

CONFRONTING RACISM AND SEXISM: WHO DOES IT AND HOW?

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ABSTRACT

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Prejudice and discrimination continue to be societal problems, resulting in various negative outcomes for targets. Confronting individuals who behave in a prejudicial or discriminatory manner has been shown to be an effective means of reducing future acts of prejudice or discrimination. Both members of the targeted group and individuals whose group is not targeted can be effective confronters. Despite the utility of this strategy, little research has identified predictors of confronting behavior. In Studies 1 and 2, participants observed a racist or sexist hiring decision and had two opportunities to confront the perpetrator. The effects of target-group membership, state negative affect, group identification, attitudes about prejudice, and confronting efficacy on confronting behaviors were investigated. Study 3 used the same research paradigm with the addition of a manipulation of the discrimination victim's level of identification. It was hypothesized that discrimination against a person who is highly identified with his race would elicit less confrontation than discrimination against a less identified person. Results and implications are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

Intergroup bias can manifest itself through an individual's attitudes about and behavior towards outgroup members. Negative attitudes toward people based on their group membership are defined as *prejudice* (Allport, 1954). These negative attitudes often lead to *discrimination*, which is negative treatment based on group memberships. Thus prejudice and discrimination are different forms of an underlying construct of bias against outgroups. The current research will examine people's responses to the expression of prejudicial attitudes via a discriminatory act, thus literature on both prejudice and discrimination will be reviewed.

Research suggests that prejudice and discrimination continue to be pervasive problems in U.S. society (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Experiences of prejudice and discrimination are associated with negative outcomes, such as chronic health problems, increased depression, and lower life satisfaction (Guyll, Matthews, & Bromberger, 2001; Prelow, Mosher, & Bowman, 2006). Prejudice and discrimination can be harmful even when one is not directly targeted. Research suggests that simply witnessing an act of prejudice or discrimination against an ingroup member can negatively impact observers. For example, women who work in an environment where other women are experiencing sexual harassment report decreased job satisfaction and psychological outcomes, even after controlling for personal experiences of harassment (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004). Further, Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2007) observed these effects for both women and men who witnessed sexual harassment. Given these significant implications, researchers have devoted considerable attention to studying ways in which prejudice and discrimination can be decreased.

Direct confrontation – demonstrating resistance to a specific act of prejudice or discrimination – has been shown to effectively reduce future prejudice and discrimination

(Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Although the majority of the research in this area has focused on confrontation by victims (the individuals experiencing prejudice or discrimination) and targets (individuals who belong to the targeted group, but are not themselves victims), non-targets (individuals who do not belong to the targeted group) may be important agents in prejudice and discrimination reduction as well. For example, many Whites played active roles in the Civil Rights movement, some men consider themselves feminists and participate in gender-related activism, and heterosexuals often label themselves as gay allies or advocates. But despite their noteworthy presence in both historical and modern political movements, these non-target activists have received little empirical attention. Thus, this research focuses on both targets and non-targets.

Both targets of prejudice and discrimination and non-targets can successfully confront, yet do not always choose to do so. With these studies I will explore the situational factors and individual differences that predict choosing to confront (in this case, a discriminatory hiring decision). I will focus on race- and gender-based discrimination as they continue to be pervasive societal problems, influencing many women and people of color (Kessler et al., 1999).

I propose that, all else being equal, potential targets of a given form of discrimination will be more likely to confront it than non-targets. Specifically, women are expected to confront sexism more than men and Blacks are expected to confront racism more than Whites. However, for both potential targets and non-potential targets, the individual's affective reaction, along with several individual difference variables, including group identity, belief in a just world, prejudicial attitudes, and feelings of efficacy are expected to predict confronting. I will also examine the effect that the discrimination victim's level of identification with the targeted group has on the confrontation behavior of others. Previous research suggests that men of color who

are highly identified with their racial group are liked less than less identified men of color (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). Building upon these findings, it is expected that people will be less likely to confront discrimination that is directed at a highly identified Black man than discrimination directed at a less identified target.

Following, I will review the literature on reactions to prejudice and discrimination by both targets and non-targets and the relationship between level of identification and experiences with discrimination. I will discuss the predictors and outcomes of confronting behavior and propose two sets of studies aimed at furthering these areas of research.

What is confronting?

Confronting has been studied in many fields of research and has been operationalized in many ways. Often researchers fail to offer any definition of what constitutes confronting in their studies and participants are asked face-valid questions (e.g., Adams et al., 2003; Adams-Roy & Barling, 1998; Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2012; Goldberg, 2007; Miller & Roloff, 2005; Tisak & Tisak, 1996). For example, participants are often simply asked (in response to instances of sexual harassment), “Did you take any action such as: reporting the incident or confronting the perpetrator?” or (in response to hypothetical teasing or insulting comments), “How likely would you be to confront your partner about what he or she said to you?” or “How compelled would you feel to challenge what your partner said to you?”

When confronting is explicitly defined, the operationalizations vary across fields and individual studies. Psychology researchers sometimes distinguish between *assertive responses*, which “communicate one’s displeasure in a way that is visible to the perpetrator,” and *non-assertive responses*, which do not clearly convey one’s displeasure (Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1988, pg. 42). Examples of assertive responses include questioning the perpetrator (e.g., “What

is that supposed to mean?”), direct nonverbal responses (e.g., looks of disgust, shaking one’s head), and direct verbal responses (e.g., explaining why the comment is offensive, “telling off” the perpetrator). Examples of non-assertive responses include “laughing off” or ignoring the comment, changing the subject, and leaving the conversation – none of which clearly express one’s disapproval (Hyers, 2007).

Communication research on conflict management proposes several conflict resolution strategies that are similar to the styles outlined by psychologists. Specifically, Sillars and colleagues (Sillars, 1980; Sillars, Coletti, Parry, & Rogers, 2002) have identified three strategies that people employ in ongoing, interpersonal conflict situations. People using the *avoidance* strategy minimize acknowledgment of and communication related to the conflict, by denying the existence of conflict, changing the topic of conversation, or making comments or jokes which minimize the conflict. People who use the *distributive* strategy discuss the conflict in competitive or self-focused ways. For example, they might criticize, blame, or reject their partners and seek concessions from them. In a confrontation of prejudice or discrimination, people who use this strategy might engage in name-calling or attempt to make the perpetrator admit that s/he was wrong. An *integrative* strategy is one that focuses on information exchange, relationship maintenance, and compromise. Using this strategy, a person might express empathy, emphasize shared goals, and suggest mutually beneficial solutions to a conflict. Using this strategy, a person who is confronting an act of prejudice or discrimination might seek to educate the perpetrator or explain how his/her actions might make others feel. Another model proposed by communication researchers identifies eight conflict handling styles, organized into four major groups (Leung & Kim, 2007). *Unassertive* styles include avoiding discussion of conflict or playing down its severity and accommodating the other party. *Cooperative* styles

emphasize integrating (seeking a win-win solution) and compromising (engaging in cooperative bargaining). *Aggressive* styles include verbal domination and relational coercion to punish a partner's non-compliance. Engaging in deception or ingratiating to gain compliance are *wily* styles.

As seen above, there are many areas of overlap in the various categorizations of confronting behaviors. Confrontations can be either verbal (e.g., explaining why a comment is inappropriate) or non-verbal (e.g., rolling one's eyes). They can also vary in strength, ranging from strong, direct confrontations (e.g., attempting to educate the person, demanding concessions), to weak, indirect confrontations (e.g., questioning the other person, shaking one's head), to absence of confrontation (e.g., ignoring the problem, changing the subject). Stronger confrontations convey more disapproval than weaker confrontations. Confrontations can also vary in their underlying goals. Some styles or strategies are based on competitive or aggressive goals (e.g., distributive strategies, aggressive styles) and others are based on goals of relationship-maintenance, education, and cooperation (e.g., integrative strategies, cooperative styles). An online, written communication paradigm will be used in these studies, therefore only verbal (written) confrontations will be studied. Written statements will be coded for the extent to which they are *avoidant/non-assertive* (not confronting), *indirect/weak*, or *direct/strong*. Both indirect/weak and direct/strong statements will constitute confronting behaviors. Indirect/weak statements will be those that have the potential to communicate disapproval, but that are oblique enough that the other person may not perceive them as indicative of disapproval. Direct/strong statements will be those that are overt enough that most people will clearly perceive them as indicative of disapproval. Statements will also be coded for the extent to which they are *cooperative/helpful* and *aggressive/hostile*. Similar to the integrative strategy and cooperative

style outlined above, statements coded as cooperative/helpful will be those that imply a desire to inform, compromise, or maintain camaraderie with the other person. Similar to the distributive strategy and aggressive style outlined above, aggressive/hostile statements will be those that imply a desire to dominate, criticize, or punish the other person.

Confrontation rates

Several empirical studies have examined the frequency with which targets of prejudice choose to confront it, though as with the literature previously described the operationalization of confronting varies across studies. Swim and Hyers (1999) found that 45% of female participants confronted, either verbally or nonverbally, a sexist comment made by a male confederate. Many women who did not confront instead exhibited resigned acceptance. Some of those who confronted the remark did so verbally by questioning the man about his remark, using humor or sarcasm, or addressing the inappropriate remark directly (e.g., labeling it as sexist and asking the man to change his behavior). Others responded in a non-verbal way, such as grumbling, making surprised noises of disgust, or rolling their eyes. Similarly, Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) found that 48% of female participants chose to confront a male interviewer who had asked sexually harassing questions. However, all of these confrontations took the form of politely questioning the interviewer and would therefore be classified as indirect/weak confrontations using the coding scheme outlined above.

Consistent with findings suggesting that racism is perceived to be less acceptable than sexism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), research suggests that targets of racism may be more likely to confront it than targets of sexism. For example, in one study in which African Americans retrospectively reported acts of discrimination they had faced, 66-73% of the reported incidences had been confronted (Feagin, 1991). Many of the non-confronters chose to withdraw or exit the

situation, whereas others demonstrated resigned acceptance by remaining in the situation but not addressing the discriminatory act. When confronting, targets often responded verbally by making a mocking or sarcastic remark, attempting to educate the perpetrator, or making a straightforward request for an apology or behavior change.

There is much less research on rates of non-target confrontations. One would expect that people who are less likely to be directly affected by a given form of discrimination would fight it less frequently and intensely than individuals who belong to the group being discriminated against. However, non-target individuals (those whose group is not directly affected by a given form of prejudice or discrimination) sometimes advocate on behalf of those who are targeted. Consistent with both of these propositions, one empirical study found that when exposed to a sexist comment about women, 72% of female participants confronted it whereas only 45% of men confronted the comment (Pratt-Hyatt, 2007). However, Gervais, Hillard, and Vesico (2010) found that female and male participants were equally likely to confront a sexist comment.

Costs and benefits of confrontation for targets of prejudice

Research has demonstrated that confrontations by targets can be effective means of reducing others' levels of future prejudice and discrimination (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Kaiser & Miller, 2004). A successful confrontation can benefit not only the original target, but potentially other ingroup members who may face less prejudice and discrimination in future interactions with the perpetrator. Thus a target might confront, not only for themselves, but on behalf of their social group. Confrontation can also lead to psychological benefits. Expressions of prejudice often elicit negative affect among members of the targeted group and confronting that prejudice can serve as a way to lessen the arousal or negative emotions that one feels (Haslett & Lipman, 1997; Kowalski, 1996). Targets who choose to confront may also feel pride

or satisfaction as a result of behaving in a way that is consistent with beliefs they hold (e.g., related to egalitarianism or standing up for oneself and group; Kowalski, 1996; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Assertive responses are associated with feelings of agency and beliefs that one has been effective (Hyers, 2007). On the other hand, people who experience prejudice and choose not to respond often report regret, guilt, and self-directed anger, sometimes for several days after the incident (Feagin, 1991; Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

However there are costs associated with confronting as well. Research suggests that targets who confront prejudice are evaluated and treated less favorably by others (Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell, & Moran, 2001; Garcia, et al., 2005; Good et al., 2012; Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003). These findings emerge even when the evaluators know that the target is justified in her/his claim (i.e., that s/he did, in fact, experience discrimination; Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003). Confrontations by targets may be seen as strategic attempts to manipulate the situation for personal or collective gain (e.g., “crying prejudice,” “playing the race card”), thus eliciting negative feedback from others. Additionally, confrontation by targets may violate the prescribed social roles of that group. For example, gender roles dictate that women are to focus on relationship maintenance and to put others’ feelings ahead of their own (Gilligan, 1982); confronting prejudice is inconsistent with these expectations and may lead others to evaluate female confronters negatively. Similarly, targets may fear that they will confirm stereotypes about their group by confronting (e.g., that they are aggressive, selfish, oversensitive).

Costs and benefits of confrontation for non-targets of prejudice

As is true for targets, there are likely both costs and benefits associated with non-targets confronting perpetrators of prejudice. There are theoretical reasons to believe that, compared to

targets, confrontations from non-targets may be even more likely to change the confronted person's behavior. Confrontations by targets may be seen as self-interested and manipulative, thus perpetrators of prejudice may feel justified in dismissing the target confronter's claims. However, non-targets may be seen as less biased or less likely to have a vested interest and therefore their claims may be given more attention (Petty, Fleming, Priester, & Feinstein, 2001). Confrontations from non-targets may also be perceived as less normative and schema-consistent, which may also lead to more cognitive processing on the part of the confronted person (Channouf, Py, & Somat, 1999; Gigerenzer, Todd, & the ABC Research Group, 1999). Further, Social Comparison Theory states that when deciding whether one's own behavior is appropriate, a person compares her/his attitudes and behaviors to those of similar others (Festinger, 1954). Thus, this theory suggests that the confronter may be seen as more credible if s/he belongs to the same group(s) as the confronted person.

However, the few empirical studies of the effectiveness of non-target confrontations have produced inconsistent results. Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that White participants who were asked to imagine hypothetical confronting situations related to racism reported more guilt and less tension when the confronter was White than they did when the confronter was Black. However subsequent studies of actual confrontations have suggested that Black confronters elicited more distress among confronted White perpetrators (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Winslow, 2004) and that Black and White confronters were equally successful at changing confronted people's future behavior (Czopp et al., 2006).

In addition to the possibility of effective prejudice reduction, there are other potential psychological benefits associated with confronting by non-targets. They too may experience a sense of satisfaction or pride as they behave in ways that are consistent with their beliefs (e.g.,

regarding egalitarianism, helping, chivalry). Consistent with this notion, Pratt-Hyatt (2007) found that men who confronted a sexist remark reported higher levels of pride than men who had heard the remark and did not confront. However, there are likely costs associated with non-target confrontations as well. As with target confronters, non-targets who confront a perpetrator of prejudice might face negative evaluations and treatment. In the case of non-targets, this negative treatment may be based on beliefs that the confronters have been disloyal to their ingroup or that they have intruded into matters that are “none of their business” (Eichstedt, 2001; Eliasoph, 1999; Giroux, 1999).

