

**ALLY MOTIVATION TO CONFRONT PREJUDICE: UNDERSTANDING
HOW A SENSE OF EMERGENCY AND RESPONSIBILITY INFLUENCE
THE LIKELIHOOD OF CONFRONTATION FOR PITIED GROUPS
VERSUS ENVIED GROUPS**

by

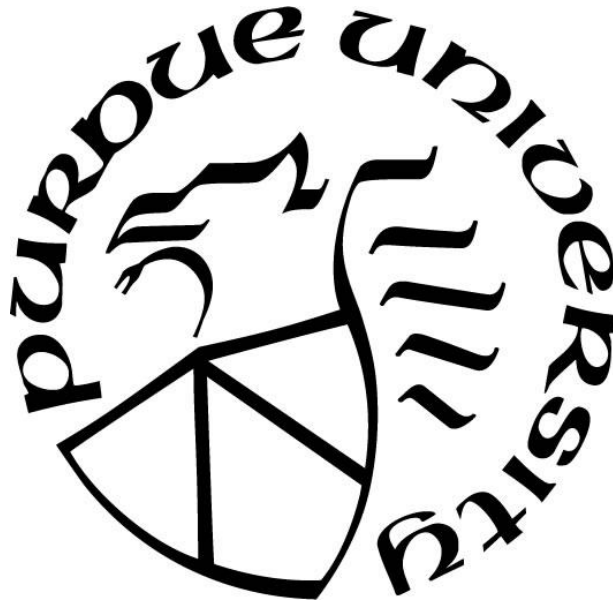
LeClaire Marie Teets

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Master of Science



Department of Psychological Sciences

Indianapolis, Indiana

August 2018

**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, Chair
Department of Psychology

Dr. Evava Pietri
Department of Psychology

Dr. Alex Lindsey
Department of Psychology

Approved by:

Dr. Margaret S. Stockdale
Head of the Graduate Program

*This is dedicated to those who fight in silence with smiles on their faces.
You are the hope bringers.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, for all her encouragement and support through the past two years. You're a Wonder Woman of your own making. I would also like to thank Dr. Evava Pietri and Dr. Alex Lindsey, who are inspiring committee members who helped me shape my ideas. I would like to thank my peers who were on this journey with me for all the laughs and support that I felt these past two years.

I would like to thank my parents, grandparents, siblings, and loved ones for never questioning my desire to pursue higher education and for encouraging my curiosity and drive for success. I would like to thank my grandmother specifically for being a role model for all things related to psychology and spirituality; you have shaped me in more ways than you know. Finally, I would like to thank my brother, Christopher, for being the inspiration for most of my life choices, including this thesis; you're my treasure and my rock, and this is for you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER 1: LITURATURE REVIEW	1
Discrimination in the Workplace	2
Allies	4
Confrontation of Discrimination	5
Behaviors Resulting from Differing Perceptions of Stereotypes	7
The Stereotype Content Model	8
Mediating Effects	10
CHAPTER 2: PILOT STUDY	13
Method	13
Participants	13
Procedure	13
Measures	16
Organizational Citizenship Behaviors	16
Interpersonal Helping Behaviors	16
Identity Contingencies	16
Confronting Prejudiced Responses	17
Advocacy and Familiar Relationships	17
Warmth and Competence	18
Analyses and Results	18
Means and Standard Deviations	18
T-Tests	19
Rank Sum Test	19
Single Sample T-Test	19
Warmth and Competence	20
Pilot Study Discussion	21
CHAPTER 3: FOCAL STUDY	23

Method	23
Participants.....	23
Procedure and Measures	24
Analyses and Results	25
Means and Standard Deviations.....	25
T-Tests	25
Mediation Analyses	27
Additional Analyses.....	28
Focal Study Discussion	31
CHAPTER 4: FINAL DISCUSSION.....	34
Theoretical Implications.....	35
Practical Implications.....	38
Limitations and Future Research.....	39
Limitations	39
Future Directions	41
REFERENCES	43
TABLES	52
FIGURES.....	62
APPENDIX.....	65

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Definitions and examples of BIAS map behaviors from Cuddy et al. (2007)	52
Table 2. Adapted from Fiske et al. (2002)	53
Table 3. Results from Cuddy et al. (2007)	54
Table 4. Means and standard deviations for pilot study	55
Table 5. Correlations from pilot study	56
Table 6. Correlations from focal study	57
Table 7. Means and standard deviations for focal study.....	58
Table 8. Additional correlations from focal study	59
Table 9. Means and standard deviations for focal study based on gender.....	60
Table 10. Results from independent sample t-test for focal study.....	61

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Hypothesized model	62
Figure 2. Results of the multiple mediation analysis from the focal study based on condition	63
Figure 3. Results of the multiple mediation analysis from the focal study based on gender.....	64

ABSTRACT

Author: Teets, LeClaire Marie M.S.

Institution: Purdue University

Degree Received: August 2018

Title: Ally Motivation to Confront Prejudice: Understanding How a Sense of Emergency and Responsibility Explain the Likelihood of Confrontation for Pitied Groups versus Envied Groups

Major Professor: Leslie Ashburn-Nardo

Research indicates that stereotypes influence how people behave towards different social groups, and this study investigated how allies (individuals who will confront prejudice on behalf of targets or groups) differentially confront a discriminatory comment as a function of the groups' associated stereotypes. The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) model would suggest that when someone feels an increase in a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility to address discrimination, they will be more likely to confront that discrimination. Results indicate that although the group that was being discriminated against did not influence whether or not the participant would confront, the higher sense of emergency and sense of responsibility were indicators of a stronger likelihood of confrontation. Limitations and future directions are discussed.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

Recurring experiences of discrimination can lead to negative consequences, such as higher levels of stress (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Krieger & Sidney, 1996) and feeling socially devalued (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Studies on gender and race reveal that when groups are targets of repeated discrimination, even when it is subtle, there are negative consequences for these groups, such as lower levels of self-esteem (Huebner, Rebhook, & Kegeles, 2004), depression (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), and less commitment and satisfaction in the workplace (Raver & Nishii, 2010). One particular group that is at risk for interpersonal forms of discrimination (i.e., non-prohibited discrimination that takes place in social settings in subtle ways and involves both verbal and nonverbal behaviors; Jones et al., 2016) is persons with disabilities (PWDs), but research has not been extensive in this area. Almost 7% of the workforce is made up of individuals who have indicated they have a disability (Santuzzi, Walz, Finkelstein, & Rupp, 2014), and the fact that there is limited research on these groups should be alarming for organizations that want to make the workplace a safer environment for their employees. Fortunately, besides targets of discrimination, there are other individuals who seek to reduce discrimination, but the question remains whether these individuals, called allies, seek to reduce discrimination for all groups, or if they are differentially motivated to confront discrimination on behalf of certain groups.

Therefore, this proposal aims to begin the research necessary to understand how allies choose to confront more on behalf of certain groups relative to others, particularly comparing PWDs with other groups that may be considered more competent but less warm. This will be important for organizations so that they can be more aware of employees at risk for

discrimination and the policies that need to be in place to protect those individuals. Furthermore, this research can inform the strategies that organizations take to encourage confrontation of prejudice in situations where formal reprimand of discrimination is difficult. This research takes into account different theories, drawing from different disciplines. The research included will combine theory from the confrontation literature, disabilities studies on bias, and the social justice literature. These theories are not often combined together, but the interdisciplinary benefits of looking at different areas of study can help to further expand the literature from each discipline.

Discrimination in the Workplace

Discrimination occurs for many individuals on a regular basis. For instance, in a report on harassment and discrimination (Huebner et al., 2004), based on their experience from the last six months, 37% of gay and bisexual men reported experiencing verbal harassment, 11% reported discrimination towards them, and almost 5% reported experiencing physical violence. Not only were these individuals experiencing harassment and discrimination, but there were significant decreases in self-esteem when verbally harassed and discriminated against, and suicidal ideation significantly increased when discriminated against or when they experienced physical violence. In a study of African Americans' experience of discrimination, 96% of participants (N= 520) reported experiencing racial discrimination in the past year, and almost 96% of respondents said that the racism they experienced was stressful (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999). Additionally, women reported observing a sexist incident on an almost daily basis, and researchers found that the more the participant experienced these incidents, the more likely they were to be angry, anxious, or depressed in addition to experiencing a lower social state of self-esteem (Swim et al., 2001). It is apparent that perceived prejudice can have negative outcomes for individuals.

Due to the fact that discrimination often occurs in the workplace, there are also negative organizational outcomes. For instance, gay employees who experienced more workplace discrimination held more negative job attitudes, including lower job satisfaction, lower organizational commitment, higher turnover intentions, and less career commitment (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). In a study of gender, ethnic, and general workplace harassment, Raver and Nishii (2010) found that when both gender harassment and ethnic harassment was experienced in the workplace, participants reported less commitment to the organization, less job satisfaction, and higher levels of turnover intentions. As an individual goes through the cycle of the job (i.e., recruitment, promotion, and retention or termination), there are potential risks for exposure to discriminatory behavior at all stages of employment from subordinates, supervisors, clients, HR representatives, and anyone else associated with the organization. Due to the potential for discriminatory behaviors towards some groups, these individuals can experience negative consequences of such behavior, such as higher levels of stress, poor working conditions, and depression.

One particular group that is not studied extensively in the workplace (or in general) is PWDs. As of 2015, 12.6% of civilians not institutionalized reported at least one disabling condition (from the American Community Survey, 2015). The 2014 Disabilities Statistics Annual Report indicates that over half of people with a disability were of working age (i.e., ages 18-64; 51.9%), and of those individuals with disabilities in that age range, 33.9% of them were employed (Stoddard, 2014). An estimated 7% of individuals in the workplace reported having a disability, although this number may be underestimated, owing to the fact that some individuals do not want to disclose their disability (Santuzzi et al., 2014). In addition to being formally discriminated against in terms of access to physical spaces, this group may also be at risk for

more interpersonal forms of discrimination, such as jokes or inappropriate language like using the word *retard* as a slur. In a study of high school students, 84% of the students reported hearing someone use *retard* as a slur, mostly directed at individuals who did not have any sort of intellectual disability (Albert, Jacobs, & Siperstein, 2016). This use of a (former) medical diagnosis as a synonym for *stupidity* or *foolishness* undermines individuals with intellectual disabilities and perpetuates the idea that they are inferior. Other interpersonal forms of discrimination directed at PWDs could include jokes about their mobility and items of assistance like wheelchairs or canes or jokes about physical deformities. Even further, PWDs may be treated differently even when they are clearly competent individuals. In a study where college students were asked to give directions to two different people, the second being a 12-year old child, an individual without an apparent disability, or an adult in a wheelchair, the speech patterns of the college students was similar between the child and the adult in the wheelchair (Liesener & Mills, 1999). This patronizing behavior, although perhaps unintentional, is nevertheless interpersonal discrimination towards PWDs.

Allies

Fortunately, not everyone is a perpetrator of prejudice; rather, there are individuals who are motivated to reduce the stereotyping and discrimination of stigmatized group members and promote equal treatment of individuals, no matter their group status. According to Washington and Evans (1991), these individuals are called *allies*, and they have goals to end oppression in both their personal and professional lives by supporting targets of discrimination, indicating they are motivated to help these targets actively.

Allies are low-prejudice and are motivated not only to minimize or avoid responding in prejudiced ways towards stigmatized targets themselves but also to reduce others' discriminatory

behavior toward targets (Ashburn-Nardo, 2018) and to address social inequality (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). Allies are typically from socially dominant groups and work to use their group's status in order to support non-dominant groups (Washington & Evans, 1991; Brown & Ostrove, 2013). Non-target allies are personally troubled by prejudice; in a study by Schmader, Croft, Scarnier, Lickel, and Mendes (2011), participants who had internalized egalitarian values had stronger negative emotional responses towards intergroup bias than participants who were lower in internal motivation to respond without prejudice.

