

INTERPERSONAL CONFRONTATION OF BIAS

*Margo J. Monteith, Elisabeth S. Noland,
and Anna Haoyang Li*

*Where you see wrong or inequality or injustice, speak out, because this is
your country. This is your democracy. Make it. Protect it. Pass it on.*

Thurgood Marshall, 1978

Thurgood Marshall was an influential American civil rights lawyer and activist who fought Jim Crow and segregation through the courts, eventually becoming the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court. He is well-known for the above quote—words he imparted to graduating students in a commencement address at the University of Virginia in 1978. Speaking out to confront bias entails a range of actions, such as marching, lobbying, striking, providing community education, reporting harassment and discrimination, and protesting through art and music. In addition, interpersonal confrontation occurs when someone points out another person's biased statements, remarks, or behavior. Interpersonal confrontation provides a strategy whereby people can speak out about injustice in their everyday lives (see Mallett & Monteith, 2019).

This chapter reviews social psychological research on interpersonal confrontation of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination—which we will refer to as bias. We first address research concerning the significant and broad benefits of confrontation. Next, we address whether people confront, including factors that discourage confrontation and possible remedies to these deterrents. Despite abundant benefits of interpersonal confrontation and avenues for encouraging it, an unfortunate reality is that people do not like criticism, and confrontation may be interpreted as criticism. Because of this, confronters often encounter undesirable consequences in the form of social costs, such as being perceived as complainers and liked less than if they had not confronted. Thus, in the final section of this chapter, we discuss the often-observed negative interpersonal consequences of confrontation and how such consequences may be mitigated.

Benefits of Confrontation

Interpersonal confrontation is associated with a variety of outcomes, many of which are highly beneficial. We will conceptualize beneficial outcomes in terms of three spheres of influence (see Figure 15.1). At the first and core sphere of influence, the most direct consequence of confrontation is the reduction of perpetrator bias. After a perpetrator of bias is confronted by another person, the perpetrator is less likely to express the same and related biases in the future (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006). A second sphere of influence concerns the benefits of confrontation for people who belong to marginalized groups that are targeted by bias. Marginalized group members who witness bias may experience beneficial psychological outcomes if they see that the bias is confronted rather than left unchallenged (e.g., Hildebrand et al., 2020; Sanchez et al., 2016). A third and broader sphere of influence concerns the effect of confrontation on beliefs that people do not and should not do biased things within the local environment—or the perception of anti-bias social norms (Li et al., 2024). Because social norms have the potential to exert control over current and future behavior (e.g., Reno et al., 1993) and imply sanctions for norm violation (Cialdini & Trost, 1998), they have potentially far-reaching effects on encouraging nonbiased behavior. We review evidence for each of these favorable outcomes below, and factors that maximize the likelihood that these outcomes will occur.

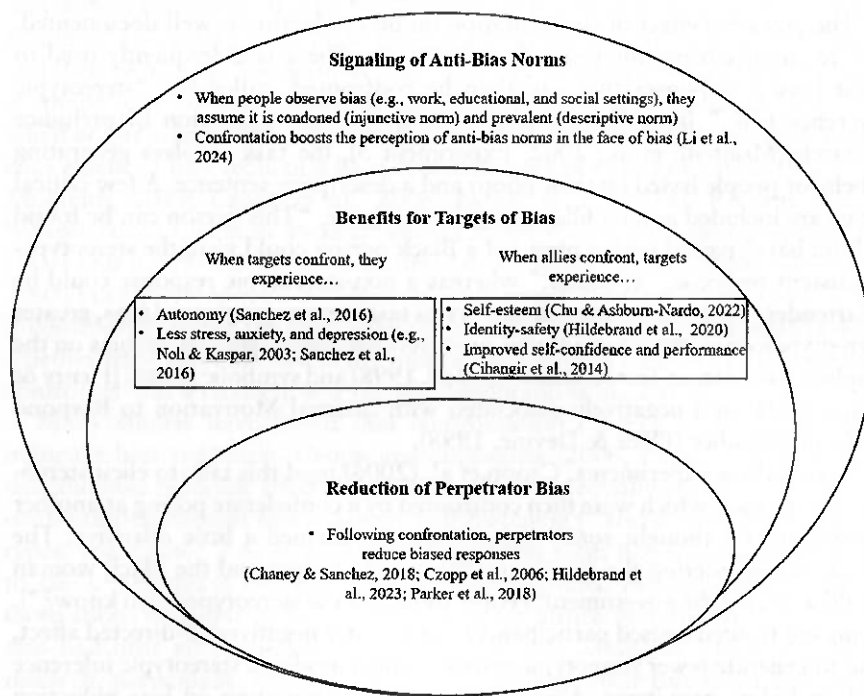


Figure 15.1 Interpersonal confrontation's three spheres of influence

Bias Reduction

Monteith and colleagues (2022) recently provided a theoretical framework to explain how interpersonal confrontation produces bias reduction, and why reduction is greater under some conditions than others, called the *Validity and Impugnment as Determinants of Confrontation Consequences* (VIDOCC) model. According to VIDOCC, when someone is confronted, they ask themselves, “Is the confrontation valid?” or in other words, whether their response is considered biased. People may decide the confrontation is valid because it conflicts with their own internalized standards for responding (“I should not have done that!”) or standards they have internalized based on important others in their life (“Others I care about surely do not want me to do that!”) (see Higgins, 1987). When regarded as valid, self-regulatory processes previously studied in the context of the Self-Regulation of Prejudice Model (e.g., Burns et al. 2017; Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002) will be triggered. In brief, negative self-directed affect will be activated (e.g., disappointment with the self); ongoing behavior will be briefly interrupted (behavioral inhibition); people will engage in retrospective reflection that helps them encode stimuli connected with their biased response and the resulting negative affect, called *cues for control*; and in future situations where they may engage in bias again, cues for control will trigger behavioral inhibition, prospective reflection about how one wants to respond, and the inhibition and replacement of biased responses.

The powerful effect of confrontation on bias reduction is well-documented. Before summarizing this research, we first describe a task frequently used to elicit biased responses that can then be confronted, called the “stereotypic inference task.” Initially developed and used in self-regulation of prejudice research (Monteith et al., 2002, Experiment 3), the task involves generating labels for people based on their photo and a descriptive sentence. A few critical items are included among filler items. For instance, “This person can be found behind bars” paired with a photo of a Black person could yield the stereotype-consistent response, “criminal,” whereas a non-stereotypic response could be “bartender.” Supporting the validity of this task for assessing racial bias, greater stereotype-consistent responding is positively associated with racial bias on the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998) and symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002) and negatively associated with Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Across three experiments, Czopp et al. (2006) used this task to elicit stereotypic responses, which were then confronted by a confederate posing as another participant (“I thought some of your answers seemed a little offensive. The Black guy wandering the streets could be a lost tourist and the Black woman could work for the government. People shouldn’t use stereotypes, you know?”). Being confronted caused participants to experience negative self-directed affect, and to generate fewer stereotypic responses on a modified stereotypic inference task including new items. Also, the effect of confrontation on bias reduction was mediated by negative self-directed affect, thus supporting a self-regulatory

explanation of bias reduction. Finally, the findings did not seem to reflect mere compliance because participants' post-confrontation responses were made privately, and confrontation also reduced bias on a racial attitudes measure.

Several other findings point to meaningful self-regulation of bias following confrontation. First, confrontation has lasting effects on bias reduction across up to a week later (Burns & Monteith, 2019; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Second, consistent with the self-regulation account, participants ruminate on their biases following confrontation, indicating retrospective reflection, and this rumination is helpful for subsequent regulation and reduction of bias (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Third, the effect of confrontation about bias toward one target group appears to activate egalitarian motivations that drive reduced stereotyping of groups other than those targeted in the initial confrontation (Chaney et al., 2021). In this research, White participants initially confronted about applying negative stereotypes to Black people on the stereotypic inference task subsequently were less likely to apply negative and positive stereotypes to Black people, negative stereotypes to Latine people, and gender role stereotypes to women (Studies 1 and 2). Finally, White male participants confronted for gender role stereotyping reported greater motivation for racial egalitarianism one week later than counterparts who were not confronted, which in turn predicted fewer negative stereotypic responses for Black and Latino men (Study 3).

In sum, confrontation has a consistent effect on subsequent bias reduction that appears to reflect the internalization of the bias feedback and the instigation of processes to facilitate subsequent identification of potential biases and their reduction. Furthermore, the effect of confrontation on bias reduction is robust to a host of potential moderators. For instance, studies examining whether prejudiced attitudes or motivation to respond without bias influence extent of bias reduction have found no evidence of moderation (Burns & Monteith, 2019; Czopp et al., 2006; Parker et al., 2018). Perhaps this is because current broader societal norms call for the suppression of the type of biases that have been studied in confrontation research (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; but see Kroeper, 2020). As another example, how much the person who is confronted trusted the confronter did not affect bias reduction, regardless of whether trust was experimentally induced or varied according to whether the confronter was a stranger or a friend (Hildebrand et al., 2024).