Situational factors associated with confronting prejudice and discrimination

When witnessing an act of prejudice, an individual’s mood will likely influence whether s/he will confront it. Confronting can be considered a form of activism and researchers consider anger to be a fundamental predictor of activism (Adams, 1986; Hercus, 1999). Research has also shown that people who have higher levels of trait negative affect ruminate over frustrations longer and express dissatisfaction to others more frequently than people who are lower in negative affect (Kowalski, 1993; Watson & Clark, 1984). One study found that male and female participants who had confronted a rude or sexist comment reported more anger, hostility, and upset than did non-confronters (Pratt-Hyatt, 2007). Some researchers posit that complaining or confronting is a means through which individuals attempt to reduce negative affect (Hyers, 2007; Swim & Thomas, 2006). Thus people who experience greater levels of negative affect, specifically anger, in reaction to a prejudicial comment or discriminatory act may be especially likely to confront it.

Individual differences associated with confronting prejudice and discrimination

Individual difference dimensions related to personal identity, prejudicial attitudes, belief in a just world, and personal efficacy may also predict confrontation behavior. Identity centrality is the extent to which a person considers a given group membership (e.g., race, gender) to be an important part of the self (Deaux, 1996; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). For targets, identity centrality is thought to be an important predictor of noticing and reporting prejudice. If an act of prejudice is directed toward a group that a person feels connected to, the act will be more personally relevant and upsetting. Perhaps not surprisingly, the first step in confronting prejudice is to be aware of it (Feagin, 1991; Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995) and research suggests that targets of prejudice and discrimination often do not label their experiences as being related to prejudice (Crosby, 1984; Feldman & Swim, 1998). However, targeted individuals who are more identified with their group are more likely to notice and report prejudice (see Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001 for reviews). Consistent with this, Pratt-Hyatt (2007) found that women who were more highly identified with their gender were more likely to confront a sexist comment than less-identified women. Similarly, identity centrality has been shown to predict political activism on behalf of one's group (Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2004). Thus, Black targets and women who are more identified with their groups should be more likely to notice and confront racism and sexism, respectively, than those targets who are less identified.

Far less research has examined the effects of identification with dominant or majority groups (i.e., White identity; male identity; Knowles & Peng, 2005). White racial identity is frequently considered a non-identity or an identity that few Whites are conscious of (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Perry, 2001; 2007). However several studies have demonstrated considerable variability in White individuals' levels of racial identification (Knowles & Peng, 2005; Perry,

2007). Higher levels of White identity have been associated with the construct of “White guilt” and antiracism activism (Eichstedt, 2001; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Knowles & Peng, 2005; White & Burke, 1987), suggesting that highly identified Whites may be more likely to confront acts of prejudice than less identified Whites. However, White identity has also been shown to predict less favorable evaluations of people of color, more racist attitudes, and a greater sense of “White victimization” (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1992; 1994; Sidanius et al., 2004; Wong & Cho, 2005). Other studies have found that White identity interacts with attitudinal variables to predict both opposition to and support for affirmative action policies (Arriola & Cole, 2001; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006). Thus there is reason to believe that higher levels of White identity increase the relevance of race for White people. However, it is likely that White identity, interacting with other variables such as attitudes about race and just world beliefs, could predict both confronting and not confronting racism.

Similarly, male identity – the extent to which one’s identity as a man is an important aspect of one’s self-concept – could be predictive of both confronting and not confronting acts of sexism. One study found that men who were highly identified with their gender were more likely than less identified men to sexually harass a female interaction partner after being exposed to threats to their male identity (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Cameron (2002) found that men who were more identified with their gender reported more experiences of discrimination. Cameron believes such discrimination claims are a defensive mechanism, aimed at hindering attempts to increase equality between men and women. However, it is possible that personal experiences with discrimination might engender sympathy toward others, even outgroup members, who are experiencing discrimination. For example, Sellers and colleagues (1997) posit that some African Americans adopt an “oppressed minority” ideology, believing

that African Americans and other groups who experience prejudice and discrimination should advocate on each other's behalf.

For both targets and non-targets, attitudes about privilege and prejudice are likely related to confronting behavior. Individuals who believe that discrimination rarely occurs or that prejudice towards some people is justified will be unlikely to confront unfair behaviors. People who endorse a just world belief feel that individuals get what they deserve (Lerner, 1980; Lerner & Miller, 1978). Research has shown that people who believe in a just world are more likely than non-believers to justify group inequalities, perceive low-status individuals as incompetent, and negatively evaluate a discrimination claimant (Dalbert & Yamauchi, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). Just world believers are also less likely to demonstrate sympathy toward the disadvantaged (Dalbert & Yamauchi, 1994). Thus, just world believers may be less likely to confront prejudice than non-believers.

People who are less concerned about prejudice or who think it is acceptable are less likely to take action to reduce it. In lab studies, people with egalitarian attitudes (i.e., those who believe that all people deserve equal treatment) are more likely to confront prejudice than those without egalitarian attitudes (Wellman, Czopp, & Geers, 2009). Attitudes related to specific forms of prejudice (such as sexism and racism) are also likely associated with confronting. For example, Pratt-Hyatt (2007) found that high scorers on a measure of sexist attitudes were less likely to confront a sexist comment than low-scorers. The constructs of modern racism and modern sexism – collections of beliefs and attitudes related to race and gender, respectively, in modern U.S. society (McConahay, 1986; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) – may be relevant to confronting. People who endorse modern racism believe that racism is no longer a serious problem and that people of color have become too demanding in their pursuit of equality.

People who endorse modern sexism have similar beliefs regarding women and sexism (Swim et al., 1995). People who endorse these beliefs also feel that women or people of color use unfair tactics and strategies to acquire resources, which are therefore perceived to be undeserved.

Modern racism is associated with less support for affirmative action (Awad, Cokley, & Ravitch, 2005), a higher propensity to engage in employment discrimination (Brief et al., 1995; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), and more negative reactions to contact with people of color (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2005). Modern sexism is associated with less support for affirmative action (Tougas et al., 1995), the use of more sexist language (Parks & Robertson, 2004), and the belief that biological differences explain job segregation (Swim et al., 1995). Based on these findings, people with modern racist attitudes, who believe racism is no longer a problem, should be less likely to confront an act of racism, whereas those who endorse modern sexism should be less likely to confront an act of sexism.

Once a person notices an act of discrimination and evaluates it as inappropriate, there are still barriers to confronting. Models of prosocial behavior state that a lack of efficacy often prevents people from helping in situations in which they feel they should (Latané & Darley, 1970). Efficacy is the belief that one has the skills and resources necessary to perform a desired behavior (Bandura, 1977; Woodruff & Cashman, 1993). Though little research has examined the link between efficacy and confronting prejudice, efficacy has been associated with political activism. For example, researchers have found that political activists report more self-confidence and agency than non-activists (Kaysen & Stake, 2001; Romer, 1990; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998; Werner, 1978). Consistent with the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), researchers have found that perceptions of discrimination and intentions to engage in activism were more strongly predictive of actual activist behavior when participants also reported a sense

of efficacy (Foster & Matheson, 1995; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994). In addition, research has demonstrated that activism can be increased through classes or other interventions that increase efficacy (Stake, 2007). Research has also demonstrated that several traits that are similar to efficacy are associated with activism. For example, studies have shown that participants with incremental implicit theories (i.e., those who believe that individuals' traits are malleable) are more likely to confront acts of prejudice than those with entity theories (i.e., those who believe that individuals' traits are fixed). Further, it has been shown that when participants' adherence to incremental implicit theories is experimentally increased, the likelihood that they will confront also increases (Rattan & Dweck, 2010). Presumably, individuals who ascribe to incremental theories believe that their actions can have an effect on the other person's (potentially flexible) beliefs, thus they have greater expectations of efficacy than entity theorists. In the same way, one can link optimism to efficacy. Both people with optimistic outlooks and high levels of efficacy believe that their endeavors are likely to be successful. One study demonstrated that women who reported higher levels of general optimism were more likely to confront an act of sexism than were less optimistic women (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Similarly, recent studies have found that optimists with egalitarian attitudes are more likely to confront racist jokes than are pessimists with egalitarian attitudes (Wellman et. al., 2009) and that women's plans to confront future discrimination were predicted by their current levels of optimism (Sechrist, 2010). This is consistent with the idea that people are more likely to confront when they believe that they will achieve the outcome they desire. Therefore, it is proposed that efficacy may be associated with confronting individual acts of prejudice. People may feel that an act of prejudice is inappropriate but if they perceive themselves as ill-equipped to do anything about it, they are less likely to confront.

Characteristics of the victim

Thus far, hypothesized predictors of confronting behavior have been limited to characteristics of the possible confronter. However, there may also be characteristics of the victim of prejudice or discrimination that influence whether or not an observer will confront these acts.

The level of identification displayed by the victim of discrimination is one characteristic that may influence whether or not a person chooses to confront. There is evidence to suggest that people who are highly identified with a disadvantaged group experience more discrimination than their less identified counterparts. Numerous studies have demonstrated that women and people of color who are more identified with their group self-report more experiences of discrimination than people who are less identified (see Shelton & Sellers, 2003). These findings are typically explained using internal attributions about the discrimination claimants. For example, researchers have posited that highly identified people are more likely to interpret ambiguous events as discriminatory (Major, Quinton, & Schmader, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Shelton & Sellers, 2000) or that experiencing discrimination results in increased identification (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). However, recent empirical work suggests that more highly identified people may actually experience more prejudice than people who are less identified. In several studies, Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) asked White participants to evaluate an African American or Latino man after reviewing several questionnaires that he had ostensibly completed. The man's level of racial identity was manipulated across conditions by varying his responses to a questionnaire assessing racial identification. Results indicated that the men of color were evaluated less positively when they indicated higher levels of racial identification than when they reported lower levels. This

relationship was moderated by participants' endorsement of status legitimizing beliefs (i.e., beliefs that successes and failures in life are earned and that disparities between groups are therefore fair). Those Whites who endorsed these beliefs evaluated the highly identified targets less positively than less identified targets, whereas Whites who rejected status legitimizing beliefs actually evaluated the highly identified targets more favorably than the less identified targets. Extending these findings to the present research, it is suggested that people who witness a woman or person of color being discriminated against will be less likely to confront the event if the victim is highly identified with her or his group. This will be especially true for those who believe disparities between social groups are fair.

Overview of present research

Prejudice and discrimination are serious societal problems and both targets and non-targets may be able to successfully reduce individuals' levels of prejudice and discrimination via direct confrontations of perpetrators. However, because there are costs associated with confrontation, many people choose not to address instances of prejudice (Stone, Whitehead, Schmader, & Forcella, 2011). Identification of the situational factors and individual differences that predict confronting behavior could lead to the development of strategies to encourage prejudice reduction. In Study 1, Black and White participants were exposed to a racist hiring decision. Participants had two opportunities to confront the manipulated comment (i.e., express disapproval of it) and the outcome of interest was whether or not each participant chose to confront the discriminatory act, and if so, the strength with which s/he did so. It was expected that participant race, racial identification, belief in a just world, prejudicial beliefs, and efficacy about confronting would predict confronting behavior. Although not a focus of this study, confrontations will also be coded for implied goals (hostile/aggressive, cooperative/helpful). As

the analysis of these data was exploratory, no formal hypotheses were proposed for the coding related to goals. Study 2 was identical to Study 1, only male and female participants were exposed to a sexist hiring decision. Rather than race and racial identification, gender and gender identification were expected to predict confronting (along with the other variables from Study 1). The racist hiring paradigm was used again in Study 3, which also included a manipulation of the victim's racial identification. With this study, it was predicted that discrimination against a highly identified Black person would elicit less confronting behavior from White participants than discrimination against someone who was less identified with the target group.

Study 1 and Study 2 hypotheses

Because the hypotheses for Study 1 (racist hiring decision) and Study 2 (sexist hiring decision) are similar, they are presented together. "Targets" will refer to either Blacks (Study 1) or women (Study 2) and "non-targets" will refer to Whites (Study 1) or men (Study 2).

- A. *Target status (target vs. non-target confronting)*: It was predicted that members of the targeted group (Blacks in Study 1, women in Study 2) who encountered a discriminatory hiring decision would be more likely to confront and would confront more directly (i.e., will convey more disapproval to the perpetrator) than would non-targeted individuals (i.e., Whites in 1, men in 2) who encountered the same situation.
- B. *Negative affect main effect*: When controlling for trait negative affect, people who reported higher levels of state negative affect were expected to be more likely to confront and to confront more directly than people who reported lower levels of state negative affect. State negative affect was not expected to interact with race or gender.
- C. *Group identification main effect*: It was predicted that targets who were more identified with their group would be more likely to confront and would confront more

- directly than would targets who were less identified. No main effect was expected for non-target identity, but interactions with other variables were expected.
- D. *Belief in a just world*: It is predicted that individuals who more strongly endorsed a belief in a just world would be less likely to confront and would confront less directly than would individuals who rejected the just world belief.
- E. *Modern racism and modern sexism attitudes*: It was predicted that individuals who more strongly endorsed modern racist/sexist attitudes would be less likely to confront and would confront less directly than less racist/sexist individuals.
- F. *Confrontation efficacy*: Compared to people who reported lower levels of efficacy, individuals who felt more efficacious about confronting offensive behavior were expected to be more likely to confront and would confront more directly.

Interactions:

For both targets and non-targets, group identification was expected to interact with belief in a just world and modern racism/sexism, such that highly identified individuals who scored low on measures of belief in a just world (Hypothesis G) or modern racism/sexism (Hypothesis H) would be especially likely to confront compared with highly identified individuals who scored high on belief in a just world or modern racism/sexism.

Efficacy was expected to interact with belief in a just world and modern racism/sexism attitudes. Specifically, participants who rejected just world beliefs (Hypothesis I) or modern racism/sexism attitudes (Hypothesis J) *and* reported higher levels of efficacy were expected to be especially likely to confront.

STUDY 1 METHOD

Participants

One-hundred-thirty-four undergraduate students were recruited through the Psychology Departments of two Midwestern universities. Six participants were excluded from analyses due to protocol errors during their lab sessions (see discussion for details). This left a final sample of 128 participants. Forty-nine participants were Black (36.3%) and 79 were White (63.7%). There were 31 men (24.2%), 96 women (75.0%), and one participant whose sex was unknown (0.8%). Broken down by race and gender, the sample consisted of nine Black men (7.0%), 39 Black women (30.5%), 22 White men (17.2%), and 57 White women (44.5%). The gender of one Black participant was not reported (0.8%). They received either course credit or monetary incentives for their participation.

