Article

"But that was meant to be a compliment!": Evaluative costs of confronting positive racial stereotypes

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Abstract

Past research on confronting racial prejudice has largely examined negative racial stereotypes. In the present work, we investigate perceiver and target perspectives associated with the evaluative costs of confronting positive racial stereotypes. We demonstrate that, in general, Asian Americans and African Americans who confront positive racial stereotypes suffer higher evaluative costs compared to targets who confront negative racial stereotypes and those who do not confront due, in part, to the lower perceived offensiveness of positive stereotypes (Studies 1 and 2). Moreover, Asian American and African American participants report lower confrontation intentions and higher anticipated evaluative costs for confronting positive, compared to negative, stereotypes. Furthermore, higher perceived offensiveness and lower anticipated favorable evaluations serially mediate the relationship between stereotype valence and confrontation intentions (Study 3). Overall, this research extends our understanding of the evaluative costs associated with confronting prejudice, with important downstream consequences regarding the continued prevalence of positive racial stereotypes.

Keywords

confronting prejudice, evaluative costs, positive racial stereotypes

During the 2016 Academy Awards, the host, Chris Rock, stated that the Oscar votes were tabulated by accountants who were "dedicated, accurate, and hardworking" (Lee, 2016), after which he brought out three Asian children dressed in suits as ostensible representatives of the company (Barnes, 2016). The joke, which relied on positive racial stereotypes about Asians, drew criticism from the Asian American community (Lee, 2016). The critiques noted that even amidst the controversy surrounding the lack of racial minority representation at the Oscars, a joke based on racial stereotypes was still

deemed acceptable to deliver (Gay, 2016). This incident highlights the perception that positive racial stereotypes are inoffensive, harmless, and more condoned compared to negative racial stereotypes, presenting unique challenges in terms of their

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confrontation (Bergsieker, Leslie, Constantine, & Fiske, 2012; Czopp, 2008a; Czopp, Kay, & Cheryan, 2015; Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008). From the perceiver's perspective, does seeing someone confront a positive, compared to a negative, racial stereotype lead to harsher evaluative judgments of the confronter? From the targets' perspective, does one protest being ascribed a trait that is supposedly positive and flattering? Are there higher evaluative costs for doing so? And do these higher evaluative costs impact whether one decides to confront or not?

Across six studies we investigate these questions. In Studies 1 and 2 we address the perceiver's perspective, examining whether individuals differentially evaluate Asian American (Studies 1a, 2a) and African American (Studies 1b, 2b) targets who confront positive, compared to negative, racial stereotypes and the impact of the perceived offensiveness of the comment on these evaluations. In Study 3, we examine whether Asian Americans (Study 3a) and African Americans (Study 3b) report confronting positive stereotypes at lower rates compared to negative stereotypes, anticipate higher evaluative costs for confronting positive stereotypes, and whether perceived offensiveness and evaluative costs influence confrontation decisions. Together, these studies present novel evidence highlighting the differences between confronting positive and negative racial stereotypes from both the perceiver and target perspectives.

Positive Racial Stereotypes

Positive racial stereotypes reflect the endorsement of seemingly valued and respected traits or characteristics based upon perceived racial group membership (Czopp et al., 2015; Siy & Cheryan, 2013). While positive stereotypes may lead to some psychological benefits (Crocker & Major, 1989; Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita, & Gray, 2002), they can also engender a host of negative effects; with much of this research examining the negative consequences of the model minority myth for Asian Americans. For instance, Asian Americans who believed others endorsed stereotypes about their strong math ability performed worse on a math test compared to Asian Americans not under stereotype salient conditions (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000). Positive racial stereotyping also led Asian Americans to feel they were being depersonalized, which in turn led to more negative emotional responses (Siy & Cheryan, 2013). Further, Asian Americans who endorsed model minority stereotypes reported greater self-doubt, higher psychological distress, and less support-seeking behaviors (Gupta, Szymanski, & Leong, 2011; Inman & Yeh, 2007; Son & Shelton, 2011; Yoo, Burrola, & Steger, 2010).

The adverse effects of positive racial stereotypes are not limited to Asian Americans; African Americans also experience positive racial stereotyping and suffer negative consequences. For instance, African Americans who endorsed stereotypes about being athletically gifted reported lower school achievement motives (Czopp, 2008b). Moreover, White men who strongly held the athletic stereotype advised hypothetical African American students to continue pursuing athletics over academics (Czopp, 2010). Previous research also showed that exposure to positive racial stereotyping produced greater endorsement of racial essentialism and negative racial stereotypes among non-African American participants (Kay, Day, Zanna, & Nussbaum, 2013), and that African Americans disliked individuals who brought up positive stereotypes compared to those who did not (Czopp, 2008a). Overall, positive racial stereotypes, while at times associated with beneficial outcomes, frequently lead to undesirable consequences (Czopp et al., 2015).

Confronting Racial Stereotypes and Evaluative Costs

When faced with prejudice or a stereotyped comment, racial minorities may choose to confront the perpetrator, telling the perpetrator what they said or did was unacceptable and based on stereotypic inferences (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006). Research shows the act

of confronting is valuable, as it exposes the prejudicial nature of the comment and reduces future expression (Becker & Swim, 2011; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). People who confront (i.e., confronters) also experience benefits, including greater satisfaction and less guilt about the incident (Dickter, 2012; Shelton et al., 2006), making confronting prejudice a potentially useful coping mechanism for discrimination (Chaney, Young, & Sanchez, 2015). Even witnessing a confrontation leads observers to report increased support for egalitarian norms (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994) and decreased prejudicial attitudes (Boysen, 2013). Given these benefits, confronting racial prejudice is a potent strategy to expose and reduce racist statements and acts.

Unfortunately, speaking out against prejudice comes at a price, with confronters evaluated less favorably (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001) and labelled "complainers" (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Theoretical models posit these costs as determinants in whether one chooses to confront or not (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008). For example, women who perceived more costs to confronting sexism reported a lower likelihood of confronting sexism in their daily lives (Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2012). Overall, evaluative costs play an important role in determining whether one confronts or remains silent when faced with a prejudicial act.