Many studies have found that confrontation content likewise does not influence bias reduction. Czopp and colleagues (2006, Experiment 1) found that the bias reducing effect of confrontation was equally strong whether the confrontation content was relatively unthreatening ("You shouldn't use stereotypes, you know?") or more threatening ("You seem like some sort of racist to me"). Whether a confrontation message appealed to internal or external motivations for reducing bias (e.g., striving for justice vs. political correctness) also had little effect on bias reduction (Burns & Monteith, 2019). In other research, participants reduced bias equally whether their role-restrictive inferences about women (e.g., assuming a woman was a teacher rather than school principal) were confronted with an emphasis on stereotyping women positively

(e.g., caring) or negatively (e.g., low status) (Burns & Granz, 2021). Finally, confrontation caused bias reduction to the same extent whether the confronter indicated they thought the perpetrator could or could not change their prejudices (Rattan et al., 2023).

However, below we address two factors that may moderate the magnitude of bias reduction following confrontation, perhaps at least under some circumstances. Both factors can be linked to the VIDOCC framework prediction that conditions that reduce the perceived validity of a confrontation will reduce bias reduction (Monteith et al., 2022).

The Group Targeted by Bias

Whereas anti-Black bias is strongly condemned by many people, norms against sexism are weaker (Crandall et al., 2002; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Furthermore, because people often like women and apply positive stereotypes to them (Glick & Fiske, 2001), people may question whether confrontations about sexism are valid. Several findings are consistent with this reasoning. Confrontation of sexism elicits less negative self-directed affect and discomfort and more amusement than confrontation of racism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Sexist jokes and statements are regarded as less offensive and confrontation-worthy than racist jokes and statements (Woodzicka et al., 2015). Furthermore, when participants were confronted about their proneness to sexist biases, they were less likely to accept the confrontation as accurate, as true of them, and as indicating bias that they should monitor in the future, compared to participants confronted about their proneness to racist biases (Gulker et al., 2013).

Strategies to establish an evidentiary basis of sexist bias and their harmful effects may enhance the perceived validity of sexism confrontations and boost bias reduction. Four experiments reported by Parker and colleagues (2018) tested this possibility. Participants evaluated a woman's application for a lab manager position and were led to believe they would not have hired her. This rejection was characterized as showing gender bias for all participants, but some participants were also shown evidence that their evaluations were more negative than those of males with identical materials who ultimately received favorable hiring decisions. Participants shown evidence of gender bias reported greater negative self-directed affect and, in turn, stronger intentions to monitor themselves to avoid future gender bias, compared to no gender bias evidence and no confrontation conditions (Experiments 1–3). Also, Experiment 4 showed that the typical discrepancy between reactions to confrontations of racism and sexism was eliminated when evidence of gender bias and its harmful effect on the hiring decision was presented.

Altogether, these findings suggest that the tendency to dismiss confrontations of gender more than racial bias can be overcome by concretely pointing out evidence of harmful gender bias. We suspect that other research showing that confrontation reduced sexist bias provided sufficient evidence of gender bias to be perceived as valid (e.g., Burns & Granz, 2021; Burns & Monteith,

2019; Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Future research is needed to address whether other aspects of bias (e.g., whether it is expressed in a subtle versus blatant form) affect bias reduction following confrontation.

Confronter Identity

Whether a confronter is a member of the group targeted by bias or not (e.g., a gay versus straight person confronting a homophobic remark) might influence bias reduction, although relevant evidence is mixed. Such an effect is theoretically sensible given arguments are perceived as less valid when people have a vested interest in outcomes (Eagly et al., 1978), and targets are likely to be perceived as having a vested interest in bias reduction.

We are aware of only two experiments that investigated the effect of confronter identity on bias reduction. In one experiment, Twitter users were confronted by a White or Black man with a strong following for their use of a racist slur. (In reality, the confronter accounts were controlled by the experimenter, i.e., “bots” were used.) Only those confronted by a White man subsequently reduced their use of the racist slur (Munger, 2017). In another experiment, participants were confronted for responses on the stereotypic inference task by a Black or White person they believed was in a neighboring lab room. However, this study revealed no effect for confronter race (Czopp et al., 2006, Experiment 2).

Researchers have examined the persuasiveness of confrontations depending on confronter identity, which provides additional insight into confronter identity effects. In one study, White participants watched a video of a discussion between a White actor who made biased comments and another actor who was White or Black, and who either confronted or did not (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). When a White person confronted, versus a Black person, participants reported that the perpetrator was more prejudiced and they were less likely to agree with his comments—suggesting the White confronter was more convincing. In another experiment, participants were confronted about their own unconscious racial biases by a White or Black scholar, and they were more persuaded if the confronter was White (Gulker et al., 2013).

Although these findings suggest greater influence for nontarget than target confronters, Wallace et al. (2024) highlighted that extant research provides inconsistent evidence of the persuasiveness of target group members' advocacy (broadly defined) for their group relative to nontarget group members. These researchers found that the perceived expertise of targets (given their experiences with discrimination) boosts their persuasiveness when advocating for their group. However, at the same time, perceived bias (given their vested interest) undermines targets' persuasiveness relative to nontargets. Given these opposing effects, Wallace et al. (2024) found limited evidence that target group membership influenced the effects of advocacy on attitudes and collective action intentions. This framework will be useful in future research addressing the conditions under which target group membership in confrontation situations may or may not influence bias reduction.

Overall, research reviewed in this section underscores strong and consistent effects within the first sphere of influence of interpersonal confrontation: Many studies indicate that confrontation causes bias reduction in the perpetrator, with little evidence of moderating factors. Beyond these findings, it is also important to recognize that failures to confront may imply that biases are condoned, and individuals who fail to confront may convince themselves that prejudiced behavior was not so offensive, and that confronting is unimportant (Rasinski et al., 2013). Indeed, people report more prejudiced attitudes after failing to confront bias compared to their prior attitudes (Szekeres et al., 2023). Whereas confronting curbs bias, failure to confront magnifies it.

Benefits for Targets of Bias

A second sphere of influence for confrontation concerns its beneficial outcomes for targets of bias. We consider how targets' confrontation may promote their psychological well-being, and how ally confrontation may foster the well-being of people who belong to marginalized groups.

Target Confrontation and Well-Being

The experience of discrimination has profound effects on the psychological and physical health of marginalized group members (e.g., Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014). Targets may benefit by confronting bias not only because doing so may reduce future occurrences, but because this proactive strategy for coping with discrimination may have positive psychological consequences. Results of correlational studies are consistent with this possibility. Noh and Kaspar (2003) found that Korean adults living in Canada who were highly acculturated reported that confrontation was their most frequently used strategy for coping with prejudice, and further found that confrontation was associated with lower depression. In a 28-day online diary study among women, the use of confrontation in reaction to sexism was associated with various indicators of well-being (Foster, 2013). Other correlational research highlights confrontation as uniquely beneficial for the psychological well-being of target group members: Women who confronted sexism in an online (staged) interaction subsequently reported greater competence, self-esteem, and empowerment, whereas these outcomes were not observed for men (Gervais et al., 2010). Finally, as American racial minority participants' self-reported use of confrontation increased, they reported greater well-being (less depression, stress, and anxiety) (Sanchez et al., 2016). Confrontation was also associated with greater autonomy, which mediated the effect of confrontation on well-being.

Of course, target group members who confront bias may have certain characteristics that make confrontation uniquely beneficial to them. Studies that manipulate confronting behavior are sparse and needed to establish causal impact. We are aware of one relevant experiment (Foster, 2015). Across three days, women read about a variety of instances of sexism. Participants were

randomly assigned to tweet about the sexism they read about on each day, or they were assigned to a control condition. Most tweets served to confront sexism, and women who tweeted about sexism reported lower negative affect and greater psychological well-being across the days of tweeting.

Despite possible benefits, we emphasize that confrontation may not always be beneficial for target group members (cf Czopp, 2019). For instance, angered confrontations may have negative cardiovascular effects (Dorr et al., 2007). Also, targets who value communality or who live in communal cultures may find that confrontation is not viable or beneficial. Consider as well that the experience of bias is a significant stressor and cognitively depleting (Ozier et al., 2019; Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). Although people may expect targets to confront bias (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2020), targets may lack the capacity to navigate a confrontation in the face of bias. Finally, as discussed later, sometimes the benefits of target confrontation may not outweigh potential costs (e.g., to physical safety and material and social capital). Thus, despite possible benefits, we caution against prescribing target confrontation and emphasize the importance of ally confrontation as well.

