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Confrontation of Prejudice Towards Multiracials and Monoracials

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Confrontation of Prejudice towards Multiracials and Monoracials

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ABSTRACT

Confronting prejudice is an effective method to discourage future biased responding. However, prejudiced expressions often go uncontested due to a failure to identify that prejudice occurred, especially when cues of racial bias are ambiguous (e.g., subtly discriminatory remarks). The current studies explored how commenters and confronters are evaluated when prejudice is expressed towards multiracial targets, and how frequently and assertively confrontations are externalized, in comparison to prejudice expressed towards Black targets. Our results across all three studies support our hypothesis that confrontations are evaluated more negatively under conditions of racial ambiguity, and that bystanders are less likely to assertively intervene on behalf of multiracial targets. Implications of these findings for current theories of intergroup processes, the well-being of multiracial individuals, and the perpetuation of prejudice are discussed.

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Confrontation of Prejudice towards Multiracials and Monoracials

The fact that the nature of racial relations in the United States has changed over the past few decades has long been acknowledged in the psychological literature (Gilbert, 1951; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). Unfortunately, these shifts in interracial processes have not translated into a racism-free society; racial bias is still ubiquitous (Sears, Hetts, Sidanius, & Bobo, 2000), although research has suggested that bias has become more subtle and indirect. For example, social psychologists have observed how racism has become more symbolic (Sears & Henry, 2003) and aversive (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) over time. Although these forms of racism may result in seemingly less direct and hostile expressions of prejudice, they may still help maintain unequal racial hierarchies. In addition to these seemingly small and ambiguous, but common and impactful, stereotypical slights and remarks (i.e., microagressions; Sue, 2010), many minorities continue to face overt expressions of prejudice directed at them.

Beyond the inequality-upholding effects of historical and institutional discrimination, overt and subtle expressions of prejudice have extensively documented negative consequences for minority targets. Exposure to prejudiced remarks about a stigmatized ingroup has been shown to increase negative emotions like anger and discomfort (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). Additionally, chronic exposure to prejudice has been linked to negative consequences for the well-being and mental health of members of stigmatized groups (Cowan & Mettrick, 2002; Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1990; Swim et al., 2003). Witnessing expressions of prejudice can also negatively impact non-target bystanders, leading to

negative emotional experiences, lower self-esteem, and increased anger (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Swim et al., 2001).

Prejudice Confrontation

Previous research has identified the confrontation of racist comments as an effective mechanism to change the racial attitudes of prejudiced commenters (i.e., the individuals who make the biased remark; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). Confrontation is frequently defined as a critical response to a prejudiced remark and the expression of disapproval towards the commenter (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Studies have argued that the negative emotions felt by the commenter after an intervention underlie the effect of confrontation on attitude change. For example, Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that participants in a hypothetical scenario reported they would feel more compunction and increased negative self-directed affect if confronted after a prejudiced comment. Similarly, Fazio and Hilden (2001) found increased feelings of guilt after confrontations. Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) found that confrontations also reduced the likelihood of expressions of stereotypes. They induced participants to make statements to a confederate that could be construed as stereotypical in a person impressions task; following this statement, the confederate confronted them. Their results showed that post-confrontation, participants made fewer stereotype-consistent inferences in a similar subsequent person impressions task. The authors also suggested that confronting prejudice increases perceived norms of egalitarianism. Other studies have measured prejudice reduction in bystanders who witness a confrontation to a biased remark, and found that norm-learning led to a vicarious reduction in prejudiced attitudes (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994). Of particular relevance to the current

research is that confrontations by ingroup bystanders are equally (Czopp et al., 2006) or more effective (Rasinki & Czopp, 2010) at decreasing prejudiced attitudes and future expressions of prejudice than confrontations by targets. As such, it is important to examine confrontations from the viewpoint of bystanders.

Whether or not an individual confronts depends on multiple factors, including the weight of the costs associated with a confrontation (Shelton & Stewart, 2004) and the confronter's beliefs about the malleability of personality (Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, and Goodwin (2008) proposed a model based on the bystander effect (Darley & Latané, 1968) which includes a series of steps that typically need to be satisfied for a confrontation to occur. The first of these steps is a successful identification of prejudice, and is the most relevant to the current set of studies. After identifying the incident as a prejudicial one, the bystander needs to label the incident as an emergency requiring intervention, followed by an assumption of personal responsibility. Finally, potential confronters need to decide how to intervene, and weigh the costs and benefits of doing so, before acting. While not all of these steps might be equally as important, nor occur in the proposed order, we argue that accurately identifying an instance of prejudice is a necessary and important first step.

Previous research indicates that individuals might avoid confrontation if they believe that doing so may lead to negative reactions by the commenter or bystanders (e.g., Dickter & Newton, 2013). The costs of confronting prejudice have been documented, and include being perceived to be overreacting or oversensitive, as well as being generally disliked (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001). We argue that fears of being perceived negatively by others can relate to concerns

with misidentifying a remark as being racially motivated. In support of this, Zou and Dickter (2013) found that ambiguity in a comment's racial undertones led individuals to evaluate a confronter's intervention as less appropriate, as this probably hinders the task of identifying the situation as requiring a confrontation (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). Given these findings on the effect of comment ambiguity, it is possible that ambiguity stemming from the target's racial membership could lead to similar consequences in the perception of confrontations.

Perceptions of Multiracials

One of most basic and unavoidable processes in person perception is social categorization (e.g., Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). Individuals' automatic categorization of others and the self into distinct social groups underlies a large number of phenomena that cannot be simply explained through intrapersonal and interpersonal processes theories. Of particular relevance to this set of studies, social categorization underlies many of the beliefs (i.e., stereotypes) and attitudes (i.e., prejudice) we form of other individuals. Perceivers are particularly adept at categorizations based on age, gender, and race, given the fairly distinguishable body and facial cues associated with these groups (Brewer, 1988; Macrae & Martin, 2007).

Intergroup processes research in the United States has long focused on prejudice towards and stereotypes about clearly categorizable targets. Historically, cultural and legal rules tended to create dichotomous divisions between members of the dominant group and members of subordinate groups. For example, the one-drop rule dominated perceptions of race in the United States through most of the 20th century, suggesting that any amount of Black blood was enough for a person to be considered completely Black

(Hickman, 1997). As a result of these still relatively present racial dichotomies (Ho, Sidanius, Levin & Banaji, 2011) and the importance of categorization for most intergroup phenomena (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971), avoidance of categorical ambiguity of targets helps researchers ensure that their manipulations and measures are directly related to the ingroup-outgroup dynamic of interest (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). Nonetheless, there has been recent interest in exploring the role of categorical ambiguity on intergroup perceptions, especially in the area of race. While some historical labeling heuristics are still widely used, such as categorizing multiracial targets as belonging to the lower status group (i.e., hypodescent; Ho et al., 2011), individual differences and situational cues have been shown to predict large variations on contemporary categorizations (e.g., Chen, Moons, Gaither, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2014; Ho et al., 2013). Furthermore, categorizing multiracial targets, especially if nontraditional labels (e.g., Multiracial) are used, takes longer and requires more controlled processing (Chen & Hamilton, 2011; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008). Thus, with a growing multiracial population (Jones & Bullock, 2010), categorizing others into traditional White or Minority dichotomies is becoming increasingly ambiguous and cognitively taxing in the real world. In the current studies we focused on Black-White multiracials due to their relevance to racial discourse and dichotomous divides in the United States (Sears, Sidanius, & Bobo, 2000), but we expect these findings would generalize to other populations of multiracials. In fact, most previous studies comparing Asian-White to Black-White multiracials find comparable results in terms of social categorization patterns (e.g., Ho et al., 2011).

A number of studies so far have explored the ways in which multiracial individuals can be the target of double discrimination, given the categorical ambiguity that surrounds their status as minorities (Brackett et al., 2006; Sanchez, Good, & Chavez, 2011). For example, Sanchez and Bonam (2009) found that self-identified biracial targets were stereotyped as less warm and competent than monoracial targets, and were also seen as less deserving of minority resources. Other studies have shown that multiracials have to deal with additional negative stereotypes compared to monoracial minorities, such as being socially awkward and confused (Chelsey & Wagner, 2003). A particularly relevant finding is that the ambiguity associated with multiracial individuals can lead others to disregard racially discriminatory treatment towards these targets. Skinner and Nicolas (2015) presented participants with a vignette depicting an instance of work-place racial discrimination towards an employee whose racial phenotypicality (i.e., racial physical features) was manipulated. Their results indicated that, given the same clearly racially discriminatory treatment, biracial targets with low-minority phenotypicality (vs. intermediate and high levels) were less likely to be perceived as having been victims of discrimination. This finding has important implications for attitude change and the perpetuation of racism. For example, many of the prosocial strategies that can lead to attitude change require first that a problem, in this case racial discrimination, is identified (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). As long as multiraciality provides a loophole for permeable categorizations and situational labeling it is possible that individuals will construe instances of discrimination against multiracials as not having a racial basis.

These findings highlight the importance of investigating how phenomena related to prejudice differ for multiracial and monoracial targets. Particularly, little research so

far has evaluated how prejudice reduction strategies might have different results when the target of discrimination is not easily categorized as belonging to a stigmatized group. Thus, the current studies explored how perceptions of multiracial targets relate to the confrontation of racially prejudiced expressions. Such a study is necessary given the importance of reducing social levels of prejudice and discrimination and due to the positive effects of confrontational interventions in attitudinal change. Studying how confrontation might differ for multiracial (vs. monoracial) minorities can provide practical insight into how to improve the lives of a growing population in the United States and expands current theories on prejudice reduction and categorization.

Racial Phenotypicality

Previous research has identified two main predictors of racial categorizations: ancestry and phenotypicality (i.e., racially prototypical features of the face and body). Specifically, the more minority grandparents or facial features a target has, the more likely they are to be categorized as a minority (e.g., Ho et al., 2011). Skinner and Nicolas (2015) found that phenotypicality had a larger effect than ancestry on racial judgments and was the only unique predictor of stereotyping and discrimination of multiracials. The authors argued that phenotypic traits are more relevant to identifying ingroup and outgroup members, and are attended to within the first second of seeing a face (in contrast to more deliberative processes like weighing ancestry information; Willadsen-Jensen & Ito, 2006). Thus, manipulating racial phenotypicality to cue multiracial status seems to be preferable than using ancestry in studying processes related to prejudice, although more research is needed.

Despite the recent increase in research looking at multiracial categorization, there is still a lack of clarity in some studies as to what exactly is being measured when multiracial and monoracial faces are presented. This study is not aimed at clarifying some of the pending theoretical and operationalizational distinctions that are necessary to clarify the construct of multiracial categories, but we will attempt to clarify how we define it. An important initial distinction is that between self- and other- identified multiracials. Previous research suggests that a multiracial (self) identity in the United States carries with it a series of penalties to warmth and competence, partially as a result of intergroup motivations such as ingroup overexclusion for dominant groups and expectations of minority loyalty and unity for subordinate groups (Coull et al., 2001; Ho, Sidanius, Cuddy, & Banaji, 2013; Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). Multiracial targets who do not disclose a multiracial identity might not pose these threats, thus it is unclear to what extent they might face these unique stereotypes. Additionally, absent a multiracial identity disclosure, perceivers do not necessarily use multiracial categorizations for these targets (e.g., Peery & Bodenhousen, 2008). In these studies we do not refer to self-identified multiracials, but to other-identified multiracials, through the manipulation of facial phenotypicality.

