TARGET PERCEPTIONS OF PREJUDICE CONFRONTATIONS: THE

EFFECT OF CONFRONTER GROUP MEMBERSHIP ON PERCEPTIONS OF

CONFRONTATION MOTIVE AND TARGET EMPOWERMENT

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For Qiji and Daoli, without whom this would not be possible.

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ABSTRACT

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The current study examined African American participants' perceptions of and reactions to a White ally vs. a Black target (vs. a no confrontation control condition) prejudice confrontation. Based on intergroup helping theories suggesting that low-status group members question high-status helper motivations and consequently feel disempowered by their help (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982; Nadler, 2002), we predicted that participants would report lower empowerment when a White vs. Black person confronted on their behalf, and that perceived confronter motivation would mediate the effect of confronter group membership on empowerment. To test these hypotheses, we recruited African American participants ($N = 477$) via Amazon's Mechanical Turk, randomly assigned them to either a no confrontation control, target confrontation, or ally confrontation condition, and then assessed participants' sense of psychological empowerment and perceptions of the confronter's motivation. The results supported our predictions for the primary dependent variables, and mediation analyses provided evidence for a causal model such that confronter group membership affected participants' psychological empowerment via their perceptions of the confronter's motivation. The findings suggest that although both target and ally confrontations are preferable to no confrontation, allies should be aware of the possible disempowering effect of their confronting on targets of prejudice and the importance of their own motivations when engaging in prejudice confrontation. The current study further emphasizes the importance of representing targets' perspectives in studies of prejudice.

1. INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that confrontation can serve as an effective prejudice reduction tool, though the literature has also indicated that targets of discrimination often face steep penalties for confronting and often yield poorer prejudice reduction outcomes when they do confront (Czopp & Ashburn-Nardo, 2012; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Although targets are distinctly invested in anticipating and reducing expressions of bias (Schmader, Croft, Whitehead, & Stone, 2013), they are not alone in finding intergroup prejudice distasteful indeed, some non-targets seek to avoid expressing prejudice due to their personal convictions (Plant & Devine, 1998). Research has also shown that egalitarian-minded non-targets experience negative emotions in response to antidiversity messages (Schmader, Croft, Scarnier, Lickel, & Mendes, 2011), which might in turn motivate such individuals to confront prejudice. These motivated non-targets have been referred to as allies (Ashburn-Nardo, in press), and as such, a subset of the confrontation literature has focused on the role of allies in reducing the prejudice of other non-targets. These studies have demonstrated that allies experience less personal backlash for confronting prejudice and receive better prejudice reduction returns than target confronters (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2012; Eliezer & Major, 2012).

However, some theoretical and empirical evidence indicate that low-status group members (i.e., stigmatized targets) perceive help from higher power group members as threatening and disempowering (Nadler, 2002; Nadler & Halabi, 2006). This suggests that, although ally confronters may want to help by confronting prejudice and effectively reduce the prejudice of majority group members when they do, more research is needed to understand ally confrontations from the target perspective and to ensure that targets are not harmed by the ally behaviors that are meant to help. The lack of understanding of how target minorities perceive ally help begs the central

question of this study, What do targets want from allies in confrontable prejudice scenarios?

The current study addresses this gap in the literature by exploring target participants' impressions of and reactions to target versus ally confronters and their respective confrontations. In order to clarify the rationale for this experimental design, we must first review a few topics surrounding prejudice confrontation in general: how does confrontation work; how are confronters viewed; and what role can allies play in confronting prejudice? Next, we turn to the novel aspects of this study (i.e., target reactions to and perceptions of ally confrontations) and review the literature on intergroup helping, which informs and justifies the specific dependent measures of interest in this study. Ultimately, we hope that the results of this study will further illuminate what targets want from allies, a necessary contribution to the literature before researchers can unequivocally recommend ally confrontations as an effective tool for prejudice reduction.

1.1 How do prejudice confrontations work?

Empirical studies have shown that confrontation can serve as an effective prejudice reduction tool. In a series of vignette studies, Czopp and Monteith (2003) showed that allegations of racial bias, as opposed to gender bias, resulted in more concerns over offending the confronter and more negative self-directed affect such as guilt such self-directed affect is critical to initiating the self-regulatory process that decreases future prejudice expression (Monteith, 1993). Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) extended this research with three chat-room experiments in which White participants were confronted by a confederate for making stereotypic inferences about Black individuals. Subsequently the researchers measured participants' reactions to the confrontations. The findings indicated that while confrontations yielded negative other-directed emotions and evaluations of the confronter, confrontation also elicited participants' negative self-directed affect (e.g., anger, guilt, shame) and fewer stereo-

typic responses. These effects generalized to a decrease in prejudiced attitudes as measured by Brigham's (1993) Attitudes Toward Blacks scale (Czopp et al., 2006). Czopp and Monteith (2003) and Czopp et al. (2006) thus provide evidence that interpersonal confrontations can elicit beneficial prejudice-reducing attitudinal and behavioral outcomes.

Moreover, research has demonstrated the potential harms of not confronting prejudice. Nelson, Dunn, and Paradies (2011) noted that the act of confrontation cultivates social norms against bias it follows that the lack of confrontation can signal that prejudice expression is acceptable. Moreover, Rasinski, Geers, and Czopp (2013) found that participants who valued confronting prejudice but did not confront experienced negative intrapersonal outcomes akin to cognitive dissonance, such as evaluating a perpetrator more positively and devaluing the importance placed on confronting. Similarly, Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, and Hill's (2006) results indicated that women who violated their personal standards by not confronting prejudice showed negative cognitive outcomes such as obsessive thoughts and rumination about their lack of confrontation. In short, the evidence demonstrates that confrontation works as a prejudice reduction tool, and not confronting prejudice can have adverse impacts.

1.2 How are target confronters perceived?

Because stigmatized group members are the most directly and negatively affected by prejudice, targets of prejudice likely have high motivation to reduce expressions of prejudice (Major, Quinton, McCoy, & Schmader, 2000). While confrontation can be an appropriate prejudice reduction strategy, research has consistently shown that target confronters experience more negative outcomes than their ally counterparts. For example, targets who attributed a failing test grade to discrimination rather than the quality of their test answers were perceived as complainers and received poorer evaluations (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Furthermore, Rasinski and Czopp (2010) conducted a study using video confrontations in which a White male perpetrator of racism was

either confronted or not by either a White female or Black female confronter. Their results indicated that the Black female's confrontation was seen as ruder and as less persuasive than the White female's confrontation and decreased participant perceptions of the White perpetrator's level of bias (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). This combination of interpersonal penalties and less successful outcomes requires that targets carefully consider costs and benefits before employing confrontation as a prejudice reduction strategy.