Ally Confrontation and Target's Well-Being

Target group members are chronically exposed to discrimination in their everyday lives, and as a result, are attuned to cues that signal they will be devalued (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2006). Identity-safety cues in an environment (e.g., gender-inclusive bathrooms and racial minority teachers) may mitigate targets' concerns about bias and promote feelings of safety, trust and belonging (i.e., identity-safety) (Murphy et al., 2007; Pietri et al., 2018).

A series of studies investigated whether confrontation can serve as an effective identity-safety cue (Hildebrand et al., 2020). In Study 1, Chinese American women reported less identity-safety (i.e., belonging, safety, and desire to join the group) after someone in a group made an anti-Asian comment compared to a no bias control condition. Interestingly, observing that someone confronted the bias did little to boost identity-safety relative to when bias was not confronted. The researchers reasoned that with a lone confronter, target group members might be left wondering whether other bystanders agree with the confronter or with the perpetrator's biased comment. Therefore, in Study 2, they also included a condition in which bystanders affirmed the confrontation by indicating agreement that the comment was problematic. Results indicated that women who heard a sexist remark in a group setting reported lower identity-safety than women for whom no sexist remark was made. Moreover, consistent with predictions, women who witnessed confrontation of the sexist remark and others who agreed with the confronter reported greater identity-safety relative to when bias was not confronted, whereas a lone confronter did not boost identity-safety compared to the bias not confronted condition. Study 3 replicated these results among White women in a sexism context and among Black women in a racism context. Figure 15.2 shows results of an

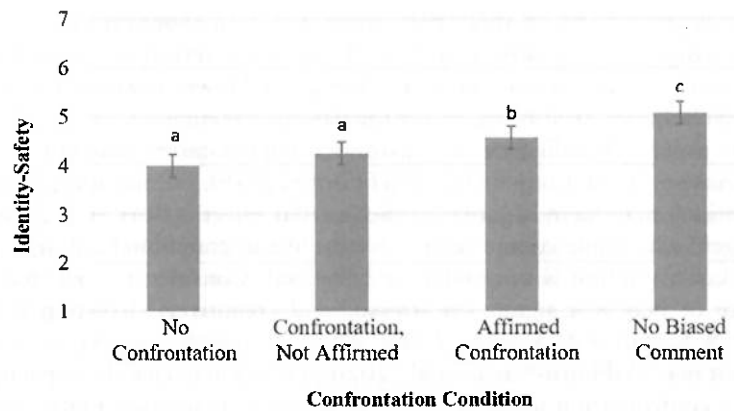


Figure 15.2 Identity-safety as a function of confrontation condition, integrative data analysis of Studies 2 and 3 in Hildebrand et al. (2020)

Note: Identity-safety assessed on a scale from 1 to 7, with higher scores reflecting greater identity-safety. Error bars represent standard deviations. Means not sharing a lowercase letter differ significantly from each other.

integrative data analysis across Studies 2 and 3. These findings underscore the importance of speaking up against bias in public settings and voicing agreement when someone confronts bias for creating conditions that are welcoming and feel safe for target group members.

Confrontation also facilitates other positive psychological and performance outcomes for targets. For instance, Black participants reported greater self-esteem after a White person confronted a biased comment about Black people compared to a no confrontation condition (Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022). This finding was robust, generalizing across confrontation of both positive and negative stereotyping. In other research, ally confrontation by men (versus women) bolstered women's self-confidence and performance following their experience of sexist bias (Cihangir et al., 2014).

Taken together, this research highlights how confrontation serves as an identity-safety cue that positively influences target group members' wellbeing across a variety of psychological and performance outcomes. Future research is needed to address whether other outcomes (e.g., physiological) are affected by ally confrontation. Finally, we caution that ally confrontation may backfire and not be regarded positively by marginalized group members if it is driven by inauthentic motives or the desire to satisfy personal goals or needs (Radke et al., 2020).

Confrontation Signals Anti-Bias Norms

The broadest sphere of confrontation's influence concerns its potential to signal anti-bias social norms. Norms concerning bias and prejudice can be cued

and have downstream consequences for people's attitudes and behaviors. For instance, people align their opinions about outgroups with those of their peers (Blanchard et al., 1994; Crandall et al., 2002) and report more positive attitudes and appreciation for diversity with exposure to inclusive posters and videos (Murrar et al., 2020). When a male ally expressed support for gender equality, women perceived that the company endorsed gender-equality norms and they anticipated greater workplace support and respect (Moser & Branscombe, 2022).

Whether bias confrontation will convey egalitarian norms, however, is not straightforward. Although someone speaks out against bias, confrontation occurs after someone already felt free to express it. What is an observer to make of such a situation? Three experiments recently examined people's perceptions of anti-bias descriptive norms (i.e., what behaviors they perceived to be common) and injunctive norms (i.e., what behaviors they perceived to be acceptable) in an environment after a biased remark was confronted by a dominant group member (Li et al., 2024). Participants learned about an interaction among co-workers in a workplace setting. For some participants no biased remark was made in the first place, and for other participants, a biased remark was made and not confronted. These conditions were compared to conditions in which the biased remark was confronted but not affirmed by others, and finally a condition in which both confrontation and affirmation of the confrontation occurred.

In Experiments 1 and 2, when a White male spoke up against a biased remark that questioned the competence of Mexican job applicants, non-Mexican participants perceived stronger anti-bias descriptive and injunctive norms compared to when bias was not confronted, and this was the case whether the confrontation was affirmed by others or not. Indeed, anti-bias injunctive norms were perceived to be just as strong when bias was confronted as when no biased remark had been made in the first place. See Figure 15.3 for an illustration of the findings in Experiment 2. Experiment 3 further demonstrated that confrontation following a racist comment about a Black job candidate signaled anti-bias norms among Black as well as White participants. Moreover, extending Hildebrand et al.'s research (2020), observing confrontation of anti-Black bias boosted participants' sense that their identity would be safe in the environment, especially if the confrontation was affirmed by others; in addition, the perception of anti-bias descriptive and injunctive norms mediated the positive effect of confrontation on identity-safety.

This research extends the influence of confrontation to show that it can reshape the perceptions of local norms. Because norms spur and guide behaviors (Cialdini et al., 1990), confrontation can have a wide-ranging effect of prohibiting bias and promoting egalitarian behaviors among people who observe the confrontation. The results also indicated that confrontation is especially effective at signaling anti-bias injunctive norms, which play a stronger role in shaping behavior than descriptive norms (Cialdini et al., 1990; Schultz et al., 2007). Additional research is needed to better understand the role of confrontation in

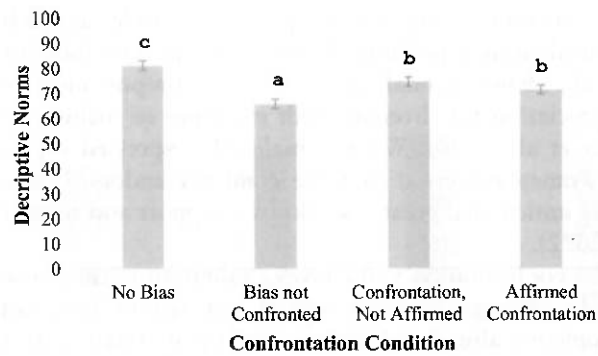


Figure 15.3 Perception of anti-bias descriptive and injunctive norms as a function of confrontation condition, Study 2 in Li et al. (2024)

Note: Descriptive norms were assessed on a scale from 0% to 100%, with higher scores representing more people at the workplace not engaging in bias. Injunctive norms were assessed on a scale from 1 to 9, with higher scores representing greater unacceptability of bias in the workplace. Error bars represent ± 1 standard error. Means not sharing a lowercase letter differ significantly from each other.

shaping social norms. For instance, future research should determine whether the findings generalize when participants are in actual group situations involving bias and confrontation, whether confrontation by targets of bias also shape norm perceptions, and whether observing confrontation leads people to regulate potential bias in the future.

Do People Confront?

Despite benefits of bias confrontation, there are other ways to respond to bias, such as ignoring it (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Swim et al., 2003). In fact, people are more likely not to confront perpetrators of bias than to confront them. For instance, consider studies in which about one-third of participants directly confronted racist comments they witnessed (Dickter & Newton, 2013), less than half of Black participants confronted racial bias that they experienced (Swim et al., 2003), 45% of women confronted a sexist remark made during an interaction with a sexist male confederate (Swim & Hyers, 1999), and no participants who heard a homophobia slur confronted it (Crosby & Wilson, 2015). Oftentimes people do not confront even though they want to do so (Brinkman et al., 2011; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001).