Allies are different from others because of their motivation to take action and move beyond just expressing minimal prejudice (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). Allies intentionally choose to promote social justice by promoting the rights of non-dominant groups as well as offering support by establishing relationships and accountability with those groups (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). In Brown and Ostrove's study (2013), participants from different racial groups reported what characteristics they thought a racial out-group ally would possess. Using a content analysis procedure, the researchers found eight major themes describing allies, the most important being that allies are willing to take action to promote equality. Although these themes are particularly focused on allies for racial minorities, they may generalize to marginalized groups as well.

Confrontation of Discrimination

The method of ally support that this research will focus on is confrontation. Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, and Hill (2006) define prejudice confrontation as "verbally or nonverbally expressing one's dissatisfaction with prejudicial and discriminatory treatment to the person who is responsible for the remark or behavior" (p. 67). Ashburn-Nardo (in press) suggests allies can help targets by being active rather than passive bystanders through intervention and confrontation when they see a target being discriminated against or witness a perpetrator make a

stereotypic or prejudiced remark about a stigmatized group. Confrontation is an integral way to make people aware of the discrepancies between their biased behavior and any egalitarian ideals that they hold. This discrepancy makes the perpetrator uncomfortable (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), specifically resulting in self-dissatisfaction and guilt, which in turn can lead to less biased behavior in the future (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). More specifically, they found that confronting White perpetrators of racial bias led to the perpetrator experiencing negative self-directed affect, including guilt and self-criticism. When the confrontation was presented in a less threatening manner rather than an openly hostile rebuke, the perpetrator also reported less anger towards the confronter, further reducing the likelihood of future bias and prejudicial attitudes in individuals who were confronted compared to those who were not confronted. Hence, the literature tells us that allies should be internally motivated to confront discrimination and promote equality, but what the literature does not tell us is whether allies may be motivated to confront actively for some groups and react more passively towards other groups.

In order to understand when an ally may be more motivated to confront on behalf of various groups, it is necessary to understand the process in which an ally decides to confront. The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008) proposes that there are potential hurdles that individuals must overcome in order to confront bias: interpret the situation as discriminatory, decide if it is serious enough to be considered an emergency, take responsibility for actively confronting a perpetrator of discrimination, interpret whether there will be any concern for backlash, and then ultimately take some sort of action.

This proposal focuses on ally confrontation with specific interest in ally confrontation for PWDs. Because disabilities come in a wide range of forms, for this proposal an individual with a

disability is considered anyone who is limited in daily life because of physical, mental or emotional problems (Stoddard, 2014).

Thus far, there have been few studies in the confrontation literature that focus specifically on PWDs. One study by Wang, Silverman, Gwinn, and Dovidio (2015) examined participants' perceptions of the confronter when the confronter of discrimination was an individual who was blind and the victim of patronizing vs. more hostile discrimination. The researchers examined how participants felt towards the victim when the victim confronted the perpetrator about the discrimination. More specifically, in Study 1, blind participants considered patronizing and hostile treatment towards the victim as inappropriate, whereas the sighted participants did not believe that the patronizing behavior was inappropriate. Study 2 then demonstrated that the blind targets were perceived to be more rude and less warm when they confronted the patronizing behavior. Wang et al. (2015) reported that confronting discrimination from the standpoint of the target may change how the target is perceived, but studies focusing on ally motivation to confront for PWDs are less common on the whole. This proposal will focus more on ally behaviors and the motivation for behaving in such a way towards perpetrators of discrimination. Thus, in order to make predictions about ally confrontation behavior, this proposal utilizes the *behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes* (BIAS) map (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007) and the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002).

Behaviors Resulting from Differing Perceptions of Stereotypes

The BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007) proposes that different behaviors are elicited by different groups of people as a function of the stereotypes and affect associated with those groups. These behaviors vary on two dimensions: active-passive and facilitation-harm in which active behaviors are overtly for or against a group, and passive behaviors are those that are

subtler and with less effort but that still have consequences for the group (Cuddy et al., 2008). Facilitation (any sort of helping behavior) theoretically leads to positive outcomes of behaviors, and harm (anything that is detrimental to a group or person) theoretically leads to negative outcomes for groups (Cuddy et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2008). Definitions and examples of active-passive behaviors are provided in Table 1.

Allies, who are motivated to help disadvantaged groups, should use more of the helpful, facilitation behaviors (such as confrontation) than any of the harmful behaviors. However, there are theoretical reasons why an ally might be more motivated to confront prejudice on behalf of some groups more than others, and this proposal utilizes the overlapping BIAS map with the Stereotype Content Model (SCM, Fiske et al., 2010) in order to help understand on whose behalf allies may be more motivated to confront.

The Stereotype Content Model.

The SCM suggests that different emotions are elicited when an individual interacts with different groups, and that emotion is a direct result of the stereotypic perception that the individual has of whatever group with which they are interacting (Fiske et al., 2002). The SCM assumes that perceptions of both competence and warmth vary from high to low depending on how the group is perceived (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy et al., 2007), and assumes that people judge groups along these dimensions (warmth and competence are orthogonal to each other) creating a 2x2 matrix. Fiske and colleagues (2002) analyzed the two-dimensional array in a cluster analysis in order to view the distribution of groups. Groups were clustered in the different quadrants based on their perceived weight in competence and warmth. Table 2 outlines the different quadrants based on the SCM.

Fiske and colleagues (2002) found that PWDs are perceived to be stereotypically low in competence (a socially undesirable trait) but high in warmth (a socially desirable trait; LC-HW); thus, they are perceived to be low in status but not competing for resources. The perception here is that this cluster of groups need to be taken care of because they cannot provide for themselves; and because they are perceived to be high in warmth, people are more willing to provide resources to this group. LC-HW groups elicit emotions like pity (Cuddy et al., 2007), and pitied groups are associated with active facilitation behaviors, such as direct helping. In one study, the Cuddy and colleagues (2007) replicated the findings of Fiske et al., (2002) such that pity was more likely to be associated with LC-HW groups (i.e., elderly, retarded, disabled) than with other clusters. Furthermore, they found that by analyzing responses to associations of warmth with active facilitation, groups that were higher in warmth elicited more active facilitation than low-warmth groups (Cuddy et al., 2007). See Table 3 for comparisons of the behaviors associated with different groups.

On the other hand, educated individuals, professionals, Asians, Jews, men, and the rich are examples of groups clustered together as being stereotypically high in competence (a socially desirable trait) but low in warmth (a socially undesirable trait; HC-LW) (Cuddy et al., 2007). When a group is stereotyped to be HC-LW, individuals are more likely to have feelings of envy towards that group. They assume that the members of HC-LW groups are capable of obtaining resources for themselves, and therefore these individuals do not feel obligated to share their own resources with HC-LW group members. Cuddy and colleagues (2007) found that groups that were higher in competence and associated with envy (i.e., Asians, the rich, Jews, British) elicited less active facilitation compared to low competence groups and were perceived to be much colder than LC-HW groups.

To the extent that confrontation is a form of active facilitation (helping) behavior, it makes sense to conclude that allies may be more likely to confront prejudice directed toward pitied groups (e.g., people with disabilities) than toward envied groups (e.g. Asians).

Hypothesis 1: There will be a main effect of target of prejudice on confrontation intentions such that when witnessing discrimination towards persons with disabilities, participants will have greater intentions to confront the perpetrator compared to witnessing discrimination towards Asian Americans.

Mediating effects.

Previous research has implicated several factors as key drivers of the likelihood of confrontation. Specifically, Ashburn-Nardo, Blanchar, Peterson, Morris, and Goodwin (2014) found that the likelihood of confrontation was a function of, among other factors, the perceived severity or urgency of a prejudiced remark. This suggests that the more participants perceived the situation as an emergency, the more they were likely to indicate they would confront it. Additionally, confrontation was dependent on one's perceived responsibility for responding to the discrimination and what the perceived costs for confronting would be (in their case, the power that the perpetrator had over the witness). The current study will focus on the type of prejudice as a means of understanding the perceived urgency of the situation and the responsibility that the witness feels to respond.

With regards to the CPR model, Ashburn-Nardo et al. (2008) argued that the extent to which a discriminatory incident is perceived as an emergency depends on how serious the incident is perceived to be; in other words, more offensive forms of bias should be seen as bigger social emergencies requiring an urgent response. In research done by Crandall, Eshleman, and O'Brien (2002), participants rated the normative acceptability of prejudice towards 105 different

groups, indicating when it would be appropriate to feel negatively towards certain groups. The groups highest in normative prejudice acceptability included rapists, child abuses, child molesters, and wife beaters, whereas groups that were lowest in normative prejudice acceptability included the blind, stay-at-home moms, the deaf, and individuals with mental disabilities. In other words, people viewed prejudice toward people with disabilities as more “wrong” than other forms of prejudice. This indicates that allies should be more likely to perceive prejudice towards people with disabilities as a greater social emergency than prejudice toward Asians. As such, it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 2: A sense of emergency will mediate the relationship between the groups and the intentions to confront such that PWDs will be more positively associated with a sense of emergency, leading to a stronger intention to confront when compared to the AA condition.

Ashburn-Nardo et al. (2014) also discussed the importance of perceived responsibility in confrontation intentions. Social justice theory posits that society is based on rules and regulations such that everyone is united within a fair system so that everyone will benefit (Rawls, 2003). Encompassed in this theory is the suggestion that if social justice is consistent, it will promote equal access of liberties and benefits to all, particularly to the least advantaged members of that society. To maintain a sense of social justice, all members of a society should be treated fairly, and that should promote a sense of duty in that community to enforce equal treatment of others (Rawls, 2003). If, in the context of a situation in which a group is being treated unfairly and unable to respond to the unfair treatment (suggesting a perceived lack of competence), then, as per the social justice theory would suggest, the observer of this discriminatory behavior should believe they are obligated to promote equal, fair treatment, thereby increasing the likelihood of

confrontation. As it is, LC-HW groups are not seen as competent, and therefore are less likely to be seen as responsible for responding to unfair treatment that they may face. On the other hand, HC-LW groups, such as Asian Americans, are seen as competent and presumed to already have a relative advantage because of their competence, which means it is less likely that a witness would feel obligated to use prosocial behavior by confronting the discrimination.

Hypothesis 3: A sense of responsibility will mediate the relationship between the groups and the intentions to confront such that PWDs will be more positively associated with a sense of responsibility, leading to a stronger intention to confront when compared to the AA condition.

CHAPTER 2: PILOT STUDY

Method

Participants.

For the pilot study, participants were sourced from an introductory psychology class at a large Midwestern university and received credit toward their course research requirement as compensation. Of the 198 data entries that were collected, 179 of them were usable. Five were removed for not completing the study, ten were removed because five of the participants completed the survey twice, and one participant indicated that they were 17 years old, and therefore they were removed from analysis. Finally, five were removed because they failed the manipulation check, leaving a sample of $N=179$. These excluded participants did not vary across information condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 184) = .229, p = .633$. There were 91 participants in the Asian American (AA) condition and 88 participants in the Persons with Disabilities (PWD) condition. For gender, 75 participants were men (41.9%) and 102 participants were women (57%) with 1 participant indicating “other.” For the age, the mean was 19.5 with a range of 18-45. The population was predominantly White (126; 70%) and there were 19 African American participants (10.6%), 13 Hispanic participants (7.3%), and 21 participants made up the rest of the sample (10%). Majority of the sample resided in the United States (93%) and were from the United States (91%). More than half of the sample (53.1%) indicated that they knew someone from or were themselves the target population in their condition.

Procedure.

Participants were not required to go to a physical location to participate in this study. Participants registered in introductory psychology classes at the university had the opportunity to

participate in this study by choosing a link directing them to a study on interpersonal treatment of coworkers. They were informed that they would read a brief description about a company that they were to imagine they were working for, a short scenario about a specific coworker, and then were asked to answer questions pertaining to what they read. If the student chose to participate in the study, they would click on the link, which would then take them to a consent form. After they read the consent form, participants clicked to indicate consent, agreeing to participate in this study and indicating that they were 18 or older.