Extant literature on the evaluative costs of confronting racism has mainly focused on negative racial stereotypes (e.g., associating crime and African Americans; Czopp & Monteith, 2003), with much unknown regarding positive stereotypes. If indeed the evaluative costs of confronting positive stereotypes are higher than confronting negative stereotypes, then this may create a greater unwillingness to confront such prejudice. Critically, this suggests one unexamined factor by which positive stereotypes remain so prevalent (Czopp et al., 2015), as their use frequently goes unchallenged. To address these issues, we examine both perceiver and target perspectives regarding Asian Americans' and African Americans' evaluative costs of confronting positive racial stereotypes.

Present Research

In Studies 1 and 2 we investigate whether Asian Americans and African Americans who confront positive racial stereotypes are evaluated less favorably compared to those who confront negative racial stereotypes. In addition, we propose that the harsher evaluations for confronting positive versus negative stereotypes stem, in part, from differences in the perceived offensiveness of the stereotyped comment. Past research has demonstrated that greater perceived offensiveness of prejudicial comments was associated with more favorable evaluations of confronters (Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2012; Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe, & Ellemers, 2010). Since positive stereotypes are viewed as less offensive than negative stereotypes (Czopp et al., 2015), their confrontation is likely to engender higher evaluative costs. While not the main focus of the current research, we also include, in Study 1, a no confrontation condition to replicate past research whereby confronters receive harsher evaluations than nonconfronters (Dodd et al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Overall, we hypothesize that (a) perceivers will judge confronters of positive stereotypes more harshly than confronters of negative stereotypes, as well as those who do not confront, and (b) these harsher judgments will be mediated by the perception that positive racial stereotypes are less offensive than negative racial stereotypes.

In Study 3, we examine the target perspective, testing whether Asian American and African American participants report lower intentions to confront positive racial stereotypes than negative racial stereotypes. Furthermore, we propose that the lower perceived offensiveness of positive racial stereotypes will be associated with higher anticipated evaluative costs, reducing participants' confrontation intentions and aligning with past models of confronting prejudice (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). In summary, we examine the evaluative costs of confronting positive racial

stereotypes for Asian American (Studies 1a, 2a) and African American (Studies 1b, 2b) targets and test whether Asian Americans and African Americans report decreased confrontation intentions for positive racial stereotypes due to the lower perceived offensiveness and higher anticipated evaluative costs associated with confronting such stereotypes (Studies 3a, 3b).

Study 1a: Perceivers' Judgments of Asian American Confronters

In Study 1a we assess non-Asian American participants' perceptions of an Asian American target who either confronts or does not confront a positive or negative racial stereotype. While this type of factorial design is typically used to test interactions, we hypothesize a synergistic effect (see Galinsky, Magee, Rus, Rothman, & Todd, 2014) whereby confronting a positive stereotype will lead to the lowest favorable evaluations and the highest complainer evaluations compared to confronting a negative racial stereotype and not confronting either stereotype. We also hypothesize that perceived offensiveness will be lower for positive compared to negative stereotypes, and that perceived offensiveness will mediate evaluative differences between confronting positive and negative racial stereotypes.

Method

Participants and Exclusions

In total, 215 participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) were recruited. We excluded eight participants who failed to complete the study (their inclusion does not change the direction or significance of any effect) and, since we were interested in evaluations by nontargets, participants who identified as Asian/Asian American ($n = 17$). The final sample size was 190 participants (104 women; $M_{age} = 36.99$, $SD = 13.41$; 77.9% White).[1] All studies presented in this manuscript were approved by UCLA's Institutional Review board and informed consent was obtained before the experiments began.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: confront-positive, confront-negative, no confront-positive, and no confront-negative. First, participants read an Asian American's (i.e., Jeffrey Liu) response to the prompt, "Please describe a difficult social situation in which you were the target of offensive social behavior." The scenario involved either a common positive or negative stereotype about Asian Americans, derived from work by Lin, Kwan, Cheung, and Fiske (2005), in which the racial group was mentioned (i.e., "I know Asians are good at math/I know Asians are not very good at English"). Next, participants in the confront conditions read:

> I was annoyed by their racist comment and I tactfully confronted him about his racist remark. I told him that as an Asian American, I thought that what he said was wrong—that I found his comment offensive and racist.

In the no confront conditions participants read:

> I was annoyed by their racist comment and although I wanted to confront him I couldn't get myself to do it. I wanted to tactfully tell him that as an Asian American, I thought what he said was wrong—that I found his comments offensive and racist. However, I avoided the issue and said nothing at all about his racist comments. (See online supplemental materials for full text; materials were based on Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009)

After reading one of the scenarios, participants rated the target on 14 traits assessing favorable evaluations (e.g., likable, would be a good friend; $\alpha = .97$) and six traits assessing complainer evaluations (e.g., complainer, overreacting; $\alpha = .86$) on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; see Kaiser & Miller, 2003). We used both scales to tease apart these two dimensions. Next, participants rated perceived offensiveness using three items: "How offensive did you believe the comment Jeffrey described was?"; "How serious was the offense (if any) Jeffrey described?"; and

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for favorable evaluations and complainer evaluations of Asian American and African American targets by condition (Studies 1 and 2).

	Confront-positive	Confront-negative	No confront-positive	No confront-negative
Study 1a				
Favorable evaluation	4.55 (1.38)$_a$	5.10 (1.12)$_b$	5.24 (0.90)$_b$	5.22 (1.29)$_b$
Complainer evaluation	3.62 (1.37)$_a$	3.19 (1.14)$_a$	2.81 (1.19)$_b$	2.65 (1.09)$_b$
Study 1b				
Favorable evaluation	4.92 (1.20)$_a$	5.25 (1.20)$_a$	4.88 (1.10)$_a$	5.44 (1.13)$_b$
Complainer evaluation	3.67 (1.38)$_a$	3.02 (1.18)$_b$	2.95 (1.30)$_b$	2.37 (1.04)$_b$
Study 2a				
Favorable evaluation	4.84 (1.14)$_a$	4.97 (1.21)$_a$	-	-
Complainer evaluation	3.37 (1.48)$_a$	3.09 (1.43)$_b$	-	-
Study 2b				
Favorable evaluation	4.61 (1.37)$_a$	4.97 (1.20)$_b$	-	-
Complainer evaluation	3.63 (1.65)$_a$	3.14 (1.44)$_b$	-	-

Note. Means in each row that have different subscripts differ significantly and means in each row that share the same subscript do not differ significantly.

"How harmed was Jeffery by the comment?" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*; α = .82). Finally, participants provided demographic information (e.g., age, sex, ethnicity) and were debriefed. In all presented studies participants received a small monetary sum for their participation.