Failures to confront also contradict people's beliefs about how they would react. In a paradigm used by Kawakami and colleagues (Karmali et al., 2017; Kawakami et al., 2009; see also Kawakami et al., 2019), some participants imagined a situation in which another person made an extremely racist comment, and other participants experienced this situation. Whereas participants who imagined the situation reported they would be very distressed, participants who experienced it reported much lower distress and had physiological reactions

suggestive of apathy. Furthermore, not one participant who experienced the situation confronted the perpetrator for their biased remark (Kawakami et al., 2009). Other recent research compared forecasted to actual confrontation rates across four experiments and four different minority groups (Black, Muslims, and Latinos in the United States, and Roma in Hungary) (Szekeres et al., 2023). Results showed that between 50% and 70% of participants forecasted they would confront a prejudiced remark they witnessed when playing an online game. However, between 20% and 45% of participants actually confronted in this situation. Szekeres et al. (2023) further found that uncertainty about how to respond accounted for failures to confront.

The decision to confront is complex and influenced by a variety of factors. The Confronting Prejudice Response (CPR) model provides a framework for understanding these complexities (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008, Ashburn-Nardo & Karim, 2019). Inspired by classic bystander intervention research (Latané & Darley, 1970), the model suggests that people must pass through five hurdles to confront: (1) detect the bias, (2) interpret the biased event as an “emergency” that warrants an immediate response, (3) take personal responsibility to confront, (4) identify a response (or know how to confront), and (5) take action and confront (depending on, for instance, whether perceived benefits outweigh costs). People may fail to confront if they do not clear each hurdle.

In this section, we discuss factors that influence the likelihood of confrontation, which relate to the hurdles captured in the CPR model. Some research assesses intentions to confront whereas other research examines actual confronting behavior. However, research to date has not investigated whether the CPR hurdles and factors influencing progress through the hurdles are differentially important for intentions to confront (which sometimes shape behavior) versus confronting behavior (which sometimes depart from intentions). This is an important topic for future research. Nevertheless, with an understanding of factors affecting confrontation, we gain insight into how to prepare people to engage in confrontation (Monteith et al., 2019).

Type of Prejudice

Contemporary bias is often subtle and covert, showing up in offhand comments, ingroup favoritism, subjectively positive beliefs and stereotypes, and responses that people may not realize are biased (Monteith et al., 2013; Pearson et al., 2009). Whether bias takes a blatant or subtle form seems especially relevant to the first two hurdles in the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008)—the detection of bias, and whether it is perceived as harmful enough to warrant intervention.

Take sexism as an example. Both men and women more easily identify hostile sexist beliefs (e.g., antipathy toward women who violate traditional gender norms) as sexism than benevolent sexist beliefs (e.g., prosocial treatment of women who fulfill traditional gender roles) (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Swim et al., 2005). Thus, benevolent sexism may be less likely to be confronted than hostile

sexism. “Positive” stereotypes about Black and Asian people are also pervasive and detrimental but may not be confronted because their biased and harmful effects go unrecognized among majority groups (Czopp et al., 2015).

Target group members have a greater understanding of the harmful effects of positive stereotyping. For instance, Black participants rated statements endorsing positive racial stereotypes as more discriminatory and evaluated a person who expressed positive stereotypes more negatively than White participants (Czopp, 2008). Nonetheless, positive stereotypes may go unchallenged because target group members know they may be negatively perceived for confronting “unoffensive” stereotypes. Supporting this reasoning, Asian American and African American participants reported lower intentions to confront positive stereotypes (e.g., Asian people are good at math; Black people are athletic) than negative stereotypes (e.g., Asian people are not good at English; Black people are poor at math) (Alt et al., 2019). This effect was mediated by greater concerns about being labeled as “complainers” when confronting positive than negative stereotypes.

Target group members may be especially attuned to and able to detect subtle and ambiguous bias—whether positive stereotypes are involved or not—due to chronic awareness of their stigmatized status (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Pinel, 2004). Members of devalued social groups are vigilant for cues of bias (Chaney & Sanchez, 2024; Murphy et al., 2007) and exert cognitive resources to determine whether others’ behavior reflects bias (Salvatore & Shelton, 2007). Consider research showing that Black participants were more likely than White participants to view race-relevant events (e.g., a Black man’s arrest) as intentional race-based treatment and as harmful (Simon et al., 2019). These judgments of intent and harm, in turn, were positively related to regarding the event as discriminatory.

The tendency to believe that discrimination has occurred only to the extent that it is intentional is highly problematic for curbing bias through confrontation because implicit bias can emerge from unintentional processes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Perpetrators of bias are held less accountable for implicit than explicit bias and people are less supportive of punishing unintentional bias and trying to reduce it (e.g., with education) compared to explicit bias (Daumeyer et al., 2019, 2021). Applying these findings to confrontation, implicit bias presumably is regarded as less of an emergency and confrontation-worthy compared to explicit bias.

Finally, whether bias takes an interpersonal or structural (i.e., related to policies and institutional practices) form is important to consider. Lindsey et al. (2015) found that women were more likely to recognize structural gender discrimination (e.g., pay differences as a function of gender) than interpersonal discrimination (e.g., comments suggestive of sexism). They also reported stronger intentions to confront structural than interpersonal bias when they imagined experiencing them. Nevertheless, when women encountered these forms of discrimination in everyday life, they were equally unlikely to confront them.

Brown and colleagues (2021) also investigated confrontation of interpersonal versus structural bias, but in the context of racial bias and among White Americans. They found that participants reported weaker intentions to confront interpersonal bias than structural bias, and this difference was driven by the belief that structural bias is more harmful. However, Brown et al.'s (2021) research materials highlighted the harmful consequences of the instances of structural bias that were presented to participants. When people consider policies and practices outside the lab, they may lack knowledge of harmful consequences. Indeed, prior research finds that White Americans rarely think of contemporary racism in structural compared to interpersonal terms (Rucker & Richeson, 2021; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008), and they are less aware of historical discrimination (which often manifests in contemporary structural bias) than Black Americans (Nelson et al., 2013). Thus, the detection of structural bias and interpreting it as warranting confrontation may depend on adequate education about the harm of structural bias.

In sum, varieties of bias that take a benevolent form, involve positive stereotypes or ambiguous comments, are perceived as unintentional, and that are manifested structurally in ways that people do not understand all pose challenges for recognizing and perceiving bias as harmful. The implication is that much effort is needed to educate people about these forms of bias and their harmful consequences to increase the likelihood that they will be confronted.

Power, Efficacy, and Bystanders

People's intentions and confronting behavior are also influenced by whether one has control over other people's resources or outcomes (i.e., power; Galinsky et al., 2003), whether one believes that confronting can effectively curb bias (i.e., efficacy), and the presence and reactions of others (i.e., bystanders). In reference to the CPR model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Ashburn-Nardo & Karim, 2019), power, efficacy, and bystanders seem particularly important for whether people take personal responsibility to confront, identify a response, and take action and confront.

Power

As an individual difference variable, the sense that one has power over others predicts self-reported frequency of confronting sexism (Alt et al., 2024). Also, when experimentally primed to feel powerful, women responded to sexist remarks with greater disagreement and in a more confrontational manner compared to women primed to feel powerless (Alt et al., 2024). Furthermore, people with power or authority are considered responsible for confronting bias. In relevant research (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2020), college students imagined that they and other students were in a dormitory lounge, and the Resident Assistant (RA; an authority figure) either was or was not present. When a student made a racist or sexist remark, participants viewed the authority figure as more

responsible for confronting than other observers and indicated weaker intentions to confront if the RA was present compared to absent. Relatedly, when people are made to feel they have the legitimacy to voice their opinion, they feel more responsible for confronting bias and are more likely to do it (King et al., 2024).

On the other hand, lack of power inhibits confrontation, likely because potential costs of confronting become salient. For example, women reported being less likely to confront supervisors than coworkers after an incident of sexism (Ayres et al., 2009). In another experiment, male and female participants imagined a workplace supervisor, coworker, or subordinate made a sexist or racist remark (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014). Across both types of prejudice, confrontation intentions were weaker when the perpetrator was higher in power. Other research revealed that women indicated they would confront sexism regardless of whether a perpetrator controlled desired resources; in reality, they were less likely to confront when the perpetrator controlled desired resources (Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Consistent with theorizing of how goals shape targets' responses to bias (Mallett & Melchiori, 2019), the goal to maintain a favorable relationship with and to be liked by the more powerful perpetrator in the above situations may outweigh targets' goal to be respected and treated fairly, leading to the decision of leaving bias unchallenged.

Marginalized group members are often stripped of a sense of power when they are targeted by bias, which inhibits confrontation. More specifically, a dominant reaction to experienced bias is fear (Miller et al., 2009), which activates a self-protective motive rather than the desire to speak up against bias. In a mock job interview, 40% of target participants described some levels of fear in response to sexually harassing questions posed by a male interviewer (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Fear, in turn, was negatively correlated with confronting. Other research indicates that when target group members question their ability to mitigate the discomfort or danger posed by the source of bias, they will prioritize self-protection goals by avoiding confrontation and leaving the situation if possible (Ayres, 2009; Good et al., 2012; Trawalter et al., 2009).