The previous observation leads to a second important distinction between multiracial categorizations and racial ambiguity. While previous research suggests that multiracial targets are more racially ambiguous than monoracials (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997), it may not be the case that all multiracial targets are (equally) hard to categorize. Studies that present participants with faces that vary continuously find differences in terms of categorizations, stereotyping and discrimination across a racial

continuum (e.g., from completely Black to completely White; Skinner & Nicolas, 2015). Maximally racially ambiguous targets would thus be a particular subset of multiracial targets, perhaps the most prototypical. Another caveat is that multiracial faces might be racially ambiguous if framed within the context of their parent races, but might be easily disambiguated in terms of alternative categorizations (e.g., Hispanic). The current studies focus on Black-White multiracials in general, but use racial ambiguity as a proxy for maximal multiracial prototypicality. In other words, we aimed to use the most racially ambiguous targets to approximate a purely balanced mix of White and minority features. However, we cannot firmly conclude that our findings are a result of racial ambiguity (see next paragraph), but of at least a less stringently defined multiracial phenotypicality.

Finally, despite the common understanding that some multiracial targets will be more ambiguous than others, operationalizations of categorical ambiguity have rarely been consistent in the literature. Some authors simply take images of unambiguous monoracial faces and create digital morphs (i.e., a seamless synthesis of facial features using anthropometric parameters of human populations; e.g., Blanz & Vetter, 1999) to obtain a new face that is 50% of each of the original stimuli (e.g., Dunham, 2011). This approach is limited inasmuch as morphing is an artificially mathematical procedure that might not correspond one-to-one with subjective perceptions of race. A superior approach is to not only to create an intermediate face (not necessarily 50%, but ideally close to the midpoint), but also to pretest the faces for ambiguity. However, the different ways to pretest these faces also have unique strengths and limitations. A possible way to pretest faces for ambiguity is to ask a group of pretesters to racially categorize a set of faces, and to select faces that were categorized around 50% of the times as each of the parent races

(e.g., Dickter & Kittel, 2012). This procedure is a good indicator of between-subjects ambiguity, or lack of consensus. However, it is possible that for each particular individual, the face being categorized was not particularly ambiguous. These targets might face negative intergroup consequences as a result of a disconnection between the perceptions of different individuals, but not necessarily as a result of cognitive taxation resulting from categorical ambiguity. A potential way around this limitation is to use continuous measures of ambiguity (e.g., how racially ambiguous is this face?) or racial perception (e.g., to what degree is this face Black or White?; Chen & Hamilton, 2011). Nonetheless, these measures might not accurately reflect the categorical nature of racial perceptions, and their superiority over the previous methods is dependent upon small variances when averaged. A final method to determine racial ambiguity that is seldom used but might provide the most accurate measure of within-person processing demand during racial categorizations is response and reaction times for deliberative and automatic categorizations, respectively. Despite these notes on the lack of consensus in the operationalization of racial ambiguity, it is unclear to what extent it is possible for these types of measures to not overlap with one another. Throughout these studies we included a variety of pretests and manipulation checks to determine that racial ambiguity was maximized at best, and multiracial perceptions were achieved at worst.

The current set of studies tackles evaluations of the confrontation of prejudice directed towards multiracial targets from three different perspectives. Study 1 aimed to use a hypothetical scenario to provide preliminary evidence that confrontations are evaluated more negatively by the commenter when targets are multiracial compared to when targets are monoracial minorities. Additionally, Study 1 explored the affective,

cognitive, and behavioral reactions to these types of confrontations from the perspective of the commenter. Study 2 was designed to establish that confrontations involving multiracial targets are evaluated more negatively than those involving monoracial minority targets from the perspective of a bystander. This approach also allowed us to explore uninvolved perceptions of biased commenters, as well as self-reported likelihood of confrontation. Furthermore, we analyzed the data for evidence that attributions of racial bias behind the commenter's remark are less frequent when the target is multiracial than monoracial. The final study used a behavioral approach to study participants' confrontations of biased expressions directed towards multiracial (vs. monoracial minority) targets. This study also allowed us to look at differences in attributions of racial bias between conditions.

Across this set of complementary studies we maintained a unifying hypothesis: when targets of prejudiced expressions and behaviors are more racially ambiguous, participants will evaluate confrontations of such remarks and actions as being less appropriate and, if placed in the position of a bystander, it would lead to fewer and less assertive confrontations. Supporting our rationale for this prediction, Zou and Dickter (2013) found that comments that were more ambiguously prejudiced led to more negative evaluations of confrontations, in particular for those that argued for a denial of the influence of race (i.e., are high in the endorsement of a color blind perspective on race). They argued that the ambiguity associated with some expressions of prejudice (e.g., microagressions) can lead to a failure to identify racial bias, a phenomenon that we argue applies to multiracial targets as well. Because Ashburn-Nardo and colleagues' CPR model suggests that a successful identification of racial bias is the first step in the process

that confronters go through before deciding whether or not to intervene, we believe that this poses a particular challenge to the confrontation of prejudice towards multiracial targets. That is, highly ambiguous targets can provide both rational and rationalized pathways to discard racial bias in perpetrators' behaviors. First, despite evidence that situational cues can sway categorizations of White-minority ambiguous targets (thus, arguably a stereotyped expression should make a minority categorization more convincing to the perceiver; e.g., Dickter & Kittel, 2012; Skinner & Nicolas, 2015), other cultural factors and individual differences can interact to disambiguate multiracial targets as "being White." But even if enough evidence is gathered by the participants to justify a minority categorization, the costs associated with prejudice confrontation could lead them to rationalize a majority categorization. Importantly, it should be noted that even if non-confrontations are a result of some bystanders disambiguating the target as White (vs. non-confrontations despite multiracial categorizations), such a result would still have important implications for the perpetuation of prejudice. Specifically, as long as racially ambiguous individuals are categorized and discriminated as members of a stigmatized group by some, failures to detect such prejudice by potential confronters can hinder social change and fail to provide the target with the benefits of prejudice confrontation. On the other hand, if White categorizations are discarded in favor of multiracial categorizations, it could still be possible for individuals to downplay the degree of racial bias because the target is not "minority enough," leading to non-confrontations. All these potential mechanisms lead to the same hypothesis: Prejudice confrontations will be evaluated more negatively and pursued less frequently when the target is a multiracial individual instead of a monoracial minority.

Study 1 Overview

This study sought to explore perceptions of prejudice confrontations when the participant is placed in the role of the biased commenter. Based on previous research suggesting that identifying a situation as prejudiced is a required first step for confrontations, and given the fact that racial ambiguity may make such identification less likely, we hypothesized that a confrontational intervention under these conditions (vs. in the context of a monoracial target) would be evaluated more negatively. Additionally, we looked at the cognitive, behavioral, and affective expected reactions to being confronted about a racially biased remark. We predicted that when the target of prejudice was racially ambiguous (vs. Black) participants would expect feeling less compunction and discomfort for making a biased comment, but more antagonism towards the confronter.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 100$) were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk, an online workforce of individuals who complete surveys and research projects in exchange for monetary incentives (Pontin, 2007). Research conducted on the quality of data produced by Mechanical Turk indicates that samples are more representative of the general population and as reliable or more than college samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Our participants were White and had a mean age of 41.21 ($SD = 14.42$) years. We chose to use White participants since racial minorities might find a scenario in which they are expressing racial prejudice particularly artificial. The majority (52.7%) of the participants were men. The university's Institutional Review Board approved all materials and procedures.

Materials

Based on Czopp and Monteith's (2003) studies, we presented participants with one of two vignettes that asked them to imagine themselves as being one of the actors in the scenario (see Appendix A). In addition to the vignettes, we provided participants with pictures that represented relevant characters in the scenarios. In one of the vignettes the participant imagined being a student speaking to a classmate about two professors, one of which was White and one who was manipulated to be either Black or multiracial, depending on the randomly assigned condition. The participant then was asked to imagine referring to professors with different titles such that they referred to the White professor as "Dr. Johnson," and the Black/multiracial professor as "Mr. Osgood." This is followed by a confrontation from the classmate, indicating that the comment "shows some racial bias." The alternative vignette asked the participant to imagine being a student in a theater class working with a partner in the casting of roles for a drama. At one point the participant has to decide between Bob (who was White) and Chris (who was either Black or racially ambiguous) for the role of a surgeon. The scenario then indicates that the participant "automatically assumed that Bob should play the role." Finally, the partner states that the participant's assumption was racially biased, and that they "could have a minority surgeon."

The main manipulation was achieved by including a picture of the target that was either a morph of two Black faces or of a White and a Black face (see Appendix B). Morphs were created using Psychomorph software through Face Research's online interface. Pictures of the commenter and the confronter were also included (both White). All faces were pretested to ensure that they were perceived accurately as unambiguously

Black, or in the case of the experimental stimulus, as a more racially ambiguous multiracial. An original sample of 35 Mechanical Turk workers pretested a large number of monoracial faces obtained from a series of available databases. This first step was necessary to select faces that were close to the Black and White extremes of the continuum, so when morphed to 50% they would, in principle, yield an ideal mixture of prototypical Black and White features. However, a subsequent sample of 22 individuals from the same population also pretested the morphed faces to corroborate their ambiguity and perception as multiracial faces. Furthermore, we used our experimental stimulus' Black parent faces as our control stimulus, diminishing the differences in extraneous face features between our conditions. This procedure was the same for the selection of stimuli in all three studies (see Table 1 for a summary of racial perceptions across all studies). Using a 7 point continuous measure of race ranging from Completely Black to Completely White, the pretest of the monoracial face ($M = 1.35$, $SD = 1.07$) was not significantly different from the Completely Black extreme, $t(33) = 1.92$, $p = .063$. The multiracial face ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 1.19$) was a 50% morph, and was perceived to be multiracial, albeit not maximally ambiguous. The experimental stimuli was significantly different from both points 5 ("Somewhat more White than Black") and 6 ("Predominantly White"), $t(15) = 5.00$, $p = .000$ and $t(15) = -3.0$, $p = .009$, respectively.

Dependent Measures. In order to test our main hypothesis we included a question about perceptions of appropriateness of the confrontation (on a 7-point scale ranging from "not at all appropriate" to "very appropriate"). The rest of our dependent measures were adapted from Czopp and Monteith (2003) and were aimed at exploring affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses to making a racially biased comment and

being confronted about it (see Appendix C). Specifically, we included items measuring cognitions participants could have in the situation depicted in the vignette (e.g., "I would think about what I had done and why"), as well as behavioral (e.g., "I would apologize and try to avoid such behavior in the future") and affective responses (e.g., "I would feel tense"). Largely emulating the analysis of Czopp and Monteith (2003), these items were coded and averaged to measure the following reactions to the confrontation: compunction and self-directed negative affect ($\alpha = .87$), and discomfort ($\alpha = .81$). Other variables analyzed by the previous authors either did not achieve acceptable levels of internal reliability (e.g., antagonism, $\alpha = .46$), or were irrelevant to our hypotheses (e.g., amusement), so they were not included in further analyses.

Procedure

After receiving informed consent, participants were asked to read one of the vignettes (varied between participants), to imagine that they were actually the character in the scenario, and to respond to the subsequent questions accordingly. Following the vignette, participants answered a series of questionnaires, including the dependent measures, a manipulation check, and demographic information.

Results

As in Czopp and Monteith (2003), we did not expect theoretically relevant differences based on the vignette that participants read, nor interactions with our main manipulation. Preliminary analyses confirmed this expectation, thus we collapsed across scenarios for our analyses. Similarly, preliminary analyses found significant gender differences across some of our dependent measures that were not relevant to our

hypotheses, and did not interact with our racial ambiguity manipulation. These results are not presented in the manuscript.