Results

As noted above, we hypothesized a synergistic effect whereby the target in the confront-positive condition would receive the lowest favorable and highest complainer evaluations. To test this, we employed a between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing the confront-positive condition to all other conditions (i.e., contrast codes: 3, −1, −1, −1), followed by planned contrasts comparing the confront-positive condition to each other condition: confront-negative, no confront-positive, and no confront-negative.[2]

Favorable Evaluations

Results revealed significant differences between the confront-positive and all other conditions on favorable evaluations, $F(1, 186) = 10.62$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$ (see Table 1). Planned contrasts showed that participants rated the positive stereotype confronter lower on favorable evaluations ($M = 4.55$, $SE = 0.17$) than the negative stereotype confronter ($M = 5.10$, $SE = 0.17$), $F(1, 186) = 5.31$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and lower compared to when no confrontation occurred for either a positive ($M = 5.24$, $SE = 0.17$) or negative stereotype ($M = 5.22$, $SE = 0.18$), Fs$(1, 186) = 8.64$ and 7.42, ps $= .004$ and $.007$, both $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Complainer Evaluations

Results showed a significant difference between the confront-positive and all other conditions on complainer evaluations, $F(1, 186) = 13.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$ (see Table 1). Planned contrasts revealed that an Asian American target who confronted a positive stereotype was rated marginally significantly higher on complainer evaluations ($M = 3.62$, $SE = 0.17$) than the negative stereotype confronter ($M = 3.19$, $SE = 0.17$), $F(1, 186) = 3.07$, $p = .081$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Furthermore, an Asian American target who confronted a positive stereotype was rated higher on complainer evaluations than an Asian American target who did not
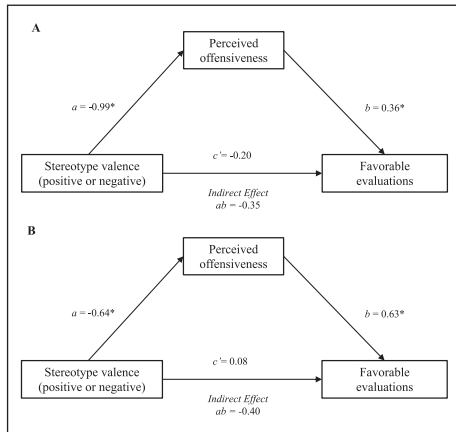
Figure 1. The effect of confronting a positive or negative stereotype on favorable evaluations for Asian American (A) and African American (B) confronters as mediated through perceived offensiveness.
*p < .05.

confront a positive (M = 2.81, SE = 0.17) or negative stereotype (M = 2.65, SE = 0.18), Fs(1, 186) = 11.32 and 14.86, ps = .001 and < .001, η_p^2 = .06 and .07, respectively.

Perceived Offensiveness

Since we hypothesized that the positive stereotype would be viewed as less offensive than the negative racial stereotype, we used a 2 (stereotype valence: positive or negative) x 2 (confrontation: yes or no) ANOVA, with perceived offensiveness as the dependent variable. As predicted, a significant main effect of stereotype valence emerged, with the positive stereotype (M = 4.56, SE = 0.14) rated less offensive than the negative stereotype (M = 5.04, SE = 0.14), F(1, 186) = 16.68, p < .001, η_p^2 = .08. The main effect of confrontation and two-way interaction were both not significant, Fs(1, 186) = 0.59 and 0.87, ps = .444 and .353, both η_p^2 < .01.

Mediation

We used the SPSS PROCESS macro, Model 4 (Hayes, 2013; see Figure 1), employing 10,000 bootstrapped samples, to test our hypothesis that the difference in favorable evaluations[3]

between confronting positive (coded as 1) compared to negative stereotypes (coded as 0) was mediated by perceived offensiveness of the comment. For this model, we only examined participants who read the confrontation. As mentioned before, the positive stereotype was perceived as less offensive than the negative stereotype, a_1 = −0.99, p < .001. Subsequently, perceived offensiveness was positively related to favorable evaluations, b_1 = 0.36, p < .001, with the direct effect of stereotype valence on favorable evaluations no longer significant, c' = −0.20, p = .436. The indirect effect, however, was significant, a_1b_1 = −0.35, 95% CI [−0.75, −0.09], indicating that an Asian American target confronting a positive, compared to a negative, racial stereotype, was evaluated less favorably due in part to the lower perceived offensiveness of the positive stereotype.

Study 1b: Perceivers' Judgments of African American Confronters

In Study 1b we examine the evaluative costs of confronting positive, compared to negative, racial stereotypes for African American targets. Our hypotheses remain the same as in Study 1a.

Method

Participants and Exclusions

In all, 245 participants from Amazon's MTurk were recruited. As in Study 1a, participants who identified as Black/African American were excluded (n = 13), leaving a total of 232 participants (91 women; M_{age} = 35.44, SD = 11.54; 82.8% White).

Procedure

Procedures mirrored Study 1a with two differences: (a) The target was changed to be African American (via name "Tyrone Lewis" and explicit label "African American"), and (b) the positive and negative stereotypes were about African Americans. Specifically, the scenario described a

situation where Tyrone, working with a team to organize a basketball tournament, could either play basketball or help keep score. The positive stereotype condition stated "I know Blacks are athletic, how about I keep score and you play?" while the negative stereotype condition stated "I know Blacks are not good at math, how about I keep score and you play?" (see online supplemental material for full text). These comments were based on positive (i.e., Blacks are athletically gifted) and negative stereotypes (i.e., poor at math, indicating lower intelligence) about African Americans (Devine & Elliot, 1995). The confrontation and no confrontation statements were identical with the exception of "African American" replacing "Asian American." Dependent measures were the same as in Study 1a: favorable evaluations ($\alpha = .97$), complainer evaluations ($\alpha = .89$), and perceived offensiveness ($\alpha = .76$).

