

The Breadth of Confrontations as a Prejudice Reduction Strategy

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Abstract

Past research on prejudice confrontations as a prejudice reduction tool has only examined bias that was implicated in the confrontation, such as the use of negative Black stereotypes after being confronted for using negative Black stereotypes. Examining the breadth of prejudice confrontations, we hypothesize that confronted individuals should subsequently use fewer negative and positive stereotypes about other racial minority groups, and fewer stereotypes about groups stigmatized along other identity dimensions (e.g., gender). In two studies, White participants confronted for the use of negative Black stereotypes used fewer negative Latino stereotypes (Study 1), positive Black, but not Asian, stereotypes and fewer gender role stereotypes (Study 2). Additionally, participants confronted for female gender role stereotypes subsequently used fewer negative Black and Latino stereotypes 24–72 hr later due to greater racial egalitarian motivation (Study 3). Thus, prejudice confrontations have a broad effect on reducing bias toward multiple stigmatized groups across identity dimensions.

Keywords

confrontation, racial bias, generalized prejudice

Prejudice remains prevalent in the United States, including the endorsement of stereotypes about racial groups (e.g., Black, Asian, and Latino Americans; Zou & Cheryan, 2017), women (Ellemers, 2018), and various religious groups (Brown et al., 2017). Social psychologically informed prejudice reduction strategies frequently examine interventions that reduce the use of stereotypes directed toward *one* stigmatized group (e.g., Lai et al., 2016). This focus on single-group stereotyping goes against evidence that prejudice is generalized, such that individuals prejudiced toward one stigmatized group are also likely prejudiced against other stigmatized groups (Allport, 1954; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Ekehammar & Akrami, 2003).

In three studies, we examine the breadth of confrontations as a prejudice reduction strategy, specifically whether confronting the use of stereotypes about one group reduces the use of stereotypes about other stigmatized groups. Prejudice confrontations, verbal challenges directed at a person who has committed an act of blatant, subtle, or nonverbal bias (see Chaney et al., 2015), are an effective means of reducing stereotype use (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006). As prejudice confrontations produce awareness of one's own biases and motivate bias self-regulation (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006), we propose that prejudice confrontations are an effective strategy to reduce stereotyping broadly and examine a novel mechanism

(i.e., egalitarian motivation) for prejudice confrontations' secondary transfer effects.

Generalized Prejudice

Supporting early theories of generalized prejudice (Allport, 1954), individuals who hold negative attitudes toward one devalued social group (e.g., Blacks) often hold negative attitudes toward other devalued social groups (e.g., women; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Given this theory of generalized prejudice, researchers proposed that changing attitudes toward one group should change attitudes toward other groups, a process referred to as secondary transfer effects (Pettigrew, 1997, 2009). For example, a positive interaction with an immigrant resulted in more positive attitudes toward both immigrants and sexual minorities (Schmid et al., 2012). Thus, the generalized nature of prejudice affords the opportunity to promote broad bias reduction.

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Prejudice Confrontations

Prejudice confrontations are an effective method to mitigate future prejudice due to the subsequent regulatory and reflective processes individuals employ after being confronted. Specifically, prejudice confrontations make evident the transgressor's bias, a critical first step in promoting motivation to reduce biases (Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002), and increase guilt, rumination, and egalitarian motivation over time (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006), components that have been identified as necessary in motivating individuals to self-regulate (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Monteith et al., 2002). These affective and motivational outcomes of prejudice confrontations serve to develop cues for control, allowing individuals to better identify future instances that could trigger stereotype application and increase motivated self-regulation of prejudice (Monteith et al., 2002; Monteith et al., 2010). As such, confrontations of negative Black stereotypes result in the use of fewer negative Black stereotypes immediately after (Czopp et al., 2006) and 1 week later (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018).

Current Research

The self-regulation processes that arise from prejudice confrontations do not rely on the specific feature of the targeted group. For example, among individuals internally motivated to respond without bias, self-regulation of anti-Black biases increased the rejection of anti-Black, Latino, and Chinese jokes (M. D. Burns et al., 2017). People generally hold a belief that prejudices are monolithic, such that they perceive individuals who are prejudiced toward one group of people as also prejudiced against other groups (e.g., others' anti-Black attitudes are indicative of sexist attitudes; Chaney et al., 2016; Sanchez et al., 2018). We propose that this belief can be turned inward, such that people who are made aware of their own anti-Black bias via confrontation of negative stereotype use should experience guilt and reduce their stereotyping broadly (i.e., positive group stereotypes) and in terms of other social groups (e.g., other racial groups, gender) due to a belief that their anti-Black prejudice is indicative of other prejudices they may hold (e.g., sexism).