A manipulation check confirmed that our experimental stimulus was perceived to be a multiracial face ($M = 5.39$, $SD = 1.08$) by the experimental group. The face was significantly different from both points 5 ("Somewhat more White than Black") and 6 ("Predominantly White"), $t(45) = 2.45$, $p = .018$ and $t(45) = -3.80$, $p = .000$, respectively.

Perceptions of the Confrontation

We performed a t-test to analyze differences between our groups in terms of perceived appropriateness of the confrontation. Confirming our hypothesis, participants in the experimental (i.e., multiracial) condition perceived the confrontation as less appropriate ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.60$) than those in the Black target condition ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.70$), $t(98) = -2.47$, $p = .015$, $d = 0.50$ (see Figure 1).

Reactions to the Confrontation

To test the hypotheses that participants would feel higher levels of compunction and discomfort when the target was Black (vs. multiracial), we performed two t-tests. However, the results did not support these hypotheses, $ps > .05$.

Discussion

Study 1 provided evidence for our prediction that confrontations of prejudice directed towards a multiracial target would be evaluated more negatively than when the target was a monoracial minority. Failing to identify an instance of prejudice becomes problematic in that it may lead to the belief that a confrontation might have been uncalled for. On the other hand, our hypothesis about reactions to being confronted in our hypothetical scenario was not supported. While we believe that this procedure

appropriately models the processes an individual would follow to evaluate another person's behavior (i.e., a confrontation) it might be more limited in evaluating hypothetical introspective insights about self-directed cognitive, behavioral, and affective responses. In fact, previous studies have shown that individuals often mispredict their internal reactions to situations involving prejudice (Kawakami, Dunn, Karmali, & Dovidio, 2009). An additional limitation in our first study was the low reliability of our measures of antagonism, a variable that could have revealed additional information about reactions to our experimental manipulation. To address some of these limitations, Study 2 uses a different scenario that does not require hypothetical introspection.

Study 2 Overview

Study 2 sought to expand our previous results by exploring perceptions of prejudice confrontations when the participant is an external observer (i.e., not involved in the confrontational exchange). This approach has been used successfully by other researchers (e.g., Rattan & Dweck, 2010; Zou & Dickter, 2013) and provides the advantage that the participants can evaluate both the commenter and the confronter from an uninvolved position. Thus, our study aimed to shed light on the likelihood that confrontations will be seen as appropriate, and on the social consequences for the actors involved in a confrontational situation where the target is multiracial.

Following the results of our previous study, we expected that the confronter's intervention would be rated more negatively in the multiracial condition. We also hypothesized that commenters who expressed prejudice directed towards racially ambiguous (vs. unambiguous minority) targets would be evaluated less negatively. This additional hypothesis is similarly based on the argument that confrontation requires an

initial identification of a prejudiced remark, a condition that might not always be met when the target is racially ambiguous. Thus, given that when the target is racially ambiguous participants can resort to non-racial attributions for the commenter's remark, this might also lead them to a failure to penalize the commenter's prejudice. Finally, we explored the explanations that our participants provided for their evaluations of the confronter and the commenter in order to provide initial evidence that perceptions of racial bias are lower when prejudice is expressed towards a multiracial (vs. Black) individual.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 81$) were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk, and had a mean age of 35.9 years ($SD = 12.84$), 67.5% were women, and the majority of participants were White (61.7%, 16% Black, 11.1% Asian, and 11.1% multiracial or other race). We set no restrictions on this study for race since we did not expect the scenario to differ in realism between racial groups. The university's Institutional Review Board approved all materials and procedures.

Materials

Materials included a vignette and a series of questionnaires. The vignette used in this study was adapted from Dickter, Kittel, and Gyurovski (2012), and presented a conversation between two college students who were working on a project together (see Appendix D). In the vignette, the two students started by discussing the division of work until one of the students, Andrew (the confronter), asked about an absent third student, Chris (the target), who was also in the project. Bob (the commenter) replied by saying

that Chris could not make the meeting and that they "can't rely on him too much" if they want good grades, before finally adding that "people like him are not as smart as the rest of us." Andrew responded to this statement by telling Bob that he "can't dismiss his contribution to the group and insult his intelligence just because of his race," and that "*Chris* is smart and what you are saying is offensive." Given the friendly and assertive nature of this confrontation we made no predictions about the evaluation of the confronter (see Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski, 2012). Participants were also presented with pictures of Andrew, Bob, and Chris (manipulated between conditions to be Black or multiracial), which they could refer to at any point during their reading of the vignette.

To address the possibility that the bias towards White prototypicality in the previous study could have driven our results, we used a new set of faces as stimuli (see Appendix E). Using the same 7-point continuous measure of race as in the previous study, the pretest of the monoracial face ($M = 1.00$, $SD = 0$) was not significantly different from the Completely Black extreme (t-test not computed given SD = 0). The multiracial face (M = 4.0, SD = 1.67) was a 50% morph, and it was not significantly different from the midpoint ("Equally Black and White"), $t(18) = 0$, $p = 1.0$.

Dependent Measures. Participants answered a series of questions to determine their opinion of the interaction depicted in the vignette (see Appendix F). For each actor, participants were asked how much they liked them and how appropriate their comments were using 7-point scales ranging from "not at all" to "very much" and from "extremely inappropriate" to "extremely appropriate". Participants also rated each actor on how much a series of traits (including friendliness, abrasiveness, intelligence, and rudeness) applied to them, using a 7-point scale ranging from "not at all" to "very much."

Additionally, one of our items used a 7-point scale (ranging from "very unlikely" to "very likely") to measure how likely it was that the participants would confront the commenter if they had been exposed to the remark. Finally, we included an open ended question inquiring about the reasons for their evaluations of each actor. This question was subsequently coded to look at attributions of racial bias for the commenter's behavior.

Procedure

Participants accessed the study online and, after providing informed consent, read the interaction vignette. They were informed that the vignette depicted a conversation between two graduate students. After reading the vignette, participants answered the dependent measures on their perceptions of the commenter and the confronter, the item on the likelihood that they would have confronted in this scenario, as well as individual differences scales and demographics questionnaires. Finally, participants read a debriefing statement.

Results

We computed scores for the commenter's positive (α = .86) and negative (α = .80) traits by averaging across the scores for positive and negative trait items. We also computed positive (α = .90) and negative (α = .92) traits scores for the confronter.

A manipulation check using our 7-point scale of racial perceptions indicated that our experimental stimulus (M = 3.78, SD = 1.29) was not perceived to be significantly different from the midpoint ("Equally Black and White"), with a trend towards more Black perceptions, $t(40) = -1.09$, $p = .284$. We additionally looked at perceptions of our control face, which was perceived to be predominantly Black (M = 2, SD = 1.29), $t(39) = 0$, $p = 1$.

Preliminary analyses found no significant participant gender differences nor interactions. Thus, gender is not included as a variable in our reported analyses below.

Perceptions of the Confrontation

Independent samples t-tests were run to test the hypothesis that the confronter's intervention was perceived as less appropriate when the target was racially ambiguous (vs. Black). Results indicate that the confronter's intervention was seen as significantly less appropriate in the racial ambiguity condition ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 1.50$) than the control condition ($M = 6.35$, $SD = .95$), $t(79) = 3.08$, $p = .003$, $d = .69$ (see Figure 2). Liking of the confronter and trait attributions did not vary between groups, $ps > .05$.

Perceptions of the Commenter

Independent samples t-tests were conducted in order to test the hypothesis that the commenter would be evaluated more positively in the racial ambiguity condition. Results indicated that, indeed, liking of the commenter was higher when the target was racially ambiguous ($M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.59$) than when the target was unambiguously Black ($M = 2.0$, $SD = 1.25$), $t(78) = -2.05$, $p = .04$, $d = .46$ (see Figure 3). Furthermore, an examination of the trait evaluations showed less negativity associated with the commenter when the target was racially ambiguous. In the racial ambiguity condition, the commenter was attributed negative traits to a lesser degree ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.56$) than in the control condition ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.09$), $t(78) = 2.07$, $p = .04$, $d = .45$ (see Figure 4). We found no difference for positive traits between our groups, $ps > .05$

Likelihood of Confrontation

Exploratory analyses determined that there was not a significant difference on the reported likelihood of confrontation if the participant was faced with the situation

depicted in the vignette. Both participants in the experimental ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 1.86$) and control conditions ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.68$) reported that it was very likely that they would have confronted the prejudiced remark, $t(79) = 0.14$, $p = .88$.

Attributions of Racial Bias

We ran exploratory analyses on the participants' open ended responses as to the reasoning behind their evaluations of the actors. Specifically, we coded their responses for whether or not they expressed to perceive the commenter's remark as being racially unbiased. Inter-rater reliability analyses confirmed that the two independent coders (blind to the condition) agreed 97.6% of the times, Kappa = .787. Results indicated that for participants in the racial ambiguity condition, the commenter was seen as being racially unbiased less frequently (2.3%) than in the control condition (17.1%), χ^2 (1) = 5.29, Fisher's Exact test = .028, $p = .021$, odds ratio = 0.124 (see Figure 5).

Discussion

The current study provided additional support for our hypothesis that when the target of a prejudiced comment was a multiracial instead of a monoracial minority target the confrontation of the comment was judged as less appropriate. Additionally, our prediction that commenters would be evaluated less negatively when they expressed bias towards more racially ambiguous targets was supported. Despite equally prejudiced and critical comments, our results indicate that judgments of the commenter depended on the level of racial ambiguity of the minority target. Participants liked the commenter less and rated him as more rude and abrasive when the target was Black compared to when the target was multiracial, suggesting reluctance to report negative judgments about the commenter when there was ambiguity surrounding whether or not he was racially biased.

These findings are consistent with our results on perceptions that the commenter was racially biased. Participants in the multiracial condition expressed concerns about racial bias from the commenter less frequently than those in the Black condition. Thus, our results fit Ashburn-Nardo et al.'s model in which a decrease on the identification of prejudice would relate to a decrease in confrontations (or the evaluations thereof).

Our results about the predicted likelihood of confrontation revealed that participants in both conditions reported that it was fairly likely that they would have confronted the prejudiced remark presented in our scenario. While this result might seem to contradict our core hypothesis, we were not expecting to necessarily find an effect for this variable. Specifically, given previous results suggesting that individuals are not very accurate when predicting their behavioral responses to prejudice (e.g., Kawakami et al., 2009), our procedure was limited in its ability to test actual confrontations when targets are multiracial (vs. monoracial). To address this limitation, the next study places participants in a situation that requires them to decide whether or not to confront a racially biased expression.

Study 3 Overview

Study 3 sought to expand our previous results by exploring behavioral responses to prejudiced comments. This procedural shift allowed us to go beyond self-reports and examine actual confrontational behaviors. To examine our variables of interest, participants communicated with a confederate posing as another student through an instant messaging system. Given our previous results that confrontations of prejudice towards multiracials (vs. Blacks) are evaluated more negatively, we hypothesized that when prejudice was expressed towards a more racially ambiguous target, the participants

would express less public disapproval. Furthermore, we coded participants' responses to biased behaviors to determine how assertive they were in showing disapproval on the basis of race (i.e., the strength of the disapproval, whether or not race was mentioned). We hypothesized that when targets were multiracial, compared to Black, responses to prejudice would be less assertive. Despite these predictions about public expressions of disapproval, we did not expect to find differences between our conditions in terms of private disagreement with the confederate's decision in our task, since we provide a more appropriate alternative response in both conditions. Finally, we looked at attributions of racial bias in the confederate's decision, expecting to find that participants in the multiracial condition would make fewer of these attributions than those in the Black condition.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 70$) were White undergraduate students with a mean age of 19 years ($SD = 1.26$). Most of the participants were women (57.1%). The university's Institutional Review Board approved all materials and procedures.