Results

Favorable Evaluations

Contrary to hypotheses, and results from Study 1a, an ANOVA on favorable evaluations comparing the confront-positive and all other conditions was not significant, $F(1, 228) = 2.28, p = .132, \eta_p^2 = .01$ (see Table 1).[4] While this test was not significant, we explored whether the confront-positive condition differed in terms of favorable evaluations compared to other conditions using planned contrasts. Results revealed no significant difference between an African American target who confronted a positive ($M = 4.92, SE = 0.16$) compared to a negative stereotype ($M = 5.25, SE = 0.15$), $F(1, 228) = 2.33, p = .129, \eta_p^2 = .01$. In addition, there was no significant difference between confronting and not confronting a positive stereotype ($M = 4.88, SE = 0.15$), $F(1, 228) = 0.04, p = .850, \eta_p^2 < .01$. Finally, favorable evaluations were significantly lower for positive stereotype confronters compared to when the negative stereotype was not confronted ($M = 5.44, SE = 0.15$), $F(1, 228) = 5.66, p = .018, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Overall, this pattern of results was not as

predicted, a point we return to in the Discussion section.

Complainer Evaluations

Results revealed a significant difference between the confront-positive and all other conditions, $F(1, 228) = 22.27, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$ (see Table 1). Planned contrasts reflected Study 1a results; an African American target who confronted a positive stereotype was rated higher on complainer evaluations ($M = 3.67, SE = 0.16$) than an African American target who confronted a negative stereotype ($M = 3.02, SE = 0.16$), $F(1, 228) = 8.18, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and than African American targets who did not confront either a positive ($M = 2.95, SE = 0.16$) or a negative stereotype ($M = 2.37, SE = 0.16$), $Fs(1, 288) = 9.80$ and $31.54, ps < .002$ and $.001, \eta_p^2 = .04$ and $.12$, respectively.

Perceived Offensiveness

Replicating analyses from Study 1a for perceived offensiveness, a significant main effect of stereotype valence emerged, with the positive stereotype ($M = 4.03, SE = 0.12$) rated less offensive than the negative stereotype ($M = 4.99, SE = 0.12$), $F(1, 228) = 33.99, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$. Neither the main effect of confrontation nor the two-way interaction were significant, $Fs(1, 228) = 1.39$ and $3.71, ps = .24$ and $.06, \eta_p^2 = .01$ and $.02$, respectively.

Mediation

Results from the same mediation model from Study 1a (see Figure 1) indicated that participants viewed the positive stereotype as less offensive than the negative stereotype, $a_1 = -0.64, p = .008$. In turn, perceived offensiveness was associated with more favorable evaluations, $b_1 = 0.63, p < .001$. While the direct effect of stereotype valence on favorable evaluations was no longer significant, $c' = 0.08, p = .653$, the indirect effect was significant, $a_1b_1 = -0.40, 95\%$ CI $[-0.76, -0.11]$. Thus, aligning with Study 1a, favorable

evaluations were mediated by the lower perceived offensiveness of the positive stereotype.

Studies 1a and 1b Discussion

Across Studies 1a and 1b, participants rated Asian American and African American confronters of positive racial stereotypes more harshly than confronters of negative racial stereotypes and targets who did not confront. One notable exception was the null effect for favorable evaluations in Study 1b. Still, mediation models indicated that targets were rated less favorably for confronting positive stereotypes due, in part, to the lower perceived offensiveness of positive compared to negative stereotypes. These findings provide initial support for our hypothesis that confronting positive racial stereotypes is associated with high evaluative costs, due in part to the lower perceived offensiveness of positive racial stereotypes.

Studies 1a and 1b are not without limitations. Notably, the use of one positive and one negative stereotype per study limits the generalizability of our findings. In addition, our scenario may have introduced potential confounds, such as the "either or" comparison (e.g., "I know Blacks are athletic, how about I keep score and you play"). This set-up could be interpreted as evoking both positive and negative stereotypes and may have contributed to our null findings; a point we return to in our General Discussion section. We address these issues in Studies 2a and 2b.

Studies 2a and 2b: Perceivers' Judgments of Confronters Across Varied Scenarios

In Studies 2a and 2b we examine the same hypotheses as in Studies 1a and 1b, using two scenarios and four unique stereotypes (two positive and two negative for each racial group). We also directly test our main hypothesis by removing the no confrontation condition, focusing on evaluative differences between stereotype valence. Lastly, while we generally saw no significant interactions between our specific hypotheses and

White versus non-White participants, we chose to limit our sample to White participants. Since research shows a perceived similarity in discrimination experiences across racial/ethnic groups can engender more positive attitudes between these groups (Craig & Richeson, 2012; Sanchez, 2008), we believe only recruiting White participants will give us a clearer understanding of how the dominant group evaluates racial minorities who confront positive stereotypes.

Study 2a Method

Participants and Exclusions

In all, 426 participants from Amazon's MTurk, who identified as White during a brief prestudy demographic survey (e.g., age, gender, race/ethnicity), completed the study. Based on a priori criteria, 12 participants who failed a manipulation check asking for the race of the confronter and five participants who, in a poststudy demographics survey, indicated they did not identify as White were excluded, leaving a total of 409 participants (215 women; M_{age} = 38.44, SD_{age} = 12.15).

Procedure

Procedures mirrored Study 1a, except for two notable differences. First, we developed two different scenarios which each used a positive or negative stereotype derived from prior work on Asian American stereotypes (see Lin et al., 2005). In the first scenario, participants read about an Asian American man who was on a date and the date stated that they either assumed the target worked in technology (positive stereotype) or would be socially awkward (negative stereotype). In the second scenario, participants read about an Asian American man who was at lunch with coworkers and, upon receiving the bill, was told either they should calculate the tip because they were good at accounting (positive stereotype) or that they should be sure to tip because Asians are cheap (negative stereotype; see online supplemental material for full text of scenarios). As we removed the no-confront condition, all participants next read the same confrontation statement

as described in Study 1a. In summary, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (stereotype valence: positive or negative) x 2 (scenario: date or lunch) design. After reading the scenario, participants answered the same dependent measures as in Study 1: favorable evaluations (α = .97), complainer evaluations (α = .93), and perceived offensiveness (α = .82).

Results

Favorable Evaluations

Contrary to hypotheses, an ANOVA revealed no significant main effect of stereotype valence, with positive stereotype confronters ($M = 4.84$, $SE = 0.08$) rated equally favorable as negative stereotype confronters ($M = 4.97$, $SE = 0.08$), $F(1, 405) = 1.18$, $p = .279$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$. A significant main effect of scenario emerged, with participants rating the confronter in the dating scenario ($M = 4.78$, $SE = 0.08$) less favorably than in the lunch scenario ($M = 5.03$, $SE = 0.08$), $F(1, 405) = 4.71$, $p = .031$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was, however, a marginally significant two-way interaction between stereotype valence and scenario, $F(1, 405) = 3.29$, $p = .070$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Simple effect analyses revealed no significant difference in favorable evaluations between positive ($M = 4.82$, $SE = 0.12$) and negative ($M = 4.74$, $SE = 0.12$) stereotypes in the dating scenario, $t(205) = 0.49$, $p = .626$, $d = 0.06$. However, in the lunch scenario there was a significant effect of stereotype valence, such that participants rated the positive stereotype confronter ($M = 4.86$, $SE = 0.10$) less favorably than the negative stereotype confronter ($M = 5.20$, $SE = 0.11$), $t(200) = 2.19$, $p = .030$, $d = 0.31$.