Efficacy

Sensing that one can effectively confront and reduce bias is critical to knowing how to confront and deciding to do it. Lay theories or mindsets about the malleability of prejudice affect such efficacy beliefs and willingness to confront bias. Whereas a fixed mindset involves the belief that prejudice is stable and unable to be changed, a malleable mindset involves the belief that prejudice can change (Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Relating this to confrontation, why confront if people will not change? Across studies that measured and manipulated mindsets, a malleable as opposed to fixed mindset promoted confrontation of bias (Rattan & Dweck, 2010). In an interesting extension of this work, Chaney and Chasteen (2023) found that people were less likely to confront older people

than younger people, in part due to the belief that older people are less malleable than younger people.

More generally, people's uncertainties about what to say and whether they will be effective may deter confrontation. Such efficacy concerns may plague some would-be confronters more than others. Given prescriptions for women to be polite and nonassertive, they may question how they can confront effectively and end up remaining silent more often than men (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Szekeres & Čabarkapa, 2023). However, efficacy can be increased with proactive steps: participation in bias literacy training, receiving guidance on how to confront, and role-playing can improve confrontation readiness, one's skillset, and confrontation behavior (Hurd et al., 2022; Lawson et al., 2010; Monteith et al., 2019; Pietri et al., 2017; Plous, 2000). Training and practice no doubt will inspire optimism and reinforce egalitarian goals, which increase confrontation behavior (Wellman et al., 2010).

Recent research has identified different strategies for confronting bias. Chaney and Sanchez (2022) found that educating the perpetrator about bias, argumentatively pointing out bias, and informing the perpetrator that the bias is hurtful were perceived to be more effective strategies than using humor or seeking the help of an authority figure. Fa-Kaji and Monin (2022) considered manager's role of responding to employee's offensive remarks. They organized the confrontation literature according to whether strategies promote correction goals (i.e., bias reduction) while preserving connection goals (e.g., a positive working relationship) and identified 16 strategies and examples of each that may be used individually or in combination. In addition, keeping in mind strategies valued most by marginalized groups is important. Recent findings showed that Black people valued confrontations when they targeted the prejudiced action, labeled the action as biased, linked the action to systemic racism, and used direct language (Bak et al., 2024).

Bystanders

Like the inhibitory effect of the presence of others on helping behavior (Latané & Darley, 1970), confrontation may be less likely in a group setting due to diffusion of responsibility (i.e., feeling less responsibility to take action in the presence of other bystanders). Consistent with this possibility, women were significantly less likely to confront a male perpetrator of gender biased remarks when other women were present than when they were alone (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Although the presence of others may have inhibitory effects, bystanders who do confront can serve as models for confrontation. Across three studies, De Souza and Schmader (2022) found that both men and women underestimated other men's concerns about gender bias, and experimentally correcting these misperceptions did not increase confrontation (Study 2 and 3). Rather, both men and women were significantly more likely to confront sexism if they observed another person confronting versus not confronting (Study 3). In other research, more participants confronted an anti-transgender comment if another

bystander spoke up first compared to when no one spoke up, and seeing another person confront (versus not) caused participants to confront anti-Arab bias more directly by labeling the biased statement as prejudiced (Case et al., 2020). In sum, the presence of others may diffuse responsibility and immobilize confrontation, but observing another person confront can increase people's own confronting behavior.

Overall, the research reviewed in this section identifies deterrents to confrontation but also ways to encourage it. Educating people about the harmful effects of bias in its various forms, encouraging people in positions of power and allies to engage in confrontation, providing opportunities for learning how to confront in effective ways, and serving as role models for confrontation will all foster interpersonal confrontation as a means for curbing bias.

Social Costs of Confrontation

One of the most replicated and robust findings in interpersonal confrontation research, in addition to bias reduction, is that individuals who are confronted (i.e., confrontees) direct social costs at the confronter (Monteith et al., 2022). Social costs involve negative traits inferences (e.g., overly sensitive, complainer), negative interaction evaluations, and avoiding the confronter in the future (Czopp et al., 2006; Hildebrand et al., 2024). In other words, confrontation is personally costly. According to VIDOCC (Monteith et al., 2022), because people want to be considered egalitarian and nonprejudiced in their own and other's eyes (e.g., Pearson et al., 2009), confrontation creates the sense that the confronter is going out of their way to threaten one's egalitarian image. Importantly, social costs appear to occur independently of bias reduction (Monteith et al., 2022). Whereas bias reduction following confrontation depends on perceiving the confrontation as valid, social costs depend on the perception that the confronter is trying to impugn one's egalitarian image. Thus, perpetrators levy social costs even while they reduce their biases (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006; Hildebrand et al., 2024).

With knowledge of confrontation's beneficial outcomes, perhaps people will confront if they have little reason to be wary of repercussions (e.g., confronting a stranger in a fleeting interaction). More often, confrontation opportunities arise in situations where people are concerned about social costs, such as the risk to positive working relationships, their social image and standing among peers, and their positive connections with friends and family. Social cost mitigation is therefore paramount to encouraging interpersonal confrontation, and to minimizing negative outcomes when people do confront. This section reviews findings on social costs with the goal of highlighting how they may be mitigated.

Type of Bias

With bias that is more subtle and covert, people may feel like confronters are going out of their way to point out their biases, thus increasing social costs. For

instance, White participants evaluated a Black person more negatively when she confronted an ambiguously racist comment (“I feel bad for you. Your hair will always feel like a bad perm”) than when she confronted a blatantly racist comment (“I feel so bad for you people. Your hair will always feel like a bad perm”) (Dodd et al., 2001; Saunders & Senn, 2009; Zou & Dickter, 2013).

Some forms of bias are perceived as more ambiguous and less offensive than other forms, as we discussed earlier in this chapter, which has implications for social costs. Confrontation of positive stereotyping elicits stronger social costs than confrontation of negative stereotyping (Alt et al., 2019). Confrontation of patronizing help (i.e., seemingly positive behavior) triggers social costs relative to when targets simply accept help, as when women (Becker et al., 2011) and people with disabilities (Wang et al., 2015, 2019) confront patronizing help.

Surprisingly, recent research found that social costs confronting benevolent sexism were similar to (and as low as) social costs for confronting hostile sexism—a finding replicated across three studies and in different contexts (Schiralli & Chasteen, 2023). Perhaps participants understood the harmful effects of the instances of benevolent sexism used in this research, so that they did not perceive the confronter as “just complaining.” Other research indicates that when sexism is perceived as pervasive rather than rare, which presumably makes its harmful effects clear, people levy lower social costs toward confronters (Kahn et al., 2015).

In fact, we suspect that confrontations that include an explanation of the damaging consequences of subtle bias will mitigate social costs. Through dialogue, confrontees may realize that the confronter was not looking for ways to impugn their egalitarian self-image but was pointing out a genuinely harmful instance of bias. This possibility can be tested in future research.

Confronter Identity

According to VIDOCC (Monteith et al., 2022), when bias concerning a particular group is confronted by a member of that group (i.e., target group member), people will have a greater sense that the confronter is trying to impugn their non-prejudiced self-image than if a nontarget group member has confronted. In turn, confrontation by target relative to nontarget group members can be expected to elicit greater social costs. Research consistently demonstrates the link between confronter identity and social costs (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gulker et al., 2013). For example, White participants evaluated a Black person as ruder after he confronted a racially biased comment compared to a White confronter (Rasinki & Czopp, 2010). Similarly, White participants cast more negative evaluations on a Black (versus White) man who made a speech with strong claims about racial bias (Schultz & Maddox, 2013). These effects are robust across other domains of bias, such as sexism (Gervais & Hillard, 2014).

Emerging research is consistent with the possibility that perceived impugment mediates the effect of confronter identity on social costs. In one line of

research, male participants confronted about male privilege evaluated a female confronter more negatively than a male confronter, and this effect was mediated by the sense that the confronter was threatening men's positive image (Eckerle et al., 2023). Other research tested the link between confronter identity, perceived impugment, and social costs more directly: When a gay man confronted straight participants about bias toward gay men, participants reported greater perceived impugment of their egalitarian self-image and social costs than when the confronter was straight, and the effect of confronter identity on social costs was mediated by perceived impugment (Miller et al., 2023). Future research is needed to replicate this finding and extend it to other target groups.

Given consistent results indicating that majority group members are especially likely to direct social costs toward target group members, ally confrontation can be used strategically to mitigate social costs. In addition, future research can address whether targets can mitigate social costs by emphasizing that their aim in confronting is to curb harmful bias rather than questioning people's prejudice-related values or image. Such an approach may be deemed necessary in high stakes situations where curbing bias without incurring social costs is strongly desired (e.g., a woman pointing out to her boss her inequitable pay compared to a male counterpart).