Materials

The stimuli utilized in Study 3 consisted of a series of morphed White, Black, and Multiracial faces (see Appendix G). The stimuli were created in a similar way as in Studies 1 and 2, but we again changed the set of faces to decrease the likelihood that our results were driven by a particular set of stimuli. Six sets of five faces were created and pretested, avoiding any systematic distribution of traits within or across sets. The fifth set contained the experimental manipulation, including either a Black or a racially

ambiguous face, depending on condition. All other faces in the fifth set were White, and one of them was selected based on pretesting for being evaluated as being low on positive affect, and having a high likelihood of being perceived as a bad person than the rest of the faces in the set. This face would serve as a potentially more appropriate alternative to the confederate's choice. We selected stimuli based on pretesting such that our control face was perceived to be completely Black ($M = 1.09$, $SD = .28$), $t(34) = 1.79$, $p = .08$, and our experimental face was a 50% morph that was perceived to be multiracial ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.28$). The experimental face was not perceived to be significantly different from a score of 5 ("Somewhat more White than Black"), $t(20) = -1.36$, $p = .19$.

Dependent Measures. The main dependent variable was public expression of disapproval. All the participants' communications with the confederate were saved, and the response for the critical trial was subsequently coded for whether or not the participant expressed disagreement, and how much their response resembled an assertive racial confrontation. Assertiveness of confrontations was coded in a 4-point scale, with higher scores indicating a response that resembled an assertive confrontation more closely, based on Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski's (2011) assertive confrontation, which included a mention of race and a firmly worded expression of disagreement. Additionally, we measured private disagreement with the prejudiced response using a 7-point scale ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree," and coded their open-ended reasons for their level of agreement to check for participants' perceptions of racial bias in the confederate' response (see Appendix H). Finally, we collected demographic information.

Procedure

Participants came into the lab and were informed that they would be completing a task with another student through an instant messaging system. In reality, the participant was the only one completing the task, and the experimenter was playing the role of the other student (confederate) from a different room (see Appendix I for full protocol and script). The task consisted of a series of six trials that asked participants to select out of five faces which one was "most likely to be" a particular person. The participant and the confederate took turns either selecting a face, or providing optional feedback on the selection of the other person (the confederate always selected a face first). After each feedback trial, the participant also completed two private questions about his level of agreement with the confederate's choice, as well as an open ended question about the reason for their agreement/disagreement. A typical session would start with the first trial presenting the prompt "Who is most likely to be a plane pilot?" The confederate, following a script, typed down the identifying letter for one of the faces, and the participant was then given a chance to publicly express agreement or disagreement, as well as the reasoning behind the feedback. In the next trial, the participant chose a face that fits the prompt, and the confederate provided scripted feedback expressing agreement with the participant's decision. The confederate did not provide any feedback for trial 4, to reinforce the idea that feedback is not mandatory. The experimental manipulation was included in trial 5, where the confederate had to respond to the question "Who is most likely to be a mugger?" The stimuli set for both the control and experimental groups included 4 White faces, but the first had a Black face as the fifth option, while the latter had a racially ambiguous option instead. The confederate was instructed to select the

minority option as soon as possible, and then the participant was provided a chance to respond to this choice. After the participant decided to publicly disagree or not, they completed the last trial, followed by a series of demographics questionnaires.

Results

The results of our manipulation check confirmed that the experimental stimuli was perceived to be multiracial by the experimental group ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.16$). Furthermore, while it was perceived to be significantly different from the mid-point ("Equally Black and White") of our scale, $t(33) = 2.66$, $p = .012$, it was also significantly different from 5 ("Somewhat more White than Black"), $t(33) = -2.36$, $p = .024$. We also included a manipulation check for the control group in this study, and confirmed that the face ($M = 1.71$, $SD = .57$) was seen as less than "Completely Black," $t(34) = 7.38$, $p = .000$), but more than "Predominantly Black," $t(34) = -2.95$, $p = .006$. For Study 3 we used response times as an additional manipulation check of ambiguity. Previous research has used reaction times as an indicator of longer processing times or deliberations associated with the categorization of ambiguous targets (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997). Analyses of response times in a free-naming categorization task indicated that participants spent more time, in seconds, categorizing the multiracial (marginal $M = 19.35$, $SE = 1.39$) than the monoracial face (marginal $M = 9.48$, $SE = 1.39$), including length of the response as an adjusted covariate, $F(1, 65) = 27.15$, $p < .001$.

The public and private open ended responses were coded by two independent coders. For the public responses, coding reflected 1) whether or not the participant expressed disagreement, and 2) the assertiveness of the disagreement on a 4 point scale (ranging from no disagreement to very assertive disagreement). We asked coders to rate

assertiveness based on how similar it was to the confrontation used by Dickter, Kittel, & Gyurovski (2011), which included not only an expression of disagreement with a prejudiced remark, but also the use of qualifiers ("I strongly disagree"), as well as an explicit mention of race as the reason behind the confrontation. Inter-rater reliability for the coders was very high, with a Kappa of .96 for the dichotomous disagreement coding and an Intra-class correlation of .97 for the continuous assertiveness coding. The privately reported explanation for the participant's agreement was coded for how much the participant reported to perceive that the confederate's choice was racially motivated. Inter-rater reliability was also very high, with a Kappa of .95.

Public Responses

We conducted Chi-Square tests to examine the hypothesis that participants in the racial ambiguity condition would publicly disagree less frequently than those in the control condition. Our results supported the expected pattern, with only 11.8% of the participants in the experimental condition expressing disagreement with the confederate's choice (vs. 33.3% in the control group), $\chi^2 = 4.61$, $p = .032$, odds ratio = 0.13 (see Figure 6).

Analyses of the assertiveness scale revealed a similar trend. Participants who saw the racially ambiguous target displayed responses that resembled assertive racial confrontations to a lesser degree ($M = 1.12$, $SD = 0.33$) than those who saw a Black target ($M = 1.51$, $SD = 0.92$), $t(67) = 2.37$, $p = .021$, $d = 0.56$ (see Figure 7).

Private Responses

A t-test revealed that, as expected, there were no significant differences on private disagreement with the confederate's decision between the racial ambiguity ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.83$) and monoracial minority ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.69$) conditions, $t(67) = -.55$, $p = .584$.

Attributions of Racial Bias

We conducted a Chi-Square test to explore the differences between our conditions in terms of the participant's expressed attributions of racial bias for the confederate's choice. Our results indicated that more people reported perceiving racial bias in the monoracial Black condition (40%) than in the racial ambiguity condition (11.8%), $\chi^2 = 4.61$, $p = .032$, odds ratio = 0.13 (see Figure 8).

Discussion

The results from the third study provided additional evidence that confrontations of prejudice directed towards multiracials are less likely to be endorsed by bystanders. In a behavioral study we observed that participants privately disagreed to the same degree when a confederate selected a White-Black multiracial (vs. Black) target as more likely to be a mugger than four other White targets. This finding was expected since we provided a clear alternative to all participants in the form of a White face pretested to be the most negatively valenced and the most likely to be a mugger in the set. This measure allowed us to rule out the possibility that our participants rationalized the confederate's actions due to a lack of alternatives in our task.

Despite these equal levels of private disagreement with the choice, we hypothesized that public expressions would be more dependent upon concerns that racial bias occurred. In other words, we expected participants to publicly express their disapproval of the confederate more frequently and strongly in the Black condition than

the multiracial condition because the first step of prejudice identification (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) is more likely to be achieved. Our results supported this prediction with participants publicly expressing disapproval less frequently and less assertively when the target was multiracial (vs. Black). It is noteworthy that despite group differences, rates of confrontation (particularly assertive confrontations) were very low, replicating previous results showing the small number of targets and bystanders who confront instances of prejudice (e.g., Rattan & Dweck, 2010; Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Providing some evidence for the hypothesis that prejudice identification would be hindered in a situation involving a multiracial target in comparison to a Black target, levels of racial attributions for the confederate's behavior differed between the experimental and control conditions. Specifically, when the target was multiracial, participants reported perceiving less racial bias in the confederate's choice than when the target was Black.

This study conceptually replicated our previous results, expanding our findings to behavioral responses to prejudice. These types of studies provide a much needed link to "real-world, actual" behaviors (as opposed to self-report; Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007) and sheds some light on the reluctance to confront prejudiced others when racial ambiguity is involved. Our findings in this study had, nonetheless, some limitations. For example, we lacked a White face control condition (more sensical in this study than the previous two since the confederate did not explicitly make a comment about race). Adding such a control in future studies could further help us rule out White categorizations as the reason for non-confrontations (as opposed to non-confrontations despite multiracial categorizations).

General Discussion

Throughout three studies we found convergent evidence for negativity associated with the confrontation of prejudice towards racially ambiguous multiracial targets. When racial bias is expressed towards multiracial individuals, commenters and bystanders evaluate a confrontation as being less appropriate in comparison to prejudice expressed towards Black individuals. Additionally, bystanders dislike and attribute negative traits to prejudiced commenters less strongly when the target is multiracial. Furthermore, after witnessing a racially biased behavior directed at a multiracial person (vs. monoracial minority), individuals are less likely to express public disapproval, and do so in a less assertive way (i.e., indirect, with no mention of race). These findings are theoretically underlain by a failure to identify expressions of prejudice (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) as a preliminary requisite for the confrontation of discrimination. Our data provide preliminary support for this assumption, in the form of less frequent attributions of racial bias for commenters that make prejudiced remarks about multiracials as opposed to monoracials.

Our research adds important insights to the literature on prejudice confrontation. Expanding on previous findings (Swim & Hyers, 1999) and models of prejudice confrontation (e.g., CPR; Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008), we found that when prejudice identification is harder to achieve (e.g., when the target is of multiracial), individuals evaluate confrontations less positively, and confront less frequently and assertively, despite predicting that they would confront prejudice if exposed to a biased remark. These findings also fit well with studies showing that comment ambiguity reduces positive evaluations of confrontations (Zou & Dickter, 2013). Furthermore, we find that

interpersonal costs for prejudiced commenters are lower when the target is multiracial (vs. Black), potentially leading to a lack of negative social outcomes for those who hold and express these views.

Our studies similarly expand current efforts that have highlighted the multiple ways in which perceptions of and prejudice towards racially ambiguous individuals differ from traditionally studied unambiguously categorizable targets. Such an endeavor has important implications for theories of person perception and intergroup relations. Much of our current knowledge about social categorization relates to perceptions of individuals of clearly categorizable social group membership. However, understanding how blurry boundaries and intermediate categories affect our impressions of and behaviors towards others is an important area of research at the fringes of current theoretical frameworks. For example, emergent lines of research indicate that perceptions of discrimination towards multiracial targets vary as a function of phenotypicality (Skinner & Nicolas, 2015) and self-disclosure of a multiracial identity (Sanchez & Bonam, 2009). The current studies further support the idea that racial ambiguity contributes to a uniquely distinct form of racial bias that is harder to identify than prejudice towards monoracial minorities.

Similarly, there are practical implications suggested by our findings. Given the importance of an accurate identification of prejudiced comments for bystander confrontation, understanding how to increase the effectiveness of this strategy to deal with prejudiced expressions towards the growing multiracial population is vital. As long as racial ambiguity allows for racially charged comments and discrimination to go unidentified (e.g., Skinner & Nicolas, 2015), social change becomes harder to be achieved, and prejudice is perpetuated. Similarly, lack of consensus in the categorization

of multiracial individuals can lead members of this stigmatized population to face discrimination from some, and lack of awareness of such discrimination from others, resulting in a partially invisible stigma. Furthermore, given multiracial individuals' vulnerability to double-discrimination through a "not White, not minority" mentality (e.g., Sanchez, Good, & Chavez, 2010), these studies add to a literature on the unique challenges associated with multiracial individuals.