Integrating research on generalized prejudice, secondary transfer effects, and prejudice confrontations, we hypothesize that participants confronted for using stereotypes about one devalued social group will demonstrate behavioral inhibition when presented with the opportunity to apply stereotypes to members of other devalued stigmatized groups, resulting in a significant decrease in stereotype use across stigmatized groups (e.g., Latinos, women). In Studies 1 and 2, White participants were confronted (or not) for using a negative Black stereotype, and we examined their use of negative Black and Latino stereotypes 1 week later (Study 1) or use of positive Black and Asian stereotypes and gender role stereotypes immediately after (Study 2). In Study 3, White men were confronted (or not) for female gender role stereotypes and their use of negative racial

stereotypes was examined 24–72 hr later. The present research is the first to examine secondary transfer effects of prejudice confrontations immediately after and over time, employing in-person and online confrontations of racism and sexism by allies (White women and men). All measures are reported and research was conducted with Institutional Review Board approval.

Study 1

We proposed that White participants confronted for using negative Black stereotypes would use fewer negative Latino stereotypes 1 week later compared to nonconfronted participants.

Method

Participants

Participants who identified as White during a prescreen survey completed the Time 1 (T1) portion of the study for partial course credit ($N = 270$). We excluded 10 participants for not identifying as White at T1 and 13 participants for not using stereotypes during T1, leaving a sample of 247 (132 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.01$, $SD = 1.54$). Moreover, 54 participants (22%) did not complete Time 2 (T2), leaving a T2 sample of 193 (103 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.01$, $SD = 1.51$). There was no difference in condition assignment for participants who did not complete T2, control = 32, confront = 22; $\chi^2(1, 247) = 0.19$, $p = .67$. An a priori power analysis for a two-group analysis of variance (ANOVA) to detect a $d = 0.40$ with 80% power indicated a required sample size of 199, our data collection stop point for the T2 sample. While past research demonstrated an effect size around $d = 1.00$ for the reduction of congruent stereotypes 1 week later (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), we expected a smaller secondary transfer effect.

Procedure

Participants were informed that the study examined inferences; T1 involved a 30-min session, while T2 involved an unrelated 5-min online survey that they would receive 1 week after T1 and have 48 hr to complete. Four White women experimenters conducted T1 sessions. During T1, participants completed a stereotyping task used to elicit negative stereotypes about Black Americans (Czopp et al., 2006; Monteith et al., 2002). Participants saw 16 trials in which images of White and Black, men and women (images from Ma et al., 2015; Minear & Park, 2004) were paired with a descriptive sentence, and participants' task was to make an inference about the individual. Three critical trials presented Black men with descriptive sentences intended to evoke a stereotypical response (e.g., "This person can be found behind bars"; stereotypical response: "criminal") but could evoke a neutral response ("bartender").

Participants responded aloud for the experimenter to record. After all trials, based on random assignment, participants were confronted for their stereotypical answers by the experimenter or not (for similar procedures, see Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). In

the confrontation condition, the experimenter said, "I thought some of your answers seemed a little offensive. The Black guy behind bars could be a bartender. People shouldn't use stereotypes, you know?" The second sentence was tailored to participant's stereotypical responses, and experimenters were trained to deliver the confrontation in a spontaneous, genuine, and neutral manner. If participants responded, experimenters were instructed to say "Okay" and continue the study.

Next, participants completed filler tasks followed by an affect measure and received T2 instructions. For the affect measure, participants indicated the extent they experienced various emotions during the experiment from 1 (*does not apply to me at all*) to 7 (*very much applies to me*). Emotions included 10 negative self-directed affect items (neg-self; $\alpha = .94$), such as "guilty," and 5 negative other directed affect items (neg-other; $\alpha = .89$) such as "angry at the experimenter" (Czopp et al., 2006).