1.3   What is the role of allies?

Targets are not the only individuals who are concerned by and motivated to confront prejudice. Schmader et al. (2012) paired White participants with Black partners and showed a video of two White men having a pro- or anti-diversity discussion. Their study found that the more participants felt motivated to respond without prejudice, the higher the level of participants' distress-related physiological responses and self-reported negative affect when watching the anti-diversity discussion. These findings suggest that non-targets with internalized egalitarian goals do experience negative affect in response to anti-diversity messages (Schmader et al., 2011), which may lead to opposition to expressions of prejudice. An ally, an individual who is motivated not by self-presentation motives but rather by their own convictions about prejudice (Ashburn-Nardo, in press), might take an even more active anti-prejudice stance and convey their disagreement with prejudicial remarks or discriminatory behavior through confrontation.

Ashburn-Nardo (in press) specifically defines an ally as an individual who promotes egalitarian ideals, who is motivated to avoid expressing prejudice and to confront others' prejudice, and who serves as a source of support for targets of discrimination. This definition includes a variety of behaviors, including and not limited to, employing self-regulation strategies that allow allies to recognize and regulate their own biases, social strategies that improve ally supportiveness to targets, and confrontation

strategies to raise awareness of and convey disapproval of others' biases (Ashburn-Nardo, in press). While the encompassing nature of this definition suggests valuable research directions for a diverse array of ally behaviors, the present study focuses on ally behaviors in the confrontation realm.

In confrontation scenarios, allies might have an important role to play by adopting some of the responsibility and risk of confronting from targets, and as such, empirical research has investigated people's perceptions of ally confronters in prejudice confrontation scenarios. Although research has indicated that ally confronters elicit more surprise from participants than target confronters (Gervais & Hillard, 2014), perpetrators of prejudice respond more positively to ally confronters than target confronters (Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013). For example, Gulker et al. (2013) manipulated confronter race in their study and found that participants, who were predominantly White, reported greater acceptance of a confrontation by a White confronter than a Black confronter.

Research has also examined people's reactions to different types of ally confrontations. In two studies, Dickter et al. (2012) presented participants, who were mostly non-targets, with a racist and heterosexist perpetrator, respectively, and manipulated the level of offensiveness of the prejudicial statement (i.e., high and low) and the subsequent type of ally confrontation (i.e., control, assertive, and unassertive). Their study assessed perceptions of the perpetrator and confronter, who both had non-target group status, using measures of liking, respect, and morality. The results indicated that ally confronters were in fact liked and respected more than those who did not confront. This finding held true for both assertive and unassertive confrontations (Dickter et al., 2012). These studies suggest that at least in the eyes of non-target participants, allies can effectively confront prejudice without experiencing as much social penalty as target confronters. Taken holistically, the ally confrontation research shows encouraging signs that having allies bear some of the burden of confronting prejudice can contribute to the success of prejudice reduction efforts.

1.4 What do targets want from allies?

But as previously stated, there is an unanswered question regarding what in fact targets want from allies. Most studies on confrontation have lacked the power to draw meaningful conclusions regarding target perspectives given the difficulty of recruiting adequate sample sizes of target minority participants, particularly in studies on racial bias. For example, Dickter et al. (2012) found that non-target confronters who confronted highly prejudicial racist comments either assertively or non-assertively were liked and respected more than non-targets who failed to confront, but with only 6.4% of the participants identifying as African American, the study did not explore participant race as a potential moderator. The design of this study could have illuminated the nature of target perceptions of ally confrontation but was hindered by the difficulty in accessing racial minority samples.

One could argue, however, that there is already significant research on target perspectives toward ally confrontations, given the prevalence of female participants in studies of male ally confrontations of sexism. Indeed, numerous studies have shown that female participants do perceive sexism confrontations differently than male participants (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001; Drury, 2013; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gervais & Hillard, 2014). For example, Dodd et al. (2001) found that women liked and respected a female more when she confronted sexism than when she did not confront, whereas men liked the female less when she confronted than when she did not. However, it is difficult to extrapolate these findings for sexism to the realm of racism, given the long history of racial mistrust between Blacks and Whites in the United States. Furthermore, reactions differ greatly between racism and sexism for example, people have a tendency to perceive racism as more serious and offensive than sexism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), and some findings suggest that female confronters of sexism may not face the same type of backlash as racial minority confronters of racism (Mallett & Wagner, 2011; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). For these reasons, the perspectives of Black participants remain a gap in the ally confrontation literature.

Because of this lack of target representation in extant studies, the findings of ally confrontation research predominantly represent the perceptions and reactions of other non-target individuals. This perspective one in which a non-target is the consumer of the confrontation, so to speak assumes that the primary goal of ally confrontations is to reduce the prejudice of non-target observers. The commonly used variables in these studies reflect this goal and include participant perceived responsibility to confront, future intentions to confront prejudice, and perceptions of the confronter as common measures of interest. In essence, current ally confrontation research seeks to decrease prejudice expression by illuminating the costs and benefits of confrontation in order to boost ally behaviors in non-target participants.

This goal of transforming non-targets into ally confronters, however, seems premature given the discrepancy between the level of understanding of target and non-target perceptions of ally confrontations. One cannot simply assume that ally confrontation scenarios, though apparently prosocial in nature, will elicit the same responses in target and non-target observers.

Because of the gap in literature regarding target perspectives, one must look beyond the confrontation literature to help understand how targets might perceive ally confrontations. The following section overviews a theoretical model and corresponding research from the intergroup helping literature, which provides a theoretical framework to predict how ally confrontations might affect targets.

1.5 Ally confrontations as intergroup help

Nadler's (2002) Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations model posited that groups can use helping behavior to establish or challenge dominance in relation to other groups. The two main premises of the Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations model are derived from social identity theory (e.g., Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Tajfel, 1978) and power relations research. Social identity theory suggests that individuals are motivated to maintain a positive social identity, and

information that reveals one's in-group as inferior can threaten that identity. In the context of intergroup helping, one might interpret out-group helping as information that one's in-group is dependent and inferior, which would hurt one's positive social identity (Ellemers et al., 1999; Nadler, 2002). The second premise states that power relations affect the nature of helping relations between groups, such that high status groups might give help not only due to care and concern, but also to assert and maintain their group's social advantage, while lower status groups might view the receipt of high status group help as a sign of their own in-group inferiority and dependency and reject such help as an assertion of independence and equality (Nadler, 2002).