There are several strengths that can be identified in our studies. First, we used a variety of methods, populations, stimuli, and vantage points. Our methods included vignettes, self-reports, and behavioral measures, addressing concerns that our results were dependent upon particular methodological particularities, and exploring differences in expected and actual confrontation rates (see Kawakami et al., 2009). We also used both undergraduate students and Amazon Mechanical Turk workers as participants, gathering data from populations of distinct profiles in the United States. Additionally, the variation of our face stimuli for each study decreases the likelihood that our studies were specific to a particular set of faces. We also extensively pretested and confirmed both the multiracial perceptions and the racial ambiguity of our stimuli. Such a procedure addresses previous limitations on research using one set of stimuli with limited pretesting of faces (e.g., Ho et al., 2011). Finally, we tackled our main hypotheses about prejudice confrontation from the perspective of different social agents. Namely, our first study looked at prejudice confrontation from the point of view of a prejudiced commenter, allowing us to look both at perceptions of the confrontation and predicted cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses to being confronted when a target is multiracial versus Black. Our second study explored this issue from the vantage point of an

uninvolved observer, giving us the tools to explore evaluations of both necessary actors in a confrontational situation (i.e., the commenter and the confronter) from an uninvolved standpoint. Finally, our third study placed the participant in the role of a bystander who witnesses prejudice and has to decide whether or not to confront. Bystander intervention has been shown to be at least as effective as target confrontations in diminishing prejudice (Czopp et al., 2006). Thus, our results highlight how the behavior of an important agent of change differs when targets are more racially ambiguous than monoracial minorities.

While we believe our multi-method approach to the question of whether or not confrontations are evaluated more negatively under conditions of racial ambiguity provides strong evidence for the existence of this phenomenon, our methods are not without limitations. First, our studies are unable to draw distinctions between constructs of racial ambiguity and multiracial categorizations. Our pretesting and manipulation checks suggested that our experiment stimuli were both multiracial and largely racially ambiguous, as is usually the case with 50% morphs. However, the degree to which these two variables uniquely explain our effect was not determined in this study. This distinction, however, is rarely made in the literature on this topic.

A second limitation is that we cannot make clear distinctions between categorical and prototypical perceptions of our targets. While our continuous scale indicated that our experimental stimuli were rarely perceived to be completely monoracial, the degree to which real-world perceptions operate more strongly through racial categories (e.g., Black, multiracial, or White) versus more continuous phenotipicality-based judgments of prototypicality could make a difference for our effect. In other words, whether the

negativity associated with our stimuli was a result of categorical or continuous perceptions of race cannot be determined from our data.

There are other limitations that can be addressed in future research. For example, the degree to which other steps in the confrontation to prejudiced responses model (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008) are involved in the consideration of whether or not to confront prejudice towards multiracials should be examined. Additionally, it would be important to examine if our findings generalize to other populations of multiracials (e.g., Asian-White). We hypothesize that, given previous finding indicating that some of the same biases in the social categorization of Black-White multiracials apply to Asian-White multiracials (e.g., Ho et al., 2011), the confrontation of prejudice expressed towards these targets would subject to the same types complications (e.g., lack of prejudice identification, low confrontation rates). Similarly, it would be important to look at the role of target gender. We used only male faces since previous research has been mostly based on male targets, allowing us to directly expand on the literature. However, it would be important to explore whether our results would differ for female targets, especially given previous findings on the unique standing of intersectional stigmatized identities (e.g., Black women are particularly likely to be "invisible" when talking about discrimination issues; Sesko & Biernat, 2010). A final limitation is that, despite our efforts to include different stimuli, our ability to make generalizations from these faces to all multiracial faces is undetermined (replications with more diverse stimuli will allow for stronger inferences). Future studies should also further explore the perceptual mechanisms that could moderate the effect of racial ambiguity on confrontation. For example, it is possible that disclosure of a multiracial identity, awareness of shared and

unique stereotypes associated with multiracials, and greater sensitivity to racial backgrounds might lead to more frequent identifications of confrontation-requiring situations. Finally, future research should examine the confrontation patterns and the consequences of confrontations for multiracial targets. We hypothesize that prejudice identification would also be problematic for multiracial targets due to attributional ambiguity (i.e., a target's uncertainty associated to whether others behaviors towards them reflects social prejudice or personal deserving; Crocker & Major, 1989).

In conclusion, our findings indicate that prejudice confrontation less frequent, less assertive, and evaluated more negatively when the target of prejudice is multiracial than when the target is monoracial. We also provide evidence for a failure to identify racial bias as the mechanism underlying our results. In a world of increasing racial diversity, a better understanding of the experiences and challenges that individuals of multiracial backgrounds experience is of great importance. If we are unable to identify instances of prejudice towards more racially ambiguous targets, efforts to increase racial equality will be hindered, and multiracials will continue to face unacknowledged discrimination (Skinner & Nicolas, 2015). We expect future research to continue investigating the instances under which racial ambiguity can lead to the perpetuation of prejudice, and to help elucidate some ways in which this increasingly relevant social issue can be addressed.

Tables

Table 1. Categorizations of stimuli in all studies using a 7-point continuous scale ranging from Completely Black to Completely White.

	Pretest		Manipulation check	
	Black target	Multiracial target	Black target	Multiracial target
Study 1	1.35 (1.07)	5.62 (1.19)	NA	5.39 (1.08)
Study 2	1.00 (0.00)	4.00 (1.67)	2.00 (1.29)	3.78 (1.29)
Study 3	1.09 (0.28)	4.61 (1.28)	1.71 (0.57)	4.53 (1.16)

Figures

Figure 1. Perceived appropriateness of the confrontation intervention as a function of target race; Study 1.

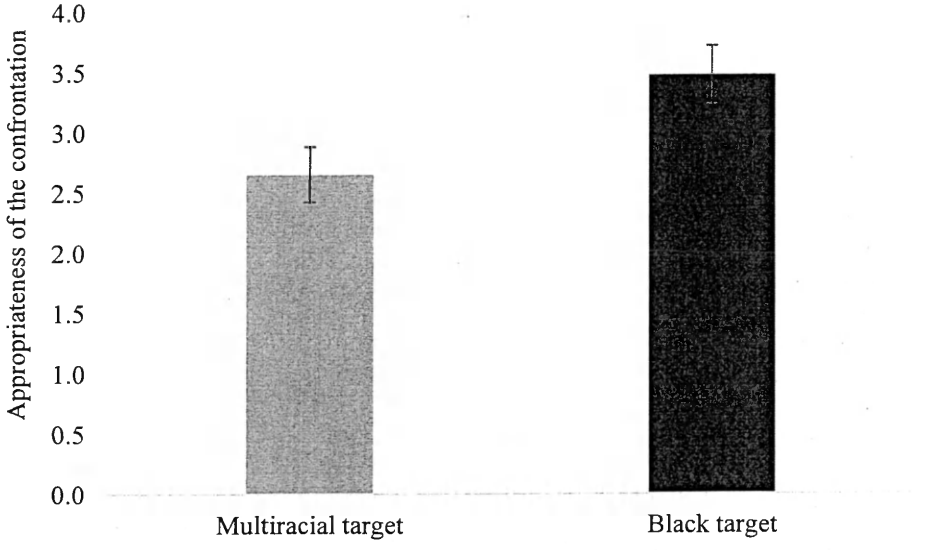


Figure 2. Perceived appropriateness of the confrontation intervention as a function of target race; Study 2.

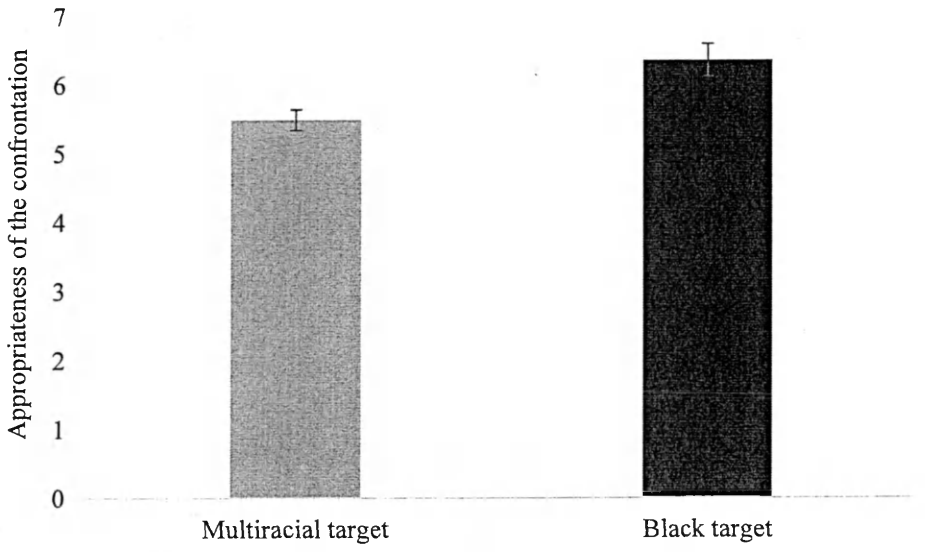


Figure 3. Perceived likability of the commenter as a function of target race; Study 2.

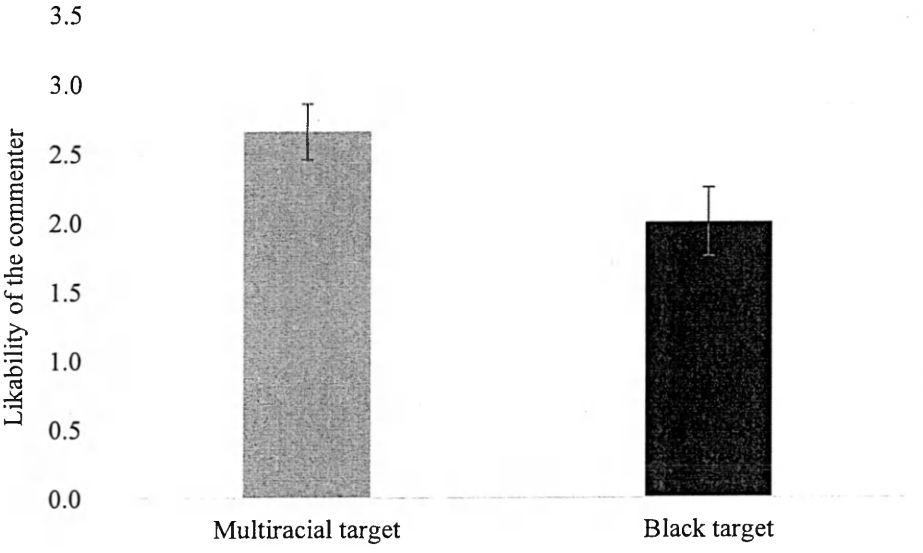


Figure 4. Negative traits attributed to the commenter as a function of target race; Study 2.