Confrontation Communications

How people go about confronting influences social costs. Not surprisingly, when people confront using language that is strongly hostile and aggressive (e.g., yelling, using profanity), they are evaluated more negatively than when less extreme language is used (Becker & Barreto, 2014; Martinez et al., 2017). Yet confronting in a passive way that does not actually call out bias can also be undesirable, particularly in the eyes of target group members (Meyers et al., 2020).

Although frustration with bias, especially among repeat perpetrators, may leave confronters wondering whether some people will ever be willing to address their biases, recent research suggests that expressing such doubt will exacerbate social costs. Specifically, greater social costs were directed at confronters when they were believed to hold a fixed rather than growth mindset about prejudice (i.e., viewing prejudice as stable and unable to be changed versus malleable and capable of change) (Rattan et al., 2023, Studies 4–6). Furthermore, people were more willing to interact with a confronter in the future when the confronter used growth rather than fixed mindset language (Rattan et al., 2023, Study 6).

Other research indicates that affirming a perpetrator's self-image prior to confrontation can temper negative reactions to confrontation (Stone et al., 2011). In a first study, participants viewed material supposedly provided by prior participants, including an Arab American student. For some participants, this material initially affirmed their self-image as fair, whereas other

participants had no opportunity for affirmation. Next, participants saw that the Arab American student confronted bias by writing about the skepticism and hatred Arab Americans endure daily. Results indicated that participants high in prejudice toward Arab Americans expressed a stronger desire to meet the confronter if their self-image as fair had been affirmed initially compared to when it was not. In a second study, these effects generalized when the affirmation was unrelated to fairness and instead concerned creativity. These findings suggest that providing perpetrators with an opportunity to bolster their self-integrity can protect against image threat and backlash from confrontation. However, this approach can backfire when the affirmation is directly connected to the bias that is confronted: participants initially affirmed (versus not) of being nonsexist subsequently directed greater social costs toward a person who confronted them about sexist responses (Simon & O'Brien, 2015).

Interpersonal Dynamics

Nearly all research examining the social costs of confrontation has involved brief confrontee-confronter interactions between strangers, or no interaction at all but rather exposure to a scenario involving confrontation. However, social costs may look very different with greater potential for the operation of interpersonal dynamics. For instance, anticipating and engaging in interaction after a confrontation may be important. One study found that men who were initially confronted by a woman for using sexist language and who then had further interaction with her exhibited compensatory behavior (e.g., smiling) that boosted mutual liking. After the interaction, participants confronted about sexism reported equally positive evaluations of the woman and their interaction as participants who were confronted about a gender-neutral issue (Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

Building on the finding that interpersonal trust buffers against rejection or criticism from others (Murray et al., 2006; Shallcross & Simpson, 2012), Hildebrand and colleagues (2024) examined how trust affects social costs. Study 1 demonstrated that when people were confronted (versus not) about their use of gender-stereotypic responses, greater trust toward the confronter was associated with lower social costs following confrontation. Study 2 manipulated trust with an exercise that either heightened the non-Black participants' trust toward their study partner, who was a stranger, or did not. Later in the session, participants either were or were not confronted by their partner about racially biased responses on the stereotypic inference task. Results indicated that participants evaluated their study partner more negatively if they were confronted than if they were not; however, social costs were mitigated among participants who had (versus had not) gone through the trust-building exercise with their partner. Finally, Study 3 examined trust in an ecologically valid context in which non-Black participants were confronted about racially biased responses on the stereotypic inference task by either an actual friend or a stranger. As

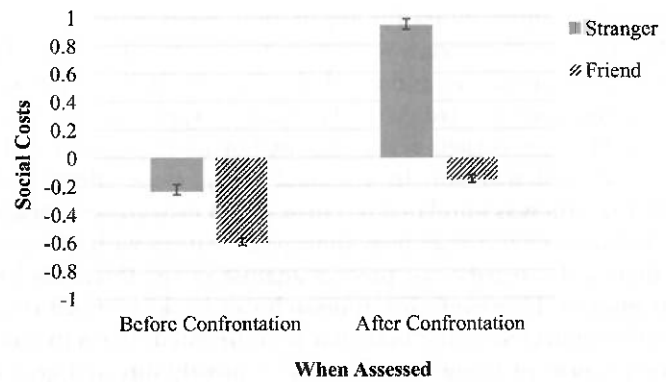


Figure 15.4 Social costs before and after confrontation by a stranger or friend, Study 3 in Hildebrand et al. (2024)

Note: Social costs are standardized and reflect the average of trait ratings (e.g., hypersensitive), interaction evaluations, and desire to avoid future contact. All means differ significantly from each other. Error bars represent ± 1 standard error.

expected, participants directed stronger social costs toward a stranger than a friend (see Figure 15.4), and this effect was mediated by how much participants trusted their partner prior to confrontation.

Although social costs may be mitigated in a variety of ways, we suspect they are likely to occur to some extent even under optimal circumstances. For instance, note that even in the friend condition in Figure 15.4, evaluations were more negative after than before confrontation. Whether confrontation's social costs are readily repaired with opportunity for future positive interactions deserves additional empirical attention beyond the one study of which we are aware (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). We also remind readers that confrontees reduce bias regardless of social costs. Future research can investigate whether increasing would-be confronters' knowledge of the broad benefits of confronting offsets possible concerns about social costs.

Conclusion

This chapter presented evidence that interpersonal confrontation is a powerful means of curbing bias, has psychological benefits for targets of bias, and conveys anti-bias social norms. Although various hurdles may keep people from confronting, we have argued that educating people about the harm done by bias and how to engage in effective confrontation, empowering confronters, and modeling confrontation can all increase the likelihood that bias will be confronted. Finally, we discussed factors that mitigate social costs and emphasized that people may perceive social costs as a small price if they are aware of the broad benefits of interpersonal confrontation.

Although scientific evidence provides strong support for interpersonal confrontation as a strategy to foster, protect, and pass on more just and equitable

environments, we recognize relevant contemporary challenges. Recent attacks on teaching Critical Race Theory in the United States and related educational bans (Alexander, 2023) create obstacles to educational opportunities for learning about the nature of biases and their harmful effect. So too does the growing assault of diversity, equity, and inclusion seen on college campuses across the United States,¹ which may have a chilling effect on confrontation. Future research is needed to understand how these developments affect confrontation behavior and reactions to being confronted both within and beyond educational contexts. Of course, much learning, socialization, dialogue, and social influence occur outside of public education and provide fruitful contexts for studying interpersonal confrontation.

Note

- 1 See <https://www.chronicle.com/article/here-are-the-states-where-lawmakers-are-seeking-to-ban-colleges-dei-efforts>.

References

- Alexander, T. N. (2023, April 11). *Tracking the attack on critical race theory in education*. The Conversation. <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2023-04-11/tracking-the-attack-on-critical-race-theory-in-education>
- 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 & Inter-group Relations*, 22(5), 655–672. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430218756493>
- Alt, N. P., Wong Chavez, J., Dickter, C. L., & Shih, M. J. (2024). Power and the confrontation of sexism: the impact of measured and manipulated power on confronting behavior. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 164(1), 27–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2022.2122767>
- 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., & Karim, M. F. A. (2019). The CPR model: Decisions involved in confronting prejudiced responses. In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors* (pp. 29–47). Academic Press.
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Lindsey, A., Morris, K. A., & Goodwin, S. A. (2020). Who is responsible for confronting prejudice? The role of perceived and conferred authority. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 35(6), 799–811. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-019-09651-w>
- 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>
- Ayres, M. M., Friedman, C. K., & Leaper, C. (2009). Individual and situational factors related to young women's likelihood of confronting sexism in their everyday lives. *Sex Roles*, 61(7), 449–460. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9635-3>
- Bak, H., Jurcevic, I., & Trawalter, S. (2024). What black people value when white people confront prejudice. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 164(2), 187–198. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2023.2178875>