Several studies have found empirical evidence that supports the Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations model. Halabi, Nadler, and Dovidio (2011) reported significant effects of group membership and perceived need for help, such that Arab participants (i.e., low power group) who received help from a Jewish helper (i.e., high power group) showed more negative collective self-esteem and personal self-worth than Arab participants who received help from an Arab helper. Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, and Crocker (1996) found similar effects in Black participants such that those who were offered assumptive help (i.e., unsolicited help that is provided without regard to recipient need) by White peers reported lower levels of competence-based self-esteem than Black participants who did not receive any help. In tandem, these studies support the general contentions of Nadler's (2002) model, which is that low power group members are threatened by unsolicited help, especially when this help comes from higher power outgroup rather than ingroup members.

Nadler's (2002) model and its corresponding empirical research thus provides evidence that in intergroup help scenarios such as ally confrontations, one cannot ignore the power dynamics of the parties involved, particularly for low power group members. The findings regarding help from high power sources as potentially threatening and disempowering to lower power group members is highly relevant to ally confrontation scenarios and calls into question the assumption that targets want allies to confront

on their behalf at all. As previous studies have not focused specifically on targets' reactions to ally (vs. target) confrontations, this study seeks to shed light on the potential effects of ally confrontations on target empowerment, the focal dependent variable of this study.

1.6   Target empowerment

Researchers in the management literature have conceptualized psychological empowerment as a combination of feelings of meaning (i.e., the value of work goals), competence (i.e., task-based self-efficacy), self-determination (i.e., need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness), and impact (i.e., the extent to which one influences work outcomes) (Spreitzer, 1995). While meaning and impact are specific to organizational and work environments, the constructs of competence and self-determination are especially pertinent to a more general sense of psychological empowerment of relevance in this study. This definition of empowerment is highly relevant to the experience of targets of discrimination, and studies have empirically found that confrontation can lead to a broader sense of personal empowerment for targets. For example, Gervais, Hillard, and Vescio (2010) found that confrontations of sexism were positively related to competence, self-esteem, and task empowerment for female but not male participants. Furthermore, racial minorities who experienced discrimination were found to have a positive relationship between confrontation and autonomy promotion (i.e., the idea that one's actions are freely chosen and authentic), a component of psychological empowerment, which in turn resulted in higher levels of psychological well-being (Sanchez, Himmelstein, Young, Albuja, & Garcia, 2016).

These studies clearly show that psychological empowerment is important in the context of confrontation scenarios, particularly for target confronters. Because target confrontations can elicit greater feelings of empowerment, ally confronters may inadvertently deny targets the opportunity to confront prejudice.

1.7 Perceived motivation to help as a mediator of confronter effects on target empowerment

Fisher, Nadler, and Whitcher-Alagna (1982) provide a possible mechanism through which ally confrontations might inadvertently disempower targets: perceived motivation to help. Their threat to self-esteem model posits that individuals' reactions to aid are affected by the situational conditions associated with the receipt of aid (e.g., helper characteristics, recipient attributions of helper motivations) and the recipients' view of the aid as either supporting or threatening to their self-esteem. Specifically, Fisher et al. (1982) contend that negative inferences of helper motivations (e.g., that the help is disingenuous or self-serving) can cause recipients to experience self-threat and decrease recipient feelings of power and control, two constructs that comprise psychological empowerment. Thus, the threat to self-esteem model suggests that recipients of help who perceive the help as more extrinsically motivated will feel more disempowered by such help than recipients who perceive the help as more intrinsically motivated.

Together, Fisher et al.'s (1982) threat to self-esteem model and the Nadler (2002) Inter-Group Helping Relations as Power Relations model predict that help from a higher-status outgroup member is likely seen as more questionable than help from an ingroup member in terms of helper motivations. Indeed, Nadler (2002) suggests that higher power groups use helping as a way to maintain their power and status over lower power groups. Toward that end, earlier attribution literature finds that, particularly in intergroup interactions, individuals attributed the prosocial behavior of outgroup members to less positive and less intrinsic motives than prosocial behavior of ingroup members (Hewstone, 1990). Based on this collective evidence, the ingroup or outgroup status of a confronter should affect target participants' perceptions of the confronter's motivation, which should then affect the target's psychological empowerment. Specifically, target participants should perceive ally confrontations as

less intrinsically motivated than target confrontations, which should in turn decrease their perceived empowerment.

1.8   Individual differences in target perceptions of ally confronters

It is important to note that variability exists in the extent to which target populations perceive discrimination from outgroup members, with implications for how targets respond to positive gestures from higher-power outgroup members. Johnson, Ashburn-Nardo, Spicer, and Dovidio (2008) exposed Black participants to an essay written by a White college student that contained either negative racial comments (negative exposure), positive comments about Blacks (positive exposure), or race-neutral comments (neutral condition). The experimenters then asked the participants to read about either a Black or White person-in-need and to report their level of empathic concern and prosocial attitudes/intentions toward that person-in-need. As expected, the results showed that Black participants with low discriminatory expectations assigned to the positive exposure condition demonstrated more prosocial attitudes and intentions toward a White person-in-need, while those assigned to the negative exposure condition showed less prosocial attitudes and intentions relative to the neutral condition. However, Black participants high in discriminatory expectations showed a different pattern of response, such that those exposed to the positive exposure did not show any more prosocial attitudes and intentions toward a White person-in-need relative to the neutral condition. These findings collectively suggest that targets who are high in discriminatory expectations should be particularly sensitive to the motives behind ally confrontations.

1.9   Current study

The current study is a between-subjects experiment with one independent variable (Confronter group membership: target confronter vs. ally confronter) with target psychological empowerment and target perceptions of confronter motivations as de-

pendent measures of interest. In order to address the central essence of the study (i.e. what do targets want in confrontation scenarios), the study uses only Black participants recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk, and the study proposes the manipulation of confronter group membership (i.e., target vs. ally). That is, in the target confronter condition, the target participant will witness a non-target perpetrator make a prejudiced comment followed by a target confronter challenging said prejudiced comment. In the ally confronter condition, the target participant will witness a non-target perpetrator make a prejudiced comment followed by an ally confronter challenging said prejudiced comment. Although previous confrontation studies have used similar confrontation scenarios (e.g., Rasinski & Czopp, 2010), the fact that this study specifically addresses Black participants' perceptions and examines target-centric measures of interest such as empowerment and perceived motivation serves as a novel method to explore the importance of target perceptions of confronter motivations.