Participants began the study by reading a description about a fictitious company in which they were told basic information about the company: what the company does, what their employment status is, and how long they have worked there. This was a necessary step to help the participants immerse themselves into the study and the situation about which they were answering questions. Information that the participants received about the company is provided below (see Appendix). After reading about the company, participants were assigned a “random” coworker named Mike, who either had a disability or was Asian American. A picture was provided of that coworker so that they had a visual representation of that coworker, and this picture was of an Asian American man who was either wearing dark sunglasses indoors to suggest a visual impairment or not wearing the sunglasses. The pictures were identical other than the sunglasses, which helped to maintain consistency between the two conditions (pictures included in Appendix). This was done in order to prime the participant for either questions pertaining to disability discrimination or discrimination towards Asian Americans.

Participants in the pilot study were asked what initial characteristic came to mind when thinking about Mike. This was an open-end question so that they could write about whatever they wanted with regards to Mike. Additionally, in order to ensure that participants in the PWDs

condition noticed that he had a visible disability, participants were given options to rank what came to mind when thinking about Mike. The options for the PWDs condition included: “visual disability,” “Asian American,” “male,” “works in sales,” “31 years old,” and “works at CCG.” The options for the AA condition included all of the previous options excluding “visual disability.” These responses would be used in analyses to ensure that participants were accurately recalling Mike’s characteristics.

Participants answered items pertaining to organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB), an interpersonal helping scale, and finally a scale on identity contingencies (described below). An attention check was included at the end to gauge how invested participants were in the study.

After participants answered questions pertaining to their coworker, they then read the following scenario: “Imagine that you are at a different team meeting when one of your coworkers makes an offensive comment about [condition: Asian Americans vs. persons with disabilities], despite knowing that you work on another team with Mike. Please answer the following questions based on this situation” (see Appendix for scenarios). Participants had the opportunity to respond to a “What would you do” question in an open-ended manner, then completed items of the CPR measure based on the scenario they had just read (see Appendix for items).

Finally, participants completed a manipulation check (“What group was discriminated against in the scenario you just read?”) followed by demographic information. After completing the survey, participants were shown a debriefing paragraph and thanked for their time. If they had any questions, the contact information for the researchers was included.

Measures.

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors.

In keeping with the cover story and to minimize the focus of this research on prejudice, participants were asked to complete an adapted Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (OCB) scale (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983), including items such as “I would help Mike when he has been absent” and “I would volunteer for things that are not required when Mike cannot attend to them” (see Appendix for items). These items, although not the central focus of the study and intended to keep the focus off of prejudice, are nonetheless active facilitation behaviors, and therefore exploratory analyses could later be conducted on this measure.

Interpersonal Helping Behaviors.

Additionally, to keep in line with the cover story and to minimize the focus on prejudice, participants responded to adapted measures of Settoon and Mossholder’s (2002) Interpersonal Helping Behaviors scale, indicating how much they agreed to statements such as “I would listen to Mike when he has to get something off his chest” and “I would take time to listen to Mike’s problems and worries” (see Appendix for items). Similar to the OCB scale, as interpersonal helping behaviors are active facilitation behaviors, exploratory analyses could also be conducted on this measure.

Identity Contingencies.

Following the scale on helping behaviors and in keeping up with the cover story, participants responded to items adapted from the Identity Contingency Scale (Murphy & Steele, 2009), indicating participants’ anticipated challenges during a potential interaction with their coworker. Items include “I would feel self-conscious interacting with Mike” and “I am worried I would not be able to talk comfortably with Mike” (see Appendix for items).

Confronting Prejudiced Responses.

After completing measures that were mostly for developing the cover story, participants read the scenario based on which condition they were in (AA vs. PWD). Following the scenario, participants answered items from the Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) model that were used in previous confrontation research (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014). As there is no validated scale for the CPR model since the items change based on the situation in question, we adapted the scale from Ashburn-Nardo and colleagues (2014) and included several new items relevant to the situation. Most germane to the purpose of the present study, the subscales for measuring if the participant thinks the situation is an emergency (e.g., “I would feel a sense of urgency to respond to my co-worker’s comment”), if they take responsibility for the situation (e.g., “I would personally feel responsible for doing something about my co-worker’s behavior”), and if they decide that they should take action (e.g., “I would talk to my co-worker about the comment”) represent the key mediators and outcome. Other subscales of the CPR measure include whether or not the participants saw discrimination occurring (e.g. “My coworker’s comment seems prejudiced”) as well as whether or not they would be concerned about backlash (e.g., I am worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about my co-worker’s comment”). All items were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree; see Appendix for items).

Advocacy and Familial Relationships.

One item was included to evaluate to what extent participants considered themselves advocates for PWDs or Asian America [e.g., “To what extent do you consider yourself an advocate for persons with disabilities (Asian Americans)?”] which was measured on a Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 4 (To a great extent). Additionally, one item asked participants if they

had family or close friends who had a disability or were Asian American. This was a “Yes” or “No” question.

Warmth and Competence.

Items evaluating the varying degree of warmth [e.g., “Consider how you view persons with disabilities (Asian Americans). How warm are persons with disabilities (Asian Americans) in your opinion?”] and competence [e.g., “Consider how you view persons with disabilities (Asian Americans). How competent are persons with disabilities (Asian Americans) in your opinion?”] that participants felt towards PWDs or Asian Americans were included after items of the CPR model. Items were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (extremely cold/incompetent) to 7 (extremely warm/competent).

Analyses and Results

Means and Standard Deviations.

After reverse coding the appropriate items, means and standard deviations were calculated for the CPR subscales (see Table 4). For the individual items, the highest mean was 5.59 while the lowest mean was 4.20; the highest standard deviation was 1.776 and the lowest mean was 1.178. The following subscales were created: Discrimination (items 1-3), Emergency (items 4-10), Responsibility (items 11-13), Concern for Backlash (items 14-19), and Likelihood of Confrontation (items 20-22). For Discrimination ($\alpha=.695$), results indicated that $M=5.305$, $SD=1.035$. For Emergency ($\alpha=.823$), results indicated that $M=5.053$, $SD=.914$. For Responsibility ($\alpha=.784$), results indicated that $M=5.067$, $SD=1.244$. For Concern for Backlash ($\alpha=.744$), results indicated that $M=4.922$, $SD= 1.032$. Finally, for Likelihood of Confrontation ($\alpha=.875$), results indicated that $M=5.198$, $SD=1.383$. All subscales were significantly correlated with each other ($p<.01$). See Table 5 for correlations.

T-Tests.

In an analysis of independent sample t-tests where PWD=0 and AA=1, the Emergency subscale and Responsibility subscale were significant: $t(177)=2.526, p=.012$ and $t(177)=3.526, p=.001$ respectively. These results indicate that when participants were in the PWD condition, they were more likely to express a sense of emergency and responsibility. However, the the Likelihood of Confrontation subscales were not significant: $t(176)=1.143, p=.254$. Although not germane to the study, Discrimination and Concern for Backlash subscales were also not significant: $t(177)=1.126, p=.262$; $t(177)= 1.338, p=.183$ respectively. Overall, it appears that participants in the PWD were responding to the items of the CPR subscale in the direction hypothesized; however, some subscales were not significant, but trending in the correct direction.

Rank Sum Test.

To assess whether the participants viewed the target of the discrimination, Mike, as a person with a disability (PWD) compared to an Asian American (AA) man, a Wilcoxon Rank Sum test was run. With a p -value of .000, it can be concluded that the difference between the ranking of Mike as a PWD was statistically different than ranking Mike as an Asian American ($Z= -4.213, p<.000$). Indeed, 60 participants of the 86 analyzed in the PWD condition indicated that Mike was a PWD before indicating that he was AA, leading to the significant difference between the ratings.

Single Sample T-Test.

Participants in the PWD condition were asked to report what was the initial characteristic that came to mind when thinking about their coworker Mike. The qualitative data were examined and were labeled as 1-4: 1 meaning they thought about Mike characterized by “both AA and

PWD”, 2 meaning they thought about Mike characterized as “PWD”, 3 meaning they thought about Mike characterized by “neither Asian American nor PWD”, and 4 meaning they thought about Mike characterized as “AA.” To test whether or not the answers are different than what would be expected by chance. The 89 qualitative answers broke down into 5 “Both,” 53 “PWD,” 30 “Neither,” and 1 “AA.” For the one sample t-test results, $t(88)=36.725$, $p<.000$, suggesting that this distribution is significantly different from 0, and when the Test Value was set at 2.5 (the mean of 1-4), the results showed $t(88)=-3.135$, $p=.002$. In addition, a chi-square goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether participants’ qualitative responses to Mike’s characteristics were even across the four possible categories. The results were significant, $X^2(3, 89)=78.865$, $p<.000$. The four responses were not equally distributed across the population.

Warmth and Competence.

For the items determining warmth and competence, means and standard deviations were calculated. These items were generally asking about the group’s warmth and competence rather than Mike’s warmth and competence specifically. Competence averaged a mean of 5.48 (SD=1.814) and warmth averaged a mean of 5.78 (SD=1.121). Competence was correlated significantly with the CPR subscale Discrimination and with warmth ($p=.039$ and $p=.003$, respectively). Warmth was correlated significantly with the condition, competence, and all of the subscales other than a Concern for Backlash (p -values ranged from .000 to .011). In an analysis of independent sample t-tests where PWD=0 and AA=1, only warmth was significant. Participants perceived a significant difference in warmth between the two conditions, such that participants in the PWD condition (M=6.092 SD=0.972) rated their groups as warmer compared to the AA condition (M=5.483, SD=1.179), $t(174)= 3.734$, $p<.000$. Competence levels did not reach significance: $t(176)= 1.118$, $p=.159$, indicating that participants in the PWD condition

($M=5.330$, $SD=1.922$) did not perceive differences in competence compared to the AA condition ($M=5.633$, $SD=1.699$; see Table 4 for additional means and standard deviations). This finding is not completely unexpected, as previous research has resulted in PWDs being perceived as more competent when described in way that makes them appear as capable and independent (Wang et al., 2015). Perhaps seeing Mike as a successful individual with a disability in an organization influenced their views about PWDs as a group more generally.

Pilot Study Discussion

In the pilot study, participants were exposed to a coworker who they were assuming they had known for some time and who had been an employee at their company for a few years' time. After engaging in the cover story in which a discriminatory comment was made, results indicated that participants in the PWD condition were more likely to express a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility in the situation, but participants in both conditions were just as likely to express whether or not they would confront the discrimination. Further analyses revealed that participants did not significantly view PWDs as less competent than Asian Americans. Previous research would suggest that PWDs are stereotyped as less competent than Asian Americans (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002), but perhaps being primed with a coworker with a disability who had thus far been successful at his job influenced how participants rated PWDs on their competence as a whole. This in turn may have influenced how participants responded when asked if they would confront a discriminatory comment, therefore leading to similar responses in the condition.

After some deliberation, the researchers concluded that the results for the Likelihood of Confrontation subscale were still positive and trending in the correct direction (such that participants in the PWDs condition would be more likely to confront the discrimination), and the

researchers concluded that a larger sample along with a mediation analysis of results may be enough to find significant relationships between the subscales of the CPR model and the condition. Therefore, the focal study that follows is based on a larger population than the initial study.

CHAPTER 3: FOCAL STUDY

Method

Participants.

Participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) were recruited for this study. Of the 411 responses that were collected, 376 of them were usable. Seven were removed for not completing the study and 28 were removed because they failed the manipulation check. These excluded participants did vary across information condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 404) = 5.917, p = .015$. It should be noted that although this is significant, of the participants in the PWD condition that mistakenly said that PWDs were not the group that was discriminated against, over half of them chose Asian American as the group that was discriminated against. There is the possibility that because the photo that the participants were primed with was of an Asian American man with a visual disability, these participants had a higher likelihood of missing the attention check. As it is, all participants that failed the attention check were still excluded.