- Becker, J. C., & Barreto, M. (2014). Ways to go: Men's and women's support for aggressive and nonaggressive confrontation of sexism as a function of gender identification. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 668–686. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12085>
- Becker, J. C., Glick, P., Ilic, M., & Bohner, G. (2011). Damned if she does, damned if she doesn't: Consequences of accepting versus confronting patronizing help for the female target and male actor. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(6), 761–773. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.823>
- 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. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.79.6.993>
- Brinkman, B. G., Garcia, K., & Rickard, K. M. (2011). "What I wanted to do was..." discrepancies between college women's desired and reported responses to gender prejudice. *Sex Roles*, 65, 344–355. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0020-7>
- Brown, R. M., Craig, M. A., & Apfelbaum, E. P. (2021). European Americans' intentions to confront racial bias: Considering who, what (kind), and why. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 95, 104123. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104123>
- Burns, M. D., & Granz, E. L. (2021). Confronting sexism: Promoting confrontation acceptance and reducing stereotyping through stereotype framing. *Sex Roles*, 84(9), 503–521
- Burns, M. D., & Monteith, M. J. (2019). Confronting stereotypic biases: Does internal versus external motivational framing matter? *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 22(7), 930–946. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430218798041>
- Burns, M. D., Parker, L. R., & Monteith, M. J. (2017). Self-regulation strategies for combatting prejudice. In F. J., Barlow & C. G. Sibley (Eds.), *Cambridge Handbook of the Psychology of Prejudice* (pp. 500–518). Cambridge University Press.
- Case, K. A., Rios, D., Lucas, A., Braun, K., & Enriquez, C. (2020). Intersectional patterns of prejudice confrontation by White, heterosexual, and cisgender allies. *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(4), 899–920. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12408>
- Chaney, K. E., & Chasteen, A. L. (2023). Do beliefs that older adults are inflexible serve as a barrier to racial equality? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 01461672231159767. <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. (2024). White women's automatic attentional adhesion to sexism in the face of racism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 110, 104540. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2023.104540>
- Chaney, K. E., Sanchez, D. T., Alt, N. P., & Shih, M. J. (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>
- Chu, C., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2022). Black Americans' perspectives on ally confrontations of racial prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 101, 104337. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2022.104337>
- Cialdini, R. B., Reno, R. R., & Kallgren, C. A. (1990). A focus theory of normative conduct: Recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(6), 1015–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.1015>
- Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. R. (1998). Social influence: Social norms, conformity and compliance. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 151–192). McGraw-Hill.

- Cihangir, S., Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2014). Men as allies against sexism: The positive effects of a suggestion of sexism by male (vs. female) sources. *SAGE Open*, 4(2), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244014539168>
- 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>
- Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 359–387. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.3.359>
- Crosby, J. R., & Wilson, J. (2015). Let's not, and say we would: Imagined and actual responses to witnessing homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 62(7), 957–970. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2015.1008284>
- Czopp, A. M. (2008). When is a compliment not a compliment? Evaluating expressions of positive stereotypes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(2), 413–420. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2006.12.007>
- Czopp, A. M. (2019). The consequences of confronting prejudice. In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds* (pp. 201–221). Academic Press.
- Czopp, A. M., Kay, A. C., & Cheryan, S. (2015). Positive stereotypes are pervasive and powerful. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 10(4), 451–463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691615588091>
- Czopp, A. M., & Monteith, M. J. (2003). Confronting prejudice (literally): Reactions to confrontations of racial and gender bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(4), 532–544. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202250923>
- 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>
- Daumeyer, N. M., Onyeador, I. N., Brown, X., & Richeson, J. A. (2019). Consequences of attributing discrimination to implicit vs. explicit bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 84, 103812. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.04.010>
- Daumeyer, N. M., Onyeador, I. N., & Richeson, J. A. (2021). Does shared gender group membership mitigate the effect of implicit bias attributions on accountability for gender-based discrimination?. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 47(9), 1343–1357. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220965306>
- De Souza, L., & Schmader, T. (2022). The misjudgment of men: Does pluralistic ignorance inhibit allyship?. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 122(2), 265. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000362>
- 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, E262–E275. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12022>
- Dodd, E. H., Giuliano, T. A., Boutell, J. M., & Moran, B. E. (2001). Respected or rejected: Perceptions of women who confront sexist remarks. *Sex Roles*, 45, 567–577. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014866915741>
- Dorr, N., Brosschot, J. F., Sollers, J. J., & Thayer, J. F. (2007). Damned if you do, damned if you don't: The differential effect of expression and inhibition of anger on cardiovascular recovery in Black and White males. *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, 66, 125–134.
- 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>
- Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Chaiken, S. (1978). Causal inferences about communicators and their effect on opinion change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(4), 424–435. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.36.4.424>

- Eckerle, F., Rothers, A., Kutlaca, M., Henss, L., Agunyego, W., & Cohrs, J. C. (2023). Appraisal of male privilege: On the dual role of identity threat and shame in response to confrontations with male privilege. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 108, 104492. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2023.104492>
- Fa-Kaji, N. M., & Monin, B. (2022). The confronter's quandary: Mapping out strategies for managers to address offensive remarks at work. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 42, 100166. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2022.100166>
- Foster, M. D. (2013). Everyday confrontation of discrimination: The well-being costs and benefits to women over time. *International Journal of Psychological Studies*, 5(3), 135–154. <http://doi.org/10.5539/ijps.v5n3p135>
- Foster, M. D. (2015). Tweeting about sexism: The wellbeing benefits of a social media collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 5, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12101>
- Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(3), 453. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.3.453>
- Gervais, S. J., & Hillard, A. L. (2014). Confronting sexism as persuasion: Effects of a confrontation's recipient, source, message, and context. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70(4), 653–667. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12084>
- Gervais, S. J., Hillard, A. L., & Vescio, T. K. (2010). Confronting sexism: The role of relationship orientation and gender. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 63(7–8), 463–474. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9838-7>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109–118. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109>
- Good, J. J., Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Sanchez, D. T. (2012). When do we confront? Perceptions of costs and benefits predict confronting discrimination on behalf of the self and others. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36, 210–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312440958>
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review*, 102(1), 4. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.102.1.4>
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1464–1480. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1464>
- Gulker, J. E., Mark, A. Y., & Monteith, M. J. (2013). Confronting prejudice: The who, what, and why of confrontation effectiveness. *Social Influence*, 8(4), 280–293. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2012.736879>
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253–283.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94(3), 319–340.
- 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>
- Hildebrand, L. K., Monteith, M. J., & Arriaga, X. B. (2024). The role of trust in reducing confrontation-related social costs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 126(2), 240–261. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000429>
- Hurd, N. M., Trawalter, S., Jakubow, A., Johnson, H. E., & Billingsley, J. T. (2022). Online racial discrimination and the role of white bystanders. *American Psychologist*, 77(1), 39. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000603>
- Kahn, K. B., Barreto, M., Kaiser, C. R., & Rego, M. S. (2015). When do high and low status group members support confrontation? The role of perceived pervasiveness of

- prejudice. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 55(1), 27–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12117>
- Kaiser, C. R., Vick, S. B., & Major, B. (2006). Prejudice expectations moderate preconscious attention to cues that are threatening to social identity. *Psychological Science*, 17(4), 332–338. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01707.x>
- Karmali, F., Kawakami, K., & Page-Gould, E. (2017). He said what? Physiological and cognitive responses to imagining and witnessing outgroup racism. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 146(8), 1073. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000304>
- Kawakami, K., Dunn, E., Karmali, F., & Dovidio, J. F. (2009). Mispredicting affective and behavioral responses to racism. *Science*, 323(5911), 276–278. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1164951>
- Kawakami, K., Karmali, F., & Vaccarino, E. (2019). Confronting intergroup bias: Predicted and actual responses to racism and sexism. In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors* (pp. 3–28). Academic Press.
- King, E. B., Hebl, M., Shapiro, J. R., Silver, E., Bilotta, I., Lennon, N., . . . & Corrington, A. (2024). (Absent) Allyship in STEM: Can psychological standing increase prejudice confrontation?. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-023-09929-0>
- Kroeper, K. M. (2020). *Expecting prejudice confrontation to backfire: prejudice norms and misalignment between forecaster expectations and experiencer realities*. Indiana University.
- Latané, B., & Darley, J. M. (1970). *The unresponsive bystander: Why doesn't he help?* Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Lawson, T. J., McDonough, T. A., & Bodle, J. H. (2010). Confronting prejudiced comments: Effectiveness of a role-playing exercise. *Teaching of Psychology*, 37(4), 257–261. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00986283.2010.510968>
- 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*. Advanced online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672241229006>
- Lindsey, A., King, E., Cheung, H., Hebl, M., Lynch, S., & Mancini, V. (2015). When do women respond against discrimination? Exploring factors of subtlety, form, and focus. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 45(12), 649–661. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12326>
- Mallett, R. K., & Melchiori, K. J. (2019). Goals drive responses to perceived discrimination. In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors* (pp. 95–119). Academic Press.
- Mallett, R. K., & Monteith, M. J. (Eds.). (2019). *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors*. Academic Press.
- Mallett, 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>
- Martinez, L. R., Hebl, M. R., Smith, N. A., & Sabat, I. E. (2017). Standing up and speaking out against prejudice toward gay men in the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 103, 71–85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.08.001>
- Mendoza-Denton, R., Downey, G., Purdie, V. J., Davis, A., & Pietrzak, J. (2002). Sensitivity to status-based rejection: implications for African American students' college experience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(4), 896–918. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.4.896>
- Meyers, C., Leon, A., & Williams, A. (2020). Aggressive confrontation shapes perceptions and attitudes toward racist content online. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 23(6), 845–862. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220935974>