1.10 Hypotheses and proposed model

Hypothesis 1: Based on the logic of Nadler's (2002) Inter-Group Helping and Power Relations model, target participants assigned to the ally confronter condition will report lower psychological empowerment, compared to participants in the target confronter condition.

Hypothesis 2: Based on the logic of Fisher et al.'s (1982) threat to self-esteem model, target participants assigned to the ally confronter condition will perceive confronter motivations to help as less intrinsically motivated than participants in the target confronter condition.

Hypothesis 3: Based on the logic of Fisher et al.'s (1982) threat to self-esteem model and Nadler's (2002) Inter-Group Helping and Power Relations model, target participants' perceptions of the confronter's motivation will mediate the effect of confronter group member status (i.e., target vs. ally) on participant empowerment,

and this indirect effect will be moderated by participants' discriminatory expectations. That is, target participants who are high in discriminatory expectations and assigned to the ally confronter group will perceive confronter motivations as less intrinsically motivated than those assigned to the target confronter group and will thus feel less empowered, while target participants who are low in discriminatory expectations will not show an effect of confronter group membership on perceived confronter motivation and will not feel less empowered (See Figure 1).

2. METHODS

2.1 Participants

Participants ($N = 504$) were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk marketplace. Samples recruited from Mechanical Turk are older and have more work experience than traditional university student samples (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011). Only individuals who self-identified as Black were eligible to participate in this study. To further ensure the quality of data, a TurkPrime Self Service Panel was used, which allowed the researchers to only recruit participants who had previously identified as Black in prescreening. Participants who completed the study received $2 in compensation.

2.2 Design

A between-subjects design with one independent variable (Target confronter vs. ally confronter) was used.

2.3 Procedure

Participants completed a Qualtrics web survey. The first screen of the web survey described the purpose, procedure, instructions, and contact information for the study (study information sheet, per IRB requirements). The instructions specifically noted that participant responses would be confidential. The instructions directed participants to mentally place themselves as the recipient of a prejudicial comment in an engaging and evocative slideshow narrative of a workplace interaction. After the prejudicial comment, participants were then exposed to the experimental manipulation where either a Black target confronted a White perpetrator of prejudice or

a White ally confronted a White perpetrator. After interacting with the narrative, participants were asked to respond to measures that assessed their reactions to the scenario.

2.4 Measures

2.4.1 Dependent variables

The participants completed a series of items that assessed their impressions of and reactions to the scenario in the vignette. For the target confronter and ally confronter conditions, the items measured one of two primary constructs of interest: perceptions of the confronter's motivation to help and participants' level of psychological empowerment.

Perceived motivation to help of the confronter

Participants responded to 10 items assessing their perceived motivation of the confronter to help. These items were adapted from Plant and Devine's (1998) Internal and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) this scale was selected because of its distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and the clear parallel between the act of confrontation on behalf of a target and the desire to respond without prejudice. The intrinsic motivation subscale measures the extent to which one perceives the confronter's behavior as intrinsically motivated, while the extrinsic subscale measures the extent to which one perceives the confronter's behavior as extrinsically motivated. Sample items from the adapted extrinsic motivation subscale were: [The confronter behaved the way he/she did] in order to impress you and [The confronter behaved the way he/she did] because he/she felt pressured to act this way in your presence. Sample items from the adapted intrinsic motivation subscale were: [The confronter behaved the way he/she did] because it was personally important to him/her to act in this way and

[The confronter behaved the way he/she did] in order to be consistent with his/her personal values. In line with previous research and the validation of the original scale, the intrinsic and extrinsic subscales were treated as separate dimensions and were both included as outcomes in the analyses (Plant & Devine, 1998).

Target empowerment

Spreitzer (1995) defined workplace psychological empowerment as a combination of work meaning, work impact, competence, and self-determination. Because work meaning and impact have little relevance to the context of prejudice confrontations, this study used a combination of the non-work oriented components of Spreitzer's (1995) definition: competence and self-determination. Although Spreitzer (1995) interpreted competence as a more specific work role self-efficacy construct, this study used a more global self-efficacy construct such as self-esteem to assess a more general sense of psychological empowerment.

Participants responded to a state measure of self-esteem adapted from Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale and an adapted version of the Basic Psychological Needs Scale (La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci, 2000). The original trait version of Rosenberg's (1965) scale has shown external validity and high test-retest reliability (rs = .85.88) (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991), and other studies have similarly adapted the trait version into state measures of self-esteem (e.g., Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). The scale contains 10 items (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree), and an example item is: I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others. The corresponding adapted item for this study was: [The way the confronter behaved] made me feel like a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.

The Basic Psychological Needs Scale contains 9 items (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree) that assess the satisfaction of one's needs for autonomy (e.g., When I am with my, I feel free to be who I am.), competence (e.g., When I am with my, I feel like a competent person.), and relatedness (e.g., When I am with my, I feel loved and

cared about.) (See La Guardia et al., 2000, for scale validation). The corresponding adapted items for this study were: [The way the confronter behaved] made me feel free to be who I am.; [The way the confronter behaved] made me feel like a competent person.; [The way the confronter behaved] made me feel loved and cared about.

2.4.2 Moderator

Participants then responded to the group-directed stigmatization and discriminatory expectations subscale of Johnson-Lecci Scale (Johnson & Lecci, 2003). This subscale contains 7 items (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree) an example item was: I believe that most Whites really do support the ideas and thoughts of racist political groups. The items were scored such that higher scores indicate higher levels of discriminatory expectations. This scale was selected because research has suggested that Black racial attitudes moderate their group-based expectancies, which is a key factor in Black individuals' attitudes toward Whites (Johnson et al., 2008; Monteith & Spicer, 2000).