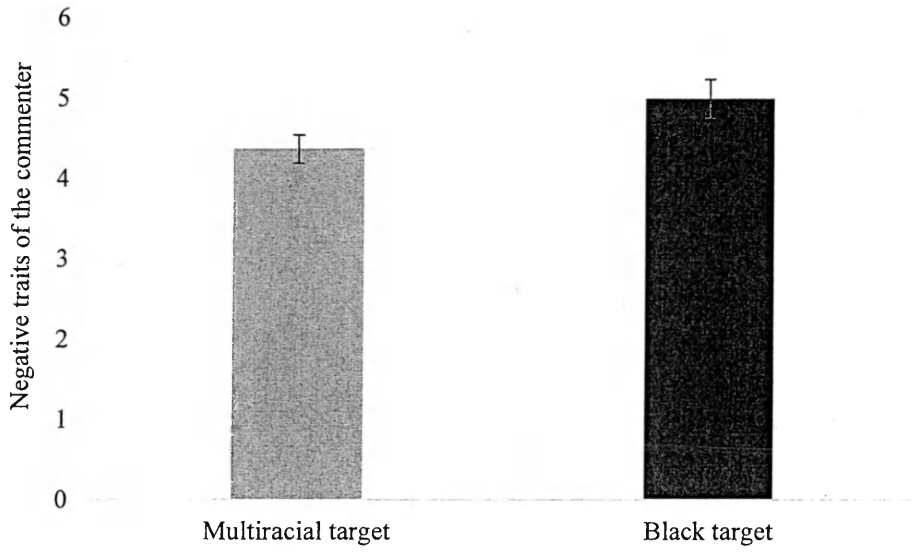


Figure 5. Perceptions that the commenter's comments were not racially biased as a function of target race; Study 2.

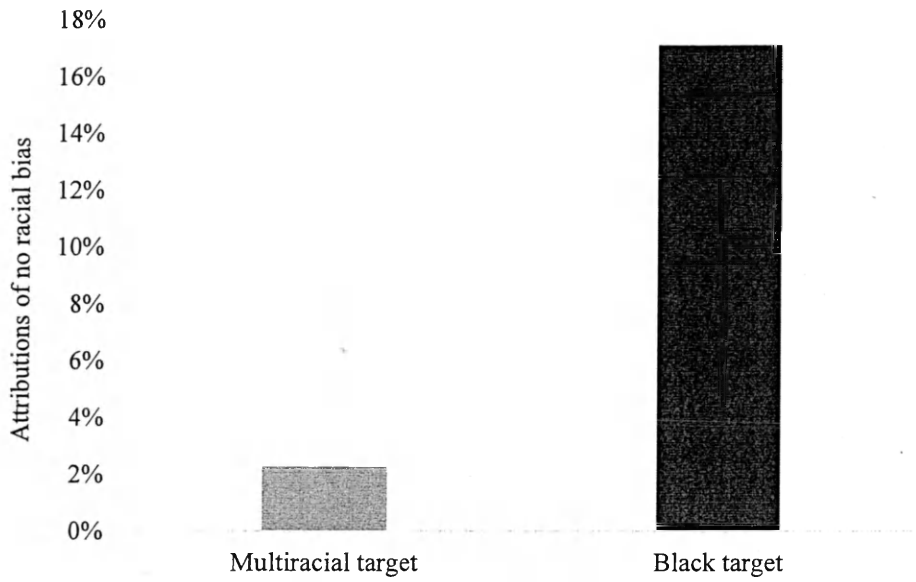


Figure 6. Percentage of participants who publicly expressed disagreement with the racially biased choice as a function of target race; Study 3.

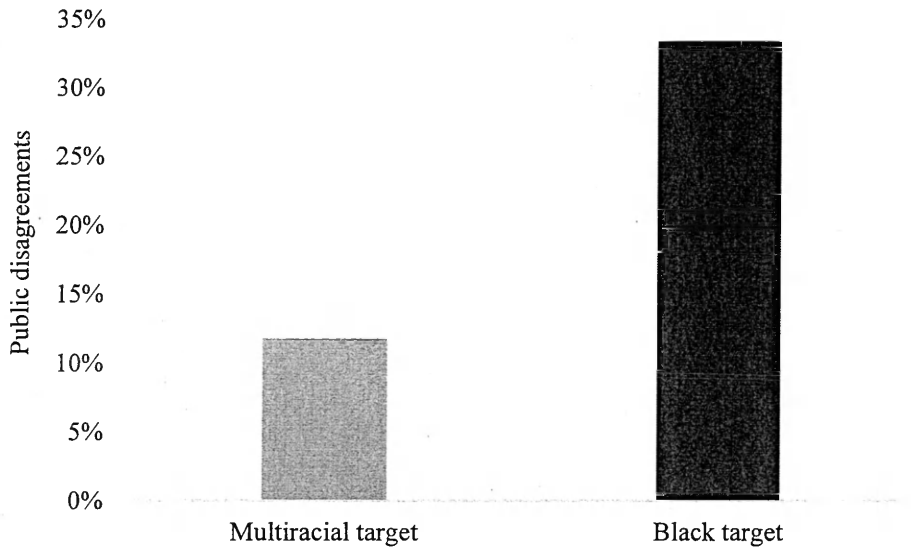


Figure 7. Assertiveness of the confrontation as a function of target race; Study 3.

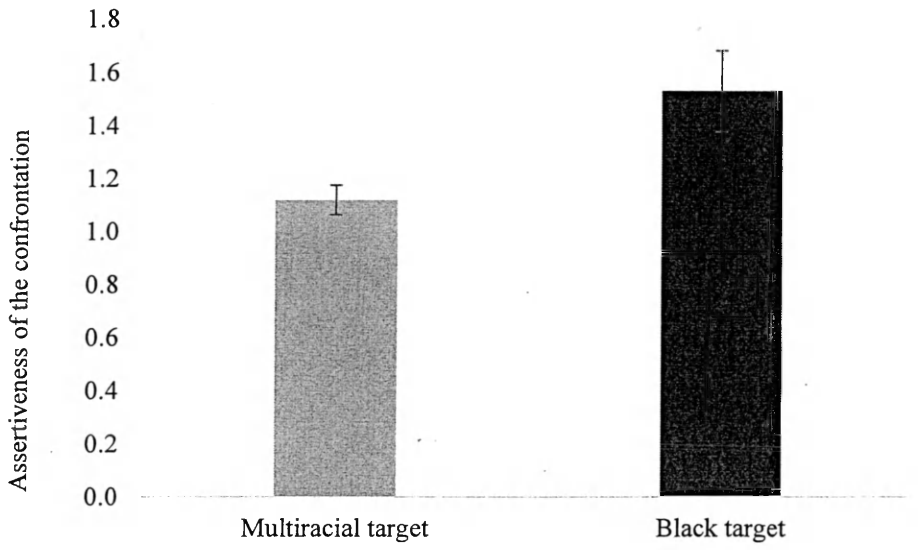
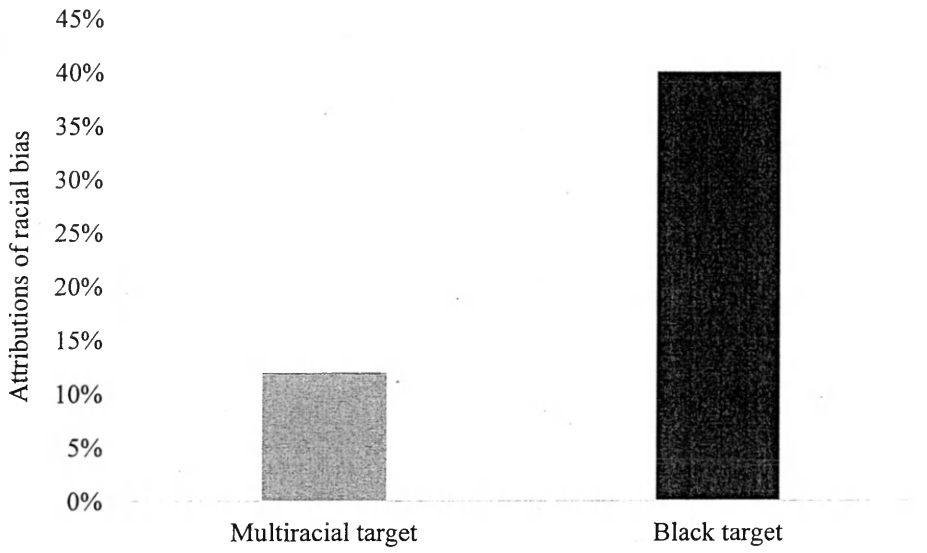


Figure 8. Attributions of racial bias as a function of target race; Study 3.



Appendix A

Vignettes for Study 1

Condition A

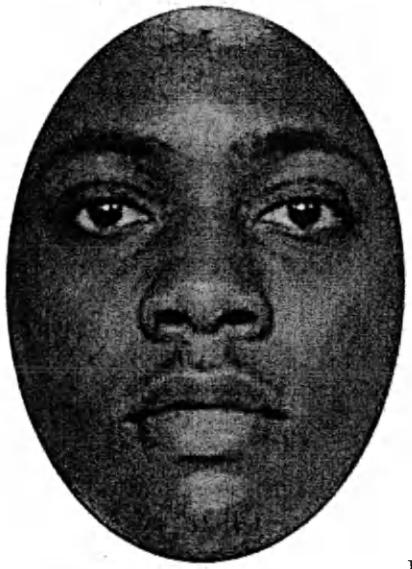
"Imagine that you are talking about two classes that you have this semester with someone who has the same classes. During the course of your conversation, you refer to one of the professors as "Mr. Osgood" and to the other as "Dr. Johnson." The classmate with whom you are talking says, "Do you know that you just called Dr. Osgood 'Mr.' but you called Dr. Johnson 'Dr.'... which shows some racial bias." How do you react?"

Condition B

"Imagine that you are completing a class assignment with a partner in a theater class. You and your partner for the project are in the process of casting roles for people who will play different characters in a drama the class is writing. You now need to decide who should play the role of a surgeon who will be in the drama. One of the remaining actors is Chris and the other is Bob. You automatically assume that Bob should play the role. Your partner for the project says, "I think that's racially biased, maybe we could have a minority surgeon." How do you react?"

Appendix B

Face stimuli for Study 1



Black target

Multiracial target

Appendix C

Dependent measures for Study 1

How appropriate do you think the other person's response was in this situation?
1 - Not at all (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7 - Very much (7)

In this situation, to what extent would the following responses apply to you?
(1 - Does not apply (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7 - Applies very much (7))

1. I would apologize and try to avoid such behavior in the future.
2. I would talk it over with the person and work it out.
3. I would tell the person they're right and drop the subject.
4. I would tell the person, "Whatever, sometimes things like this just happen."
5. I would tell the other person that my position is right.
6. I would tell the person to lighten up, they're being stupid.
7. I would not apologize, but would try to avoid such behavior in the future.

In this situation, to what extent would the following thoughts apply to you?
(1 - Does not apply (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7 - Applies very much (7))

1. I would think I was wrong; I shouldn't have done that.
2. I would think about what I had done and why.
3. I would think about the other person's reaction without getting upset.
4. I would think I really didn't mean anything by what I did.
5. I would think there's nothing wrong with what I did.
6. I would think the other person is being a jerk.

In this situation, to what extent would the following reactions apply to you?
(1 - Does not apply (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7 - Applies very much (7))

1. Disappointed with myself
2. Dissatisfied with myself
3. Embarrassed
4. Guilty
5. Self-critical
6. Shameful

7. Fearful
8. Tense
9. Threatened
10. Uncomfortable
11. Annoyed at the other person
12. Irritated at the other person
13. Amused
14. Entertained

Appendix D

Vignette for Study 2

Below is a transcript of a group interaction. Please pay attention to the participants (including names) and the events. You will be asked questions about your perceptions of the group dynamics later on.

"Andrew and Bob are two graduate students who are working on a school project together, along with Chris, who is not present because of a prior engagement.

Andrew: Hey, let's figure out a topic and get going. I just want to be done with this research project.

Bob: Yeah we should finish this soon. Let's figure out who is doing what.