One week later, participants received the T2 survey via email. T2 included a modified version of the T1 stereotyping task with 15 randomized trials of White, Black, and Latino male faces and descriptive sentences. Eight trials included neutral descriptive sentences. The remaining consisted of three negative Latino stereotype trials (e.g., This person spends a lot of time at shelters; stereotypical response: homeless; neutral response: volunteer), two new negative Black stereotype trials (e.g., This person takes peoples' cars; stereotypical response: car thief; neutral response: valet driver), and two negative Black stereotype trials from the baseline task. Participants typed their responses while a timer counted down 10 s, after which the survey automatically advanced. A funneled debrief probed for suspicion.¹ In all studies, two research assistants blinded to condition and hypotheses coded participants' responses on the stereotype trials as either stereotypical or neutral; stereotype use was computed as a ratio (0 indicating no stereotype use, 1.00 indicating stereotypes used on all critical trials).

Results and Discussion

T1 Baseline Stereotype Use

Unexpectedly, baseline negative Black stereotype use differed between participants randomly assigned to be confronted ($M = 0.81$, $SE = .02$) and participants assigned to the control condition ($M = 0.75$, $SE = .02$), $t(245) = 2.21$, $p = .028$, 95% confidence interval (CI)_{meandiff} = [0.009, 0.13]. As such, baseline stereotype use was controlled for in analyses, although analyses with no covariates do not significantly differ from reported results (see Supplement).²

T1 Affect

There was a significant effect of condition on neg-self, $F(1, 244) = 5.96$, $p = .015$, $d = 0.31$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.08, 0.74], and neg-other, $F(1, 244) = 11.42$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.43$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.11, 0.40]. Confronted participants reported significantly greater neg-self ($M = 2.42$, $SE = .13$)

and neg-other ($M = 1.79$, $SE = .06$) than nonconfronted participants (neg-self: $M = 2.01$, $SE = .11$; neg-other: $M = 1.12$, $SE = .05$).

T2 Stereotype Use

Supporting the main hypothesis, participants confronted at T1 used significantly fewer negative Latino stereotypes 1 week later ($M = 0.24$, $SE = .04$) than nonconfronted participants ($M = 0.37$, $SE = .03$), $F(1, 188) = 6.92$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.38$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.10, 0.67]. Confronted participants also used fewer negative Black stereotypes on old ($M = 0.21$, $SE = .03$) and new negative Black trials ($M = 0.21$, $SE = .04$) compared to nonconfronted participants (old trials: $M = 0.31$, $SE = .02$; new trials: $M = 0.35$, $SE = .04$); old trials: $F(1, 188) = 7.63$, $p = .006$, $d = 0.40$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.06, 0.33], new trials: $F(1, 188) = 7.01$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.39$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.07, 0.48]. Overall, participants used fewer negative Black stereotypes 1 week after a confrontation ($M = 0.21$, $SE = .03$) than control participants ($M = 0.33$, $SE = .02$), $F(1, 188) = 11.74$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.51$, 95% CI_{meandiff} = [0.20, 0.74]. Thus, confrontations of negative Black stereotypes resulted in the use of fewer negative Latino and Black stereotypes 1 week later.

Mediation

Simple mediation analyses examining the indirect effect of condition ($-1 =$ control; $1 =$ confronted) on T2 negative Black and Latino stereotype use via neg-self while controlling for baseline stereotype use were conducted in the PROCESS macro (Version 2.15; Hayes, 2012). The indirect effect via neg-self was not significant for negative Black stereotype use, $B = -0.004$, $SE = .004$, 95% CI_B = [-0.02, 0.002], nor negative Latino stereotype use, $B = 0.001$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI_B = [-0.01, 0.01].³ Unlike past prejudice confrontation research (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006), neg-self did not significantly mediate the effect of prejudice confrontations on subsequent stereotype use.

Study 2

Aligning with research on generalized prejudice demonstrating that a common ideology underlies negative attitudes toward racial minorities and women (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007), we proposed that White participants, confronted for negative Black stereotype use, would use fewer female gender role stereotypes, thus examining reduction in stereotype use across identity dimensions. Moreover, Study 2 examined whether White participants confronted for using negative Black stereotypes would subsequently use fewer *positive* stereotypes (Siy & Cheryan, 2013). White Americans view positive stereotypes as more acceptable and less prejudiced than negative stereotypes (Czopp, 2008; Mae & Carlston, 2005), resulting in more negative evaluations of Black and Asian Americans who confront positive stereotypes (Alt et al., 2019). Given the overlap

in endorsement of positive and negative stereotypes (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Kay et al., 2013), we proposed that confrontation of negative stereotypes would reduce positive stereotype use.