3. RESULTS

3.1 Preliminary results

The data were prepared prior to conducting any main analyses. Items for the key dependent variables were rescored so that higher scores represented higher levels of the construct of interest. Items four, six, and nine of the Need Satisfaction Scale were reverse-scored, and items three, five, eight, nine, and ten were reverse-scored in the Self-Esteem Scale. No other items in any of the other scales were reverse-scored. Furthermore, we screened the entire sample ($N = 504$) to confirm that the participants met our selection criteria (i.e., they identified as Black in the demographic item) and attended to our experimental manipulation (i.e., they passed the manipulation check). Our screening revealed that 13 participants failed to identify as Black and 17 participants either failed or did not respond to the manipulation check to ensure data quality, we thus excluded these participants to obtain the final sample ($N = 477$). A chi-square analysis revealed that there was no significant difference in the number of participants excluded across the experimental conditions, χ^2 (2, $N = 504$) $= 0.91$, $p = .634$).

The six scales measuring the constructs of interest all showed adequate reliability (all αs $> .79$; see Table 1). Tables 2 and 3 show the descriptive statistics and correlations, respectively, between all variables. Given the high correlation between participants scores on the Need Satisfaction and Self-Esteem Scales ($r = .67$) and their theoretical significance as factors of psychological empowerment (e.g., Spreitzer, 1995), a composite empowerment score was calculated by averaging the standardized scores of the need satisfaction and self-esteem scales. This composite empowerment score was used in all subsequent mediation analyses.

3.2 Test of hypotheses

To test Hypotheses 1 and 2, I conducted independent samples t-tests to determine the effect of confronter group membership (i.e., target confronter versus ally confronter) on the dependent variables: discriminatory expectations, perceived intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to help, self-esteem, need satisfaction, and composite empowerment. As expected, participants did not differ by confronter group membership condition on discriminatory expectations, $t(319) = 0.46$, $p = .648$, $d = .05$. The results further showed that, in line with all predictions, participants who witnessed an ally confrontation viewed the confrontation as less intrinsically motivated, $t(319) = 5.06$, $p < .001$, $d = .57$, and more extrinsically motivated, $t(319) = 7.11$, $p < .001$, $d = .80$, than participants who witnessed a fellow target confront on their behalf. Furthermore, participants reported lower self-esteem, $t(319) = 2.54$, $p = .012$, $d = .28$, need satisfaction, $t(319) = 2.61$, $p = .009$, $d = .29$, and composite empowerment, $t(319) = 2.82$, $p = .005$, $d = .32$, in the ally confrontation condition than in the target confrontation condition. Thus, Hypotheses 1 and 2 were fully supported.

We were also interested in the interactive effect of confronter group membership and discriminatory expectations on participants composite empowerment via their perceptions of the confronters motivation to help. To test this hypothesis, I ran Model 7 of Hayes (2013) PROCESS macro using 10,000 bootstraps, which represents a moderated mediation model, with confronter group membership as the independent variable, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to help as the two mediator variables, composite empowerment as the dependent variable, and discriminatory expectations as the moderating variable (see Figure 1). The results revealed a marginally significant interactive effect between confronter group membership and discriminatory expectations on participants composite empowerment via perceptions of the confronters intrinsic motivation to help. That is, participants who were relatively high on discriminatory expectations (i.e., 1 standard deviation above the mean) were more disempowered by the ally confrontation due to their perceptions of the confronters

confrontation as being less intrinsically motivated, -.29, 95% CI: -.47 – -.15, than participants who were relatively low on discriminatory expectations (i.e., 1 standard deviation below the mean), -.14, 95% CI: -.27 - -.03. In short, higher levels of discriminatory expectations exacerbated participants suspicions of the ally confronters (as opposed to the target confronters) intrinsic motivation to help (see Figures 3 and 4), which led to less empowerment. However, one should note that participants at all levels of discriminatory expectations were negatively affected by the ally confrontation relative to the target confrontation via an indirect effect of perceived intrinsic motivation to help.

Discriminatory expectations did not moderate the indirect effect of confronter group membership on empowerment via perceived extrinsic motivation to help. Participants who were low on discriminatory expectations (i.e., 1 standard deviation below the mean) reported significantly less empowerment due to perceptions of the confronters extrinsic motivation to help, -.19, 95% CI: -.30 - -.11, which was similar to the corresponding indirect effect for participants who were high on discriminatory expectations (i.e., 1 standard deviation above the mean), -.20, 95% CI: -.34 - -.11. This suggests that participants, irrespective of their level of discriminatory expectations, perceived the ally confronters behavior as more extrinsically motivated than the target confronter which in turn reduced participants feelings of empowerment (see Figure 4).

Taken together, these results support a more parsimonious model wherein confronter group membership (i.e., ally versus target confronter) indirectly affects participants empowerment through their perceptions of the confronters intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to help, relatively independent of participants levels of discriminatory expectations. In order to investigate this model, I ran Model 4 of Hayes (2013) PROCESS macro using 10,000 bootstraps, which represents a simple mediation model, and entered confronter group membership as the independent variable, perceived intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to help as the two mediator variables, and composite empowerment as the dependent variable. The results show that the indi-

rect effects of confronter group membership on empowerment through both perceived intrinsic motivation, -.21, 95% CI: -.33 - .12, and perceived extrinsic motivation, -.19, 95% CI: -.29 - .12, were significant (i.e., the confidence intervals did not cross 0). Collectively, the findings suggest that, in line with our predictions based on theories of intergroup helping, African American participants feel more disempowered by ally confrontations on their behalf than target confrontations, and this occurs because participants attribute less intrinsic and more extrinsic motivations to ally confronters than to target confronters (see Figure 2).

4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Contributions

Previous research on confrontation has typically focused on prejudice reduction outcomes in predominantly non-target observer populations and has failed to consider how ally confrontations affect targets. The current study thus addresses a critical gap in the extant literature by examining target perspectives of prejudice confrontations. The findings strongly support our hypothesis that targets of prejudice feel more disempowered by a higher-status outgroup ally confrontation on their behalf than a target confrontation. Furthermore, the data show that this disempowering effect occurs because targets of prejudice are more suspicious of the motivations of an ally confronter than those of a target confronter (i.e., they view the ally help as less intrinsically and more extrinsically motivated). These results have important practical and theoretical implications for both targets of prejudice and their allies and the academics who research these intergroup dynamics.