Procedure (See Appendix A for an outline of the study procedures)

Participants completed online measures of trait negative affect, racial identification, belief in a just world, modern racism, and confronting efficacy. In what was purported to be a separate study, they were recruited to participate in an experimental session with up to three other students. It was important that participants believed that there were other participants in the study session whom they had not seen while waiting in the hallway. Therefore upon their arrival at the session, participants were greeted by a research assistant who said, “Are you here for the Hiring Decisions study? The one in room 89/1630? We’re running people in two different labs for this study.” Participants were then escorted to a work station where they were asked to read and sign consent forms. The research assistant then made a phone call that participants were intended to overhear, during which s/he said, “Hey, we’re ready down here. Are all of your people ready to start? OK, I’ll get them started.”

Participants were told that the researchers were interested in how group decision making processes differ when they are conducted in-person and online. Therefore, they were being asked to interact with another person online in a hiring decision task. Participants were asked to imagine that they and their partner (working from the second study location) were two branch managers of the same company who must hire an employee who would work with both branches. Together, they would engage in this hiring decision five times, reviewing application materials from three applicants in each trial. Participants did not know the race or sex of their partners.

After reading a description of the position to be filled (see Appendix B), participants were given five sets of candidate folders; three candidates were considered in each set of hiring decisions resulting in 15 total candidate folders for participants to review. Each folder contained a short cover letter and an application ostensibly submitted by a person seeking the position. Some information was blacked out (i.e., the applicant's name, phone number), presumably to maintain the applicant's privacy. The candidate's sex and race were indicated on the application. After reviewing all three applications in the first set, participants were asked to share their thoughts about who should be hired with the other "branch manager" via an instant message conversation. Specifically, they were asked to share the applicant they chose and provide a brief explanation (e.g., "He had a lot more experience than the other guys.") Participants were told that the two partners must agree on each hiring decision, and if necessary, they were to discuss the applicants further until they could agree on the hiring of one of the three.

In each set of the five trials, the participants were presented with applications of varying strength: weak, average, and strong (as determined through pilot testing; see Appendixes C - G). Stronger applicants had more education, higher GPAs, more experience, and/or more awards

than weaker applicants. The first trial consisted of two applicants who were White men and one White woman. One of the men was clearly more qualified than the other two applicants and participants were expected to reach consensus about this first hiring decision easily. On the second trial, two of the three candidates were similarly qualified. They were both White men. The third, weaker, candidate did not disclose race and gender. On this trial, the participant was instructed to indicate his or her choice first and the confederate then selected the other similarly qualified applicant, thus requiring them to discuss the applicants further in order to reach a consensus. This was done so that one trial in which the pair does not agree occurred prior to the key trial later in the study. The third trial consisted of two White women and one White man and was structured such that the participant and the confederate were expected to both choose the same (clearly strongest) applicant (one of the White women). On the fourth trial (the key trial), the applicants were two White men and one Black man. The Black candidate had a strong application (see Appendix D-F), one of the White men had an average application, and the other White man had a weak application. The confederate chose the more qualified of the White men and made a moderately racist remark when explaining his/her choice. During each session, the remark was randomly selected from a pool of several remarks that had been chosen through pilot testing (see Appendix H- J for more information about comment piloting). Given the unstructured conversation style of the interaction, participants could choose to address the confederate's offensive behavior at this time. This was the first (of two) chances to confront the discriminatory act. Confederates were trained to respond to any confrontations in a similar, nonchalant manner across participants. Specifically, s/he responded with comments such as, "I'm just giving you my opinion" or, "That's just how I feel about it." After letting the participant make any desired comments, the confederate would say, "Fine, if you feel that

strongly about it, we can go with your guy.” They then completed the fifth hiring trial (consisting of one White woman and two White men as applicants), on which they were expected to agree on the strongest candidate (a White man).

Participants completed the state negative affect measure after Trial 4 in order to assess their mood immediately after the racist hiring decision. In keeping with the cover story and to minimize suspicion, participants also completed two other surveys during the hiring process (after Trials 1 and 2). After completing all five trials, participants were told that the next part of the study involved writing two essays/paragraphs and exchanging them with their partner (in order to compare how their own perspective of the study differed from their partner’s). In the first essay, they were asked to write about the logistical ease of carrying out the hiring task online (intended only to continue the cover story and make the study’s purpose less obvious). Then they were asked to write an essay about their impressions of their co-worker, ostensibly because the researchers were interested in how people’s impressions of their partners influenced the decision making process. The instructions presented to participants stressed that it was important that they relay their honest impressions, not only for research purposes, but also because their feedback might be useful to their partner in his/her future interactions. Because they knew their responses would be sent to their partner, participants had another way to less directly confront with this essay. After sending their responses to their partner via instant message, participants were thanked, probed for suspicion, and debriefed.

Measures

Demographics. Participants were asked to indicate their race, gender, age, and whether or not they were an international student (See Appendix K).

Affect. Affect was assessed with a twenty-item adjective checklist (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Using a five-point scale, participants indicated the extent to which they felt each adjective described them (1=very slightly or not at all, 5= extremely). When trait affect was being assessed in the ostensibly unrelated study, participants were asked to indicate how much each adjective typically described them. When state negative affect was assessed (during the study session), they were asked to indicate how much each adjective described them currently. See Appendix L for a complete list of adjectives. Factor analysis suggested the presence of five factors. The one most relevant to the present hypothesis consisted of the terms amazed, angry, disgusted, distressed, hostile, irritable, and upset, and was labeled *anger*. Scores on these items were averaged to create trait anger and state anger scores, such that higher scores indicated more anger. Cronbach's alpha for the state version of this scale (assessed after the racist hiring decision) was 0.91. Cronbach's alpha for the trait version of this scale (assessed during a purportedly unrelated online study) was 0.79.

Racial identification. The extent to which participants felt that their racial group was an important part of their self-concept was measured with the centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997; See Appendix M) during the online study). The scale consists of eight items, such as, "I have a strong sense of belonging to people of my race." Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a racial identification variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.86$). Higher scores on this variable indicated more identification with one's racial group.

Belief in a Just World. Participants' beliefs about the fairness of the world were assessed with the six-item Belief in a Just World scale (Lerner, 1980; see Appendix N) during the online

study. An example item is, “In general, people get what they deserve in life.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a belief in a just world variable. The full version of this scale had low reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.60$), so factor analysis was used to create a modified scale (items 3, 6, 11, and 15 in Appendix I; Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.74$). Higher scale scores indicated greater belief that the world is just.

Modern Racism. The Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986, see Appendix O) was used to measure the extent to which participants’ believed that racism continues to be a problem in society and was assessed in the online study. The scale consists of eight items such as, “Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a modern racism variable (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.82$). Higher scores on this variable indicated more racist attitudes.

Confronting Efficacy. Participants’ beliefs about how effectively they could confront offensive people were measured in the online study with the six-item Confronting Efficacy scale (Kaiser & Miller, 2004; see Appendix P). “I come across competently when confronting people who are offensive,” is an example item. Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a confronting efficacy variable (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.85$) in which higher scores indicated feeling more able to confront.

Confronting variables

The instant message logs (referred to below as IM) and feedback essays (referred to below as essay) from the lab study were coded to create several variables related to confronting

behavior. The author and one additional coder devised the coding scheme based on the study hypotheses and themes present in the data. They then independently coded a sample of 10 participants' data in order to determine reliability. After establishing adequate inter-rater reliability, all instant message logs and essays were coded by a single coder (the author). It is important to note that all coding was done before IM and essay data were linked to other study data (i.e., data from surveys or the lab session). Therefore, coders had no knowledge of participants' race, gender, personality, attitudes, or study condition while coding, minimizing the amount of bias possible in assigning codes relevant to the study hypotheses. Pearson correlation coefficients between coders are reported in the variable discussions below. Unless otherwise stated, variables were assessed in both the instant message conversations and the essays sent by participants. Examples of instant message conversations and participant essays, along with their respective codes, can be found in Appendix Q. Instant message conversations were coded for confrontation strength and overall tone. Essays were coded for comment acknowledgement (responded yes/no), confrontation strength, and overall tone.

Comment Acknowledgement (Responded: Yes/No). This variable indicated whether or not the participant responded to the comment. A score of 1 was given if the participant responded to the comment in any way. A score of 0 was given if the participant did not acknowledge the comment at all. There was very little variability across participants for this code in the IM conversations (95% of participants responded to the comment). All hypotheses were tested with IM respond yes/no as a dependent variable. However, as expected given the low variability, none of these analyses yielded significant results. Therefore IM respond yes/no will be included as a dependent variable and will only be used for analyses of essay responses. The correlation between coders was 1.00 for this variable.

Confrontation Strength. This variable represents the extent to which the participant confronted the racist comment. Three coded variables were standardized and averaged to create this variable: 1) *assertiveness* (1=unassertive/no confrontation to 3=strong assertion/direct confrontation), 2) *comment evaluation* (1=expressed clear negative attitudes about comment to 4=expressed clear positive attitudes about comment; reversed before aggregating), and 3) *challenging* (1 = not at all challenging of confederate to 3 = very challenging of confederate). The IM version of this aggregated confrontation strength variable had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.85. The Cronbach's alpha for the essays is 0.79. The correlation between coders was 0.88 for the IM variable and 0.91 for the Essay variable. Higher scores on the composite variable indicated that the participant confronted more directly, more negatively, and with more challenge.

Overall Tone. This variable represents the tone of the participant's communication. Two coded variables were standardized and averaged to create this variable: 1) cooperative/helpful (1 = not at all to 3 = very cooperative/helpful); and 2) friendly/hostile (1 = very friendly to 5 = very hostile; reversed before aggregating). The correlation between these two variables was 0.47 for the IM variables and 0.70 for the essay variables. The correlation between coders was 0.84 for the IM variable and 0.69 for the Essay variable. Higher scores on this composite variable indicated that participants confronted with less hostility and greater helpfulness.

STUDY 1 RESULTS

Descriptive data for each variable and correlations between variables can be seen in Tables 1 - 3. Ninety-five percent of participants responded to the comment during the instant message conversation. Twenty-one percent discussed the comment in their essays. Responses varied greatly, but included outraged protests, cautious clarification-seeking, attempts at education, explicit agreement, and laughter (“lol”). Coding results indicated that 23.7% of participants evaluated the confederate’s comment negatively, 62.2% responded in a neutral or ambivalent way, and 14.0% indicated approval or agreement with the comment.

Five dependent variables were used to test each hypothesis: IM confrontation strength, IM overall tone, essay response yes/no, essay confrontation strength, and essay overall tone. Logistic regression was used for the dichotomous variable (essay response yes/no) and linear regression was used for the continuous dependent variables.

Hypothesis 1A stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by target status, specifically that Blacks would confront more strongly than Whites. A dichotomous (Black/White) race variable was entered as the sole independent variable in each of the five regression analyses. There were no significant main effects of race on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 4 and 5), thus hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 1B stated that state negative affect, controlling for trait levels of negative affect, would predict confrontation strength. This hypothesis was supported for four of the five dependent variables (see Tables 6 and 7). When controlling for race and trait levels of the negative affect (i.e., anger) variable, participants who reported higher state levels of anger confronted the confederate more strongly during the conversation and conversed in a more

negative tone. Further, people experiencing more anger were more likely to discuss the comment in their essay and used a more negative tone in their essay.

Hypothesis 1C stated that members of the targeted group (i.e., Blacks) who are more identified with their race would confront more strongly than those individuals less identified with their race. This hypothesis was supported for one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 8 and 9). Specifically, there was a significant interaction between race and identification on the IM confrontation strength variable. A simple slope analyses were conducted to determine whether the slopes of these plotted regression lines were significantly different from zero (Aiken & West, 1991). These analyses revealed that the line representing Black participants was significantly different from zero ($b = 0.38$), $t(117) = 2.77$, $p < .05$), such that more identified individuals confronted the racist comment more strongly than less identified individuals. However, the line representing White participants was not significantly different from zero ($b = 0.01$), $t(117) = 0.95$, *ns*). Thus, racial identification was a significant predictor of IM confrontation strength for Black, but not White, participants (see Figure 1). In addition, there was a significant main effect of racial identification on essay response; however this relationship was not moderated by race.

Hypothesis 1D stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by just world beliefs, such that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than those who did not. This hypothesis was supported for one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 10 and 11). When controlling for race, rejection of just world beliefs predicted a more negative IM conversation tone following the racist comment.

Hypothesis 1E stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by modern racism beliefs, specifically that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than

those who did not. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 12 and 13). When controlling for race, modern racism beliefs were not related to any of the dependent variables.

Hypothesis 1F stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by confrontation efficacy, specifically that individuals with higher efficacy beliefs would confront more strongly than those with lower levels. This hypothesis was supported with one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 14 and 15). Specifically, when controlling for race, participants who reported more efficacy related to confronting offensive behavior used a more negative tone in the essay they sent to the confederate.

Four specific interactions between variables were predicted. When testing interactions, participant race and the centered variables of interest were entered into Step 1 of a regression model. The interaction term (the product of the two centered variables) was entered into Step 2.

Hypothesis 1G stated that racial identification would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that for both Blacks and Whites, individuals who were highly identified with their race and had lower endorsement of just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 16 and 17). The interaction between racial identification and just world beliefs was not related to any of the confronting variables for Blacks or Whites.

Hypothesis 1H stated that racial identification would interact with modern racism. Specifically, it was predicted that for both Blacks and Whites, individuals who were highly identified with their race and endorsed lower modern racism beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 18 and 19). As with just world beliefs, the interaction between racial identification and modern racism was not related to any of the confronting variables for Blacks or Whites.

Hypothesis 1I stated that confronting efficacy would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both Blacks and Whites, individuals who reported higher levels of efficacy and endorsed lower just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. There was a statistically significant interaction between efficacy and just world beliefs for one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 20 and 21). Specifically, there was an interaction between confronting efficacy and just world beliefs on overall essay tone. Simple slope analyses were conducted to determine whether the slopes of these plotted regression lines were significantly different from zero (Aiken & West, 1991). These analyses revealed that the line representing low values (-1 SD) of just world beliefs was not significantly different from zero ($b = -0.05$), $t(118) = -0.47$, *ns*). However, the line representing high values (+1 SD) of just world beliefs was significantly different from zero ($b = -0.29$), $t(118) = -2.91$, $p < .05$). Thus, at low levels of just world beliefs, confronting efficacy did not relate to essay tone. However, at higher levels of just world beliefs, confronting efficacy was associated with a more positive (i.e., helpful and friendly) essay tone (see Figure 2). This pattern was not consistent with the hypothesis, which stated that participants who rejected just world beliefs and felt efficacious about confronting would use a more negative tone than other participants. Rather, the individuals who differed from the others were those who endorsed just world beliefs and felt efficacious about confronting. These participants used a more positive tone in their essays, suggesting less confrontation of the discriminatory hiring decision.