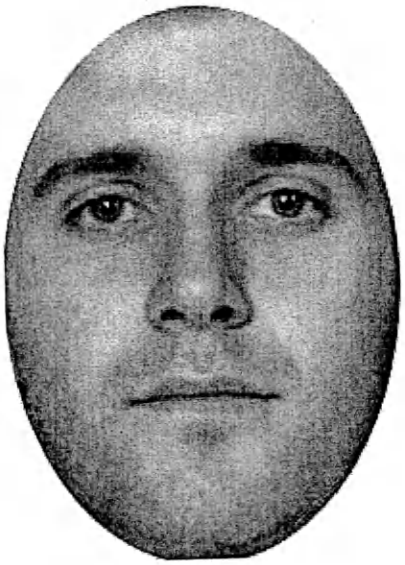
Andrew: Sounds good. I think we should each come up with a topic and do a literature review to see what people have done in the area. Between the three of us it should be pretty easy to find something that works. By the way, where is Chris? What should we have him do?

Bob: He couldn't make it to the meeting. We can't rely on him too much anyway, if we want good grades at least. People like him are not as smart as the rest of us.

Andrew (feeling uncomfortable): Hey man, you can't dismiss his contribution to the group and insult his intelligence just because of his race. He's smart and what you are saying is offensive."

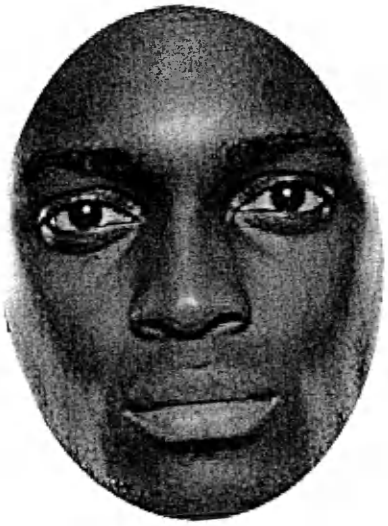
Appendix E

Face stimuli for Study 2

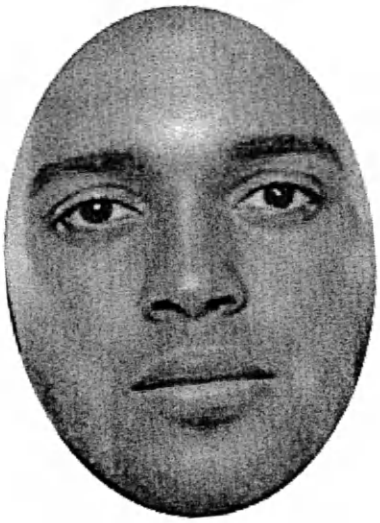


Confronter (Andrew)

Commenter (Bob)



Black target (Chris)



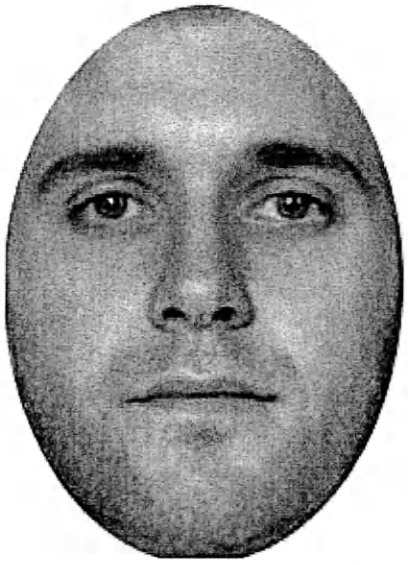
Black target (Chris)

Appendix F

Dependent measures for Study 2

Now you will answer questions about each student in the conversation.

Andrew



How appropriate was Andrew's comment?
1) Extremely inappropriate (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Extremely appropriate (7)

How much do you like Andrew?
1) Not at all (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Very much (7)

Please rate Andrew on the following traits. Provide ratings of how strongly you think each characteristic applies to Andrew, based on the conversation you read.
1) Not at all (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7) Very much (7)

Friendly
Smart
Outgoing
Abrasive
Dangerous
Moral
Complaining
Rude
Knowledgeable
Arrogant

Please explain what led you to your evaluations of Andrew:

Bob

How appropriate was Bob's comment?
1) Extremely inappropriate (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Extremely appropriate (7)

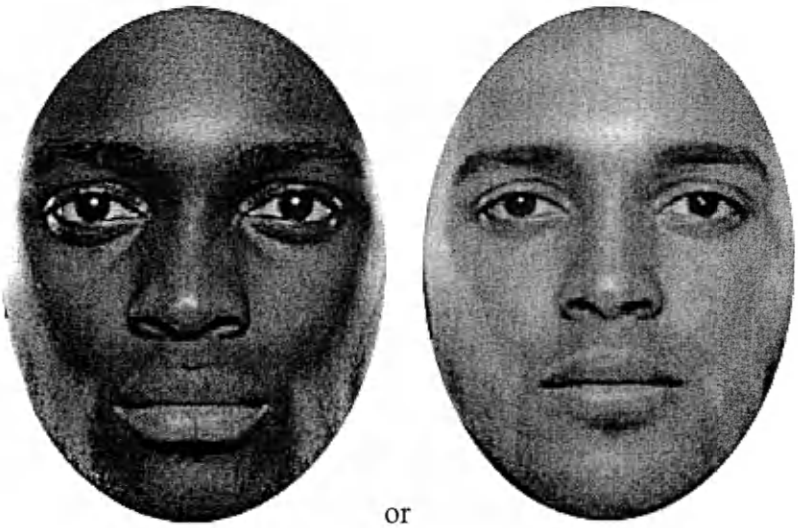
How much do you like Bob?
1) Not at all (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Very much (7)

Please rate Bob on the following traits. Provide ratings of how strongly you think each characteristic applies to Andrew, based on the conversation you read.
1) Not at all (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7) Very much (7)

Friendly
Smart
Outgoing
Abrasive
Dangerous
Moral
Complaining
Rude
Knowledgeable
Arrogant

Please explain what led you to your evaluations of Bob:

Chris



or

How much do you like Chris?
1) Not at all (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Very much (7)

Please rate Chris on the following traits. Provide ratings of how strongly you think each characteristic applies to Andrew, based on the conversation you read.
1) Not at all (1) 2 (2) 3 (3) 4 (4) 5 (5) 6 (6) 7) Very much (7)

Friendly
Smart
Outgoing
Abrasive
Dangerous
Moral
Complaining
Rude
Knowledgeable
Arrogant

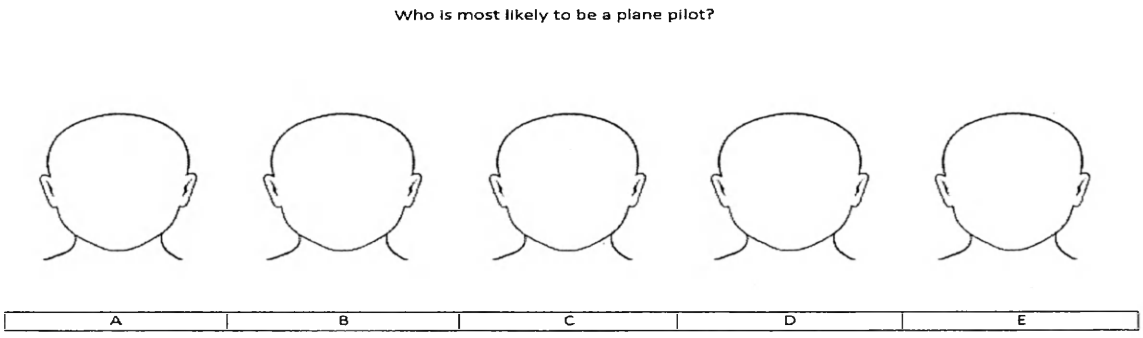
Please explain what led you to your evaluations of Chris:

In this situation, how likely is it that you would have confronted Bob's comment?
1) Very unlikely (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7) Very likely (7)

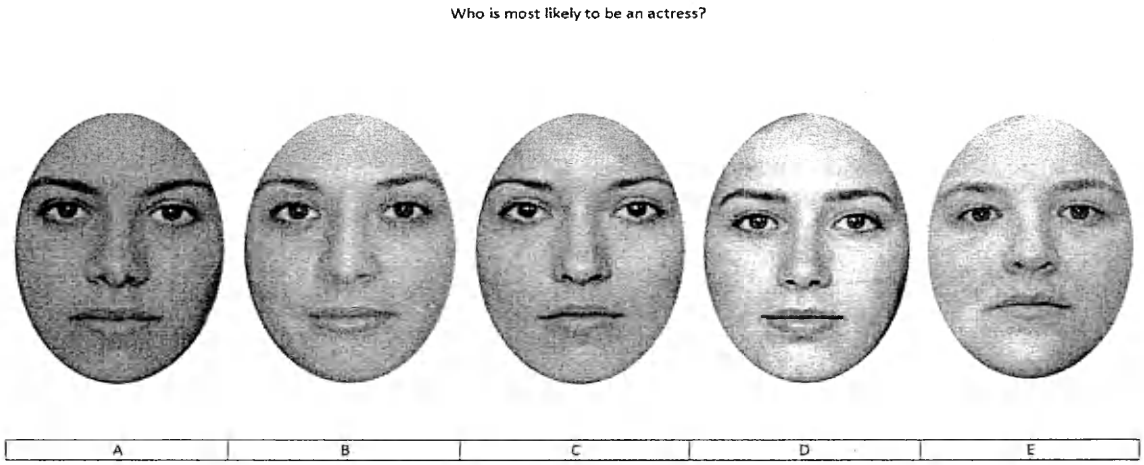
Appendix G

Stimuli for Study 3

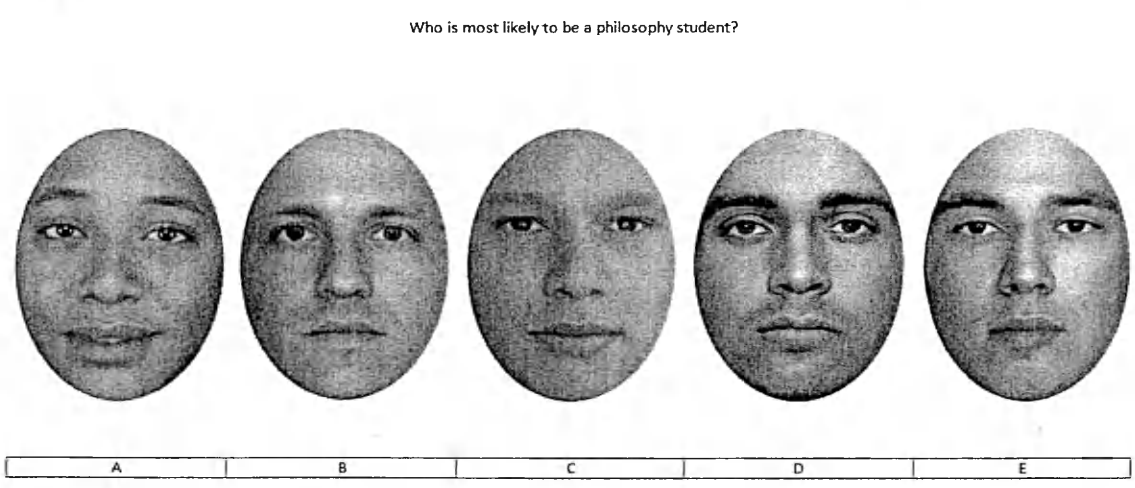
Example trial



Trial 1 – Actress (Confederate)