From a theoretical standpoint, the current research makes a novel contribution by integrating models from the intergroup helping and power relations literatures (e.g., Nadler, 2002; Fisher et al., 1982) into the prejudice confrontation literature. While extant research on prejudice confrontation demonstrates that, in predominantly non-target participant pools, ally confronters receive better prejudice reduction returns and experience less backlash than target confronters (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Dickter et al., 2012; Eliezer & Major, 2012; Czopp et al., 2006), theories of intergroup helping suggest that target participants may perceive and react differently to such confrontation scenarios. Namely, research by Nadler and colleagues (2002, 2006) predicts that lower status targets (e.g., African Americans) might feel disempowered by help from higher status group members (e.g., Whites) and that this disempowering

effect occurs because lower status targets question the motives of the higher status outgroup helper (Fisher et al., 1982). By bringing in these frameworks into the ally confrontation literature, we offer a new intergroup- and power-based lens through which to understand ally confrontations.

Our results support the above predictions and thus show the importance of considering the implied power and status differences between target minorities and allies in order to fully understand the dynamics of a prejudice confrontation, which can be construed as an act of helping for the target recipient. Specifically, we provide a more nuanced understanding of the effects of ally prejudice confrontations through this lens of intergroup helping. Our results qualify the existing findings that ally confrontations are relatively better than target confrontations (e.g., Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Czopp et al., 2006; Dickter et al., 2012) by demonstrating that targets may question the motives of a higher-status ally and thus experience their confrontation as a disempowering act of help, an effect that was especially pronounced in African American targets who were high in discriminatory expectations. The exacerbating effect of discriminatory expectations, which constitute a key component of Blacks' attitudes toward Whites (Monteith & Spicer, 2000; Johnson et al., 2008) and are thought to be shaped by reactions to perceived racism of Whites (Johnson & Lecci, 2003), is suggestive of the complex, ambiguous, and intergroup nature of ally confrontations.

This finding has practical implications for targets and non-target allies in prejudice confrontation scenarios. Supportive allies should still voice their opposition to prejudicial behavior given the extant literature on the effectiveness and reduced backlash of ally confrontations, but they should also consider their audience and their own motivations for confronting prejudice. If many targets are present in such a scenario, perhaps the ally's role is to facilitate the voice of target minorities so that they can reap the empowering benefits of confrontation. Meanwhile, despite other research finding that, relative to non-target allies, target confronters elicit greater backlash, are viewed as less persuasive by non-targets, and are more likely to be seen as complainers (Czopp et al., 2006; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Kaiser & Miller, 2001),

target confronters should know that their actions come with the benefit of empowering themselves and their fellow in-group members and thus weigh their decisions to confront prejudice appropriately.

4.2   Limitations

The current study specifically examined the perceptions and reactions of African American targets toward either a White ally or Black target prejudice confrontation. Although this scenario sheds much light on the general intergroup dynamics of confrontation, the results may not generalize to confrontations of other forms of bias such as sexism, ableism, heterosexism, etc. For example, one cannot assume that the observed disempowerment of African American participants from an ally confrontation would translate to women's perceptions of a male's confrontation of sexism, given the more interdependent nature of the relationship between women and men as opposed to the historically distrustful relationship between Blacks and Whites. In fact, this interdependence between women and men is supported by constructs such as benevolent sexism, an ostensibly supportive and chivalrous ideology that offers protection and affection to women who follow conventional gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Glick and Fiske (2001) further argue that this benevolent sexism can hinder women's efforts to resist patriarchy although such an ideology may characterize women in a subjectively positive light, it does so with the assertion that male status will only be used to protect women if they conform to traditional gender roles. For these reasons, more research is needed to understand the dynamics of ally confrontations involving other types of bias.

Furthermore, in this analysis, we did not compare the effect of ally or target confrontations with a no confrontation control condition. By including a no confrontation control, we could provide more prescriptive recommendations for non-target allies in situations with confrontable prejudice if target recipients of confrontation experience an ally confrontation as significantly more empowering than no confrontation at all,

we could more confidently recommend ally confrontations as an effective prejudice reduction tool with minimal costs to potential target observers.

Finally, we cannot ignore the potential influence of common method variance in inflating the strength of our findings, as all data were collected from a single source at a single time point. Overall, the observed effect sizes ranged from medium to large per Cohen's (1977) recommendations, which lends credence to our conclusions. However, including an additional data collection at a later time point to assess participants' empowerment would mitigate this concern regarding common method variance.

4.3   Future directions

The goal of this research is to identify the confrontation strategies, across a variety of contexts and types of bias, that yield the greatest prejudice reduction outcomes in non-target populations while ensuring the least costs to targets of prejudice. Because this is the first study, to our knowledge, that solely examines the perspective of target minorities toward prejudice confrontations, further research should investigate the boundary conditions under which target versus ally confrontations are most appropriate. Such future studies could manipulate additional factors such as the offensiveness of the perpetrator's prejudicial comment, the motivation of the confronter, the type of confrontation message used by the confronter, the presence or absence of other bystanders in the confrontation scenario, among others, and examine the perspectives of other stigmatized group members toward confrontation.

The prejudicial comment used in this study was modeled from existing research on positive stereotypes of African Americans and was validated as being offensive to African American participants (Czopp, 2008). However, taking into consideration the range of possible expressions of prejudice, positive stereotypes are often seen as subjectively favorable and are more widely endorsed than negative stereotypes (Czopp, 2008). It follows then that an ally confrontation of such a comment might be seen by observers as more courageous or genuine than ally confrontations of more

blatant racism. The fact that the current results still showed that African American participants questioned the motives of and were disempowered by the ally confronter strengthens our hypothesis that ally confrontations disempower targets of prejudice more than fellow target confrontations. However, a future study could manipulate the strength of the perpetrator's prejudicial comment and investigate whether target observers perceive the ally confronter of the more blatant prejudice as less intrinsically motivated and more extrinsically motivated than an ally confronter of milder prejudice and perhaps illuminate a boundary condition in which targets of prejudice would prefer no confrontation to an ally confrontation.

Moreover, future studies should directly manipulate the motivation of an ally confronter, which would give additional confidence in the direction of causality between target participants' perceptions of confronter motivation and their sense of empowerment. This study would not only clarify and more robustly support the currently proposed causal model, but could also give practical guidance to allies on how they can confront prejudice in a way that is truly authentic and empowering to target observers.