There were 197 participants in the Asian American (AA) condition and 179 participants in the Persons with Disabilities (PWD) condition. For gender, 179 participants were men (47.6%) and 196 participants were women (52.1%) with 1 participant who did not indicate gender. For the age, the mean was 37.55 with a range of 18-76. The population was predominantly White (271; 72.1%) and there were 31 Black or African American participants (8.2%), 20 Hispanic participants (5.3%), and 54 participants made up the rest of the population (14%). Majority of the population resided in the United States (98%) and were from the United States (95.7%). Less than half of the population (47.6%) indicated that they had a close friend or family member or were themselves the target population in their condition. Most participants had

some secondary education (78%) with most holding a bachelor's degree (152; 40.4%), and a majority of participants worked 40+ hours (221; 59%).

Procedure and Measures.

Participants from MTurk viewed an online advertisement with the description “Survey regarding interpersonal treatment of colleagues” specifically targeted at adults over 18 residing in the United States. Participants were paid \$1.00 for agreeing to participate. The study itself was identical to the original study with the inclusion of questions evaluating Mike’s warmth and competence in addition to asking about the group’s warmth and competence. Additionally, items evaluating the varying degree of pity [e.g., “To what extent do you tend to feel pity toward persons with disabilities (Asian Americans)?”] and envy [e.g., “To what extent do you tend to feel envy toward persons with disabilities (Asian Americans)?”] that participants felt towards PWDs or Asian Americans were included after items of the CPR model. Items were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 4 (To a great extent).

Finally, items evaluating the active facilitation behaviors from the BIAS map [e.g., “To what extent do you tend to help (protect/assist) persons with disabilities (Asian Americans)?”] that participants felt towards PWDs or Asian Americans were included after items of the CPR model. Items were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (Not at all) to 4 (To a great extent).

Additionally, one item asked participants if they had family or close friends who had a disability or were Asian American. This was a “Yes” or “No” question. See the Appendix for the new items.

Analyses and Results

Means and Standard Deviations.

After reverse coding appropriate items, means and standard deviations were calculated for the CPR subscales. For the individual items, the highest mean was 5.73 while the lowest mean was 4.54; the highest standard deviation was 1.910 and the lowest standard deviation was 1.196. The following subscales were created: Discrimination (items 1-3), Emergency (items 4-10), Responsibility (items 11-13), Concern for Backlash (items 14-19), and Likelihood of Confrontation (items 20-22). For Discrimination ($\alpha=.792$), the mean was equal to 5.543, $SD=1.141$. For Emergency ($\alpha=.829$), the mean was equal to 5.086, $SD=1.038$. For Responsibility ($\alpha=.822$), the mean was equal to 4.991, $SD=1.461$. For Concern for Backlash ($\alpha=.812$), the mean was equal to 5.197, $SD=1.184$. Finally, for Likelihood of Confrontation ($\alpha=.894$), the mean was equal to 5.103, $SD=1.593$. All subscales were significantly positively correlated with each other ($p<.01$). See Table 6 for correlations and Table 7 for means and standard deviations.

T-Tests.

Hypothesis 1 proposed that there would be a main effect of group condition such that participants in the PWD manipulation would be more likely to confront the discrimination. The subscales of Emergency, Responsibility, Concern for Backlash, and Likelihood of Confrontation were not significant: $t(372)= 1.257, p=.209$; $t(374)= .724, p=.469$; and $t(371)=.523, p=.601$, respectively. These results do not support Hypothesis 1. Additionally, although not germane to the study, the Discrimination subscale was significant whereas the Concern for Backlash subscale was not: $t(372)= 2.154, p=.032$ and $t(372)=.784, p=.433$, respectively. When looking at the means for PWD versus AA, this would suggest that participants were more likely to see the behavior as discriminatory when the group was Asian American, which, although not hypothesized, is a bit unusual of a result. In addition to running the independent samples t-tests,

one-sample t-tests were run on all of the subscales of the CPR model, revealing significant results for all subscales. This may suggest that participants responded to items significantly above the mean, which would strengthen the argument for as to why participants did not see significant differences between conditions as they all were responding in similar ways. As well, because participants were significantly more likely to fail the manipulation check in the PWDs condition, there may be reason to believe that there is no significant difference between confrontation intentions due to the failure of the manipulation.

To have a better understanding of how participants viewed the PWDs and AA groups, additional tests were conducted on the warmth and competence items. For these items, means and standard deviations were calculated. Competence averaged a mean of 5.97 (SD=1.288) and warmth averaged a mean of 5.49 (SD=1.332). Competence was significantly positively correlated with all of the subscales, warmth, and with Mike's perceptions of warmth and competence. Warmth was also significantly positively correlated with the same variables as competence. Specifically, both warmth and competence significantly correlated with both Emergency ($r=.339$, $r=.254$, respectively) and Responsibility ($r=.338$, $r=.249$ respectively) suggesting that at high perceptions of warmth and competence, there will also be a higher sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility. Additionally, a one-sample test of competence and warmth revealed that similar to other variables, warmth and competence responses were significantly above the midpoint of the scale: warmth resulted in $t(374)=79.815$, $p<.000$ and competence resulted in $t(373)=89.584$, $p<.000$. Finally, in an analysis of independent sample t-tests where PWD=0 and AA=1, only competence was significant: $t(372)= 3.751$, $p<.000$. Participants perceived a significant difference in competence between the two conditions, such that AA were perceived more competently, which is consistent with past research. Warmth levels

did not reach significance: $t(376)=1.490$, $p=.137$, indicating that participants did not perceive differences in warmth based on condition.

Additionally, t-tests were conducted on the perceptions of Mike's warmth and competence. For these scales, means and standard deviations were calculated. Mike's competence averaged a mean of 5.73 (SD=1.544) and Mike's warmth averaged a mean of 5.54 (SD=1.234). In an analysis of independent sample t-tests where PWD=0 and AA=1, neither Mike's warmth nor competence were significant: $t(374)=.826$, $p=.409$ and $t(374)=.006$, $p=.996$ respectively, suggesting that Mike in both conditions was perceived similarly on his levels of warmth and competence.

Mediation Analyses.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 posited that there would be mediating effects of a sense of emergency and responsibility such that participants in the PWD condition would feel a higher sense of emergency and a higher sense of responsibility to confront the discrimination, leading to more confrontation intentions. In an analysis of the mediating effects of the CPR subscales Emergency and Responsibility on Likelihood of Confrontation and based on condition, a bootstrapping multiple mediation analysis, as described by Hayes and Preacher (2013) Model 4, was run in order to assess the indirect effects for multiple predictors. The OLS regression procedures allows for an inclusion of multiple mediators to test the difference between the specific indirect effects. This study used PROCESS to run 10,000 bootstrap confidence intervals with a 95% confidence range in order to try to detect the indirect effects between condition and likelihood of confrontation, in which confidence intervals not containing 0 are considered significant and confidence intervals containing 0 are considered not significant.

As shown in Figure 2, the direct effects of condition on the variables of Emergency, Responsibility, and Likelihood of Confrontation were not statistically significant. However, there were significant results from Emergency and Responsibility to Action, such that a higher sense of emergency and a higher sense of responsibility both increased the likelihood of confrontation, although this does not vary by group condition. Results indicated that condition was not a significant predictor of a sense of emergency, $b=.135$, $SE=.1082$, $p=.212$, and that condition was not a significant predictor of a sense of responsibility, $b=-.077$, $SE=.151$, $p=.610$. The direct effect of condition on Likelihood of Confrontation was $b=-.063$, $SE=.097$, $p=.519$. The indirect effect of condition on Likelihood of Confrontation via Emergency was $b=.016$, 95% CI= $-.021$, $.140$, while the indirect effect via Responsibility was $b=-.054$, 95% CI= $-.270$, $.253$. The total indirect effect of condition on Likelihood of Confrontation was not significant, with $b=-.008$, $SE=.136$, 95% CI= $-.282$, $.253$. However, the b-paths between the mediators and the final outcome were significant. A sense of emergency was significantly associated with confronting discrimination, $b=.343$, $SE=.049$, $p<.000$, and a sense of responsibility was significantly associated with confronting discrimination, $b=.699$, $SE=.049$, $p<.000$. This would suggest that confronting discrimination was not associated with the condition, but that having a stronger sense of emergency and responsibility was still associated with a higher likelihood of confronting discrimination.

Additional Analyses.

To further our understanding of how participants would behave towards the groups, items that measured pity, envy, and helping behaviors were analyzed. Means, standard deviations, and correlations can be seen in Table 8. As the helping behaviors were all correlated highly with each

other, a composite variable was created. A higher score indicated more helping behaviors. For pity and envy, higher scores indicated the participants felt more pity and envy towards the group.

In an analysis of independent samples t-tests where PWD=0 and AA=1, results indicated significant differences in pity, envy, and helping behaviors based on condition. Pity was significant such that $t(374) = 11.499, p < .000$; envy was also significantly different between conditions such that $t(374) = 2.181, p = .030$. Finally, the helping behaviors were significant such that $t(373) = 4.833, p < .000$. These results are consistent with past research, such that PWDs were more likely to be met with pity, AAs were more likely to be met with envy, and PWDs are likely to elicit helping behaviors. Means and standard deviations can be found in Table 7. These results are more in line with past literature, suggesting that individuals with disabilities are associated with more pity and helping behaviors whereas Asian Americans are associated with higher levels of envy.

In additional analyses on whether there were differences in responses from participants who said they or a close friend or family member was of the target group, a t-test was run for relation to condition group and confrontation intentions, which was insignificant: $t(371) = 1.320, p = .187$. Additionally, a moderation analysis suggested that there were no significant differences in the likelihood of confrontation for participants with a close relationship with the targeted group. As described by Hayes and Preacher (2013) PROCESS Model 1, results indicated that $\Delta R^2 = .003, \Delta F(1, 373) = 1.157, p = .350, b = .357, t(372) = 1.075, p = .283$. There appear to be no differences between the participants that have a relationship with a someone from their targeted group and those that do not.

It appears that since the subscales of the CPR model are so highly correlated, participants were not responding differently across conditions and therefore the results do not show a main

effect of condition. However, there may potentially be differences across gender within the condition, so gender was looked at as a moderating variable. Correlations were taken for several variables which can be seen in Table 6. To look further into the relationship of gender and the outcome variables, in an analysis of independent sample t-tests where Male=1 and Female=2, there were significant differences between male and female for perceptions of competence and all of the subscales. For instance, women were more likely to report a greater sense of discrimination, emergency, responsibility, concern for backlash, and likelihood of confrontation. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations and see Table 10 for t-test results.

To test whether there was an interaction between condition and gender on confrontation behaviors, a moderation analysis was conducted, as described by Hayes and Preacher (2013) PROCESS Model 1. Results indicated that $\Delta R^2=.001$, $\Delta F(1, 362)=.413$, $p=.521$, $b= -.132$, $t(362)= -.643$, $p=.521$, suggesting that there was no significant interaction between condition and gender for intent to confront. Additionally, to test whether there was an interaction between gender and the Emergency and Responsibility subscales, two moderation analyses were conducted. Results indicated that gender was not significantly interacting with emergency on action, $\Delta R^2 = .0004$, $\Delta F(1, 366) = .281$, $p=.596$, $b= -.063$, $t(366)= -.530$, $p=.596$, or with responsibility on and action, $\Delta R^2=.003$, $\Delta F(1, 368)=.308$, $p=.580$, $b=.039$, $t(368)=.555$, $p=.580$.