Method

Participants

White participants ($N = 175$) were recruited to complete an in-lab study for partial course credit. Two participants who did not identify as White during the session and 12 participants who did not use stereotypes during the confrontation task were excluded, leaving 161 participants (86 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.72$, $SD = 1.81$, range: 18–33). An a priori power analysis for a $2(\text{condition}) \times 2(\text{participant gender})$ ANOVA based on 80% power and an effect size of $d = 0.46$ (based on positive Black stereotypes, see Supplement Study 1) indicated a sample size of 151 participants.⁴ A data collection stop point was set at 175 based on the Supplement Study 1 exclusions.

Procedure

Study 2 procedures were nearly identical to Study 1 although included one time point. After completing the Study 1 confrontation task, participants completed filler inference tasks (about 15–20 min) and Study 1 affect measures (neg-other: $\alpha = .86$). An exploratory factor analysis with a varimax rotation of the 10-item neg-self scale revealed that 1 item (depressed) loaded on a second factor whose eigenvalue was 1.07 at .95. Remaining items loaded on a single factor (eigenvalue = 6.09) and were used for the neg-self scale ($\alpha = .93$).

Finally, participants completed the stereotyping task administered in Study 1 at T2. This task included 24 trials (7 critical): 3 gender role stereotype trials with images of White women (e.g., This person works at a hospital; stereotypical response: nurse; nonstereotypical response: doctor; M. Burns, 2017), 2 positive Black stereotype trials (e.g., This person is on a team; stereotypical response: athlete; neutral response: debate team), and 2 positive Asian stereotype trials (e.g., This person has a scholarship; stereotypical response: smart student; neutral response: athlete).⁵

Results and Discussion

Baseline Stereotype Use

An ANOVA (condition: confronted, not confronted) revealed no significant condition effect on baseline negative Black stereotype use ($M_{\text{confronted}} = 2.35$, $SE = .08$; $M_{\text{nonconfronted}} = 2.18$, $SE = .08$), $F(1, 159) = 2.36$, $p = .13$, $d = 0.25$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [-0.39, 0.05]$. As in Study 1, we controlled for baseline stereotyping.

Affect

Analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed a significant effect of condition on neg-self, $F(1, 158) = 4.75$, $p = .03$,

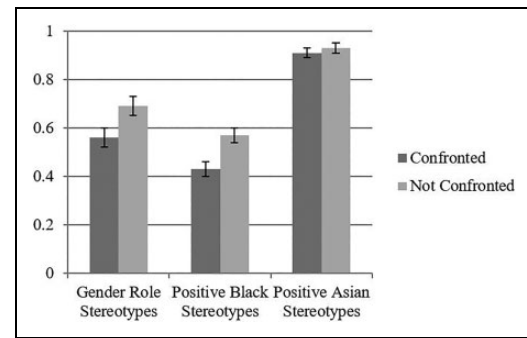


Figure 1. Study 2, effect of condition on stereotype use.

$d = 0.35$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [-0.78, -0.04]$, and neg-other, $F(1, 158) = 12.92$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.13, 0.43]$. Confronted participants reported significantly greater neg-self ($M = 2.40$, $SE = .13$) and neg-other ($M = 1.31$, $SE = .05$) than nonconfronted participants (neg-self: $M = 1.99$, $SE = .14$; neg-other: $M = 1.03$, $SE = .06$).

Postmanipulation Racial and Gender Stereotype Use

ANCOVAs revealed participants used significantly fewer positive Black stereotypes ($M = 0.43$, $SE = .03$) than nonconfronted participants ($M = 0.57$, $SE = .03$), $F(1, 158) = 13.83$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.60$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.13, 0.43]$ (see Figure 1). There was no effect for positive Asian stereotypes, $F(1, 158) = 0.23$, $p = .64$, $d = 0.06$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [-0.09, 0.15]$ ($M_{\text{confronted}} = 0.91$, $SE = .02$; $M_{\text{nonconfronted}} = 0.93$, $SE = .02$).