- Miller, D. A., Cronin, T., Garcia, A. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (2009). The relative impact of anger and efficacy on collective action is affected by feelings of fear. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 12(4), 445-462. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209105046>
- Miller, M., Noland, E. S., & Monteith, M. J. (2023). Explaining social costs for confronting intergroup bias: The role of impugning the egalitarian self-image. Poster presented at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology Convention, Atlanta, GA.
- 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., Burns, M. D., & Hildebrand, L. K. (2019). Navigating successful confrontations: What should I say and how should I say it? In R. K. Mallett & M. J. Monteith (Eds.), *Confronting prejudice and discrimination: The science of changing minds and behaviors* (pp. 225-248). Academic Press.
- 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 Compass*, 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 impugnation as determinants of other-confrontation consequences. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 66, 1-57. Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2022.04.001>
- Monteith, M. J., Woodcock, A. & Gulker, J. E. (2013). Automaticity and control in stereotyping and prejudice: The revolutionary role of social cognition across three decades. In D. Carlston (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Cognition* (pp. 74-94). Oxford University Press.
- Moser, C. E., & Branscombe, N. R. (2022). Male allies at work: Gender-equality supportive men reduce negative underrepresentation effects among women. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 13(2), 372-381. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506211033748>
- Munger, K. (2017). Tweetment effects on the tweeted: Experimentally reducing racist harassment. *Political Behavior*, 39, 629-649. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-016-9373-5>
- Murphy, M. C., Steele, C. M., & Gross, J. J. (2007). Signaling threat: How situational cues affect women in math, science, and engineering settings. *Psychological Science*, 18(10), 879-885. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01995.x>
- Murrar, S., Campbell, M. R., & Brauer, M. (2020). Exposure to peers' pro-diversity attitudes increases inclusion and reduces the achievement gap. *Nature Human Behavior*, 4(9), 889-897. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0899-5>
- Murray, S. L., Holmes, J. G., & Collins, N. L. (2006). Optimizing assurance: The risk regulation system in relationships. *Psychological Bulletin*, 132(2), 641-666. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.132.5.641>
- Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., & Salter, P. S. (2013). The Marley hypothesis: Denial of racism reflects ignorance of history. *Psychological Science*, 24(2), 213-218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612451466>
- Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination and depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health*, 93(2), 232-238. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.93.2.232>
- Ozier, E. M., Taylor, V. J., & Murphy, M. C. (2019). The cognitive effects of experiencing and observing subtle racial discrimination. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(4), 1087-1115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12349>

- Parker, L. R., Monteith, M. J., Moss-Racusin, C. A., & Van Camp, A. R. (2018). Promoting concern about gender bias with evidence-based confrontation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 74, 8–23. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.07.009>
- Pascoe, E. A., & Richman, L. S. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 531–554. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016059>
- Pearson, A. R., Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2009). The nature of contemporary prejudice: Insights from aversive racism. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 3(3), 314–338. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2009.00183.x>
- Pietri, E. S., Johnson, I. R., & Ozgumus, E. (2018). One size may not fit all: Exploring how the intersection of race and gender and stigma consciousness predict effective identity-safe cues for Black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 74, 291–306. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.06.021>
- 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>
- Pinel, E. C. (2004). You're just saying that because I'm a woman: Stigma consciousness and attributions to discrimination. *Self and Identity*, 3(1), 39–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13576500342000031>
- Plant, E., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 811–832. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.3.811>
- Plous, S. (2000). Responding to overt displays of prejudice: A role-playing exercise. *Teaching of Psychology*, 27(3), 198–200. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15328023TOP2703_07
- Radke, H. R., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 24(4), 291–315.
- Rasinski, H. M., & Czopp, A. M. (2010). The effect of target status on witnesses' reactions to confrontations of bias. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(1), 8–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973530903539754>
- Rasinski, H. M., Geers, A. L., & Czopp, A. M. (2013). "I guess what he said wasn't that bad" dissonance in nonconfronting targets of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39(7), 856–869.
- Rattan, A., & Dweck, C. S. (2010). Who confronts prejudice? The role of implicit theories in the motivation to confront prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 21(7), 952–959. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610374740>
- Rattan, A., Kroeper, K., Arnett, R., Brown, X., & Murphy, M. (2023). Not such a complainer anymore: Confrontation that signals a growth mindset can attenuate backlash. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 124(2), 344.
- Reno, R. R., Cialdini, R. B., & Kallgren, C. A. (1993). The transsituational influence of social norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(1), 104–112. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.1.104>
- 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>
- Salvatore, J., & Shelton, J. N. (2007). Cognitive costs of exposure to racial prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 18(9), 810–815. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01984.x>
- Sanchez, D. T., Himmelstein, M. S., Young, D. M., Albuja, A. F., & Garcia, J. A. (2016). Confronting as autonomy promotion: Speaking up against discrimination and psychological well-being in racial minorities. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 21(9), 1999–2007. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105315569619>

- Saunders, K. A., & Senn, C. Y. (2009). Should I confront him? Men's reactions to hypothetical confrontations of peer sexual harassment. *Sex Roles*, 61, 399–415. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9638-0>
- Schiralli, J. E., & Chasteen, A. L. (2023). Perceptions of women who confront hostile and benevolent sexism. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2023.2173554>
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 140(4), 921–948. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035754>
- 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>
- Schultz, P. W., Nolan, J. M., Cialdini, R. B., Goldstein, N. J., & Griskevicius, V. (2007). The constructive, destructive, and reconstructive power of social norms. *Psychological Science*, 18(5), 429–434. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01917.x>
- Shallcross, S. L., & Simpson, J. A. (2012). Trust and responsiveness in strain-test situations: A dyadic perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102(5), 1031–1044. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026829>
- Shelton, J. N., & Stewart, R. S. (2004). Confronting perpetrators of prejudice: The inhibitory effects of social costs. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28(3), 215–223. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00138.x>
- 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>
- Simon, S., & O'Brien, L. T. (2015). Confronting sexism: Exploring the effect of nonsexist credentials on the costs of target confrontations. *Sex Roles*, 73, 245–257. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-015-0513-x>
- Stone, J., Whitehead, J., Schmader, T., & Focella, E. (2011). Thanks for asking: Self-affirming questions reduce backlash when stigmatized targets confront prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(3), 589–598. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.016>
- 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>
- Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., Fitzgerald, D. C., & Bylsma, W. H. (2003). African American college students' experiences with everyday racism: Characteristics of and responses to these incidents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 29(1), 3867. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798402239228>
- Swim, J. K., Mallett, R., Russo-Devosa, Y., & Stangor, C. (2005). Judgments of sexism: A comparison of the subtlety of sexism measures and sources of variability in judgments of sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29(4), 406–411. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00240.x>
- Szekeres, H., & Čabarkapa, Đ. (2023). Myths and reality about confronting anti-gay prejudice: Who confronts and why (not)? *Journal of Homosexuality*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2161085>
- Szekeres, H., Halperin, E., Kende, A., & Saguy, T. (2023). Endorsing negative intergroup attitudes to justify failure to confront prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 26(7), 1499–1524. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302221120488>
- Trawalter, S., Richeson, J. A., & Shelton, J. N. (2009). Predicting behavior during interracial interactions: A stress and coping approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13(4), 243–268. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309345850>
- Unzueta, M. M., & Lowery, B. S. (2008). Defining racism safely: The role of self-image maintenance on white Americans' conceptions of racism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(6), 1491–1497. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.07.011>

- Wallace, L. E., Craig, M. A., & Wegener, D. T. (2024). Biased, but expert: Trade-offs in how stigmatized versus non-stigmatized advocates are perceived and consequences for persuasion. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 110, 104519. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2023.104519>
- Wang, K., Silverman, A., Gwinn, J. D., & Dovidio, J. F. (2015). Independent or ungrateful? Consequences of confronting patronizing help for people with disabilities. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 18(4), 489–503. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430214550345>
- Wang, K., Walker, K., Pietri, E., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2019). Consequences of confronting patronizing help for people with disabilities: Do target gender and disability type matter? *The Journal of Social Issues*, 75(3), 904–923. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12332>
- Wellman, J. A., Czopp, A. M., & Geers, A. L. (2010). The egalitarian optimist and the confrontation of prejudice. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 4(5), 389–395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760902992449>
- Woodzicka, J. A., & LaFrance, M. (2001). Real versus imagined gender harassment. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00199>
- Woodzicka, J. A., Mallett, R. K., Hendricks, S., & Pruitt, A. V. (2015). It's just a (sexist) joke: Comparing reactions to sexist versus racist communications. *Humor*, 28(2), 289–309. <https://doi.org/10.1515/humor-2015-0025>
- Zou, L. X., & Dickter, C. L. (2013). Perceptions of racial confrontation: The role of color blindness and comment ambiguity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(1), 92–96. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031115>