Complainer Evaluations

Aligning with hypotheses, an ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of stereotype valence for complainer evaluations with positive stereotype confronters ($M = 3.37$, $SE = 0.10$) rated higher on complainer evaluations compared to negative stereotype confronters ($M = 3.09$, $SE = 0.10$),

$F(1, 405) = 4.09$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was also a significant main effect of scenario, such that confronters in the dating scenario received higher complainer evaluations ($M = 3.48$, $SE = 0.10$) than confronters in the lunch scenario ($M = 2.98$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 405) = 11.97$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. The two-way interaction was not significant, $F(1, 405) = 1.33$, $p = .249$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Perceived Offensiveness

An ANOVA revealed the hypothesized main effect of stereotype valence, with negative stereotypes ($M = 4.27$, $SE = 0.10$) rated more offensive than positive stereotypes ($M = 3.85$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 405) = 9.17$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There was also a main effect of scenario, with the dating scenario rated less offensive ($M = 3.77$, $SE = 0.10$) than the lunch scenario ($M = 4.35$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 405) = 17.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. We also found a marginally significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 405) = 3.78$, $p = .053$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Simple effect analyses indicated that in the dating scenario there was no significant difference between positive ($M = 3.70$, $SE = 0.14$) and negative ($M = 3.85$, $SE = 0.13$) stereotypes, $t(205) = 0.78$, $p = .436$, $d = 0.11$. However, in the lunch scenario, participants rated the positive stereotype ($M = 4.00$, $SE = 0.15$) as less offensive than the negative stereotype ($M = 4.70$, $SE = 0.13$), $t(200) = 3.46$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.49$.

Mediation

We conducted the same mediation analyses from Study 1a, collapsing across the two scenarios. As in Study 1a, results supported our hypotheses. Participants rated positive stereotypes as less offensive than negative stereotypes, $a_1 = -0.42$, $p = .003$. In turn, perceived offensiveness was positively related to favorable evaluations, $b_1 = 0.49$, $p < .001$. The indirect effect of stereotype valence on favorable evaluations through perceived offensiveness was significant, $a_1 b_1 = -0.21$, 95% CI $[-0.35, -0.07]$,[5] while the direct effect of stereotype valence was not, $c' = 0.08$, $p = .390$.

Study 2b Method

Participants and Exclusions

In all, 421 White participants from Amazon's MTurk were recruited. Based on a priori criteria, 11 participants who failed a manipulation check asking for the race of the confronter and four participants who, in a poststudy demographics survey, did not identify as White were excluded, leaving a total of 406 participants (212 women; $M_{age} = 37.86$, $SD_{age} = 11.59$).

Procedure

Procedures mirrored Study 2a, with the scenarios focused on positive and negative stereotypes about African Americans derived from prior work (see Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Devine & Elliot, 1995). The first scenario described an African American who, while shopping in a trendy area, was stopped and questioned about where to buy hip clothes (positive stereotype) or whether they could afford the clothes (negative stereotype). The second scenario described an experience where an African American was telling a story and overheard some people say they admired how sociable Black guys were (positive stereotype) or how loud Black guys were (negative stereotype; see online supplemental material for full text of scenarios). In summary, participants were randomly assigned into one of four conditions in a 2 (stereotype valence: positive or negative) x 2 (scenario: shopping or storytelling) design. Dependent measures remained the same: favorable evaluations ($\alpha = .97$), complainer evaluations ($\alpha = .93$), and perceived offensiveness ($\alpha = .81$).

Results

Favorable Evaluations

Results from an ANOVA on mean favorable evaluations supported our hypothesis, positive stereotype confronters ($M = 4.61$, $SE = 0.09$) were rated less favorably than negative stereotype confronters ($M = 4.97$, $SE = 0.09$), $F(1, 402) = 8.04$, $p = .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. There was also a main effect of scenario, with confronters in the shopping scenario ($M = 4.49$, $SE = 0.01$) rated less favorably compared to the storytelling scenario ($M = 5.09$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 402) = 23.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. The two-way interaction was not significant, $F(1, 402) = 0.25$, $p = .617$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Complainer Evaluations

Supporting our hypothesis, positive stereotype confronters ($M = 3.63$, $SE = 0.11$) were rated higher on complainer evaluations than negative stereotype confronters ($M = 3.14$, $SE = 0.11$), $F(1, 402) = 10.62$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. There was also a significant main effect of scenario, with confronters in the shopping scenario ($M = 3.63$, $SE = 0.11$) rated higher on complainer evaluations compared to the storytelling scenario ($M = 3.14$, $SE = 0.11$), $F(1, 402) = 10.25$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. There was no significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 402) = 0.76$, $p = .383$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Perceived Offensiveness

Lastly, positive stereotypes ($M = 3.53$, $SE = 0.10$) were rated less offensive than negative stereotypes ($M = 4.18$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 402) = 20.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. There was also a significant main effect of scenario, such that the shopping scenario ($M = 3.71$, $SE = 0.10$) was rated less offensive than the storytelling scenario ($M = 3.99$, $SE = 0.10$), $F(1, 402) = 3.99$, $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was no significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 402) = 0.18$, $p = .675$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$.

Mediation

As in the Study 2a mediation model, stereotype valence predicted perceived offensiveness, $a_1 = -0.65$, $p < .001$. In turn, perceived offensiveness was positively related to favorable evaluations, $b_1 = 0.53$, $p < .001$. While the direct effect of stereotype valence on favorable evaluations was no longer significant, $c' = 0.01$, $p = .903$, the indirect effect was significant, $a_1 b_1 = -0.34$, 95% CI [-0.51, -0.19].