A $2(\text{condition: confronted, not confronted}) \times 2(\text{participant gender: woman, man})$ ANCOVA revealed a significant effect of condition, $F(1, 156) = 6.15$, $p = .014$, $d = 0.40$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.08, 0.68]$. Confronted participants used significantly fewer gender role stereotypes ($M = 0.56$, $SE = .04$) than nonconfronted participants ($M = 0.69$, $SE = .04$). There was no effect of participant gender, $F(1, 156) = 2.49$, $p = .12$, $d = 0.26$, 95% $CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [-0.54, 0.06]$, ($M_{\text{women}} = 0.66$, $SE = .04$; $M_{\text{men}} = 0.58$, $SE = .04$), nor a significant interaction, $F(1, 156) = 1.69$, $p = .20$, $d = 0.21$.

Thus, participants confronted for using negative Black stereotypes subsequently used fewer female gender role stereotypes and positive Black stereotypes, but not positive Asian stereotypes, compared to nonconfronted participants.

Mediation

Mediation models identical to Study 1 were conducted for gender role and positive Black stereotype use. The indirect effect via neg-self was significant for the positive Black stereotype use model, $B = 0.01$, $SE = .004$, 95% $CI_B = [0.001, 0.02]$, but not the gender role stereotype use model, $B = 0.002$, $SE = .005$, 95% $CI_B = [-0.01, 0.01]$.⁶ Thus, the reduction in positive Black stereotype use after confrontation was due, in part, to an increase in neg-self, but neg-self did not mediate the transfer effect. This may be because a different process underlies the secondary prejudice transfer.

Study 3

Study 3 had three aims: (1) examine whether confrontations for female gender role stereotypes reduced the use of negative Black and Latino stereotypes, (2) minimize demand effects by presenting T1 and T2 as separate studies in which participants are confronted on a task that does not parallel the subsequent stereotyping task, and (3) identify an alternative mechanism for confrontation secondary transfer effects.

Past prejudice confrontation research has frequently demonstrated reduced stereotyping via increased neg-self (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006); however, in Studies 1 and 2, neg-self did not account for stereotype reduction, except for positive Black stereotype use. We hypothesized that although higher neg-self may increase self-regulation of stereotype use toward congruent social groups (e.g., confrontations for negative Black stereotype use reduces positive Black stereotype use), neg-self may need to coincide with secondary self-regulation motives to evoke secondary transfer effects. Based on evidence indicating that confrontations increase general egalitarian motivation and rumination about the confrontation (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), we examined whether confrontation secondary transfer effects require individuals to self-reflect and be motivated to decrease their prejudice broadly. In Study 3, we sought to test this idea by examining racial egalitarian motivation and racial bias rumination after a gender stereotype confrontation. We hypothesized that confrontations of gender role stereotypes which result in both neg-self and racial egalitarian motivation and/or racial bias rumination would reduce racial stereotype use.

Method

Participants

For T1, 151 participants who indicated they were White male MTurkers were recruited. Thirty participants who believed the T1 social interaction was fake (24 in the confront condition, 20 for indicating they were confronted for saying something they didn't say) and one participant who incorrectly responded to both attention-check items were excluded. Of the 120 participants eligible for T2, 86 completed it within 72 hr, although 1 was excluded for not indicating they were White during T2, and 1 for not entering responses, leaving 84 White male participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.32$, $SD = 12.61$, range: 18–73; 36 confronted at T1). An a priori power analysis for a two-cell ANOVA with 95% power and an effect size of $d = 0.85$ (see Supplement Study 2 for comparable effect) indicated a required sample size of 76. Data collection continued until a T2 analytic sample of 85 was reached in case of exclusions.

Procedure

Participants were informed they would complete a survey on moral decisions by communicating with a randomly selected MTurk worker. Participants learned their partner was a 35-year-old White man, and they would discuss four moral

scenarios. During the first two scenarios, their partner would recommend action after an immoral act occurred, and they would respond to their partner's recommendation, and vice versa for the last two scenarios (based on Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Unknown to participants, their partner's responses were preprogrammed.

The scenarios involved moral indiscretions (e.g., a student cheating on an exam), and the critical fourth scenario was: "A nurse discovers a hospital patient has been given blood contaminated with the AIDS virus" (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). After submitting a recommendation, participants randomly assigned to the confrontation condition received, "I noticed you referred to the nurse as a 'she.' The nurse could also be a man. We shouldn't use stereotypes, you know?" In the control condition, participants received, "I think the nurse should take care of the patient right away before worrying about who to blame." Past research using this paradigm was conducted in person, but 80% of participants used "she" or "her" in their responses, and during debriefing, all participants recalled having referred to the nurse as a woman (Mallett & Wagner, 2011).