Finally, an additional analysis was conducted to see if there were any mediating effects of a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility between gender and confrontation intention. As previous tests revealed that men and women were responding differently to the groups, a multiple mediation analysis was conducted to have a better understanding of why those confrontation intentions were different. A Hayes and Preacher (2013) Model 4 multiple mediation analysis was run through PROCESS. The direct effects of gender on the variables of

emergency and responsibility were statistically significant (as supported by previous t-tests). Results indicated that gender was a significant predictor of a sense of emergency, $b=.440$, $SE=.106$, $p<.000$, and that gender was a significant predictor of a sense of responsibility, $b=.632$, $SE=.148$, $p<.000$. The direct effect of gender on Likelihood of Confrontation was $b= -.015$, $SE=.099$, $p=.878$, suggesting no direct effect of gender on confrontation intentions. The total indirect effect of gender on Likelihood of Confrontation was significant, with $b=.593$, $SE=.134$, $95\% CI = .340, .869$, and the b-paths between the mediators and the final outcome were significant. The indirect effect of emergency was significantly associated with confronting discrimination, $b=.149$, $SE =.049$, $95\% CI =.069, .269$, and the indirect effect of responsibility was significantly associated with confronting discrimination, $b=.444$, $SE=.113$, $95\% CI=.242, .685$, indicating an indirect effect of gender on confrontation intentions via a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility. These results suggest that a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility mediate the relationship between gender and confrontation intentions. See Figure 3 for the mediation model.

Focal Study Discussion

Although the results did not adhere to what the theoretical background or the hypothesized results would have suggested, the data were nevertheless informative. It was expected that based on condition, participants would have differing patterns of feeling a sense of emergency and responsibility when deciding to confront discrimination. Although it was true that participants who felt higher senses of emergency and responsibility were more likely to report that they would act, this was not different based on condition. In fact, participants did not seem to notice significant differences between the conditions other than reporting varying levels

in perceptions of competence towards the group, but those differences did not manifest itself into differences in confrontation intentions.

Additional analyses gave an interesting perspective, such that the differences that were expected from condition were found in gender. It appeared that women not only responded significantly differently than the men with regards to the CPR subscales, but women were more likely to say they would confront the discrimination as well as to experience a stronger sense of emergency and responsibility in these situations. Although these results were not hypothesized originally, they are nevertheless interesting and informative findings that help to further the literature and understanding of allyship within the organizational setting. Perhaps these gender differences exist because women are expected to be high in warmth (Fiske et al., 2002) and therefore may be socialized to be warmer or to say something positive, therefore acting as an ally. Woman also may be more likely to give social support compared to men (Taylor et al., 2000), which matches with the results from the focal study. This is not suggesting that women are more likely to be allies or that only women can be allies, but perhaps women are socialized to act pro-socially when a negative comment is made and therefore are more likely to say something compared to men.

Overall, these results should be more encouraging than disheartening. It was originally hypothesized that participants would react differently with regards to who was being discriminated against and would differentially confront prejudice. However, results indicated that participants did not respond differently based on the groups facing discrimination. This fact should not be disregarded, suggesting that this population of participants was pro-socially minded. It should also be noted that participants were reading these scenarios within a workplace context. Perhaps if the situation was outside of the workplace and participants were not primed

with an individual they have hypothetically known for a few years, the responses would have been different. Again, although not completely in line with past literature or with the expected hypotheses, further research should look into the situational and individual difference factors of confronting discrimination and what variables increase the chances of confrontation.

CHAPTER 4: FINAL DISCUSSION

Research would suggest that individuals stereotype different groups based on their perceived warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002) and therefore often treat these groups differently (Cuddy et al., 2007). Based on this, it was theorized that individuals may confront discrimination on behalf of different target groups at a different rate because of these stereotypes. Although the results of the pilot study were trending in that direction, the focal study results did not support these findings. Participants did report that, as a group, Asian Americans were seen as more competent than persons with disabilities, but perceptions of warmth did not change between groups. Additionally, these differences in group did not appear to influence whether or not participants saw the discrimination as an emergency or felt a sense of responsibility. Overall, it appears that the participants were likely to feel a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility, leading to a higher likelihood of confrontation, but these results did not differ by group. Alternatively, there appeared to be differences in behavior between males and females, with females expressing a higher sense of emergency and responsibility which led to a stronger likelihood of confrontation behaviors. Although these differences were not seen between conditions, these findings make the argument that women may be more willing to confront discrimination for groups compared to men.

As noted earlier, this research was done in the context of a workplace setting, and participants were primed with an individual from both groups who had a job and was described as someone the participant had worked well with in the past. These subtle statements were already priming the participants with someone from the group who was apparently competent enough to have a job and warm enough that they have worked side-by-side well enough in recent

months or years. Although participants reported some subtle differences between Mike's perceptions of warmth and competence and the groups' warmth and competence, Mike's priming may have been enough to mitigate any stereotypic responses the literature would have expected, leading to those insignificant differences in confrontation intentions that were reported. As it is, the questions about confrontation are focused on defending Mike in addition to saying something on behalf of the group, so it is sensible that the group differences did not emerge.

Theoretical Implications

Although the results were not directly in line with previous literature (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy et al., 2007), this research adds to the existing research on the SCM and the BIAS map. The results of the stereotypes associated with the different groups were somewhat inconsistent in both the pilot study as well as the focal study. In the first study, participants viewed the groups differentially with regards to their warmth levels: PWDs were perceived to be higher in warmth compared to the AA condition, which is consistent with research on the SCM. However, participants did not apparently see differences in their perceptions of the groups' competence. This is consistent with the research Wang et al. (2015) recounted, as their participants reported high levels of competence for the target with the disability, possibly owing to the fact that the individual in question was on their way to work and asking for directions. In the focal study, participants reported differences in group competence, which is consistent with past literature on the SCM, but they did not report differences in group warmth or the target's warmth and competence. Additionally, analyses on pity, envy, and active facilitation behaviors in the focal study reveal consistent results with the SCM and BIAS map. These results suggest that perhaps more research is necessary on the SCM and BIAS map that take into account the context of a

situation and not just the general attitudes and behaviors that individuals are likely to display in any given situation.

Similarly, participants were primed with an individual who had already been at his job for several years and was therefore competent enough to procure and keep a job in a consulting firm. Results were not the same for the focal study, however, as participants did report significant differences in the groups' competence but not warmth. These overall results would suggest that participants did adhere to the stereotype that PWDs are not perceived as competent as Asian Americans. The resulting differences in the student versus working population may have these grounds in the level of exposure individuals have in a work setting and interacting with the targeted groups. Fiske et al., (2002) did not see much variation between student and nonstudent populations, and it is unclear what other differences may manifest themselves between the two populations. Because participants from the MTurk population were all highly prosocial and proactive about confronting the discrimination, it could be that more working experience leads to an understanding that harmony is expected between coworkers to accomplish goals at a broader level, and therefore individuals may be more willing to confront discrimination if they believe that it could harm further work projects down the road. All in all, these questions make it more imperative for research that analyzes ally behaviors between student and working populations.

An analysis of participants who said they or a close friend or family member was their condition's group showed that this relationship was significantly correlated with helping behaviors but not with any of the subscales of the CPR model. Correlations did not reveal any other trends in either direction for when participants said they were or knew someone from the

group. However, more research is necessary to understand how participants react to incongruent ideas of stereotypes and ability.

Additionally, this study adds to research on CPR model, building evidence that participants do express feeling a higher sense of emergency and responsibility when they are more likely to confront prejudice. In the focal study, although the condition did not significantly influence a sense of emergency or responsibility that the participants reported, participants who did express higher levels of both a sense of emergency and a sense of responsibility were more likely to report a stronger likelihood of confrontation, which supports past literature on the CPR model. All subscale reliabilities were high, adding to the literature on the CPR model and bolstering the utility of using such measures, particularly with regards to an organizational context of confronting discrimination.

Finally, this research adds to existing research on allies in the workplace, particularly with regards to discrimination towards PWDs. This gap, compared to the literature on other marginalized groups, is extensive and needs to be researched more thoroughly, especially because there are so many different types of disabilities and the implications of this research could extend into so many other areas of study, including the workplace, non-profit organizations, classroom environment, and the personal lives of individuals with disabilities. There have not been many studies that look into ally behaviors towards this demographic, and none so far have studied how allies react differentially towards PWDs and other groups. Although this study revealed no significant differences in how participants reacted towards this group specifically, this research adds to existing literature on how different groups are stereotyped and who might be more or less willing to confront prejudice on behalf of certain groups. The additional analyses on gender and confrontation also added to existing literature on

how men and women react towards discrimination and their confrontation intentions. Thus far, previous research on gender and confrontation has focused on women confronting sexism directed at themselves and other women, and research has shown that women are often hesitant to confront unless they are strong in gender identity or feminine identity (Wang & Dovidio, 2017). Researchers have attributed this to women being socialized not to speak up and to maintain a sense of harmony as a peacemaker unless their gender identity is strong, but what is interesting about the present study's results is that women were more likely to confront on behalf of both groups, one of which is not stereotyped as needing help. Alternatively, there is preliminary research on stigma solidarity, which suggests that perhaps women would confront discrimination on behalf of marginalized groups because women would feel a sense of solidarity and similarity with the groups (Craig & Richeson, 2016). This is an indication that more research is necessary on understanding when men and women are motivated to confront discrimination on behalf of a group whose identity they do not necessarily share and why they are motivated to do so, be it similarity or a sense of social pressure.

Practical Implications

This research practically suggests that allies need to be aware that, although they are in general motivated to act in non-prejudiced ways (Ashburn-Nardo, 2018), allies may still be at the risk for unintentionally treating these groups differently. The focal study shows that although there were no differences in confrontation intentions based on condition, there were still differences in how the groups were perceived based on warmth (in the pilot study) and competence (in the focal study). This is a good reminder to be aware of behaviors, attitudes, and decisions in confronting discrimination as well as the motivation behind confronting for

particular groups. By being aware of differential attitudes towards some groups, this can help to foster behaviors that can benefit any marginalized or stigmatized group.

This research would also suggest that organizations must be active in promoting a positive organizational diversity climate that does not tolerate discrimination towards individuals and to implement policies to improve the working atmosphere or protect their employees. Diversity training, ally safe zone training, and other interventions can help to improve the work environment for employees, especially when it is encouraged that allies speak up when they see prejudiced behaviors or discriminatory actions or policies. Although this research does not address how the targets of the discrimination feel when allies confront on behalf of them, research still suggests that when a non-target of discrimination confronts the perpetrator, the overall likelihood of further discrimination falls (Czopp et al., 2006), but more research must be done to understand how an ally can respond appropriately for specific groups and certain situations.

Limitations and Future Research

Limitations.

There were a few limitations with regards to this study. First of all, the scenario that the participants read tells them to imagine a situation in which a co-worker has stated something discriminatory towards a group. Although the scenario indicated that it is a common slur, this scenario does not give a specific discriminatory comment towards the group in question, rather just the general idea that the participant comes up with the severity of the comment on their own. Although this was done due to the fact that individuals with disabilities and Asian Americans do not appear to have a common stereotype, it still may change how the participant views the situation. Having a discriminatory comment that is the same in severity for both groups would

have been ideal; therefore, for future studies it is recommended that discriminatory comments that are equal in severity towards the groups are used. Potentially, future studies could look into using a comment that makes a statement about these marginalized groups getting special treatment for being “more diverse.” This could help take away the ambiguity of the severity of the discriminatory comment.

Additionally, it should be reiterated that participants were not actually in a situation in which they heard a discriminatory comment and had the opportunity to act on it. Rather, this was an imagined situation and we are therefore not measuring whether or not they confront the discrimination. Participants may have felt more motivated to confront the discrimination in this imagined scenario since there were no real risks to confronting, but if they were in a situation where their social status was at stake or if this was a public versus private situation, that might influence whether or not the participants would be more or less willing to confront the perpetrator. For future studies, it is recommended that this scenario play out in real life, such that participants will be interacting with a confederate who makes a discriminatory comment towards a group but manipulate the costs to confronting, such as the power both individuals hold, whether it is in the public or private, or if the participant has something to lose (like money). This will help to further the research on confrontation and the situations in which an ally is more or less likely to confront and for what groups in different situations.

Finally, there are certainly other factors that might influence the likelihood of confrontation, such as the social acceptability of the prejudice, the severity of the comment, or the relationship that the individual has with the perpetrator of the discrimination. The scenario given to the participants generally stated that the perpetrator was a coworker of the participant but did not go into detail about how close the participant was with the coworker, if they saw each

other on a regular basis, if they were more like acquaintances rather than actual friends, or the gender, race, social status, or professional influence of the co-worker.

