultz, J. R., & Maddox, K. B. (2013). Shooting the messenger to spite the message? Exploring reactions to claims of racial bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39(3), 346–358. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212475223>
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., Salvatore, J., & Hill, D. M. (2006). Silence is not golden: The intrapersonal consequences of not confronting prejudice. In S. Levin & C. van Laar (Eds.), *Stigma and group inequality* (pp. 79–96). Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410617057>
- Simon, S., Kinias, Z., O'Brien, L. T., Major, B., & Bivolaru, E. (2013). Prototypes of discrimination: How status asymmetry and stereotype asymmetry affect judgments of racial discrimination. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 35(6), 525–533. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2013.823620>
- Simon, S., Moss, A. J., & O'Brien, L. T. (2019). Pick your perspective: Racial group membership and judgments of intent, harm, and discrimination. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 22(2), 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430217735576>
- Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me—What did you just say?: Women's public and private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35(1), 68–88. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1998.1370>
- Vaccarino, E., & Kawakami, K. (2021). In the office or at the gym: The impact of confronting sexism in specific contexts on support for confrontation and perceptions of others. *Self and Identity*, 20(7), 893–912. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2020.1832566>
- Wessel, J. L., Lemay, E. P., Jr., & Barth, S. E. (2023). You (r) behaviors are racist: Responses to prejudice confrontations depend on confrontation focus. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 38(1), 109–134. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-022-09811-5>
- Williams, M. T., & Gran-Ruaz, S. M. (2023). Can anti-racism training improve outgroup liking and allyship behaviours? *Whiteness and Education*, 8(1), 20–38. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23793406.2021.1988687>
- Zitek, E. M., & Hebl, M. R. (2007). The role of social norm clarity in the influenced expression of prejudice over time. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43(6), 867–876. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2006.10.010>