Next, participants were asked a series of open-ended questions probing for suspicion and responded to 3 items assessing how much they liked their partner ($\alpha = .94$, e.g., "Did you enjoy the interaction with the other participant?," 1 [*not at all*] to 7 [*very much*]). On the same scale, participants responded to, "Was the other participant rude?" and "Did the other participant anger you?" as a brief measure of neg-other, $r(84) = .72$, $p < .001$, and a modified 9-item measure of neg-self ($\alpha = .97$), 1 (*does not apply to me at all*) to 7 (*very much applies to me*).

After 24 hr, the T2 survey was made available on MTurk to participants who completed T1. T2 was presented as examining inferences and did not mention T1. The only connection between T1 and T2 was the HITs (Human Intelligence Tasks) were posted by the same requester account. During T2, participants completed 1 practice trial followed by the stereotyping task (Studies 1–2) with 24 trials including 3 negative Black and 3 negative Latino stereotype trials (Study 1). Later, participants were asked, "Over the last 24 hours, how often did you find yourself . . ." followed by 2 racial egalitarian motivation items, for example, "Focusing on being egalitarian toward people regardless of their race," $r(84) = .77$, $p < .001$, and 2 racial rumination items, for example, "Thinking about how often you use racial stereotypes," $r(84) = .63$, $p < .001$, on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). No participants indicated suspicion that T2 was related to T1.

Results and Discussion

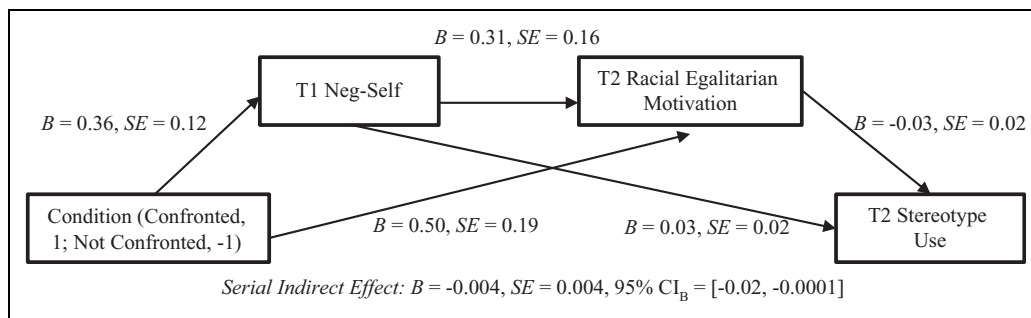
Baseline Stereotype Use

Forty of 151 (26.70%) participants referred to the nurse as "she" or used "her" in their response. Eleven of those 40 were excluded for believing the interaction was fake, though the remaining 29 completed T2 (11 in confront condition). Given low rates and past research indicating participants recalled

Table 1. Study 3, Means and Standard Errors by Condition.

Dependent Variable	Confronted M (SE)	Not Confronted M (SE)	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>
T1 liking	3.93 (.26)	4.99 (.23)	.003	0.67
T1 neg-other	3.12 (.23)	1.75 (.20)	<.001	1.00
T1 neg-self	2.24 (.19)	1.51 (.16)	.02	0.65
T2 negative Black stereotype use	0.53 (.05)	0.71 (.04)	.009	0.59
T2 negative Latino stereotype use	0.33 (.05)	0.47 (.04)	.03	0.49
T2 racial egalitarian motivation	4.00 (.28)	2.78 (.23)	<.001	0.74
T2 racial rumination	3.13 (.27)	2.77 (.23)	.32	0.22

Note. Standard error in parentheses.

**Figure 2.** Study 3, serial mediation model for the effect of condition on Time 2 negative Black stereotype use via neg-self and racial egalitarian motivation.

relying on a stereotype (Mallett & Wanger, 2011), we controlled for T1 stereotype use (1 = used “she”/“her”; 0 = did not) and retained participants regardless of T1 stereotype use. Critically, in a separate sample of 34 White men on MTurk who completed the T1 survey, 88% indicated during debriefing that they referred to the nurse as a woman (94% in the confrontation condition) despite only 14.7% using “she” or “her.”