Studies 2a and 2b Discussion

Overall, results align with findings from Studies 1a and 1b, allowing for greater generalization across multiple positive and negative stereotypes. While in Study 2a we did not find a main effect of stereotype valence for favorable evaluations or perceived offensiveness, we did find the hypothesized effects in the lunch, but not the dating, scenario. This suggests the influence of contextual effects, such as differences in the nature of the relationship (i.e., dating). We discuss this point further in the General Discussion section. Importantly, we found convergent evidence for our hypotheses regarding favorable evaluations in Study 2b, contrary to results from Study 1b. This again suggests that our results from Study 1b may be due to other factors, possibly the aforementioned "either or" comparison. In general, results from Studies 2a and 2b align with our overarching hypothesis that confronting positive stereotypes leads to lower favorable evaluations and higher complainer evaluations, due in part to the lower perceived offensiveness of positive stereotypes.

Study 3: Asian American and African American Targets' Perspective

In Study 3 we examine the target's perspective, testing whether the perceiver effects demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2 influence Asian American and African American participants' confrontation intentions. Specifically, we hypothesize that Asian American and African American participants will report lower hypothetical confrontation intentions for a positive, compared to a negative, stereotype. We also predict that participants will anticipate lower favorable and higher complainer evaluations for confronting a positive, compared to a negative, stereotype. Lastly, we extend the mediation models from Studies 1 and 2, testing whether the lower perceived offensiveness of positive stereotypes predicts higher anticipated evaluative costs, which in turn would predict lower confrontation intentions.

Method

Participants and Exclusions

In all, 210 Asian American participants and 207 African American participants from Amazon's MTurk were recruited. Based on a priori criteria, we excluded participants who, while identified as Asian American ($n = 2$) or African American ($n = 3$) in the prestudy qualification survey, did not do so in the poststudy demographic survey, resulting in a final sample size of 199 Asian Americans (94 women; $M_{age} = 30.21$, $SD_{age} = 8.21$) and 204 African Americans (122 women; $M_{age} = 32.46$, $SD = 10.04$).

Procedure

Procedures were the same for both Asian American and African American participants, except for minor noted changes. Participants began by completing prescreen items, including a question about participant's race/ethnicity. Only participants who identified as Asian American (Study 3a) or African American (Study 3b) proceeded with the study. Next, participants were instructed to imagine the scenarios used in Studies 1a and 1b, matched to participant race. Participants were randomly assigned to read the text from either the positive or negative stereotype condition used in Studies 1a and 1b. After reading the scenario, participants indicated their confrontation intention ("Would you confront the person, that is tell the person what they said was inappropriate, offensive, and based on racial stereotypes?": *yes* or *no*) and evaluated the perceived offensiveness of the comment with the scale from Studies 1 and 2 ($\alpha = .89$ [Asian American] and $\alpha = .90$ [African American]).

Participants were then instructed to imagine they said the same confrontation statement from Studies 1 and 2 (matched to participant racial identity). After reading these statements, participants were asked: "How would other people (NOT the person you confronted but people who saw your confrontation) rate you on. . ." followed by the Favorable Evaluation Scale ($\alpha = .95$ [Asian American] and $\alpha = .97$ [African American])

and Complainer Evaluation Scale (α = .91 [Asian American] and α = .91 [African American]) from Studies 1a and 1b. We chose to investigate participants' perceptions of others' opinions to assess their beliefs of how observers would evaluate them, as we previously focused on the perceiver perspective.

Study 3a Results

Confrontation Intentions

Results supported hypotheses, with 50.5% of Asian Americans reporting they would confront the positive stereotype compared to 85.3% stating they would confront the negative stereotype. A logistic regression with stereotype valence (0 = negative, 1 = positive) as the predictor of confrontation intentions (0 = not confront, 1 = confront) revealed a significant main effect of stereotype valence, $B = -1.74$, $SE = 0.35$, Wald χ^2 (1) = 25.28, $p < .001$, odds ratio (OR) = 0.18, such that there was an 82% decrease *in the odds* of confronting a positive, compared to a negative, stereotype.

Anticipated Evaluations

We examined the hypothesis that Asian American participants would anticipate lower favorable evaluations and higher complainer evaluations for confronting the positive, compared to the negative, stereotype using two independent samples *t* test with favorable evaluations and complainer evaluations as dependent variables.[6]

Asian American participants anticipated lower favorable evaluations for confronting a positive stereotype ($M = 3.91$, $SE = 0.11$) compared to a negative stereotype ($M = 4.65$, $SE = 0.11$), $t(197)$ = 4.79, $p < .001$, $d = 0.69$. Moreover, Asian American participants anticipated higher complainer evaluations for confronting a positive stereotype ($M = 4.64$, $SE = 0.13$) compared to a negative stereotype ($M = 3.86$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(197)$ = 4.12, $p < .001$, $d = 0.58$.

Perceived Offensiveness

Aligning with hypotheses, Asian American participants viewed the positive stereotype as less

offensive ($M = 3.15$, $SE = 0.15$) than the negative stereotype ($M = 4.58$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(197) = 6.92$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.99$.

Mediation

We tested two serial mediation models, both using PROCESS Model 6 (Hayes, 2013) with 10,000 bootstrapped samples. The first examined the extent to which the effect of condition (−1 = positive stereotype, 1 = negative stereotype) on confrontation intentions (1 = yes, 0 = no) was serially mediated by perceived offensiveness and favorable evaluations. The second model was identical, but replaced favorable evaluations with complainer evaluations. The indirect effect of condition on confrontation intention via perceived offensiveness and favorable evaluations was significant, $B = 0.06$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% BC CI [0.01, 0.16]. The indirect effect via perceived offensiveness and complainer evaluations was not significant, $B = 0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% BC CI [−0.02, 0.06]. See Table 2 for additional statistics.

Study 3b Results

Confrontation Intentions

Similar to Study 3a, results supported hypotheses, with 70.5% of African Americans reporting they would confront the positive stereotype compared to 89.0% stating they would confront the negative stereotype. A logistic regression with stereotype valence (0 = negative, 1 = positive) as the predictor of confrontation intentions (0 = not confront, 1 = confront) revealed a significant main effect of stereotype valence, $B = -1.22$, $SE = 0.38$, Wald χ^2 (1) = 10.27, $p = .001$, OR = 0.30, such that there was a 70% decrease *in the odds* of confronting a positive compared to a negative stereotype.

Anticipated Evaluations

Results indicated that African American participants anticipated lower favorable evaluations for confronting a positive stereotype ($M = 4.35$, $SE = 0.16$) compared to a negative stereotype ($M = 4.76$, $SE = 0.13$), although this effect was only

Table 2. Study 3a serial mediations.