Hypothesis 1J stated that confronting efficacy would interact with modern racism. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both Blacks and Whites, individuals who reported high levels of efficacy and endorsed lower modern racism beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 22 and 23).

The interaction between confronting efficacy and modern racism was not related to any of the confronting variables for Blacks or Whites.

To summarize, Study 1 found that state anger was clearly related to confronting behavior. Racial identification (among Blacks), just world beliefs, and confronting efficacy were somewhat related, each predicting one of the five dependent variables. Further, there was an interaction between confronting efficacy and just world beliefs, though the pattern of results was not as predicted. Participant sex was not significantly correlated with any of the study independent or dependent variables. Further, controlling for participant sex did not affect the outcome of any of the above analyses. Study 2 will examine the same hypotheses in the context of a sexist hiring decision, rather than a racist one.

STUDY 2 METHOD

Participants

Two-hundred-four undergraduates were recruited through the Psychology Department of a large Midwestern university. Fourteen participants were excluded from analyses due to protocol errors (nine participants), failure to follow directions (four participants), or suspicion (1 participant). This resulted in a final sample of 190 participants. Thirty-seven were men (19.4%), 131 were women (68.9%), and the sex of 22 was unknown (11.6%). The sample consisted of 13 Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders (6.8%), 18 Blacks/African Americans (9.5%), 1 Hispanic/Latina (0.5%), 72 Whites/Caucasians (37.9%), 7 participants who were multiracial (3.7%), and 79 participants whose race was unknown (41.6%). Broken down by race and gender, the sample consisted of nine female Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders (4.7%), four male Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders (2.1%), 14 female Blacks/African Americans (7.4%), 4 male Blacks/African Americans (2.1%), 1 Latina (0.5%), 56 female Whites/Caucasians (29.5%), 16 male Whites/Caucasians (8.4%), 7 female participants who were multiracial (3.7%), 44 female participants whose race was unknown (23.2%), 13 male participants whose race was unknown (6.8%), and 22 participants whose race and gender was unknown (11.6%). As in Study 1, they participated in experimental sessions with up to three other students and received course credits or monetary compensation for their participation.

Procedure

The procedure was identical to the one outlined in Study 1 except that the confederate rejected a highly qualified female candidate in favor of a less qualified man. In explaining his or her choice, the candidate made one of several moderately sexist remarks (see Appendix E for a complete list). These remarks were piloted tested to determine their offensiveness and a pool of

comments was selected based on these data. The same fifteen applications used in Study 1 were used for this study, but the race and gender of the applicants was changed to suit the sex discrimination manipulation. Specifically, Trial 1 consisted of two White men and one Asian American man. Trial 2 had two White men and one candidate who did not indicate race or gender. Trial 3 had two White men and one Black man. Trial 4 (the key trial) consisted of two White men and one White woman (who was the strongest applicant). Trial 5 had two White men and one Black man).

Measures

Most of the measures and coded variables outlined in Study 1 (negative affect/anger, just world beliefs, and confronting efficacy, essay response yes/no, IM /essay confrontation strength, and IM/essay overall tone) were used again in this study, and are not described below. Below are two variables that differed from Study 1. Cronbach's alphas for all measures can be found in Table 25.

Gender identification. Rather than racial identification, gender identification was assessed using a modified version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997; See Appendix H). The scale consists of eight items such as, "My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people of my gender." Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a gender identification variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.82$). Higher scores on this variable indicated that the participant identified more strongly with her or his gender.

Modern sexism. The Modern Sexism scale (Swim et al., 1995; see Appendix J) was administered rather than the Modern Sexism scale. The scale consists of eight items such as,

“Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a seven-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) and their responses were reverse-coded as needed and averaged to create a modern sexism variable (Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.88$). Higher scores on this variable representing more sexist attitudes.

STUDY 2 RESULTS

Descriptive data for each variable and correlations between variables can be seen in Tables 24 - 26. Ninety-one percent of participants responded to the comment during the instant message conversation. Twenty-six percent discussed the comment in their essays. Coding results indicated that 34.0% of participants evaluated the confederate's comment negatively, 55.1% responded in a neutral or ambivalent way, and 10.9% indicated approval or agreement with the comment.

As in Study 1, five dependent variables were used to test each hypothesis: IM confrontation strength, IM overall tone, essay response yes/no, essay confrontation strength, and essay overall tone. Logistic regression was used for the dichotomous variable (essay response yes/no) and linear regression was used for the continuous dependent variables.

Hypothesis 2A stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by target status, specifically that women would confront more strongly than men. A dichotomous (men/women) sex variable was entered as the sole independent variable in each of the five regression analyses. There were no significant main effects of sex on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 27 and 28), thus hypothesis 2A was not supported.

Hypothesis 2B stated that state negative affect, controlling for trait levels of negative affect, would predict confrontation strength. This hypothesis was supported for three of the five dependent variables (see Tables 29 and 30). When controlling for sex and trait levels of the negative affect variable (i.e., anger), participants who reported higher state levels of anger confronted the confederate more strongly during the conversation. Further, people experiencing more anger were more likely to discuss the comment in their essay and confronted the comment more strongly.

Hypothesis 2C stated that members of the targeted group (i.e., women) who are more identified with their sex would confront more strongly than those individuals less identified with their sex. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 31 and 32). There was a significant main effect of gender identification on IM tone, such that individuals who were more identified with their gender used a more negative tone during the IM conversation. However, this main effect was not moderated by gender. In addition, there was a significant interaction between sex and gender identification in the prediction of essay response (see Figure 3). However, post hoc analyses indicated that there was not a significant effect for either men ($b = -1.67$, $OR = 0.19$, ns) or women ($b = 1.58$, $OR = 1.17$, ns). Thus, gender identification was somewhat predictive of confronting behavior, but not in a sex-specific manner.

Hypothesis 2D stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by just world beliefs, specifically that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than those who did not. When controlling for sex, there were no significant main effects of just world beliefs on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 33 and 34), thus this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 2E stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by modern sexism beliefs, specifically that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than those who did not. This hypothesis was supported for two of the five dependent variables (see Tables 35 and 36). Specifically, when controlling for sex, participants who rejected modern sexism confronted the comment more strongly during the conversation and were more likely to mention the comment in their essay response.

Hypothesis 2F stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by confrontation efficacy, specifically that individuals with higher efficacy beliefs would confront more strongly

than those with lower levels. When controlling for sex, there were no significant main effects of confronting efficacy on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 37 and 38), thus this hypothesis was not supported.

Four specific interactions between variables were predicted. When testing interactions, participant sex and the centered variables of interest were entered into Step 1 of a regression model. The interaction term (the product of the two centered variables) was entered into Step 2.

Hypothesis 2G stated that gender identification would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both women and men, individuals who were highly identified with their sex and endorsed less just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the sexist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 39 and 40). The interaction between gender identification and just world beliefs was not related to any of the confronting variables. Hypothesis 2H stated that gender identification would interact with modern sexism. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both women and men, individuals who were highly identified with their sex and were lower on modern sexism beliefs would be especially likely to confront the sexist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 41 and 42). The interaction between gender identification and modern sexism was not related to any of the confronting variables.

Hypothesis 2I stated that confronting efficacy would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both women and men, individuals who reported higher levels of efficacy and endorsed lower just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the sexist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 43 and 44). The interaction between confronting efficacy and just world beliefs was not related to any of the confronting variables.

Hypothesis 2J stated that confronting efficacy would interact with modern sexism. Specifically, it was predicted that, for both women and men, individuals who reported high levels of efficacy and low levels of modern sexism beliefs would be especially likely to confront the sexist hiring decision. There was a statistically significant interaction for one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 45 and 46). Specifically, there was an interaction between confronting efficacy and modern sexism on essay confrontation strength. Simple slope analyses were conducted to determine whether the slopes of these plotted regression lines were significantly different from zero (Aiken & West, 1991). These analyses revealed that the line representing low values (-1 SD) of modern sexism was not significantly different from zero ($b = 0.14$), $t(32) = 0.90$, ns). However, the line representing high values (+1 SD) of modern sexism was significantly different from zero ($b = -0.52$), $t(32) = -2.19$, $p < .05$). Thus, at low levels of modern sexism, confronting efficacy did not have a strong effect on essay tone. However, at higher levels of modern sexism, confronting efficacy was associated with a weaker IM confrontation (see Figure 4). This pattern was not consistent with the hypothesis, which stated that participants who reported low levels of modern sexism and felt efficacious about confronting would confront more strongly than other participants. Rather, the individuals who differed from the others were those who reported higher levels of modern sexism and felt efficacious about confronting. These participants' IM confrontations were weaker than other participants.

To summarize, as in Study 1, Study 2 found that anger was strongly related to confronting a discriminatory hiring decision. Also consistent with Study 1, group identification was related to one of the confronting variables among members of the targeted group (i.e., women). In addition, modern sexism was related to one of the confronting variables. There was

also a significant interaction between confronting efficacy and modern sexism. Study 3 utilizes the same racist hiring protocol outlined in Study 1, but examines the role that characteristics of the discrimination target can have on confrontations among observers. Specifically, the African American target will display either high or low levels of racial identification. Recall that previous research has found that men of color who are highly identified with their race are evaluated less positively by Whites, especially those who endorse just world beliefs (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). Thus it is hypothesized that discrimination directed at the highly-identified African American will elicit less confrontation than discrimination directed at the less identified African American.

STUDY 3 OVERVIEW

Study 3 examined reactions to racist hiring decisions of candidates displaying varying levels of racial identification.

Study 3 Hypotheses

3A. It was predicted that when the hiring discrimination was directed at a highly identified African American it would be confronted less often and less directly than when the discrimination was directed at a less identified person.

3B. *Negative affect main effect:* When controlling for trait negative affect, people who reported higher levels of state negative affect were expected to be more likely to confront and to confront more directly than people who reported lower levels of state negative affect.

3C. *Group identification main effect:* It was predicted that targets who were more identified with their group would be more likely to confront and would confront more directly than would targets who were less identified. No main effect was expected for non-target identity, but interactions with other variables were expected (see below).

3D. *Belief in a just world:* It is predicted that individuals who more strongly endorsed a belief in a just world would be less likely to confront and would confront less directly than would individuals who rejected the just world belief.

3E. *Modern racism attitudes:* It was predicted that individuals who more strongly endorsed modern racist attitudes would be less likely to confront and would confront less directly than less racist individuals.

3F. *Confrontation efficacy*: Compared to people who reported lower levels of efficacy, individuals who felt more efficacious about confronting offensive behavior were expected to be more likely to confront and would confront more directly.

3G. Group identification was expected to interact with belief in a just world, such that highly identified individuals who scored low on measures of belief in a just world would be especially likely to confront compared with highly identified individuals who scored high on belief in a just world.

3H. Group identification was expected to interact with modern racism, such that highly identified individuals who scored low on measures of modern racism would be especially likely to confront compared with highly identified individuals who scored high on modern racism.

3I. Efficacy was expected to interact with belief in a just world. Specifically, participants who rejected just world beliefs and reported higher levels of efficacy were expected to be especially likely to confront.

3J. Efficacy was expected to interact with modern racism attitudes. Specifically, participants who rejected modern racism attitudes and reported higher levels of efficacy were expected to be especially likely to confront.

Further, for Hypotheses 3B through 3J, the interaction between study condition (high identification vs. low identification) and the hypothesis variable(s) were examined to see if patterns depended on whether the target in the hiring decision task was highly identified with his race.

STUDY 3 METHOD

Participants

Two-hundred-six White participants were recruited through the Psychology Department of a large Midwestern university. Twenty-seven participants were excluded from analyses due to protocol errors (18 participants), failure to follow directions (seven participants), or suspicion (two participants). This resulted in a final sample size of 179 participants. Only White participants were recruited because the aim of the study was to explore the confronting behavior of majority members who witnessed an act of discrimination toward a minority member. Twenty-nine participants were male (16.2%), 112 were female (62.6%), and the sex of 38 was unknown (21.2%). As in Studies 1 and 2, they participated in experimental sessions with up to three other students and received course credits or monetary compensation for their participation.

Procedure

The procedure was identical to the one outlined in Study 1, with the addition of an *applicant racial identity* condition. As in the first study, the confederate rejected a more qualified Black man in favor of a less qualified White man and made one of the racist comments in Trial 4. However, for 92 (51.4%) participants, the Black candidate's application implied that he was highly identified with his race (e.g., he had a degree from a Historically Black College, was involved with the NAACP, was a member of a Black professional association; see Appendices C and D). The other 87 (48.6%) participants viewed an application that did not indicate that the Black applicant was highly identified with his race (e.g., he had a degree from a majority-White college, was involved with a political organization unrelated to race, was a member of a professional organization unrelated to race). The applications of the other 14 candidates were identical to the ones used in Study 1.

Measures

All of the measures and coded variables outlined in Study 1 (negative affect/anger, racial identification, just world beliefs, modern racism, confronting efficacy, essay response yes/no, IM confrontation strength, essay confrontation strength, IM overall tone, and essay overall tone) were used again in this study. See Tables 48 for Cronbach's alphas.

STUDY 3 RESULTS

Descriptive data for each variable and correlations between variables can be seen in Tables 47 - 49. Ninety-six percent of participants responded to the comment during the instant message conversation. Twenty-five percent discussed the comment in their essays. Coding results indicated that 26.5% of participants evaluated the confederate's comment negatively, 59.1% responded in a neutral or ambivalent way, and 14.5% indicated approval or agreement with the comment.

As in Studies 1 and 2, five dependent variables were used to test each hypothesis: IM confrontation strength, IM overall tone, essay response yes/no, essay confrontation strength, and essay overall tone. Logistic regression was used for the dichotomous variable (essay response yes/no) and linear regression was used for the continuous dependent variables. In addition to testing main effects, interactions between condition and each independent variable were also tested.

Hypothesis 3A stated that when the hiring discrimination was directed at a highly identified African American it would be confronted less strongly than when the discrimination was directed at a less identified person. A dichotomous condition variable (low racial identity candidate/high racial identity candidate) was entered as the sole independent variable in each of the five regression analyses. There were no significant main effects of racial identity condition on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 50 and 51), thus hypothesis 3A was not supported.