Future Directions.

With regard to future directions, the most pressing matter is to understand the situational factors that influence the likelihood of confrontation, the sense of responsibility, and the sense of emergency, particularly with regards to PWDs. Since the definition of *disability* is so broad and encompasses a large spectrum of individuals (Stoddard, 2014), it would be necessary to understand what groups are specifically at more risk of discrimination and a lack of confrontation from allies. Future studies can take a step further by integrating different situational factors that change the costs and benefits of confronting, the privacy of confronting, the relationships of the perpetrator and the victim(s) with the participant, and even the group within the spectrum of *disability* to see if the current study's findings generalize across different groups. This includes the idea of whether or not an ally is equally likely to confront on behalf of someone who is perceived to have an onset-incontrollable disability (they were not to blame for their disability) compared to someone who is perceived to have an onset-controllable disability, meaning are they responsible for their disability (Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). Although they may still fall under the umbrella of LC-HW, they may be seen as less warm if they are to blame for their own disability (e.g., if they lost a limb due to a drunk driving accident they were responsible for). Confrontation intentions may fluctuate depending on the disability in question and the circumstances behind the disability.

Additionally, the discriminatory comment in question may influence confrontation intentions. Blatant and overt comments may result in more confrontation intentions compared to more ambiguous discrimination, like an off-color joke. Future studies should vary the type of

discrimination so as to have a better understanding of how allies might respond in different situations. Finally, in addition to changing the factors that increase the likelihood of confrontation, it should be noted that the way in which the individual confronts the perpetrator is not always directly beneficial for the target. Understanding how to make allies respond in positive, empowering ways for the victim is necessary to study and understand in order to continue to make egalitarian decisions and promote inclusion and diversity of all individuals. Particularly, if an ally pities a group because of a stereotype about that group (i.e., perceived low competence), but still is more likely to confront discrimination, research should find ways in which to decrease the pity that participants feel towards a group while still maintaining positive perceptions of the group and encouraging allies to still confront discrimination.

REFERENCES

- Albert, A. B., Jacobs, H. E., & Siperstein, G. N. (2016). Sticks, stones, and stigma: Student bystander behavior in response to hearing the word 'retard.'. *Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities, 54*(6), 391-401.
- Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2018). What can allies do? In A. Colella & E. King (Eds.), *The Handbook of Workplace Discrimination*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Monteith, M. J., Arthur, S.A., and Bain, A. (2007). Race and the psychological health of African Americans. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 10*(4), 471-491.
- 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.
- Becker, J. C., & Asbrock, F. (2012). What triggers helping versus harming of ambivalent groups? Effects of the relative salience of warmth versus competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(1), 19-27.
- Blascovich, J., Spencer, S. J., Quinn, D., & Steele, C. (2001). African Americans and high blood pressure: The role of stereotype threat. *Psychological Science, 12*(3), 225-229.
- Branscombe, N. R., Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. *Social identity: Context, Commitment, Content* (pp. 35-58). Oxford, England: Blackwell Science.

- Brown, K. T., & Ostrove, J. M. (2013). What does it mean to be an ally?: The perception of allies from the perspective of people of color. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43(11), 2211-2222.
- Caprariello, P. A., Cuddy, A. J., & Fiske, S. T. (2009). Social structure shapes cultural stereotypes and emotions: A causal test of the stereotype content model. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 12(2), 147-155.
- Carlsson, R., Björklund, F., & Bäckström, M. (2012). Mixed discriminatory judgments of individuals' warmth and competence-related abilities. *Social Psychology*, 43(3), 160-167.
- Cortina, L. M. (2008). Unseen injustice: Incivility as modern discrimination in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(1), 55-75.
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2016). Stigma-based solidarity: Understanding the psychological foundations of conflict and coalition among members of different stigmatized groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25(1), 21-27.
- 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), 359-378.
- Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In D. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (4th ed., pp. 504–553). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(4), 631-648.

- Cuddy, A. J., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*, 61-149.
- Cuddy, A. J., Norton, M. I., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). This old stereotype: The pervasiveness and persistence of the elderly stereotype. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*(2), 267-285.
- 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.
- 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.
- Devine, P. G., Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink, J. R., & Elliot, A. J. (1991). Prejudice with and without compunction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *60*(6), 817-830.
- DiLalla, D. L., & Dollinger, S. J. (2006). Cleaning up data and running preliminary analyses. As seen in Leong, F. T., & Austin, J. T. (1997). *The Psychology Research Handbook: A Guide for Graduate Students and Research Assistants*. Sage, 241-253.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Isen, A. M., & Lowrance, R. (1995). Group representations and intergroup bias: Positive affect, similarity, and group size. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *21*(8), 856-865.
- Droogendyk, L., Wright, S. C., Lubensky, M., & Louis, W. R. (2016). Acting in solidarity: Cross-group contact between disadvantaged group members and advantaged group allies. *Journal of Social Issues*, *72*(2), 315-334.

- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 878-902.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 359 (1449), 1367-1378.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2013). Positive emotions broaden and build. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(1), 1-53.
- Fritz, M. S., & MacKinnon, D. P. (2007). Required sample size to detect the mediated effect. *Psychological Science*, 18(3), 233-239.
- Gonzalez, K. A., Riggle, E. D., & Rostosky, S. S. (2015). Cultivating positive feelings and attitudes: A path to prejudice reduction and ally behavior. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(4), 372-381.
- 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(2), 210-226.
- Gordon, E. D., Minnes, P. M., & Holden, R. R. (1990). The structure of attitudes toward persons with a disability, when specific disability and context are considered. *Rehabilitation Psychology*, 35(2), 79-90.
- Hayes, A. F., & Preacher, K. J. (2014). Statistical mediation analysis with a multicategorical independent variable. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*, 67(3), 451-470.

- Huebner, D. M., Rebchook, G. M., & Kegeles, S. M. (2004). Experiences of harassment, discrimination, and physical violence among young gay and bisexual men. *American Journal of Public Health, 94*(7), 1200-1203.
- Hyers, L. L. (2007). Resisting prejudice every day: Exploring women's assertive responses to anti-Black racism, anti-Semitism, heterosexism, and sexism. *Sex Roles, 56*(1-2), 1-12.
- Johnson, K. J., & Fredrickson, B. L. (2005). "We All Look the Same to Me" Positive Emotions Eliminate the Own-Race Bias in Face Recognition. *Psychological Science, 16*(11), 875-881.
- Johnston, B. M., & Glasford, D. E. (2014). A threat-emotion profile approach to explaining active versus passive harm in intergroup relations. *Social Psychology, 45*(5), 399-407.
- Jones, K. P., Peddie, C. I., Gilrane, V. L., King, E. B., & Gray, A. L. (2016). Not so subtle: A meta-analytic investigation of the correlates of subtle and overt discrimination. *Journal of Management, 42*(6), 1588-1613.
- Klonoff, E. A., & Landrine, H. (1999). Cross-validation of the Schedule of Racist Events. *Journal of Black Psychology, 25*(2), 231-254.
- Krieger, N., & Sidney, S. (1996). Racial discrimination and blood pressure: the CARDIA study of young black and white adults. *American Journal of Public Health, 86*(10), 1370-1378.
- Liesener, J. J., & Mills, J. (1999). An experimental study of disability spread: Talking to an adult in a wheelchair like a child. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 29*(10), 2083-2092.
- 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.

- Monteith, M. J., Deneen, N. E., & Tooman, G. D. (1996). The effect of social norm activation on the expression of opinions concerning gay men and Blacks. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 18(3), 267–288.
- Monteith, M. J., & Mark, A. Y. (2005). Changing one's prejudiced ways: Awareness, affect, and self-regulation. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 16(1), 113-154.
- Murphy, K. (2002). Using power analysis to evaluate and improve research. *Handbook of Research Methods in Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 119-137.
- Murphy, M. C., & Steele, C. M. (2009). The importance of context: Understanding the effects of situational cues on perceived identity contingencies and sense of belonging. Submitted for publication.
- Nadler, A. (2002). Inter–group helping relations as power relations: Maintaining or challenging social dominance between groups through helping. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(3), 487-502.
- Nagda, B. R. A., Kim, C. W., & Truelove, Y. (2004). Learning about difference, learning with others, learning to transgress. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60(1), 195-214.
- Nelson, J. K., Dunn, K. M., & Paradies, Y. (2011). Bystander anti-racism: A review of the literature. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 11(1), 263-284.
- Penner, L. A., Dovidio, J. F., Piliavin, J. A., & Schroeder, D. A. (2005). Prosocial behavior: Multilevel perspectives. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 56(1), 365-392.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(3), 811-832.

- Ragins, B. R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2001). Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*(6), 1244-1261.
- Raver, J. L., & Nishii, L. H. (2010). Once, twice, or three times as harmful? Ethnic harassment, gender harassment, and generalized workplace harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 95*(2), 236-254.
- Rawls, J. (2003). *Justice as fairness: A restatement* (2nd edition). Boston, MA: Bellmap Press.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Russell, G. M., & Bohan, J. S. (2016). Institutional allyship for LGBT equality: Underlying processes and potentials for change. *Journal of Social Issues, 72*(2), 335-354.
- Sadler, M. S., Kaye, K. E., & Vaughn, A. A. (2015). Competence and warmth stereotypes prompt mental illness stigma through emotions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 45*(11), 602-612.
- Sadler, M. S., Meagor, E. L., & Kaye, K. E. (2012). Stereotypes of mental disorders differ in competence and warmth. *Social Science & Medicine, 74*(6), 915-922.
- Santuzzi, A. M., Waltz, P. R., Finkelstein, L. M., & Rupp, D. E. (2014). Invisible disabilities: Unique challenges for employees and organizations. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 7*(2), 204-219.
- Saunders, K. A., and Senn, C. Y. (2009). Should I confront him? Men's reactions to hypothetical confrontations of peer sexual harassment. *Sex Roles, 61*(5), 399-415.
- Scherbaum, C. A. (2006). A basic guide to statistical research and discovery. As seen in Leong, F. T., & Austin, J. T. (1997). *The Psychology Research Handbook: A Guide for Graduate Students and Research Assistants*. Sage, 275-292.

- Schmader, T., Croft, A., Scarnier, M., Lickel, B., & Mendes, W. B. (2012). Implicit and explicit emotional reactions to witnessing prejudice. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *15*(3), 379-392.
- Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). The meaning and consequences of perceived discrimination in disadvantaged and privileged social groups. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 12, pp. 167–199).
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., Salvatore, J., & Hill, D. M. (2006). Silence is not golden: The intrapersonal consequences of not confronting prejudice. *Stigma and Group Inequality: Social Psychological Perspectives*, 65-81.
- Smith, C. A., Organ, D. W., & Near, J. P. (1983). Organizational citizenship behavior: Its nature and antecedents. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *68*(4), 653-663.
- Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women's math performance. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, *35*(1), 4-28.
- Stoddard, S. (2014). 2014 Disability Statistics Annual Report. Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire.
- Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., & Ferguson, M. J. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(1), 31-53.
- Swim, J.K., Hyers, L.L., Cohen, L.L., Fitzgerald, D.F. & Bylsma, W.B. (2003). African American college students' experience with everyday anti-black racism: Characteristics of and responses to these incidents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *29*(1), 38-67.

- Taylor, S. E., Klein, L. C., Lewis, B. P., Gruenewald, T. L., Gurung, R. A., & Updegraff, J. A. (2000). Biobehavioral responses to stress in females: tend-and-befriend, not fight-or-flight. *Psychological review*, *107*(3), 411-429.
- Thomas, D. A., & Ely, R. J. (1996). Making differences matter. *Harvard Business Review*, *74*(5), 79-90.
- Wang, K., & Dovidio, J. F. (2017). Perceiving and confronting sexism: The causal role of gender identity salience. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *41*(1), 65-76.
- 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.
- Washington, J., & Evans, N. J. (1991). Becoming an ally. *Beyond tolerance: Gays, Lesbians, and Bisexuals on Campus*, 195-204.
- Weiner, B., Perry, R. P., & Magnusson, J. (1988). An attributional analysis of reactions to stigmas. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *55*(5), 738-748.