	β	SE	p	BC 95% CI	
				Lower	Upper
→ Confrontation intention					
a1 (Condition → Offensiveness)	0.71	0.10	< .001	0.51	0.91
a2 (Condition → Favorable)	0.25	0.08	.003	0.09	0.42
a3 (Offensiveness → Favorable)	0.16	0.05	.003	0.06	0.26
b1 (Offensiveness → Intentions)	0.85	0.15	< .001	0.55	1.15
b2 (Favorable → Intentions)	0.55	0.19	.004	0.17	0.93
c'	0.41	0.21	.05	0.01	0.81
Indirect effect	0.06	0.04		0.01	0.17
→ Confrontation intention					
a1 (Condition → Offensiveness)	0.71	0.10	< .001	0.51	0.91
a2 (Condition → Complainer)	−0.36	0.11	< .001	−0.57	−0.16
a3 (Offensiveness → Complainer)	−0.04	0.07	.58	−0.17	0.09
b1 (Offensiveness → Intentions)	0.91	0.16	< .001	0.60	1.22
b2 (Complainer → Intentions)	−0.28	0.15	.06	−0.58	0.02
c'	0.40	0.21	.05	−0.01	0.80
Indirect effect	0.01	0.02		−0.02	0.06

marginally significant, $t(201) = 1.96$, $p = .051$, $d = 0.28$. Moreover, African American participants anticipated higher complainer evaluations for confronting a positive stereotype ($M = 4.09$, $SE = 0.17$) compared to a negative stereotype ($M = 3.49$, $SE = 0.15$), $t(202) = 2.72$, $p = .007$, $d = 0.38$.

Perceived Offensiveness

Aligning with hypotheses, African American participants viewed the positive stereotype as less offensive ($M = 3.57$, $SE = 0.18$) than the negative stereotype ($M = 5.06$, $SE = 0.15$), $t(201) = 6.39$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.90$.

Mediation

We tested the same serial mediation models from Study 3a. Only the indirect effect of condition on confrontation intention via perceived offensiveness and favorable evaluations was significant, $B = 0.10$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% BC CI [0.02, 0.22]. The indirect effect via perceived offensiveness and complainer evaluations was not significant, $B = 0.04$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% BC CI [−0.01, 0.14]. See Table 3 for additional statistics.

Study 3a and 3b Discussion

Study 3 demonstrated that Asian American and African American participants reported lower confrontation intentions and higher anticipated evaluative costs for confronting a positive racial stereotype compared to a negative racial stereotype. Critically, mediation analyses demonstrated that positive stereotypes were perceived as less offensive, resulting in less favorable evaluations, which was ultimately associated with lower confrontation intentions.

Notably, while both Asian Americans and African Americans anticipated greater complainer evaluations for confronting positive stereotypes, perceived offensiveness did not significantly predict anticipated complainer evaluations, and there was no significant indirect effect through perceived offensiveness and anticipated complainer evaluations. We propose this may be due to complainer evaluations being a more domain-specific measure compared to favorable evaluations. Since all participants read the confrontation statement, perceived offensiveness of the comment may not predict participants' anticipated complainer evaluations, as they know they confronted the comment. Instead, anticipated

Table 3. Study 3b serial mediations.

	β	SE	p	BC 95% CI	
				Lower	Upper
→ Confrontation intention					
a1 (Condition → Offensiveness)	0.73	0.12	< .001	0.50	0.96
a2 (Condition → Favorable)	−0.04	0.11	.71	−0.25	0.17
a3 (Offensiveness → Favorable)	0.33	0.06	< .001	0.22	0.45
b1 (Offensiveness → Intentions)	0.73	0.15	< .001	0.43	1.02
b2 (Favorable → Intentions)	0.41	0.16	.01	0.10	0.73
c'	0.20	0.23	.39	−0.25	0.65
Indirect effect	0.10	0.05		0.02	0.22
→ Confrontation intention					
a1 (Condition → Offensiveness)	0.73	0.12	< .001	0.50	0.96
a2 (Condition → Complainer)	−0.23	0.12	.06	−0.46	0.01
a3 (Offensiveness → Complainer)	−0.10	0.07	.13	−0.23	0.03
b1 (Offensiveness → Intentions)	0.90	0.17	< .001	0.57	1.23
b2 (Complainer → Intentions)	−0.52	0.15	< .001	−0.44	0.50
c'	0.03	0.24	.91	−0.44	0.50
Indirect effect	0.04	0.04		−0.01	0.14

complainer evaluations may be contingent on other factors, such as the ambiguity of the comment (e.g., "was this racist?") or the perceived intention behind it ("was that intended to be offensive?"). Still, results from Study 3 indicated that Asian American and African American participants showed lower confrontation intentions for positive, compared to negative, stereotypes and that perceived offensiveness was associated with reduced anticipated favorable evaluations, which in turn mediated confrontation intentions.

General Discussion

In six studies, we investigated perceiver and target perspectives associated with the evaluative costs of confronting positive racial stereotypes. Results from the perceiver's perspective indicated that Asian American (Studies 1a and 2a) and African American (Study 2b) targets were rated lower on favorable evaluations and higher on complainer evaluations after confronting a positive, compared to a negative, stereotype. While we found some nonsignificant and marginally significant effects, the same general pattern replicated across

multiple different scenarios and racial stereotypes. Further, results consistently indicated that participants rated the positive racial stereotype as less offensive than the negative racial stereotype, which in turn mediated participants' lower favorable evaluations of confronters.

Studies 3a and 3b complemented results by examining the target's perspective, with Asian American and African American participants reporting lower intentions to confront, and higher anticipated evaluative costs for confronting, a positive stereotype compared to a negative stereotype. Finally, for both Asian American and African American participants, perceived offensiveness and favorable evaluations serially mediated confrontation intentions. These findings highlight a critical downstream consequence of results from Studies 1 and 2, with perceived offensiveness predicting less favorable evaluations, which ultimately is associated with lower confrontation intentions.