Hypothesis 3B stated that state negative affect, controlling for trait levels of negative affect, would predict confrontation strength. This hypothesis was supported for four of the five dependent variables (see Tables 52 and 53). When controlling for condition and trait levels of the negative affect (i.e., anger) variable, participants who reported higher state levels of anger

confronted the confederate more strongly during the conversation and with a more negative tone. Further, people experiencing more anger were more likely to discuss the comment in their essay and used a more negative tone in their essays. In addition, there was a significant interaction between condition and anger in predicting the essay response variable. Post hoc analyses indicated that anger was a significant predictor of essay response in the high racial identity condition ($b = 4.78$, $OR = 118.61$, $p < .05$), but not in the low racial identity condition ($b = 0.65$, $OR = 1.11$, ns). Participants who were in the high racial identity condition and experienced high levels of anger were especially likely to mention the racist comment in their essays compared to other participants (see Figure 5).

In Studies 1 and 2, hypothesis C stated that members of the targeted group (i.e., African Americans/women) who are more identified with their race/sex would confront more strongly than those individuals who were less identified with their race/sex. In this study, all participants were White and the discrimination target was Black. However, these analyses were run for explorative purposes. As can be seen in Tables 54 and 55, White racial identification did not predict any of the confronting variables in this study, nor were there any significant interactions with racial identification and study condition.

Hypothesis 3D stated that confronting behavior would be predicted by just world beliefs, specifically that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than those who did not. When controlling for condition, there were no significant main effects of just world beliefs on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 56 and 57), thus this hypothesis was not supported. In addition, there were no significant interactions between study condition and just world beliefs.

Hypothesis 3E stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by modern racism beliefs, specifically that individuals who rejected such beliefs would confront more strongly than those who did not. When controlling for condition, there were no significant main effects of modern racism on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 58 and 59), thus this hypothesis was not supported. In addition, there were no significant interactions between study condition and modern racism attitudes.

Hypothesis 3F stated that confrontation strength would be predicted by confrontation efficacy, specifically that individuals with higher efficacy beliefs would confront more strongly than those with lower levels. When controlling for condition, there were no significant main effects of confronting efficacy on any of the dependent variables (see Tables 60 and 61). There was a significant interaction between condition and confronting efficacy in predicting state IM overall tone (see Figure 6). However, an analysis of simple slopes failed to yield significant results for either the low identity condition ($b = 0.29$), $t(72) = 1.75$, *ns*) or the high identity condition ($b = -0.19$), $t(72) = -1.49$, *ns*).

Four additional interactions between variables were predicted. When testing interactions, study condition and the centered-variables of interest were entered into Step 1 of a regression model. The interaction term (the product of the two centered variables) was entered into Step 2.

Hypothesis 3G stated that racial identification would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that individuals who were highly identified with their race and reported low levels of just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 62 and 63). In addition, study condition did not interact with participant racial identification or just world beliefs, and the three-

way interaction between study condition, participant racial identification, and just world beliefs was also not significant.

Hypothesis 3H stated that racial identification would interact with modern racism. Specifically, it was predicted that individuals who were highly identified with their race and reported low levels of modern racism would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 64 and 65). In addition, study condition did not interact with participant racial identification or modern racism, and the three-way interaction between study condition, participant racial identification, and modern racism was also not significant.

Hypothesis 3I stated that confronting efficacy would interact with just world beliefs. Specifically, it was predicted that individuals who reported higher levels of efficacy and low levels of just world beliefs would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was supported for one of the five dependent variables (see Tables 66 and 67). Specifically, there was a statistically significant interaction between confronting efficacy and just world beliefs on essay confrontation strength. Simple slope analyses were conducted to determine whether the slopes of these plotted regression lines were significantly different from zero (Aiken & West, 1991). These analyses revealed that the line representing high values (+1 SD) of just world beliefs was not significantly different from zero ($b = -0.27$, $t(24) = -1.67$, ns). However, the line representing low values (-1 SD) of just world beliefs was significantly different from zero ($b = 0.58$, $t(24) = 2.45$, $p < .05$). Thus, at higher levels of just world beliefs, confronting efficacy did not have a strong effect on essay tone. However, at lower levels of just world beliefs, confronting efficacy was associated with a stronger essay confrontation (see Figure 8). This pattern is consistent with the hypothesis, which stated that participants who

rejected just world beliefs and felt efficacious about confronting would confront more strongly than other participants.

In addition, there was a significant three-way interaction between confronting efficacy, just world beliefs, and condition (see Figure 7). Simple slope analyses revealed that the lines representing high values (+1 SD) of just world beliefs were not significantly different from zero when efficacy beliefs were low (line 1; ($b = -0.10$), $t(72) = -0.49$, *ns*) or high (line 3; $b = -0.01$), $t(72) = -0.05$, *ns*). The lines representing low values of just world beliefs were significant for both low levels of efficacy (line 2; ($b = 0.75$), $t(72) = 2.66$, $p < .05$) and high levels of efficacy (line 3; $b = -0.54$), $t(72) = -2.64$, $p < .05$). Line 2 (low efficacy, low just world beliefs) was significantly different from line 1 ($t(72) = -2.27$, $p < .05$), line 3 ($t(72) = -2.25$, $p < .05$), and line 4 ($t(72) = -3.33$, $p < .05$). The remaining lines were not significantly different from each other. Thus for participants who reported high levels of just world beliefs, their IM tone was not associated with their efficacy levels or the racial identity of the applicant. However, when participants rejected just world beliefs, their confrontation efficacy interacted with study condition to predict their IM tone. Specifically, among participants with low just world beliefs, those with low levels of efficacy used a friendlier tone when the discrimination target was highly identified with his race and a less friendly tone when he was less identified with his race. However, participants who rejected just world beliefs and had higher levels of efficacy were friendlier when the target was weakly identified and less friendly when he was strongly identified. This pattern of results is somewhat inconsistent with study hypotheses, which will be addressed at length in the discussion section.

Hypothesis 3J stated that confronting efficacy would interact with modern racism. Specifically, it was predicted that individuals who reported high levels of efficacy and low levels

of modern racism would be especially likely to confront the racist hiring decision. This hypothesis was not supported (see Tables 68 and 69). In addition, study condition did not interact with confronting efficacy or modern racism, and the three-way interaction between study condition, confronting efficacy, and modern racism was also not significant.

To summarize, there were no main effects of study condition, thus the racial identification of the discrimination target did not predict confronting behavior as predicted. As in Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 found that anger was a strong predictor of confronting behavior. An interaction between anger and condition indicated that anger was especially predictive in the high racial identity condition. There were no main effects of (White) racial identification, just world beliefs, modern racism, or confrontation efficacy. However, there was a significant interaction between just world beliefs and efficacy, such that participants who rejected just world beliefs and reported high levels of efficacy confronted especially strongly. This pattern was further moderated by condition in a three-way interaction predicting IM tone.

OVERALL DISCUSSION

In three studies, participants worked with a confederate partner on a hiring decision task. During the course of the task, the confederate selected a less-qualified White man over a Black man or White woman, and made a racist/sexist comment in explaining the choice. Participants could respond instantly via instant message or later during a partner essay exchange. It was hypothesized that several situational and individual difference variables would predict the extent to which participants confronted their partner's discriminatory behavior. See Table 70 for a summary of the statistically significant results from each study.

Status as a potential target

It was hypothesized that participants who belonged to the same race/gender group as the discrimination target would confront more strongly than non-ingroup participants. It was thought that, as potential targets of such discrimination, these participants would be more likely to notice and react to that particular form of discrimination than would participants who were not potential targets. This hypothesis was not supported in either of the studies in which it was explored. Specifically, the confronting behavior of Black participants was not significantly different than the confronting behavior of White participants in Study 1 and the confronting behavior of women was not significantly different than the confronting behavior of men in Study 2. There are several reasons why the expected effects may not have been found. As outlined in the introduction, most studies of confronting behavior have examined samples of victims or potential victims (e.g., women, people of color). Very few studies have studied confronting among samples that are not possible targets of the discrimination (e.g., men, Whites): potential allies. Thus, the rate at which non-targets confront compared to targets is not well established. It is of note that in these studies, (contrary to hypotheses) group membership did not affect

confrontation rates or confrontation strength. That is, in Study 1, there were no significant differences between Blacks and Whites on any of the confrontation variables (see Tables 4 and 5), nor were there any between women and men in study 2 (see Tables 27 and 28).

Perhaps non-targets confront on behalf of others more than would be expected. It may be that potential targets and non-targets confront at similar rates, but for different reasons. For example, potential targets may confront discrimination against ingroup members because of previous personal experiences with discrimination, fears of future victimization, loyalty to ingroup members, or an enhanced awareness of the presence and consequences of discrimination (Feagin, 1991; Hyers, 2007; Kowalski, 1996; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). On the other hand, non-targets may confront because they hold egalitarian attitudes, feel guilt about their privileged status, want to appear virtuous, or have had experiences and relationships with target group members that left them aware of the presence and consequences of discrimination (Eichstedt, 2001; Iyer et al., 2003; Knowles & Peng, 2005; Pratt-Hyatt, 2007; White & Burke, 1987). The remaining hypotheses can shed some light on these speculations, but the motivation of non-target confronters remains an area of study that researchers should explore.

Negative affect

Past work has suggested that negative affect may play a significant role in activism behaviors, such as discrimination confrontation (Adams, 1986; Hercus, 1999; Pratt-Hyatt, 2007). Thus it was predicted that, when controlling for trait levels of negative affect, participants who reported high levels of state negative affect immediately after the discriminatory hiring decision would be especially likely to confront. This hypothesis was tested across the three present studies and was strongly supported. Of the 15 analyses involving negative affect, 11 were statistically significant. Participants who reported higher levels of negative affect, specifically

anger, were more likely to mention the comment in their essays, confronted the participant more strongly via instant messaging and the essay to be exchanged, and used a more negative tone with the confederate. These findings seem to confirm that negative affect plays an important role in the confronting process. Recall that the affect variable was comprised of participants' self-ratings on the terms amazed, angry, disgusted, distressed, hostile, irritable, and upset. Most of these terms are of negative valence and positive arousal, and it is likely that both dimensions are important in eliciting confrontation. It is unlikely that participants who were experiencing emotions that were of positive valence and positive arousal (i.e., excited) or emotions that were of negative valence and negative arousal (i.e., timid) would be moved to confront. Because these affect data were collected immediately after the key hiring trial, it is not entirely clear how negative affect is related to confronting behavior. It could be that the experience of negative affect causes the participants to confront, but it is also possible that the experience of confronting causes negative affect. Future studies could further explore this process by utilizing real-time measures of affect (perhaps physiological data or coded facial responses) or by manipulating affect during situations during which a person may or may not choose to confront discrimination. It is worth noting that, contrary to the theories proposed by other researchers (Hyers, 2007; Swim & Thomas, 2006), confronting discrimination does not seem to have reduced or alleviated participants' negative affect (at least not in the short-term).

Race and gender identity

Many researchers have suggested that race and gender identity play an important role in the process of discrimination confrontation. It has been suggested that those people who are more highly identified with their race or gender are more likely to notice group-based discrimination (Major et al., 2002; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001) and are more likely to respond

to it (Pratt-Hyatt, 2007; Sidanius et al., 2004). Thus it was predicted that highly-identified Blacks (Study 1) and highly-identified women (Study 2) would be especially likely to confront discrimination against an ingroup member. This hypothesis was somewhat supported. Highly-identified Blacks confronted more strongly during the IM conversation than did less-identified Blacks in Study 1. The lack of significant findings for other variables and for gender identification in Study 2 suggests that identification with the targeted group did not play a strong role in predicting confronting behavior.

Much less discussed in past research is the role of group-identification on confronting among non-targets. In these studies, no direct relationship was found between non-target group identification (i.e., Whites in Studies 1 and 3, men in Study 2) and any of the confronting variables. Further, group identification was not found to interact with just world beliefs or modern racism/sexism as predicted. As discussed in the introduction, majority group identification can take several forms. For example, a White supremacist who actively discriminates against people of color and a White social justice activist who actively campaigns on behalf of people of color are both likely to report high levels of racial identification. This is why majority group identification was hypothesized to interact with attitudinal variables (i.e., belief in a just world, modern racism/sexism) in predicting confronting. Although these interactions yielded null results, future studies may be able to better disentangle the different forms of majority group identification, perhaps by testing its interaction with different attitudinal variables. It is also important to note that the measures of group identification used in these studies were initially created for African Americans (i.e., racial identification) and women (i.e., gender identification). It is possible that their adaptation for White and male samples is not appropriate, and the development of group-specific measures is required. In addition to these

modifications to identification measurement, researchers could attempt to experimentally manipulate group identification and note the effects in confronting situations.

Just World Beliefs

Past research has shown that individuals who reject just world beliefs are less tolerant of inequalities between groups (Dalbert & Yamauchi, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). Thus it was hypothesized that individuals who rejected the idea that the world is fair and just would be especially likely to confront an act of discrimination. This hypothesis received minimal support in these studies. Specifically, individuals who rejected just world beliefs used a more negative tone during the IM conversation to confront racism (Study 1). However, analyses of 14 additional confronting variables across the three studies failed to find a relationship between just world beliefs and confronting. Nevertheless, just world beliefs were found to interact with confrontation efficacy in both Studies 1 and 3. In Study 1, confronting efficacy seemed particularly important at higher levels of just world beliefs (such that individuals who believed in a just world and felt efficacious about confronting used a more positive tone than individuals who reported less efficacy). Though hypotheses were focused on individuals rejecting just world beliefs, this pattern of results does fit general predictions, such that weaker confrontations would be expected from those endorsing just world beliefs. In addition, efficacy could be considered a magnifier of one's likely behavior, be it confronting or endorsing the partner's behavior. The pattern of results observed in Study 3 is consistent with hypotheses as they were originally stated. Specifically, efficacy was predictive at lower levels of just world beliefs (with those participants who rejected just world beliefs and reported more efficacy confronting more strongly than participants who reported less efficacy).

Though these interactions were consistent with predictions, the overall effect of just world beliefs was weaker than predicted. This may be explained, in part, by a poorly-performing belief in a just world scale. The full scale yielded unacceptably low internal consistency, and even the improved, shorter scale demonstrated low reliabilities. Future studies should test the continued effectiveness of this now 32-year-old measure (Lerner, 1980). Additional support of these hypotheses may be found with a more modern and reliable measure of just world beliefs. It is also possible that this construct is not especially predictive of confronting behavior and that other measures, such as social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) or right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998) may yield more significant results.