TABLES

Table 1. Definitions and examples of BIAS map behaviors from Cuddy et al. (2007)

<i>Term</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Active Facilitation	Explicitly aiming to benefit a group; intentional helping, assisting, defending others	Assistance programs, charitable giving, antidiscrimination policies, confrontation
Passive Facilitation	Accepting obligatory association or cooperation with a group; contact is not desired but tolerated; acting with an out-group for one's own purposes but simultaneously benefiting the group	Hiring the services of out-group member, choosing to work with group member who is assumed to be competent
Active Harm	Explicitly intending to hurt other groups and their interests	Harassment of any kind, hate crimes, discriminatory policies
Passive Harm	Demeaning or distancing out-groups by diminishing their social worth; denying the existence or harming of groups by omission	Excluding, ignoring, neglecting, avoiding eye contact, dismissing; disregarding the needs of certain groups or limiting access to resources

Table 2. Adapted from Fiske et al. (2002)

	High Competence	Low Competence
High Warmth	<i>HC-HW</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pride • High status, not competitive • Emotion: Admiration • (ex: Whites, middle class) 	<i>LC-HW</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paternalistic prejudice • Low status, not competitive • Emotion: Pity • (ex: Disabled, elderly)
Low Warmth	<i>HC-LW</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Envious prejudice • High status, competitive • Emotion: Envy • (ex: Asians, the rich) 	<i>LC-LW</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemptuous prejudice • Low status, competitive • Emotion: Contempt • (ex: Welfare recipients)

Table 3. Results from Cuddy et al. (2007)

	Admired groups	Contemptuous groups	Envied groups	Pitied groups
Warmth/ Competence Dimensions	HC-HW	LC-LW	HC-LW	LC-HW
Facilitation/Harm Dimensions (Behaviors)	Active Facilitation, Passive Facilitation	Active Harm, Passive Harm	Passive Facilitation, Active Harm	Active Facilitation, Passive Harm

Table 4. Means and standard deviations for pilot study

	α	Total		Condition		Condition	Condition	
		Total N	Mean	Total SD	Condition N	Mean	SD	
Discrimination	0.695	179	5.305	1.035	PWD	88	5.394	1.054
					AA	91	5.220	1.016
Emergency	0.823	179	5.053	0.914	PWD	88	5.226	0.907
					AA	91	4.885	0.895
Responsibility	0.784	179	5.067	1.244	PWD	88	5.390	1.083
					AA	91	4.755	1.314
Concern for Backlash	0.744	179	4.922	1.032	PWD	88	5.027	1.010
					AA	91	4.821	1.049
Likelihood of Confrontation	0.875	178	5.189	1.383	PWD	87	5.310	1.401
					AA	91	5.073	1.363
Warmth	-	176	5.78	1.121	PWD	88	6.092	0.972
					AA	90	5.483	1.179
Competence	-	178	5.48	1.814	PWD	87	5.330	1.922
					AA	89	5.633	1.699

Table 5. Correlations from pilot study

	Discrimination	Emergency	Responsibility	Concern for Backlash	Likelihood of Confrontation	Warmth	Competence
Discrimination	1						
Emergency	.723**	1					
Responsibility	.467**	.643**	1				
Concern for Backlash	0.089	.227**	.368**	1			
Likelihood of Confrontation	.410**	.614**	.738**	.529**	1		
Warmth	.204**	.283**	.223**	0.086	.192*	1	
Competence	.155*	0.086	0.015	-0.079	-0.007	.221**	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed) .

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 6. Correlations from focal study

Correlation Table From Focal Study

	Mike's Competence	Mike's Warmth	Target Group Competence	Target Group Warmth	Awareness of Discrimination	Sense of Emergency	Sense of Responsibility	Concern for Backlash	Likelihood of Confrontation
Mike's Competence	1								
Mike's Warmth	.278**	1							
Target Group Competence	.299**	.273**	1						
Target Group Warmth	.216**	.544**	.448**	1					
Awareness of Discrimination	.104*	.223**	.232**	.247**	1				
Sense of Emergency	.167**	.278**	.254**	.339**	.711**	1			
Sense of Responsibility	.162**	.260**	.249**	.338**	.485**	.725**	1		
Concern for Backlash	.175**	.309**	.239**	.347**	.293**	.474**	.529**	1	
Likelihood of Confrontation	.204**	.236**	.264**	.353**	.376**	.686**	.801**	.592**	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed); **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); In the condition, 0=PWD and 1= AA.

Table 7. Means and standard deviations for focal study

	Condition	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Discrimination	PWD	178	5.410	1.140
	AA	196	5.663	1.131
Emergency	PWD	179	5.015	1.047
	AA	195	5.150	1.029
Responsibility	PWD	179	5.048	1.450
	AA	197	4.939	1.473
Concern for Backlash	PWD	177	5.248	1.174
	AA	197	5.151	1.193
Likelihood of Confrontation	PWD	178	5.148	1.551
	AA	195	5.062	1.633
Competence	PWD	177	5.706	1.329
	AA	197	6.198	1.206
Warmth	PWD	179	5.598	1.283
	AA	196	5.393	1.371
Helping Behaviors	PWD	179	2.284	0.596
	AA	196	1.960	0.689
Pity	PWD	179	2.682	0.914
	AA	197	1.604	0.901
Envy	PWD	179	1.346	0.689
	AA	197	1.523	0.861

**Note.* The Helping Behaviors, Pity, and Envy variables were measured on a scale from 1-4 whereas all other items are measured on a scale from 1-7.

Table 8. Additional correlations from focal study

Correlations									
	Mean	SD	N	Pity	Envy	Help	Protect	Assist	
Pity	2.117	1.054	376	1					
Envy	1.439	0.788	376	.118*	1				
Help	2.861	0.894	375	.284**	0.098	1			
Protect	2.718	0.993	376	.347**	.107*	.802**	1		
Assist	2.875	0.938	375	.315**	0.082	.882**	.823**	1	

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 9. Means and standard deviations for focal study based on gender

	Gender	N	Mean	SD
Discrimination	M	178	5.311	1.218
	F	195	5.754	1.026
Emergency	M	178	4.858	1.062
	F	195	5.297	0.973
Responsibility	M	179	4.676	1.550
	F	196	5.284	1.316
Concern for Backlash	M	178	5.047	1.190
	F	195	5.342	1.161
Likelihood of Confrontation	M	177	4.808	1.635
	F	195	5.378	1.508
Warmth	M	179	5.385	1.342
	F	195	5.595	1.318
Competence	M	178	5.764	1.422
	F	195	6.159	1.117

Table 10. Results from independent sample t-test for focal study

Independent Samples Test

	t-test for Equality of Means			
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Std. Error Difference
Discrimination	3.809	371	0.000	0.116
Emergency	4.170	371	0.000	0.105
Responsibility	4.106	373	0.000	0.148
Concern for Backlash	2.423	371	0.016	0.122
Likelihood of Confrontation	3.498	370	0.001	0.163
Warmth	1.522	372	0.129	0.138
Competence	2.995	371	0.003	0.132

Note. Male = 1 and Female = 2.

FIGURES

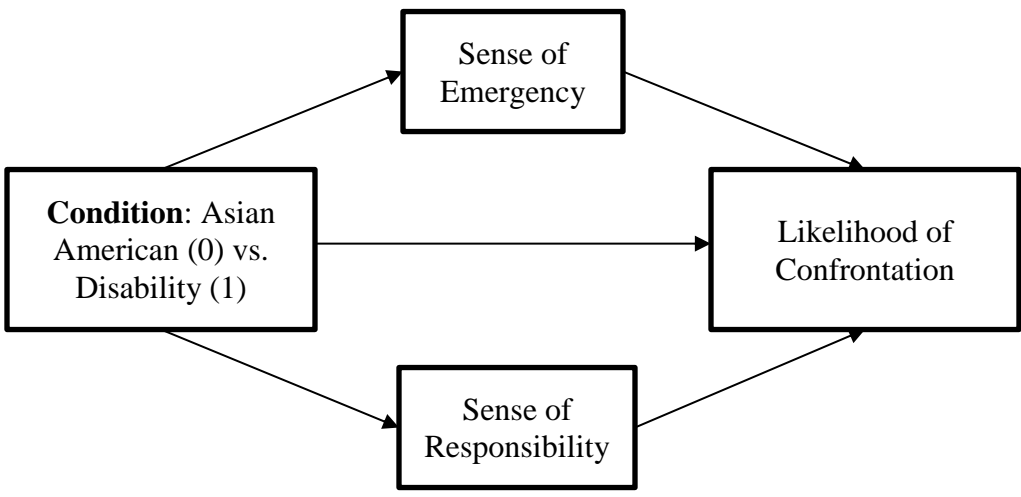


Figure 1. Hypothesized model

Note: There will be a main effect of condition on likelihood of confrontation, explained by two mediators, such that an exposure to the experimental condition will suggest higher levels of confrontation, explained through a sense of *emergency* and *responsibility*. The Asian American condition will be dummy coded as 0 and Disability condition will be dummy coded as 1 during analysis, therefore the relationship with the condition and the mediators will be positive.

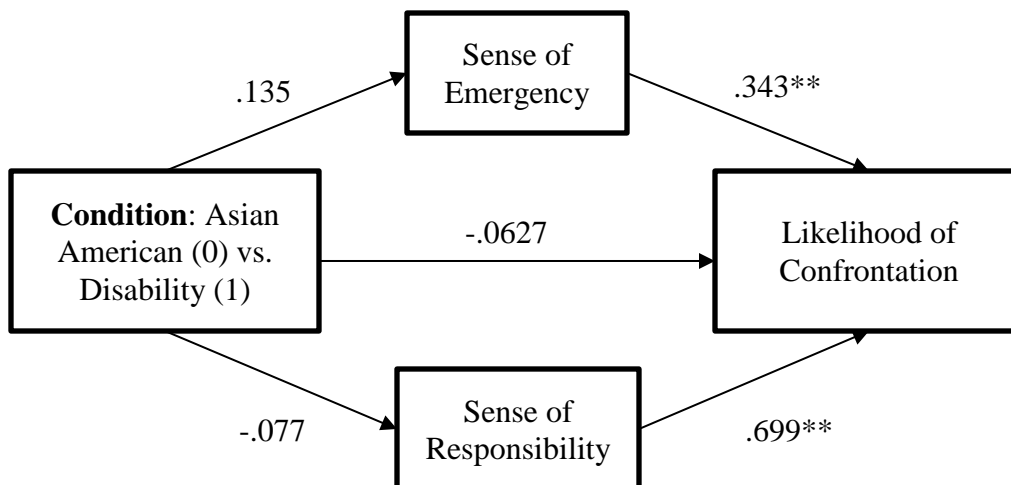


Figure 2. Results of the multiple mediation analysis from the focal study based on condition

Note: The PWDs condition is dummy coded as 0 and AA condition is dummy coded as 1. **, $p < .000$

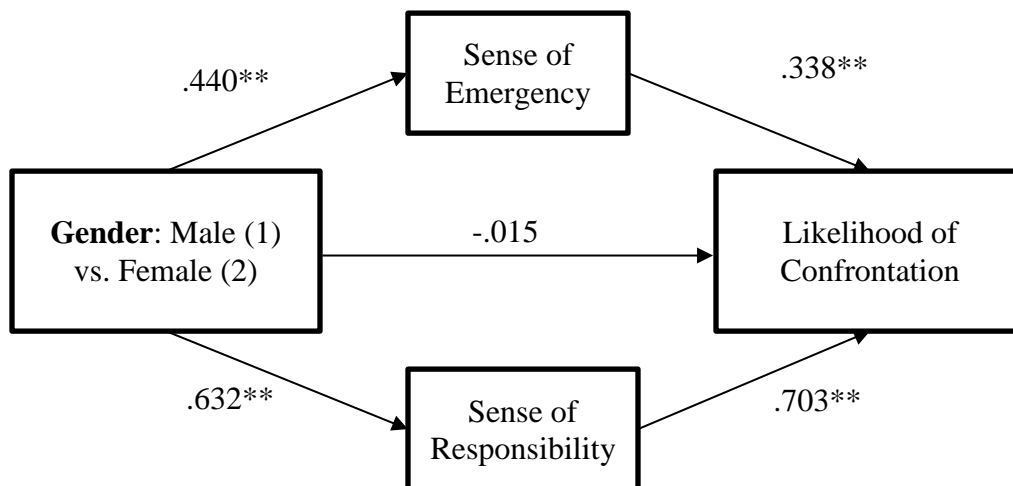


Figure 3. Results of the multiple mediation analysis from the focal study based on gender
Note: Male is coded as 1 and female is coded as 2.