T1 Affect

ANCOVAs revealed confronted participants liked their partner less, $F(1, 81) = 9.24, p = .003, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.37, 1.75]$, and reported greater neg-self, $F(1, 81) = 8.54, p = .005, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.23, 1.22]$, and neg-other, $F(1, 81) = 20.14, p < .001, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.76, 1.97]$, compared to nonconfronted participants (see Table 1).⁷

T2 Stereotype Use

ANCOVAs revealed confronted participants used significantly fewer negative Black, $F(1, 81) = 7.06, p = .009, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.05, 0.31]$, and Latino, $F(1, 81) = 4.87, p = .03, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.01, 0.26]$, stereotypes during T2 than nonconfronted participants, demonstrating secondary transfer effects.

T2 Egalitarian Motivation and Racial Rumination

ANCOVAs revealed participants confronted at T1 reported thinking about being more racially egalitarian over the last

24 hr than nonconfronted participants, $F(1, 81) = 11.24, p < .001, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [0.50, 1.95]$, although participants did not differ in racial rumination, $F(1, 81) = 1.01, p = .32, 95\% CI_{\text{meandiff}} = [-1.06, 0.35]$.

Mediations

A serial mediation analysis examining the effect of condition ($-1 = \text{control}; 1 = \text{confronted}$) on T2 negative Black stereotyping through neg-self and racial egalitarian motivation while controlling for T1 stereotype use revealed a significant indirect effect, $B = -0.01, SE = .01, 95\% CI_B = [-0.02, -0.001]$ (see Figure 2). A simple mediation revealed the indirect effect was not significant through only neg-self, $B = 0.01, SE = .01, 95\% CI_B = [-0.01, 0.03]$. Yet a second simple mediation revealed that the indirect effect was significant through only racial egalitarian motivation, $B = -0.03, SE = .02, 95\% CI_B = [-0.07, -0.01]$. A contrast of the serial mediation and the racial egalitarian motivation mediation model did not indicate a significant difference between these two models, $B = 0.02, SE = .02, 95\% CI_B = [-0.001, 0.06]$.⁸ This suggests that egalitarian motivation may be more integral than neg-self for the observed transfer effect on Black stereotype reduction. An identical serial mediation model for T2 negative Latino stereotype use did not reveal a significant serial indirect effect, $B = -0.002, SE = .003, 95\% CI_B = [-0.02, 0.002]$, or a significant indirect effect through only neg-self, $B = 0.01, SE = .01,$

95% $CI_B = [-0.003, 0.05]$, or only racial egalitarian motivation, $B = -0.01$, $SE = .01$, 95% $CI_B = [-0.04, 0.01]$.

Study 3 showed that White men confronted for gender role stereotypes by a peer used fewer negative Black and Latino stereotypes 24–72 hr later. These effects occurred despite few participants using gender stereotypes at T1. However, as 20 participants were excluded for reporting they were confronted for something they did not say and participants' responses were not present when they were confronted, it is likely that participants believed they had relied on gender stereotypes based on the secondary sample we collected (88% overall, 94% in confrontation condition) and past research with this paradigm (Mallett & Wagner, 2011). Prejudice confrontation secondary transfer effects to negative Black stereotypes occurred, in part, due to increased racial egalitarian motivation among confronted participants. Yet mediation models suggest the reduction in T2 negative Latino stereotype use was not due to neg-self or T2 racial egalitarian motivation. Given the confrontation by a stranger online, minimal connection between T1 and T2, time delay, and transfer effects, the present study is the strongest demonstration to date of the power of prejudice confrontations to reduce prejudice broadly and over time.

General Discussion

Across multiple studies and methods, results provide novel, consistent evidence for the breadth and endurance of secondary transfer effects associated with confronting prejudice. In Studies 1 and 2, White participants confronted for using negative Black stereotypes subsequently used fewer negative Latino stereotypes, positive Black stereotypes, and female gender role stereotypes, compared to participants who were not confronted. In Study 3, White men confronted online by a stranger for employing a female gender role stereotype used fewer negative Black and Latino stereotypes compared to participants who were not confronted during an unrelated subsequent task. Stereotype reduction emerged up to 1 week (Study 1) and 24–72 hr (Study 3) following the confrontation, underscoring the endurance of these secondary transfer effects. Prejudice confrontations thus serve as an avenue to reduce multiple prejudices, including stereotypes about other racial minority groups (Latinos), different valence dimensions (positive stereotypes), and different subordinate identities (gender).