Note that all of the significant findings related to just world beliefs were associated with the racist hiring decisions. Just world beliefs yielded no significant main effects or interactions in the study related to sexism (Study 2). It is possible that just world beliefs are more relevant to acts of racism and that one's beliefs about fairness are not called into play when considering potential acts of sexism. Given that women have not traditionally been involved in the workplace may lead people to view discrimination against them as more expected and tolerable. Thus one's beliefs about justice may be less relevant in workplace contexts involving gender-related decision making.

Modern racism and sexism

Past studies have found that individuals who believe that race- and gender-based discrimination are no longer prevalent are more likely to engage in discriminatory behavior, are less supportive of measures aimed at reducing discrimination, and have more negative reactions to people of color/women (Awad et al., 2005; Brief et al., 1995; Nail et al., 2005; Parks & Robertson, 2004; Tougas et al., 1995; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). Therefore, it was predicted that

individuals who espoused modern racist or sexist views would be significantly less likely to confront the discriminatory hiring decision than would those individuals who rejected such beliefs. This hypothesis was not supported as it relates to modern racism. In Studies 1 and 3, modern racism was not predictive of any of the confronting variables. Nor did it interact with racial identity (Studies 1 and 3), confronting efficacy (Studies 1 and 3), or target racial identification condition (Study 3). The hypothesis was somewhat supported in Study 2 where modern sexism was assessed. In that study, participants who scored lower on the measure of modern sexism confronted the confederate more strongly during the IM conversation and were more likely to later confront the comment during the essay exchange. Further, modern sexism interacted with confronting efficacy in predicting essay confrontation strength. Confronting efficacy was not predictive at lower levels of modern sexism. However, confronting efficacy was predictive of confronting behavior at higher levels of modern sexism, such that individuals who endorsed modern sexism beliefs and reported high levels of confronting efficacy confronted much less strongly than others during the instant message conversation. Though hypotheses were focused on individuals rejecting modern sexism, this pattern of results is consistent with general predictions, as weaker confrontations would be expected from people who espouse modern sexist attitudes. As discussed earlier, it may be that efficacy is serving as a magnifier of one's likely behavior, whether that is to confront or agree with the partner's hiring decision.

It is interesting that modern racism was not a significant predictor of confronting behavior whereas modern sexism was. Both constructs had similar means and standard deviations, so it does not seem to the case that modern racism beliefs are rejected while modern sexism beliefs are endorsed. Both scales had similar, high levels of internal consistency, so it does not seem to be the case that one scale is performing better than the other. Perhaps the

nature of sexism confrontation differs from the confrontation of racism, such that attitudinal variables like modern sexism and modern racism are not predictive in the same ways. It may be that participants are less comfortable acknowledging or discussing topics related to race, and were less inhibited when it came to discussing the sexist hiring decision. Or perhaps individuals are less confident or committed to their attitudes regarding racism, and therefore less likely to act on them than their attitudes related to sexism.

Confronting efficacy

It has long been established that people are more likely to undertake endeavors when they anticipate success (Bandura, 1977; Latané & Darley, 1970). Though few studies have looked at confronting efficacy specifically, many studies have demonstrated a link between activism and similar constructs, such as self-confidence and agency (Kaysen & Stake, 2001; Romer, 1990; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998; Werner, 1978), incremental implicit theories (Rattan & Dweck, 2010), and optimism (Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Sechrist, 2010; Wellman et. al., 2009). It was hypothesized that, in the current studies, participants who felt more capable of successful confronting offensive behavior would confront more strongly than participants who reported less efficacy. This hypothesis received minimal support. In Study 1, participants who reported higher levels of efficacy used a more negative tone in their essays. However, efficacy was not predictive in fourteen other tests of main effects. Confronting efficacy did interact with several variables (just world beliefs in Study 1, modern sexism in Study 2, and condition and just world beliefs in Study 3). However, these patterns of results were not entirely consistent with hypotheses. Rather, than higher levels of efficacy always predicting higher levels of confrontation, it seemed that efficacy was simply intensifying or magnifying the participants' likely behavior (as predicted by other variables). Thus if an individual is likely to confront an act

of discrimination, higher levels of efficacy may make this confrontation even stronger or more likely. However, if an individual's tendency is to not confront or even to endorse an act of discrimination, then higher levels of efficacy may predict especially weak confrontations. The three-way interaction observed in Study 3 may provide additional insight into the nature of the efficacy variable. Though no specific hypotheses were made regarding three-way interactions, given general study predictions one would have expected the *least* friendly confrontations to have come from participants who rejected just world beliefs, had high levels of efficacy, and observed discrimination toward a target who was weakly identified with his race. In fact, participants who fit all three of these criteria had the *friendliest* tone scores. However, participants who fit two of the three criteria (rejected just world beliefs and were in the low identity condition) did have the least friendly confrontations. Thus efficacy was the variable that did not work as predicted. The pattern of results suggests that the predictions about efficacy may be correct in terms of confrontation strength, but not confrontation tone. Recall that the tone variable reflects the extent to which the participant was friendly and not does not necessarily reflect the content of the conversation. So it may be the case that participants who rejected just world beliefs, had high levels of efficacy, and were in the low identity condition *were* confronting their participants strongly (consistent with predictions), but were able to do so in an especially friendly way. Their high efficacy scores may reflect their belief that they can confront offensive behavior in a way that is both strong and friendly, which is likely to be effective. Perhaps the confrontations by participants who rejected just world beliefs, had *low* levels of efficacy, and were in the low identity condition were strong confrontations (speculative) but hostile (indicated here). Thus their low self-reports of confrontation efficacy may be reflecting

their self-perceived difficulty in confronting prejudice in a way that is friendly enough to be effective.

Overall, efficacy was not found to be a strong predictor of confronting behavior as operationalized in these studies. Further, the measure used asked participants to indicate their feelings of efficacy about confronting “offensive behavior” in general. It could be the case that this measure was too vague and that a more specific measure of efficacy (i.e., one that assesses efficacy related to confrontations of racism or sexism) would prove more effective at predicting confronting behavior.

Racial identification of discrimination victim

Previous studies have found that highly identified people of color are evaluated more negatively by White participants than are people of color who are less identified with their race (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). In addition, people of color who are more identified with their race report higher levels of experienced discrimination than less-identified people of color. Building on this work, it was hypothesized that White participants would be less likely to confront discrimination when it was directed at a highly-identified Black man than when it was directed at a less-identified Black man. However, this hypothesis was not supported as target racial identification did not predict any of the confronting variables. Target racial identification (i.e., study condition) did interact with several other variables (e.g., state anger, just world beliefs, and confronting efficacy). However, analyses of simple slopes yielded several null results and no clear pattern among the results that were significant. This could suggest that target identification was not an important factor in predicting confronting behavior or it may indicate a lack of statistical power. Another possible explanation for this lack of findings may be a failure in the identity manipulation. Although participants in a pilot study rated the high and low

identity applicants accordingly, no manipulation check was included in the final study. Thus, it is unknown if participants recognized and interpreted the applicants' racial identity cues as intended.

Limitations

The online format of these studies may have had an important impact on the findings. Specifically, because participants were working anonymously with strangers who they would never meet in person, they may have behaved differently than they would in their day-to-day lives. In order to perpetuate the cover story, participants were asked to write about their impressions of the online task (e.g., its ease/difficulty, costs/benefits). Many participants indicated that they felt more able to speak their mind and to be assertive than they would have in a face-to-face interaction. Thus, the online nature of the task may have resulted in higher rates of confrontation than would have been observed in a face-to-face interaction. At the same time, many participants indicated that the lack of nonverbal cues (e.g., body language, facial expressions) was a hindrance in the discussions. When discussing the key hiring decision specifically, participants frequently stated that they were unsure of their partner's meaning and intention, and were therefore unsure how to react. This suggests that some of the people who confronted in weak or moderate ways may have done so more strongly if nonverbal cues made them more certain that their partner was behaving in a racist/sexist manner.

Similarly, it is unclear how participants understood the comments that were intended to be offensive. Although pilot testing indicated that each comment was interpreted as racist/sexist in a sample of similar participants, no manipulation check other than the participants' statements and essays was used in these studies. Thus, there is no objective data indicating how participants interpreted the comments. It is likely that many of the participants who did not confront or who

confronted weakly did so because they did not interpret the key comment as discriminatory. However, it is worth noting that the confederate was still selecting an obviously less-qualified majority candidate over a minority candidate. Therefore, rather than being a major confound in these studies, the lack of data regarding comment interpretation is more appropriately considered an unmeasured variable that is likely an important part of the confronting process. Recall that the first step in confronting prejudice is to be aware of it (Feagin, 1991; Fitzgerald et al., 1995). Therefore, it is unlikely that some participants randomly understand the situation to be discriminatory, while others randomly failed to do so. Rather certain characteristics of the participant (e.g., awareness of ongoing discrimination, concerns about social justice, group identity) likely determined which participants recognized this as an act of discrimination and which ones did not. Future studies should aim to capture data related to each step of the confrontation process in order to understand who will ultimately confront discrimination and who will not.

A major source of noise in these studies was the complicated nature of the study design. Specifically, it is clear that the undergraduate confederates had a very difficult time implementing the instant message conversations as intended. The stated objective was to provide each participant with the same experience during the conversations, with any variation in the conversations being driven by the participant. Confederates were instructed to stick to the script as much as possible and were even encouraged to copy and paste responses (but allowing realistic amounts of “typing time”) to minimize variability. When a non-scripted response was required (because a participant said something unanticipated), confederates were instructed to aim for typical, expected, “normal” responses and to not say any more than was required. The goal was for confederates to not make a strong impression (positive or negative) on the

participant. After delivering the racist/sexist comment, the confederates were supposed to continue the conversation long enough to give the participant a chance to say anything they wanted to say. However, the confederate was not supposed to say anything that would further escalate the situation (e.g., “add on” to the offensive comment) nor anything that would ameliorate the situation (e.g., “I see what you mean, I guess that was offensive.”). Rather, they had a list of noncommittal and relatively neutral comments that could be sent in response to the participants’ questions comment (e.g., “I don’t know, whatever,” “I’m just telling you what I think,” “It’s not that big of a deal.”). When the participant, seemed to have said everything they wanted to say (e.g., they ceased replying at a speed typical of the conversation; they said something like, “OK, so what do we do now? We have to agree on someone”), or 2) it became impractical for the confederate to continue providing vague responses (e.g., the participant was demanding more specific information), the confederate was supposed to terminate the conversation by agreeing to the participant’s original candidate choice (“Let’s just pick your guy and go on to the next set”). The coding of the IM conversations clearly indicated that there were frequent deviations from the protocol. Several variables were coded to capture the frequency and severity of these errors. The first such variable represented whether or not an egregious error was committed (e.g., the confederate sent more than one of the racist/sexist comments or added an unscripted remark that changed the nature of the conversation). An error of this magnitude occurred in 2 (1.7% of) cases in Study 1, 4 (2.3% of) cases in Study 2, and 15 (8.0% of) cases in Study 3. Participants were excluded from analyses if their trial included one of these confederate errors. A second coded variable captured less serious, but still problematic, protocol errors (e.g., paraphrasing or altering the key comment, response delays, typos). These kinds of errors occurred in 25 (20.7% of) cases in Study 1, 45 (26.0% of) cases in Study 2, and 94 (50.0%

of) cases in Study 3. The last coded variable represented the extent to which the participant was allotted adequate time to confront. A code of 1 was given if the participant was not allowed any time to confront (i.e., the confederate used the “let’s go with your guy” comment before the participant had time to make any sort of meaningful response to the racist/sexist comment. This code was given in 8 (6.6% of) cases in Study 1, 1 (0.6% of) cases in Study 2, and 3 (1.6% of) cases in Study 3. A code of 2 was given on this variable if the participant was given a less-than-adequate amount of time to respond (i.e., the pair exchanged a few remarks, but the confederate used the “let’s go with your guy” comment before the participant seemed finished or before it was practically necessary). This code was given in 43 (20.7% of) cases in Study 1, 25 (14.5% of) cases in Study 2, and 53 (28.2% of) cases in Study 3. A code of 3 was given on this variable if the participant had ample time to respond (i.e., the protocol was enacted as outlined or the participant agreed to select the confederate’s applicant). This code was given in 70 (57.9% of) cases in Study 1, 146 (84.4% of) cases in Study 2, and 131 (69.7% of) cases in Study 3. In sum, these codes indicate that the IM protocol was frequently implemented incorrectly and likely decreased the probability of finding significant effects.

A relatively high number of participants were excluded from analyses due to missing data, protocol error, failure to follow directions, and suspicion. The resulting small sizes may have left these studies underpowered. Many analyses yielded moderate effect sizes that did not reach statistical significance. A replication of these studies, with the previously identified problems corrected, may yield more statistically significant findings.

Future directions

In addition to the suggestions for future research outlined above, these data suggested two other possible areas of interest. Though not the focus of these studies, the diversity of

confronting styles observed in the studies was very interesting. Some participants were very cautious in interpreting the confederate's comment and seemed reluctant to make assumptions about the confederate's intentions. Other participants immediately labeled the comment as offensive, sexist, or racist. Many participants attempted to politely educate the confederate ("It's actually illegal to take race into consideration," "Not all women are like that."). Others became angry and were more focused on expressing their disapproval than in educating. Future studies should go beyond the variables on confrontation strength and tone and explore these various approaches to confrontation. What situational and individual differences predict the approach that is taken? Do some approaches elicit more attitude change in the perpetrator than others?

Similarly, an interesting trend emerged in which participants would report the discriminatory behavior, but would not directly confront the confederate. For example, several participants typed out essays in which they outlined the discriminatory behavior, but then either did not send them to the confederate as instructed or sent an altered, non-confrontational version. A couple of participants stated aloud to the experimenter that their partner was being racist or sexist, but did not engage in especially strong confrontations. Although direct confrontation of discrimination is the behavior of interest in these studies, it may be important to investigate these other reactions. Who chooses to report discrimination to a third-party rather than confront the perpetrator directly? What psychological benefits, if any, do they derive from reporting the offense to someone else? What costs, if any, do they incur as a result of not confronting the perpetrator directly?