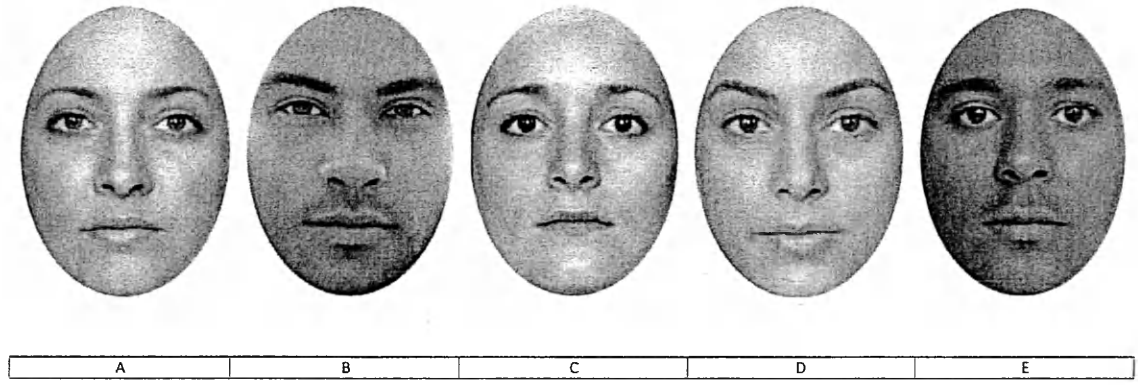


2 – Philosophy Student (Participant)



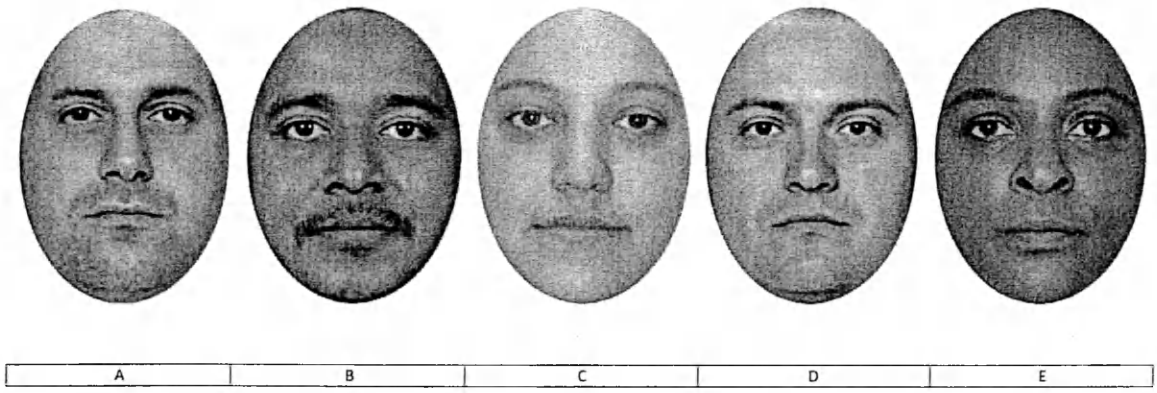
3 – Alaska (Confederate)

Who is most likely to be from Alaska?



4 – Professor (Participant)

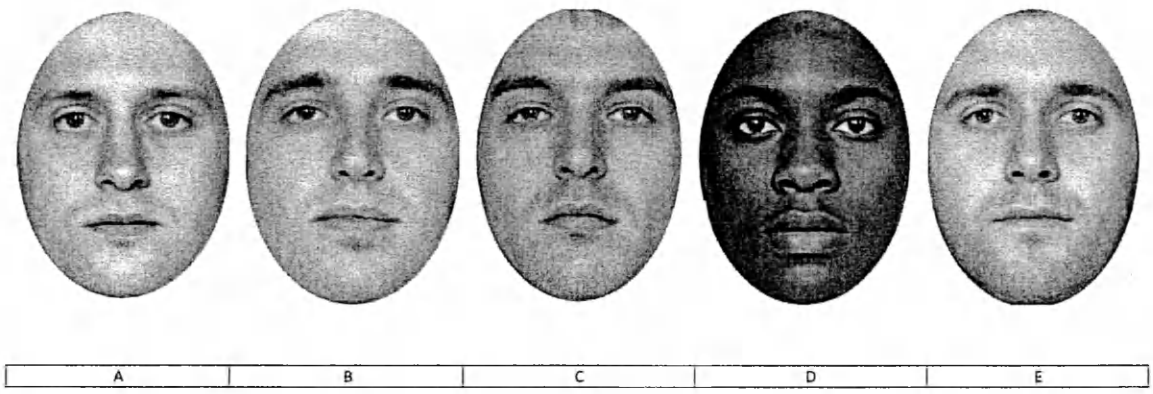
Who is most likely to be a professor?



5 – Mugger* (Confederate)

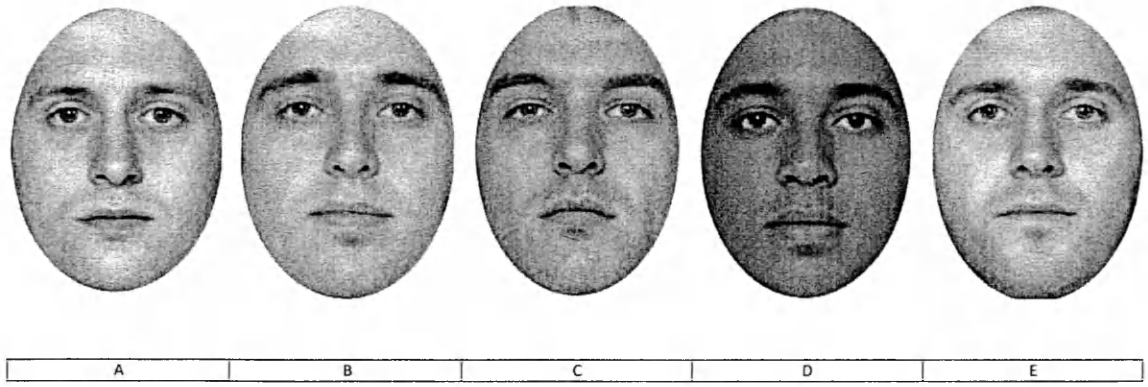
(Control)

Who is most likely to be a mugger?



(Experimental)

Who is most likely to be a mugger?



6 – Honest Person (Participant)

Who is most likely to be an honest person?

A	B	C	D	E

Appendix H

Dependent measures for Study 3

Paper questionnaire for private responses

PLEASE RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS EACH TIME A DECISION ABOUT A SET OF FACES IS MADE BY THE OTHER STUDENT.

You have been randomly assigned to go SECOND (for decision-making), so this questionnaire only includes Trials 1, 3, and 5.

Trial 1

A. How much do you agree or disagree with the other student's decision?

1. Completely disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Slightly disagree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Slightly agree
6. Somewhat agree
7. Completely agree

B. Please explain why:

Trial 3

C. How much do you agree or disagree with the other student's decision?

1. Completely disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Slightly disagree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Slightly agree
6. Somewhat agree
7. Completely agree

D. Please explain why:

Trial 5

E. How much do you agree or disagree with the other student's decision?

1. Completely disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Slightly disagree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Slightly agree
6. Somewhat agree
7. Completely agree

F. Please explain why:

Appendix I

Experimenter's protocol and script for Study 3

The participant will come in and must be seated in an individual room near the entrance of ODH.
Experimenter: "Hi, please take a seat in this room. The other student who will be completing this study with you is already seated in the next room. You will be interacting via an instant messaging program. The purpose of this study will be to discuss your impressions on the likelihood that a set of faces could belong to a particular social role or position, as well as the likelihood that they could possess a particular trait or engage in a behavior. Please read and sign this informed consent and I will provide you with further instructions when you are done. I will go and check on the other participant now, I will be right back."
The experimenter will return after a brief moment and collect the informed consent.
Bring in the "Participant 2" tag and the participant number information.
Experimenter: "Thank you. For this task you will be interacting with another student to decide which of five faces is more likely to do or be something. There will be 6 trials, with different sets of faces and different social roles or characteristics that you and the other student will take turns to match. For example, you might see 5 faces, A, B, C, D, and E, and the question "Who is most likely to be a plane pilot?" If it is your turn to answer, you will select the face you think is most likely to be a pilot, and the other student will have the option to provide you with feedback on your decision, if they desire. If it is the other student's turn, they will choose a face and you will have the option to write some feedback on their decision. You can decide to say whether you agree or not and why, or you might chose to not say anything. After they make their decision and you either provide them with feedback or not, you will also answer the questions about the trial that you have on the paper questionnaire in front of you. The paper questionnaire is confidential and neither the other student nor I will have access to it. Once this is done, you will type in that you are ready, and we will move on to the next trial. Again, there will be 6 trials, and you will take turns. The other student will go first. For privacy, I will refer to you as Participant 2 during the experiment, and the other person will be Participant 1. I will be guiding the conversation, and remind you about most of these steps as we go. I will be seating in a separate room from both you and the other student, so if you have any doubts, just type in that you have a question and I will come to the room. Otherwise, I am expected to follow a script throughout this experiment, so my interventions will be limited to guide you through the process."
Leave the room and get ready to start.

Experimenter: "Ok, Participant 1 goes first. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question"

- Set the IM to share the experimenter screen, since you will be showing the participants the face sets for each trial this way.

Present Trial 1.
Use the confederate computer to respond as Participant 1.

Type in 'C.'
Use the experimenter computer.
Say "Ok, Participant 2, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 1 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'"
Once the participant responds:
Say "Ok, now is Participant 2's turn. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question."
Show Trial 2 and wait for a response.
Say "Ok, Participant 1, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 2 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'"
Use the confederate computer and type in "I agree, seems like a good choice."
Wait a few seconds (as if you were answering the paper questionnaire), and type in "ready".
Use the Experimenter computer and repeat instructions, for the next trial (3, confederate turn).
Say "Ok, now is Participant 1's turn. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question."
Use confederate computer: Choose face B.
Experimenter: Say "Ok, Participant 2, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 3 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'"
Wait for participant response.
Experimenter: Say "Ok, now is Participant 2's turn. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question."
Wait for participant response.
Experimenter: Say "Ok, Participant 1, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 4 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'"
For trial 4, don't type in any feedback. Type "ready" after a few seconds from the confederate computer.
For trial 5 **(Critical trial)**, you need to use either the Experimental or Control face set, depending on the group the participant is in (see participant log to decide).
Experimenter: say "Ok, now is Participant 1's turn. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question."
Use the confederate computer, and type in "D." Try to do this fairly quickly after presentation of the faces.
Use the experimenter computer and Say "Ok, Participant 2, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 5 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'" (The standard instruction after a response).
Wait for the participant to be done, and do the last trial.
Use Experimenter: say "Ok, finally it's Participant 2's turn. Please select the letter corresponding to the face that you believe answers the question."
Wait.

Use the experimenter computer and Say "Ok, Participant 1, if there is any feedback, type it in. This is optional. Please also answer the questions corresponding to trial 6 on your paper questionnaire. Once you are done, type in 'ready.'"
Don't provide feedback. Type "ready" as confederate after a few seconds.

Once all trials are done, say: "Ok, that was the last trial. Now please minimize Skype and complete the Qualtrics questionnaire. Once you are done type "ready" and I will be right with you to conclude the study."

Appendix J

Demographic questionnaire (All Studies)

What is your political orientation?
1 - Extremely Liberal (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)
6 (6)
7 - Extremely Conservative (7)

How would you describe your race/ethnicity?
African (1)
Asian (2)
Caucasian/European (3)
Hispanic/Latino (4)
Multiracial (5)
Other (6)

What is your gender?
Male (1)
Female (2)

What is your age?

What do you think this study was about?

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