The present work contributes to our understanding of the confrontation of prejudice in a number of ways. First, previous work on confronting racism has mainly focused on negative

stereotypes, revealing higher evaluative costs for confronting such prejudice compared to not confronting (Dodd et al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003; for an exception, see Diebels & Czopp, 2011). Here we demonstrate that these costs are even greater when confronting positive racial stereotypes, and that racial minorities are aware of these evaluative costs. Second, we find that racial minorities report a lower willingness to confront a positive racial stereotype compared to a negative racial stereotype, in part due to the lower perceived offensiveness of positive stereotypes and higher anticipated evaluative costs associated with confronting. These findings shed light on potential reasons why expressions of positive racial stereotypes remain prevalent in North American society despite their negative consequences (Czopp et al., 2015; Gupta et al., 2011; Siy & Cheryan, 2013). Third, the present research highlights the importance of perceived offensiveness in evaluations of confronters, as well as confrontation intentions. If learning about the negative effects of positive stereotypes increases the perceived offensiveness of these comments, this may lead to more positive evaluations of confronters and increase the likelihood of confrontations occurring.

As proposed, confronting positive stereotypes was associated with higher evaluative costs and this was largely generalizable across scenarios and stereotypes; yet, some marginal and nonsignificant effects (Studies 1b and 2a) suggest important moderating factors. Regarding Study 1b, we speculate that the "either or" comparison within the scenario may have affected results. Specifically, participants may view the positive stereotype statement ("I know Blacks are athletic, how about I keep score and you play?") as also evoking a negative stereotype about intelligence (e.g., that African Americans are unable to keep score). This notion, while speculative, aligns with previous research whereby exposure to positive stereotypes evokes negative stereotypes (Kay et al., 2013) and suggests an intriguing possibility that perceivers, and not just targets (Siy & Cheryan, 2016), recognize that the endorsement of positive stereotypes is associated with the potential for being negatively stereotyped.

Additionally, important contextual differences exist that could modulate our effects. This may be especially the case given our lack of significant results for favorable evaluations in the dating context (Study 2a). In this highly interpersonal context, the use of any racial stereotype (positive or negative) could be viewed as an ill-conceived joke, thus decreasing perceived offensiveness and lowering favorable evaluations of confronters (the pattern hypothesized only for positive stereotypes). Past research supports this proposition as perpetrator intention informs ascriptions of prejudice (Swim, Scott, Sechrist, Campbell, & Stangor, 2003).

While we examined multiple different positive and negative stereotypes, there exist some limitations to our studies. First, whereas the stereotypes were based on prior research, individuals may vary in their degree of perceived stereotype applicability, which in turn may affect evaluations. For example, an individual who strongly endorses positive stereotypes, but not negative stereotypes, may evaluate a confronter of positive stereotypes more harshly. Conversely, in Studies 3a and 3b we did not measure whether racial minorities endorse positive and negative stereotypes differently. While previous work suggests racial minorities dislike being positively stereotyped (Czopp, 2008a; Czopp et al., 2015; Siy & Cheryan, 2013), we found that targets viewed positive stereotypes as less offensive compared to negative stereotypes. This could also account for decreased confrontation intentions. Cultivating a better understanding of stereotype applicability, from both the perceiver and target perspectives, will further elucidate our understanding of confronting positive stereotypes.

Beyond the stereotypes, our confrontation statement was also relatively strong, directly referencing the remark as racist. A milder form of confrontation may reduce evaluative differences between positive and negative stereotypes, as the confrontation itself would be viewed as more commensurate with the comment (Focella, Bean, & Stone, 2015). Lastly, we only investigated hypothetical confrontations. Prior work demonstrates significantly lower rates of confronting prejudice in real-life scenarios (Swim & Hyers, 1999;

Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), and we expect that our effects would be even stronger within a real-life situation (i.e., harsher evaluations after confronting a positive racial stereotype).

Overall, results from the present work demonstrate that confronting positive, as opposed to negative, racial stereotypes is costlier in terms of evaluations (lower favorable evaluations and higher complainer evaluations) and is less frequently practiced. Furthermore, these evaluative costs were driven by positive racial stereotypes being viewed as less offensive, and for racial minorities, perceived offensiveness and favorable evaluation accounted for lower confrontation intentions for positive, compared to negative, stereotyped comments. These findings suggest that the pervasive nature of positive racial stereotypes may be difficult to counter, as confronters suffer greater evaluative costs and show lower tendencies to confront. Still, by increasing awareness of the detrimental effects of positive racial stereotypes, individuals will hopefully be more likely to challenge and condemn their use.

Funding

Notes

1. For Studies 1a and 1b, only one significant two-way interaction emerged between our specific hypothesis (using contrasts: 3, −1, −1, −1) and participant race/ethnicity (White compared to non-White). For full analyses, see online supplemental material. We caution against strong interpretations of these findings as we frequently had few non-White participants per condition (ns < 10).

2. A secondary hypothesis was to replicate previous work whereby confronters face higher evaluative costs compared to nonconfronters. Results supported this hypothesis with favorable evaluations lower for confronters ($M = 4.82$, $SE = 0.12$) than for nonconfronters ($M = 5.23$, $SE = 0.12$), and complainer evaluations higher for confronters (M

= 3.41, $SE = 0.12$) than for nonconfronters ($M =$ 2.73, $SE = 0.13$), Fs(1, 186) = 5.67 and 15.06, ps < .02, η_p^2 = .02 and .08, respectively (see online supplemental material for 2 [stereotype valence] x 2 [confrontation] ANOVA results).

3. We report favorable evaluations as they represent a more global evaluation. Online supplemental material includes meditation analyses for complainer evaluations for both Studies 1 and 2. Results with complainer evaluations are significant and align with hypotheses.

4. Regarding our secondary hypothesis—that confronters suffer more evaluative costs compared to nonconfronters—results did not support prior work for favorable evaluations. Specifically, confronters ($M = 5.09$, $SE = 0.11$) and nonconfronters ($M = 5.16$, $SE = 0.11$) were rated equally on favorable evaluations, $F(1, 228) = 0.24$, p = .624, η_p^2 = < .01. However, confronters received higher complainer evaluations ($M = 3.31$, $SE = 0.12$) compared to nonconfronters ($M = 2.66$, $SE = 0.11$), replicating prior work, $F(1, 228) = 17.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

5. For this study, as well as Study 2b, we examined the moderation of scenario using PROCESS Model 5 (Hayes, 2013). Results showed consistent and significant indirect effects, as reported in the manuscript.

6. For both Studies 3a and 3b we examined whether participants' confrontation intentions moderated reported effects. ANOVAs revealed no significant two-way interactions between stereotype valence and confrontation intentions for any of our dependent measures (ps > .13).

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