Furthermore, the results suggest a novel pathway by which secondary transfer effects emerge. Specifically, confronting female gender role stereotypes reduced negative Black stereotype use due to an increase in racial egalitarian motivation (Study 3). This finding provides initial evidence that confronting stereotype use directed toward one group prompts broader cross-group egalitarian motives and in turn reduces stereotype use about a different group. As secondary transfer effects incorporate biases held about multiple groups, individuals' neg-self may need to prompt broader reflection of biases. This finding fits with theories of generalized prejudice (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007), and we encourage future research to consider how a lay theory of generalized prejudice (Chaney et al., 2020; Sanchez

et al., 2018) may moderate such effects, such that participants who more strongly perceive racism and sexism as co-occurring may be most likely to demonstrate broad stereotype reduction after prejudice confrontations.

Notably, two of our findings deserve greater discussion. First, in Study 3, a mechanism for the reduction of negative Latino stereotype use was not identified. This may be due, however, to the use of significantly fewer negative Latino compared to negative Black stereotypes used across conditions, $t(83) = 6.28$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.74$, ($M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.41$, $SD = 0.29$; $M_{\text{Black}} = 0.63$, $SD = 0.31$), the belief that Latinx is not a racial group (e.g., U.S. Census defines Hispanic as an ethnicity not as a race), or the online confrontation by a stranger minimizing experiences of neg-self. We therefore encourage future research to further explore the effect of prejudice confrontations on egalitarian motivations across groups and over time.

Second, neg-self, by itself, mediated only one of eight effects across our three studies. While past research has consistently demonstrated neg-self as the mechanism through which confronted participants inhibit stereotype use (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp et al., 2006), this prior work solely examined confrontations of congruent stereotypes (e.g., confronting a negative Black stereotype reducing negative Black stereotype use). Similarly, the one effect where neg-self mediated reduced stereotype use utilized the same group but differed in stereotype valence (i.e., reduced positive Black stereotype use following a confrontation of a negative Black stereotype). While we believe neg-self is an important mechanism in self-regulation, the present research highlights how secondary transfer effects may require examining different processes (e.g., egalitarian motives) and moderators (e.g., endorsement of a lay theory of generalized prejudice). We believe it is important for future research to continue examining what drives neg-self (e.g., incongruence of values and behavior, receiving negative feedback for one's behavior), and how this affects secondary transfer effects following prejudice confrontations.

The breadth in stereotype reduction suggests novel applications for confronting as a prejudice reduction strategy, particularly for biases that engender more negative evaluations when confronted. For example, confrontations of negative Black stereotypes are associated with greater corrective behavior change and less hostility compared to confrontations of gender bias (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Yet the present findings highlight that women can confront racial bias and concurrently reduce gender bias. Additionally, while past research has demonstrated that confrontations of positive stereotypes by the target group are rated negatively and seen as complaining (Alt et al., 2019), the present findings suggest that confrontations of negative Black stereotypes result in the use of fewer negative and positive Black stereotypes, compared to no confrontation (although this did not engender the use of fewer positive Asian stereotypes). These findings suggest how secondary transfer effects may uniquely mitigate negative evaluative consequences, which often limit the confrontation of prejudice.

The present research is the first to demonstrate the breadth of prejudice confrontations as a prejudice reduction strategy. Three studies demonstrated secondary transfer effects, such that White participants, confronted for stereotypes about one social group, ultimately reduced their use of negative stereotypes about a different social group. These findings highlight the broad impact of interpersonal confrontations as a general prejudice reduction strategy against multiple groups and multiple stereotypes and expand previous research on generalized prejudice and prejudice confrontations by demonstrating the breadth and endurance of confrontations as a prejudice reduction strategy.

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Supplemental Material

The supplemental material is available in the online version of the article.

Notes

1. In Studies 1 and 2, no participants suspected the confrontation was staged.
2. Data and materials available at <https://osf.io/udejb/>
3. Full analyses reported in Supplement.
4. Supplement Study 1 was conducted prior to Study 2.
5. We encourage future work to examine women of color gender role stereotyping as stereotyping and prejudice differs for women of color (Johnson et al., 2012).
6. Full analyses in Supplement.
7. Results do not significantly change when controlling for days between T1 and T2, see Supplement.
8. See Supplement for alternative models.

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