APPENDIX

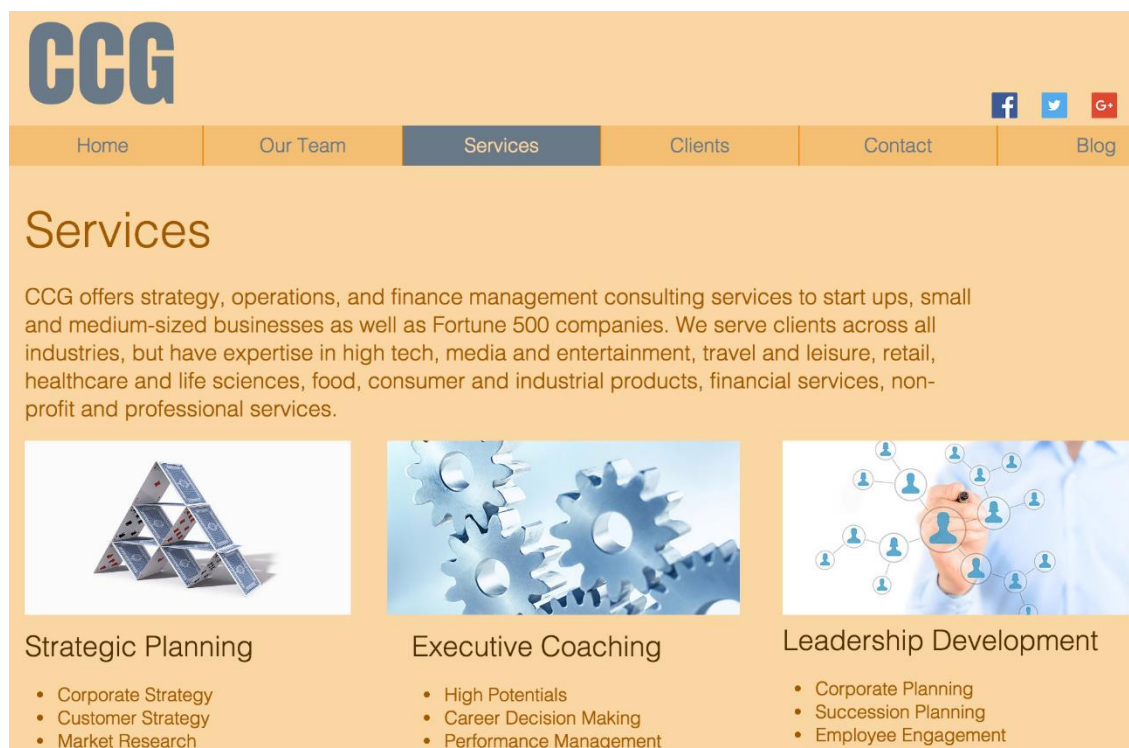
All participants will be given a brief description of the company CCG as follows:

Imagine that you are an employee at the organization CCG, which is a consulting group. There are over 300 employees at CCG. Please review the homepage of the company website to learn a little more about CCG.

As an employee at CCG, you are in the Strategic Planning Division of Market Research, and you have been with CCG for a little over two years. You are involved in multiple projects and work with different team members on each of your projects.

In particular, there is one project that you have been working on for a few months now. You are working with five other employees on this project who are all from different divisions.

On the following page, you will be randomly assigned to learn about one of the team members on this project and will be asked to answer questions pertaining to a team member.



The screenshot shows the CCG website homepage. The header features the CCG logo in blue and orange, with social media icons for Facebook, Twitter, and Google+ on the right. A navigation menu includes Home, Our Team, Services (highlighted), Clients, Contact, and Blog. The main content area is titled 'Services' and contains a paragraph describing CCG's consulting services. Below this are three service categories, each with an image and a list of sub-services:

- Strategic Planning** (Image: A pyramid of playing cards)
 - Corporate Strategy
 - Customer Strategy
 - Market Research
- Executive Coaching** (Image: Interlocking gears)
 - High Potentials
 - Career Decision Making
 - Performance Management
- Leadership Development** (Image: A hand holding a network of people icons)
 - Corporate Planning
 - Succession Planning
 - Employee Engagement

Half of the participants will view scenario 1. The other half of the participants will view scenario 2.

Scenario 1. This is your team member Mike. Mike is 31 years old and has a visual impairment. He has been with CCG for four years and works in Sales. You previously met Mike working on another project and have worked well together in the past.



Scenario 2. This is your team member Mike. Mike is 31 years old and is Asian American. He has been with CCG for four years and works in Sales. You previously met Mike working on another project and have worked well together in the past.



All participants will respond to the following questions:

Please take a moment and think about Mike. What characteristic about Mike is the first thing that comes to mind? (open-ended)

Please rank the following items in order of what comes to mind when you think about Mike. Note: Please click and drag the option so that "1" is the first thing that comes to mind and "5" is the last thing that comes to mind when thinking about Mike.

Options:

1. Male
2. Works in Sales
3. Asian American
4. 31 years old
5. Works at CCG
6. Person with a disability [only in PWD condition]

How competent does Mike seem to be in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely incompetent) to 7 (extremely competent)]—*added to focal study*

How warm (i.e., good-natured, sincere) does Mike seem to be in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely cold) to 7 (extremely warm)]—*added to focal study*

All participants will respond to the following items:

Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) scale (Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983)

Please think about your working relationship with Mike and answer the following items: After reading about your coworker Mike, how much do you agree that you engage in the following behaviors? [Rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)]

1. I would help Mike when he has been absent.
2. I would volunteer for things that are not required when Mike cannot attend to them.
3. I would attend work above the norm to help Mike on a project for our team.
4. I would help Mike when he has a heavy work load.
5. I would assist Mike with his work.
6. I would make innovative suggestions to improve Mike's work.

Interpersonal Helping Behaviors scale (person focused; Settoon & Mossholder, 2002)

Please think about your working relationship with Mike and answer the following items: To what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale]

1. I would listen to Mike when he has to get something off his chest
2. I would take time to listen to Mike's problems and worries
3. I would take a personal interest in Mike
4. I would show concern and courtesy towards Mike, even under the most trying business situations
5. I would make an extra effort to understand the problems faced by Mike
6. I would go out of the way to make Mike feel welcome in the work group
7. I would try to cheer up Mike if he was having a bad day
8. I would compliment Mike when he succeeds at work

Identity Contingencies measure (Murphy & Steele, 2009)

Please think about your working relationship with Mike and answer the following items: To what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)]

1. I would feel self-conscious interacting with Mike.
2. I am worried I would not be able to talk comfortably with Mike.
3. I would be worried that I might embarrass myself in front of Mike.
4. I would be worried that I could not really express my real views to Mike.
5. I am worried that I would have to be "politically correct" around Mike.
6. I feel like Mike and I would have a lot in common.

7. I would be comfortable interacting with Mike.
8. I could “be myself” around Mike.

Half of the participants will view scenario 1. The other half of the participants will view scenario 2.

Scenario 1. Imagine that you are at a different team meeting when one of your coworkers makes an offensive comment about persons with disabilities, despite knowing that you work on another team with Mike. Please answer the following questions based on this situation.

Scenario 2. Imagine that you are at a different team meeting when one of your coworkers makes an offensive comment about Asian Americans, despite knowing that you work on another team with Mike. Please answer the following questions based on this situation.

All participants will respond to the following question:
What would you do in this situation? (open-ended)

All participants will respond to the following items:

Confronting Prejudice Responses (Ashburn-Nardo, Blanchar, Petersson, Morris, & Goodwin, 2014)

Thinking about your co-worker’s offensive comment towards [condition: Asian Americans vs. individuals with disabilities], to what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)]

1. My co-worker’s comment was biased.
2. My co-worker’s comment seems prejudiced.
3. By making that comment, my co-worker discriminated against Mike.
4. My co-worker’s comment calls for an immediate response.
5. Something should be done right away to stop further offensive remarks from my co-worker.
6. I would feel a sense of urgency to respond to my co-worker’s offensive comment.
7. My co-worker probably did not mean any harm with his comment.
8. My co-worker intended to offend others with his comment.
9. My co-worker’s comment would have been hurtful to Mike.
10. Mike would have been offended by my co-worker’s comment.
11. It would not be my place to say or do something about my co-worker’s comment.
12. I would personally feel responsible for doing something about my co-worker’s offensive behavior.
13. I would feel a sense of responsibility for addressing my co-worker’s comment.
14. I am unsure how I would respond to this situation.
15. I would know what to do in this situation.
16. I could think of something appropriate to say to my co-worker.
17. I would be worried that my co-worker might be angry if I said something about the comment.
18. I would be worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about my co-worker’s comment.
19. I would be concerned about backlash from others if I said something to address my co-worker’s offensive comment.

20. I would talk to my co-worker about the offensive comment.
21. I probably would not say anything to my co-worker in this situation.
22. I would confront my co-worker about making such an offensive comment.

Half of the participants will respond to SCM Instrument 1. Half of the participants will respond to SCM Instrument 2.

SCM Instrument 1

Stereotype Content Model and Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map
(Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy et al., 2007)—Individuals with Disabilities

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

1. To what extent do you tend to feel pity toward persons with disabilities? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
2. To what extent do you tend to feel envy toward persons with disabilities?? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
3. To what extent do people tend to help persons with disabilities?? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
4. To what extent do people tend to protect persons with disabilities?? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
5. To what extent do people tend to assist persons with disabilities?? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
6. To what extent do you consider yourself an advocate for persons with disabilities?? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
7. Do you have close friends or family members who are have a disability? [rated 1 (Yes) to 2 (No)]
8. How competent are persons with disabilities in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely incompetent) to 7 (extremely competent)]
9. How warm (i.e., good-natured, sincere) are persons with disabilities in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely cold) to 7 (extremely warm)]

SCM Instrument 2

Stereotype Content Model and Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes Map
(Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy et al., 2007)—Asian Americans

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? [Rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree)]

1. To what extent do you tend to feel pity toward Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
2. To what extent do you tend to feel envy toward Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
3. To what extent do people tend to help Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]

4. To what extent do people tend to protect Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
5. To what extent do people tend to assist Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
6. To what extent do you consider yourself an advocate Asian Americans? [rated 1 (not at all) to 4 (to a great extent)]
7. Do you have close friends or family members who are Asian American? [rated 1 (Yes) to 2 (No)]
8. How competent are Asian Americans in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely incompetent) to 7 (extremely competent)]
9. How warm (i.e., good-natured, sincere) are Asian Americans in your opinion? [rated 1 (extremely cold) to 7 (extremely warm)]

All participants will respond to the following items:

Demographic Questionnaire

With which gender do you identify?

Male

Female

Other (_____)

What is your age (in years)? _____

What is your race?

White/Caucasian

African American

Hispanic

East Asian

South Asian

Southeast Asian

Middle Eastern

Native American/Pacific Islander

Multiracial

Other _____

What is your country of residence?

United States of America

Other _____

What is your country of origin?

United States of America

Other _____

Toward which group did your coworker make an offensive comment?

Persons with disabilities

The homeless

Asian Americans

White people

Did you give your best effort in this study? Please note that your participation will not be affected by this answer and you will receive your credit regardless of your response.

I gave my best effort

I gave partial effort

I gave minimal effort

I gave no effort