Although these studies were interested in confronting behavior, a relatively high rate of acquiescence was also observed. With very few exceptions, participants selected the more-qualified Black man or White woman in the key hiring trial. However, a large minority of

participants demonstrated compliance with the confederate and agreed to hire the less-qualified White, male applicant (23.8% in Study 1, 18.8% in Study 2, and 26.6% in Study 3). Some participants agreed almost immediately with little, if any, discussion. Others initially confronted the comment, but later agreed to hire the confederate's candidate. Because it was not a focus of these studies, the coding scheme does not allow for a thorough investigation into the reasons behind these conversions. Some participants seemed to be genuinely persuaded away from their initial candidate or toward the confederate's candidate. Others seemed to be agreeing out of apathy or a desire to complete the study quickly. Further study of these behaviors could have implications not only for persuasion research, but also research and hiring practices. Hiring decisions can have important real-world outcomes for individual applicants and businesses and organizations overall. In addition to being high-stakes, hiring decisions can involve moral decision-making when bias or prejudice seems to be occurring. Such factors may serve as important moderators in persuasion research. The phenomenon of participants agreeing to hire the less-qualified White applicant out of apathy or impatience may have important implications for the external validity of this and other studies. To what extent would these participants allow discrimination to occur in a real world setting? Should researchers do more to assess participant apathy in their studies and use these assessments to exclude participants who are not sufficiently invested?

Conclusions

Across three studies, participants engaged in mock hiring decisions with a confederate partner who discriminated against a Black male or White female candidate. Participants had an opportunity to confront their partner about the discrimination immediately and directly via instant message conversation and had a second opportunity to confront less directly via a later

essay exchange. Their responses were coded for five indicators of confrontation strength. Counter to hypotheses, target group membership failed to be an important predictor of confronting behavior. Although most previous research has focused on confrontation among targeted group members, these findings suggest that non-targets are just as likely to confront discrimination. The motivation and nature of these confrontations should be explored in future research, in hopes of identifying ways to increase levels of activism related to discrimination.

The strongest predictor of confrontation was state anger. When controlling for participants' trait levels of anger, state anger was a significant predictor across studies and dependent variables. This has important implications for future research and real-world activism. Future studies should explore how anger affects the kinds of confrontations in which people engage and the effectiveness of these confrontations. It may be the case that anger leads to less effective confrontations as the confronter's anger is likely to cause the confronted person to be defensiveness and less open to the confronter's message. If this is the case, it may be important to educate potential activists about the importance of controlling emotion to ensure effective confrontations.

Belief in a just world did not prove to be an effective predictive of confronting behavior. The results of these studies suggest that the current reliability and validity of this widely-used measure should be assessed. Given its age, revisions may be necessary to maintain the effectiveness of this measure.

The results associated with group identification, prejudicial attitudes, and confronting efficacy provided less clear results. These variables were somewhat predictive of confronting behavior, but the exact nature of their effects remains unclear. It is likely that variables related to

race, gender, and discrimination are confounded with many other variables. Thus follow-up research is needed to identify the key factors that predict confronting behavior.

Study 3 failed to demonstrate that White participants were less likely to confront on behalf of an African American who was more identified with his race compared to a less identified target. Future studies will be necessary to determine whether these null results represent a Type II error (e.g., due to a failed identification manipulation; a context specific limitation of this study), or if target racial identification is, in fact, unrelated to bystanders' willingness to confront.

Overall, these studies demonstrated that non-target group members were just as likely to confront observed discrimination as were target group members and that anger was the strongest predictor of confronting behavior. Mixed and null results related to other variables indicate ideas for future studies.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Overview of paradigm used in all studies

- Participants complete measures of trait negative affect and individual differences in an ostensibly unrelated online study
- Hiring decisions
 - Trial 1 – Confederate shares choice first and participant is likely to agree
 - Trial 2 – Participant shares choice first and confederate disagrees
 - Trial 3 - Confederate shares choice first and participant is likely to agree
 - Trial 4 – Key trial; participant shares first, confederate makes seemingly discriminatory hiring choice (participant's first chance to confront)
 - Trial 5 - Confederate shares choice first and participant is likely to agree
- Complete state negative affect measure after Trial 4
- Essay task
 - Participant writes a short essay on task ease (to continue cover story)
 - Participant writes a short essay on impressions of partner (second chance to confront)

Appendix B

Job description

Position: Financial Advisor

Job Description: This is a steadily growing company within the financial services industry. We promote a teamwork atmosphere and have an exceptional reputation for excellent customer service and integrity. We are now hiring an experienced and highly motivated financial advisor to join our team, you will have an opportunity to work alongside established experts to help build your business portfolio and a team underneath you. The position has a competitive salary plus a generous commission structure employees receive benefits after 90 days and a 401K plan after 180 days. There are lots of opportunities for unlimited growth and advancement within the company based on performance. Many of our financial advisors very quickly have the opportunity to build their own team and open their own branch. We provide excellent leads, strong networks and business relationships, proven techniques, a reputable name, an excellent support staff, and all the materials you will need to have unlimited success.

Requirements:

- Bachelor's Degree, preferably in a business related field.
- 2 years of relevant experience
- Comprehensive knowledge of the financial industry
- Excellent communication skills, verbal and written
- Strong time management and multi-tasking ability
- Demonstrate strong leadership abilities
- Strong commitment to teamwork and continuous learning

Responsibilities:

- Build a portfolio of clients through calling, prospecting, referrals, and business relationships.
- Complete executive presentations to secure business.
- Learn and practice effective techniques to sell financial products to prospective clients.
- Build extensive networks and contribute to the overall growth of the company
- Work cooperatively with a team and support staff, contribute to weekly sales meetings.
- Help lead and train new advisors.
- Complete business with honesty and integrity.

Appendix C

Information provided for each applicant

Table C1: Study 1 – Confronting a racist hiring decision

Study 1 – Confronting a racist hiring decision							
Applicant	Race/gender	Strength	Degree	School	GPA	Experience	Awards
1A	White man	strong	masters	Stanford	Not given	6 years	Not given
1B	White man	average	Master's	Colorado State University	Not given	3 years	Not given
1C	White woman	average	Bachelor's	St. Lawrence University	Not given	4 years	Not given
2A	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of California –San Diego	3.55/4.0	4 years	Not given
2B	Prefer not to say	weak	Bachelor's	Not given	3.0/4.0	1 year	Not given
2C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Wisconsin - Madison	3.6/4.0	4 years	Not given
3A	White woman	weak	Bachelor's	St. Charles Community College	Not given	2 years	Not given
3B	White woman	strong	Associate's	Duke University	3.85/4.0	3 years	Customer Service Award
3C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Tulsa	3.3/4.0	3 years	Not given
4A	White man	average	Bachelor's	Iowa State University	Not given	3 years	Not given
4B	Black man	strong	Master's	Princeton	Not given	6 years	Salesperson of the Year
4C	White man	weak	Bachelor's	University of Kansas	Not given	none	Not given
5A	White woman	weak	Bachelor's	Montgomery County Community College	3.1/4.0	1 year	Not given
5B	White man	average	Associate's	Boston University	3.35/4.0	3 years	Not given
5C	White man	strong	Bachelor's	University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign	3.79/4.0	5 years	Not given

Table C2: Study 2 – Confronting a sexist hiring decision

Study 2 – Confronting a sexist hiring decision							
Applicant	Race/gender	Strength	Degree	School	GPA	Experience	Misc.
1A	White man	strong	Master's	Stanford	Not given	6 years	Not given
1B	White man	average	Bachelor's	Colorado State University	Not given	3 years	Not given
1C	Asian American man	average	Bachelor's	St. Lawrence University	Not given	4 years	Not given
2A	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of California –San Diego	3.55/4.0	4 years	Not given
2B	Prefer not to say	weak	Bachelor's	Not given	3.0/4.0	1 year	Not given
2C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Wisconsin - Madison	3.6/4.0	4 years	Not given
3A	Black man	Weak	Associate's	St. Charles Community College	Not given	2 years	Not given
3B	White man	strong	Bachelor's	Duke University	3.85/4.0	3 years	Customer Service Award
3C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Tulsa	3.3/4.0	3 years	Not given
4A	White man	average	Bachelor's	Iowa State University	Not given	3 years	Not given
4B	White woman	strong	Master's	Princeton	Not given	6 years	Salesperson of the Year
4C	White man	weak	Bachelor's	University of Kansas	Not given	none	Not given
5A	Black man	weak	Associate's	Montgomery County Community College	3.1/4.0	1 year	Not given
5B	White man	average	Bachelor's	Boston University	3.35/4.0	3 years	Not given
5C	White man	strong	Bachelor's	University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign	3.79/4.0	5 years	Not given

Table C3: Study 3 – Discrimination target who is highly identified with his race

Study 3 – Discrimination target who is highly identified with his race							
Applicant	Race/ gender	Strength	Degree	School	GPA	Experience	Community Involvement
1A	White man	strong	Master's	Stanford	Not given	6 years	Member of The American Accounting Association (AAA), Member of Business Marketing Association (BMA), Volunteer for Big Brother Big Sister Organization
1B	White man	average	Bachelor's	Colorado State University	Not given	3 years	Member of Business Clubs America (BCA), Member of American Marketing Association
1C	White woman	average	Bachelor's	St. Lawrence University	Not given	4 years	Member of the Association for Financial Professionals (AFP)
2A	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of California – San Diego	3.55/4.0	4 years	Member of the National Society of Accountants (NSA), Member of the Society of California Accountants (SCA)
2B	Prefer not to say	weak	Bachelor's	Not given	3.0/4.0	1 year	-----
2C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Wisconsin - Madison	3.6/4.0	4 years	Member of the National Society of Personal Financial Planners (NAPFA), Member of Beta Alpha Psi (BAP): Sigma chapter
3A	White woman	Weak	Associate's	St. Charles Community College	Not given	2 years	Member of the Financial Managers Society (FMS), Member of the American Accounting Association (AAA)

Table C3 (cont'd)

3B	White woman	strong	Bachelor's	Duke University	3.85/4.0	3 years	Member of the Society of Financial Advisors Member of the Oklahoma Society of CPA: Tulsa Chapter, Volunteer with the Oklahaven Children's Chiropractic Center
3C	White man	average	Bachelor's	University of Tulsa	3.3/4.0	3 years	
4A	White man	average	Bachelor's	Iowa State University	Not given	3 years	Vice-President of the Pappajohn Center for Entrepreneurship, Lions Club of Iowa
4B-high id	Black man	strong	Master's	Howard University	Not given	6 years	National Black MBA Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
4B-low id	Black man	strong	Master's	Princeton	Not given	6 years	New Jersey Business and Industry Association, United States Junior Chamber (Jaycees)
4C	White man	weak	Bachelor's	University of Kansas	Not given	none	Member of the New Neighbors League of Lawrence Kansas
5A	White woman	weak	Associate's	Montgomery County Community College	3.1/4.0	1 year	Member of the Old York Road Country Club
5B	White man	average	Bachelor's	Boston University	3.35/4.0	3 years	Member of the Boston Business Club, Salvation Army Volunteer
5C	White man	strong	Bachelor's	University of Illinois – Urbana-Champaign	3.79/4.0	5 years	Member of the American Business Clubs (AMBUCS), Champaign County Chamber of Commerce, Brilliant Futures Campaign Chair

Appendix D

Cover letters and applications for discrimination victim in each study

Study 1 – Highly qualified Black man

To whom it may concern:

I am seeking a position in which I will be able to demonstrate my knowledge learned through my six years of experience and education. While attending Princeton and receiving my Master's degree, I learned valuable knowledge of how the business world operates. Outside of the classroom I submerged myself in two internships to ensure I had a strong knowledge base of business in the real world. At Johnson & Johnson, I learned how to successfully work as a team, allowing each person's strengths to come out to perform the best. Johnson & Johnson taught me the importance of ensuring a customer's satisfaction, no matter what that might entail. Upon completion of my Johnson & Johnson internship, I interned at Smith & Barney where I was able to apply my newly learned knowledge from Johnson & Johnson. Smith & Barney has a completely different set up, which allowed me to use my interpersonal skills to succeed. May I arrange an interview to further discuss my qualifications? I am available for an interview at a mutually convenient time. Thank you for your time and consideration.

[NAME BLACKED OUT]

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Please type or print.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

TODAY'S DATE:

Name: [REDACTED]
Last First Middle

Address: [REDACTED]
Street (Apt.) City, State Zip

Contact information: [REDACTED]
Home phone Mobile phone Email

Are you legally eligible for employment in the U.S.? ☒ Yes ☐ No

For company purpose only (to analyze diversity of applicants), answers will not affect qualifications for employment:

Gender: ☒ Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say

Race: ☐ White/Caucasian ☒ Black/African American
☐ Hispanic/Latino/a ☐ Asian/Asian American
☐ Native American ☐ Arab/Arab American
☐ Prefer not to say

EDUCATION

	Name and Location	Graduate? List degree earned	Major/Specialization
Business or Trade school			
College or University	Princeton	Bachelor's	Finance
Graduate school	Princeton	Master's	Finance

WORK EXPERIENCE

Employer Name	Job title	Employer address and phone	Date (mo/yr)
Northwestern Mutual Financial Group	Financial Consultant	Bldg 1 731 Alexander Rd, Ste 300 Princeton, NJ 08540	From: 2005
		(609) 951-8700	To: present
Smith Barney	Intern	1 Pluckemin Way Bedminster, NJ 07921	From: 2003
		908-306-8018	To: 2005
Johnson & Johnson Family of Companies	Management/ Operations Intern	140 Central Avenue Westfield, NJ 07090	From: 2001
		(908)232-2686	To: 2003
Sam Goody	Cashier	10 Madison Avenue Morristown, NJ 07962	From: 1999
		(973)267-4545	To: 2001

Please list areas of proficiency, special skills, or other items that may contribute to your abilities in performing this position.

Received Consultant of the Year Award in 2007

Website development experience, strong computer skills

Proficient with Microsoft office programs (Excel, PowerPoint, Word, Outlook, etc.)

Able to multi-task and complete assignments in a timely manner

Self-motivated and organized

Have excellent communication (verbal and written) skills and demonstrate leadership

Study 2 – Highly qualified White woman

To whom it may concern:

I am seeking a position in which I will be able to demonstrate my knowledge learned through my six years of experience and education. While attending Princeton and receiving my Master's degree, I learned valuable knowledge of how the business world operates. Outside of the classroom I submerged myself in two internships to ensure I had a strong knowledge base of business in the real world. At Johnson & Johnson, I learned how to successfully work as a team, allowing each person's strengths to come out to perform the best. Johnson & Johnson taught me the importance of ensuring a customer's satisfaction, no matter what that might entail. Upon completion of my Johnson & Johnson internship, I interned at Smith & Barney where I was able to apply my newly learned knowledge from Johnson & Johnson. Smith & Barney has a completely different set up, which allowed me to use my interpersonal skills to succeed. May I arrange an interview to further discuss my qualifications? I am available for an interview at a mutually convenient time. Thank you for your time and consideration.