Finally, prejudice confrontations do not occur in vacuums where only a perpetrator, confronter, and target of prejudice are present rather, confrontation can often take place in larger group settings with multiple observers. Future research should explore how the presence or absence of multiple bystanders influences target perceptions of prejudice confrontations. On the one hand, given classic research on the diffusion of responsibility in bystander interventions by Darley and Latan (1968), targets of prejudice may feel more empowered by individuals who confront in the presence of many other bystanders because they view these confronters as more courageous and especially motivated to act against prejudice. On the other hand, perhaps the presence of bystanders negatively impacts targets' attributions of the confronter's motivation that is, might confrontation in the presence of bystanders evoke perceptions of self-presentation (i.e., extrinsic) motives instead of genuine anti-prejudice (i.e., intrinsic) motives?

In addition to the potential studies described above, we encourage diversity scholars to devote additional resources to the study of target perspectives in the prejudice reduction literature in general and particularly in research that studies the role of allies. The current study illustrates this importance of reframing existing research questions around the target perspective in doing so, we emphasize the need to consider the empowerment and voice of targets, which contributes to a more nuanced understanding of prejudice reduction efforts. As the goal of such efforts is to create a more equitable and just world for all individuals, we should mirror such values in our research by ensuring the fair representation of target perspectives.

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APPENDICES

A. TABLES

Table A.1.
Reliability Statistics for Dependent Variables

Dependent Variable	Cronbach's α
Motivation to Help – Intrinsic	.88
Motivation to Help – Extrinsic	.92
Self-Esteem	.84
Need Satisfaction	.87
Discriminatory Expectations	.94

Table A.2.
Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variables

	Target Confronter (N = 162)		Ally Confronter (N = 159)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Discriminatory Expectations	4.39[a]	1.59	4.31[a]	1.60
Motivation to Help – Intrinsic	5.90[a]	0.89	5.33[b]	1.12
Motivation to Help – Extrinsic	2.19[a]	1.33	3.31[b]	1.50
Self-Esteem	5.53[a]	0.87	5.27[b]	0.95
Need Satisfaction	5.18[a]	0.89	4.92[b]	0.91
Composite Empowerment	0.14[a]	0.86	-0.14[b]	0.95

Note: Differences in superscript represent significant mean differences at the $p <$ .05 level.

Table A.3.
Correlations between Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Discriminatory Expectations	-					
Motivation to Help - Intrinsic	.02	-				
Motivation to Help - Extrinsic	.17**	-.38**	-			
Self-Esteem	-.01	.48**	-.42**	-		
Need Satisfaction	.05	.47**	-.36**	.67**	-	
Composite Empowerment	.02	.52**	-.43**	.92**	.92**	-

** $p < .01$

B. FIGURES
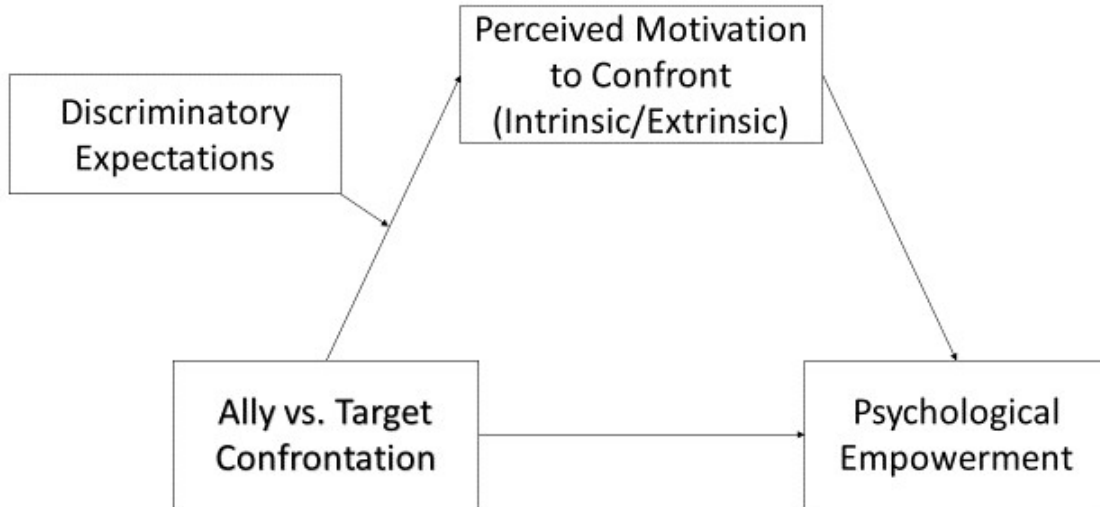
Fig. B.1. Proposed Theoretical Model
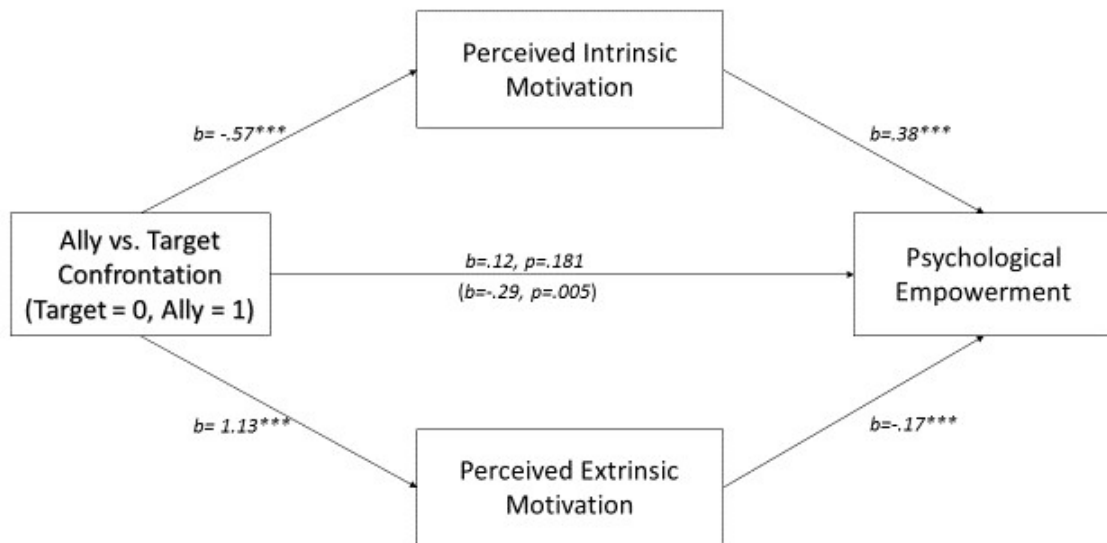
Fig. B.2. Mediation Model

Note: The condition variable was coded such that the target confrontation was 0 and ally confrontation was 1. The result in parentheses along the direct path from Ally vs. Target Confrontation to Psychological Empowerment represents the total effect. That is, participants in the ally confrontation condition felt .29 standard deviations less psychological empowerment than participants in the target confrontation condition.
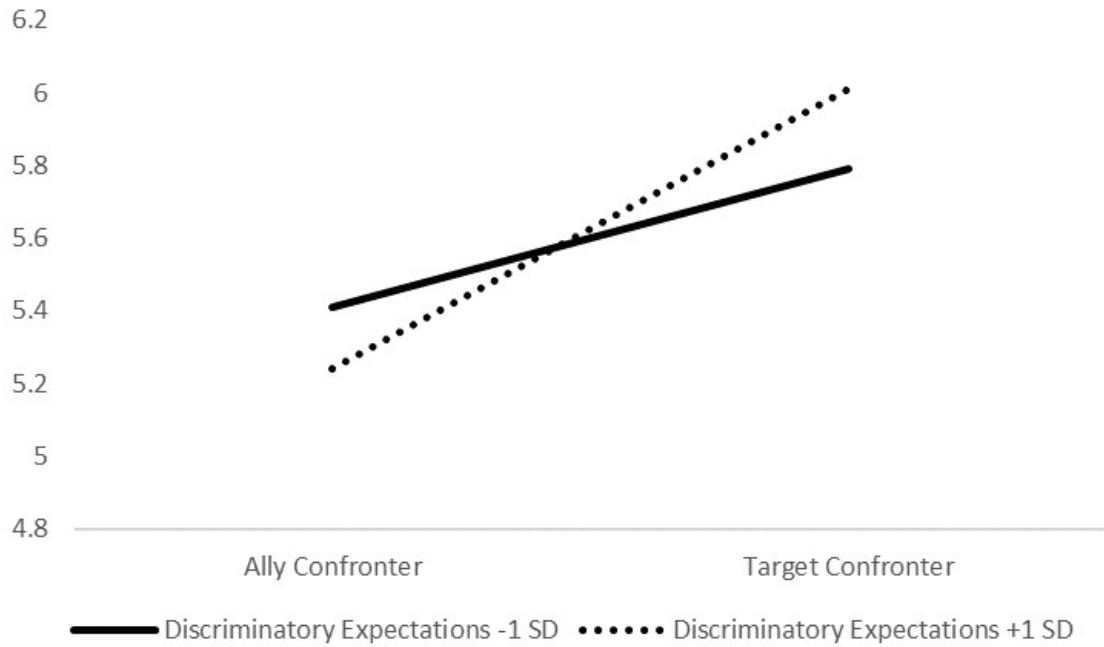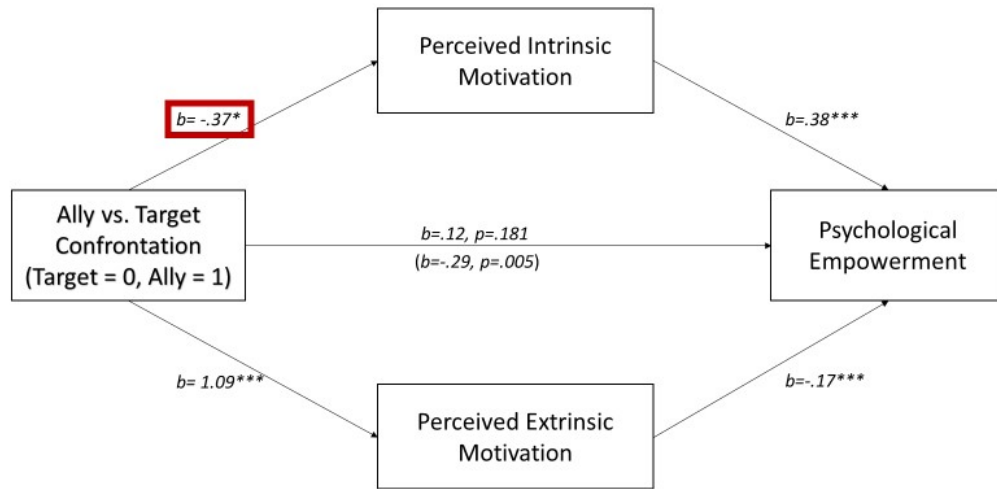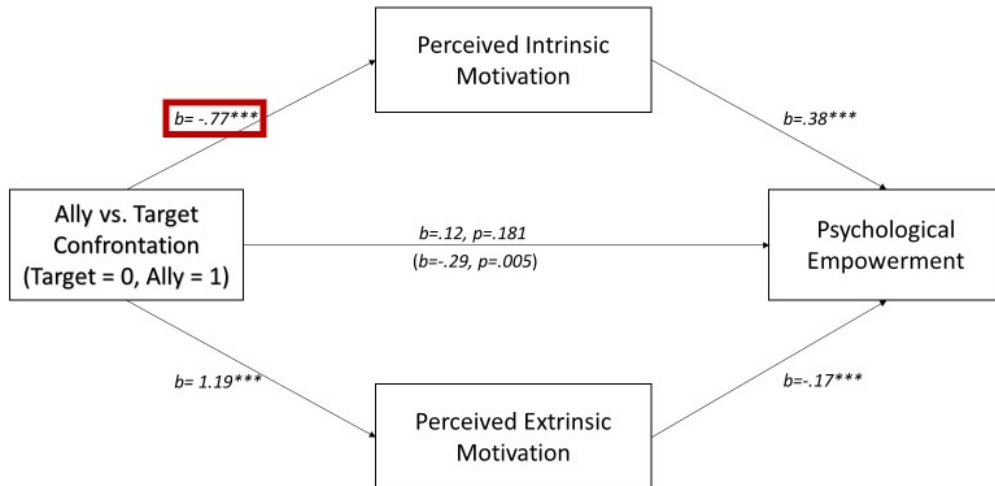
Fig. B.3. Perceptions of Confronter's Intrinsic Motivation

Note: The interactive effect between confronter group membership and discriminatory expectations on perceptions of confronter's intrinsic motivation to help was marginally significant.

(a) 1SD Below on Discriminatory Expectations.

(b) 1SD Above on Discriminatory Expectations.

Fig. B.4. Moderated Mediation Model

Note: The moderation by discriminatory expectations was marginally significant for only the indirect path through perceived intrinsic motivation.