[NAME BLACKED OUT]

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Please type or print.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

TODAY'S DATE:

Name:
Last First Middle

Address:
Street (Apt.) City, State Zip

Contact information:
Home phone Mobile phone Email

Are you legally eligible for employment in the U.S.? ☒ Yes ☐ No

For company purpose only (to analyze diversity of applicants), answers will not affect qualifications for employment:

Gender: ☐ Male ☒ Female ☐ Prefer not to say

Race: ☒ White/Caucasian ☐ Black/African American
☐ Hispanic/Latino/a ☐ Asian/Asian American
☐ Native American ☐ Arab/Arab American
☐ Prefer not to say

EDUCATION

	Name and Location	Graduate? List degree earned	Major/Specialization
Business or Trade school			
College or University	Princeton	Bachelor's	Finance
Graduate school	Princeton	Master's	Finance

WORK EXPERIENCE

Employer Name	Job title	Employer address and phone	Date (mo/yr)
Northwestern Mutual Financial Group	Financial Consultant	Bldg 1 731 Alexander Rd, Ste 300 Princeton, NJ 08540	From: 2005
		(609) 951-8700	To: present
Smith Barney	Intern	1 Pluckemin Way Bedminster, NJ 07921	From: 2003
		908-306-8018	To: 2005
Johnson & Johnson Family of Companies	Management/ Operations Intern	140 Central Avenue Westfield, NJ 07090	From: 2001
		(908)232-2686	To: 2003
Sam Goody	Cashier	10 Madison Avenue Morristown, NJ 07962	From: 1999
		(973)267-4545	To: 2001

Please list areas of proficiency, special skills, or other items that may contribute to your abilities in performing this position.

Received Consultant of the Year Award in 2007

Website development experience, strong computer skills

Proficient with Microsoft office programs (Excel, PowerPoint, Word, Outlook, etc.)

Able to multi-task and complete assignments in a timely manner

Self-motivated and organized

Have excellent communication (verbal and written) skills and demonstrate leadership

Study 3 – Highly qualified Black man who is weakly racially identified

To whom it may concern:

I am seeking a position in which I will be able to demonstrate my knowledge learned through my six years of experience and education. While attending Princeton and receiving my Master's degree, I learned valuable knowledge of how the business world operates. Outside of the classroom I submerged myself in two internships to ensure I had a strong knowledge base of business in the real world. At Johnson & Johnson, I learned how to successfully work as a team, allowing each person's strengths to come out to perform the best. Johnson & Johnson taught me the importance of ensuring a customer's satisfaction, no matter what that might entail. Upon completion of my Johnson & Johnson internship, I interned at Smith & Barney where I was able to apply my newly learned knowledge from Johnson & Johnson. Smith & Barney has a completely different set up, which allowed me to use my interpersonal skills to succeed. May I arrange an interview to further discuss my qualifications? I am available for an interview at a mutually convenient time. Thank you for your time and consideration.

[NAME BLACKED OUT]

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Please type or print.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

TODAY'S DATE:

Name:
Last First Middle

Address:
Street (Apt.) City, State Zip

Contact information:
Home phone Mobile phone Email

Are you legally eligible for employment in the U.S.? ☒ Yes ☐ No

For company purpose only (to analyze diversity of applicants), answers will not affect qualifications for employment:

Gender: ☒ Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say

Race: ☐ White/Caucasian ☒ Black/African American
☐ Hispanic/Latino/a ☐ Asian/Asian American
☐ Native American ☐ Arab/Arab American
☐ Prefer not to say

EDUCATION

	Name and Location	Graduate? List degree earned	Major/Specialization
Business or Trade school			
College or University	Princeton	Bachelor's	Finance
Graduate school	Princeton	Master's	Finance

WORK EXPERIENCE

Employer Name	Job title	Employer address and phone	Date (mo/yr)
Northwestern Mutual Financial Group	Financial Consultant	Bldg 1 731 Alexander Rd, Ste 300 Princeton, NJ 08540	From: 2005
		(609) 951-8700	To: present
Smith Barney	Intern	1 Pluckemin Way Bedminster, NJ 07921	From: 2003
		908-306-8018	To: 2005
Johnson & Johnson Family of Companies	Management/ Operations Intern	140 Central Avenue Westfield, NJ 07090	From: 2001
		(908)232-2686	To: 2003
Sam Goody	Cashier	10 Madison Avenue Morristown, NJ 07962	From: 1999
		(973)267-4545	To: 2001

Please list areas of proficiency, special skills, or other items that may contribute to your abilities in performing this position.

Received Consultant of the Year Award in 2007

Website development experience, strong computer skills

Proficient with Microsoft office programs (Excel, PowerPoint, Word, Outlook, etc.)

Able to multi-task and complete assignments in a timely manner

Self-motivated and organized

Have excellent communication (verbal and written) skills and demonstrate leadership

Community Involvement

New Jersey Business and Industry Association

United States Junior Chamber (Jaycees)

Study 3– Highly qualified Black man who is strongly racially identified

To whom it may concern:

I am seeking a position in which I will be able to demonstrate my knowledge learned through my six years of experience and education. While attending Howard University (a prestigious Historically Black University) and receiving my Master's degree, I learned valuable knowledge of how the business world operates. Outside of the classroom I submerged myself in two internships to ensure I had a strong knowledge base of business in the real world. At Johnson & Johnson, I learned how to successfully work as a team, allowing each person's strengths to come out to perform the best. Johnson & Johnson taught me the importance of ensuring a customer's satisfaction, no matter what that might entail. Upon completion of my Johnson & Johnson internship, I interned at Smith & Barney where I was able to apply my newly learned knowledge from Johnson & Johnson. Smith & Barney has a completely different set up, which allowed me to use my interpersonal skills to succeed. May I arrange an interview to further discuss my qualifications? I am available for an interview at a mutually convenient time. Thank you for your time and consideration.

[NAME BLACKED OUT]

APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT

Please type or print.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

TODAY'S DATE:

Name:
Last First Middle

Address:
Street (Apt.) City, State Zip

Contact information:
Home phone Mobile phone Email

Are you legally eligible for employment in the U.S.? ☒ Yes ☐ No

For company purpose only (to analyze diversity of applicants), answers will not affect qualifications for employment:

Gender: ☒ Male ☐ Female ☐ Prefer not to say

Race: ☐ White/Caucasian ☒ Black/African American
☐ Hispanic/Latino/a ☐ Asian/Asian American
☐ Native American ☐ Arab/Arab American
☐ Prefer not to say

EDUCATION

	Name and Location	Graduate? List degree earned	Major/Specialization
Business or Trade school			
College or University	Howard University	Bachelor's	Finance
Graduate school	Howard University	Master's	Finance

WORK EXPERIENCE

Employer Name	Job title	Employer address and phone	Date (mo/yr)
Northwestern Mutual Financial Group	Financial Consultant	Bldg 1 731 Alexander Rd, Ste 300 Princeton, NJ 08540	From: 2005
		(609) 951-8700	To: present
Smith Barney	Intern	1 Pluckemin Way Bedminster, NJ 07921	From: 2003
		908-306-8018	To: 2005
Johnson & Johnson Family of Companies	Management/ Operations Intern	140 Central Avenue Westfield, NJ 07090	From: 2001
		(908)232-2686	To: 2003
Sam Goody	Cashier	10 Madison Avenue Morristown, NJ 07962	From: 1999
		(973)267-4545	To: 2001

Please list areas of proficiency, special skills, or other items that may contribute to your abilities in performing this position.

Received Consultant of the Year Award in 2007

Website development experience, strong computer skills

Proficient with Microsoft office programs (Excel, PowerPoint, Word, Outlook, etc.)

Able to multi-task and complete assignments in a timely manner

Self-motivated and organized

Have excellent communication (verbal and written) skills and demonstrate leadership

Community Involvement

National Black MBA Association

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Appendix E

Table E1: Study 1 Application Piloting Results

Trial	Application evaluation	Applicant A Mean (SD)	Applicant B Mean (SD)	Applicant C Mean (SD)	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i> (2)	Group differences (Tukey)
1	Application strength	6.32 (0.95)	5.07 (1.00)	4.89 (1.06)	35.83	17.91	17.49*	A > B, C
	Qualifications	6.56 (0.71)	5.07 (1.04)	4.82 (1.240)	52.27	26.14	22.91*	A > B, C
	Hiring recommendation	6.32 (1.03)	4.84 (1.16)	4.43 (1.37)	58.87	19.44	19.73*	A > B, C
2	Application strength	5.00 (1.20)	3.09 (1.18)	5.07 (0.82)	110.86	55.43	47.54*	A, C > B
	Qualifications	5.09 (1.22)	3.09 (1.10)	5.16 (1.03)	121.47	60.74	48.62*	A, C > B
	Hiring recommendation	4.82 (1.23)	2.70 (1.29)	5.05 (1.03)	146.65	73.33	52.08*	A, C > B
3	Application strength	4.45 (1.09)	6.11 (0.95)	4.66 (1.01)	71.40	35.70	35.23*	B > A, C
	Qualifications	4.09 (1.31)	6.09 (0.94)	4.43 (1.15)	99.59	49.80	38.17*	B > A, C
	Hiring recommendation	3.95 (1.24)	5.91 (1.18)	4.18 (1.13)	99.67	49.84	35.55*	B > A, C

Note: Bolded numbers represent the intended best applicant(s) in each trial.

* $p < .05$

Table E1 (cont'd)

4	Application strength	3.84 (1.50)	5.53 (1.07)	4.05 (1.54)	32.00	16.00	8.29*	B > A, C
	Qualifications	3.95 (1.65)	5.47 (1.12)	3.95 (1.72)	29.51	14.75	6.39*	B > A, C
	Hiring recommendation	3.37 (1.42)	5.11 (1.33)	3.68 (1.77)	35.53	16.26	7.06*	B > A, C
5	Application strength	3.18 (1.08)	5.00 (1.06)	5.89 (1.02)	167.29	83.64	75.47*	C > B > A
	Qualifications	2.64 (1.04)	4.95 (1.28)	5.73 (1.15)	227.70	113.85	84.98*	C > B > A
	Hiring recommendation	2.59 (1.30)	4.89 (1.33)	5.68 (1.22)	226.68	113.34	68.77*	C > B > A

Note: Bolded numbers represent the intended best applicant(s) in each trial.

* $p < .05$

Appendix F

Table F1: Study 2 Application Piloting Results

Trial	Application evaluation	Applicant A Mean (SD)	Applicant B Mean (SD)	Applicant C Mean (SD)	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i> (2)	Group differences (Tukey)
1	Application strength	6.32 (0.95)	5.07 (1.00)	4.89 (1.06)	35.83	17.91	17.49*	A > B, C
	Qualifications	6.56 (0.71)	5.07 (1.04)	4.82 (1.240)	52.27	26.14	22.91*	A > B, C
	Hiring recommendation	6.32 (1.03)	4.84 (1.16)	4.43 (1.37)	58.87	19.44	19.73*	A > B, C
2	Application strength	5.00 (1.20)	3.09 (1.18)	5.07 (0.82)	110.86	55.43	47.54*	A, C > B
	Qualifications	5.09 (1.22)	3.09 (1.10)	5.16 (1.03)	121.47	60.74	48.62*	A, C > B
	Hiring recommendation	4.82 (1.23)	2.70 (1.29)	5.05 (1.03)	146.65	73.33	52.08*	A, C > B
3	Application strength	4.45 (1.09)	6.11 (0.95)	4.66 (1.01)	71.40	35.70	35.23*	B > A, C
	Qualifications	4.09 (1.31)	6.09 (0.94)	4.43 (1.15)	99.59	49.80	38.17*	B > A, C
	Hiring recommendation	3.95 (1.24)	5.91 (1.18)	4.18 (1.13)	99.67	49.84	35.55*	B > A, C

Note: Bolded numbers represent the intended best applicant(s) in each trial.

* $p < .05$

Table F1 (cont'd)

4	Application strength	4.58 (1.74)	5.88 (1.09)	4.64 (1.55)	26.65	13.32	6.05*	B > A, C
	Qualifications	4.54 (1.84)	5.60 (1.50)	4.48 (1.71)	19.71	9.85	3.46*	B > A, C
	Hiring recommendation	4.29 (1.88)	5.36 (1.60)	4.28 (1.88)	19.11	9.55	2.98*	B > A, C
5	Application strength	3.18 (1.08)	5.00 (1.06)	5.89 (1.02)	167.29	83.64	75.47*	C > B > A
	Qualifications	2.64 (1.04)	4.95 (1.28)	5.73 (1.15)	227.70	113.85	84.98*	C > B > A
	Hiring recommendation	2.59 (1.30)	4.89 (1.33)	5.68 (1.22)	226.68	113.34	68.77*	C > B > A

Note: Bolded numbers represent the intended best applicant(s) in each trial.

* $p < .05$

Appendix G

Table G1: Study 3 Application Piloting Results

Candidate's racial ID as perceived by White participants

Candidate's racial identification	Low	High	<i>t</i> (33)
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
	3.26 (1.66)	4.71 (2.02)	-2.27*

* $p < .05$

Appendix H

Piloted racist and sexist comments

Comments given to explain a seemingly racist hiring choice

1. "He just didn't seem like a hard worker."
2. "I just felt like he came off as too confident in his cover letter, like he seemed entitled or something."
3. "I just kinda feel like with Affirmative Action and everything some people are getting jobs that other people deserve more."
4. "My dad has worked with people like that, you know who look really good on paper, and then they end up stealing from the company or something."
5. "His application just seemed too good to be true. I've seen people make up stuff like that."
6. "He didn't seem very trustworthy. Like, why didn't he list people from his first job as references? It makes you wonder what happened there."
7. "When someone like that went to a good school or held a prestigious position, I always wonder if they were really qualified for it or if was just filling some sort of quota or something."
8. "I wasn't sure if he'd make a good impression to clients. We don't want people answering the phones all ghetto,"
9. "I'm a little worried about him using a lot of slang and jive."
10. "I don't know if he'd dress appropriately. We have to think about how he'd represent the company."
11. "I'm concerned he may not be the most presentable and that could be a bad reflection on our company."
12. "I'm not sure if he would 'fit in' here, ya know?"
13. "He seems like the kind of guy who would be late a lot."
14. "I think he might make the clients uncomfortable and scare away all of our business."
15. "I just got the impression that he wouldn't take the job seriously enough."
16. "He seems like he might draw in the wrong crowd, know what I mean?"

17. "I just get the impression that he wouldn't be very responsible."
18. "He didn't seem like he would have much common sense."
19. "I don't want to turn our office all ghetto, ya know?"
20. "He doesn't seem to be very intellectual."
21. "If we hire him we would constantly have to be all politically correct."

Comments given to explain a seemingly sexist hiring choice

1. "I'd be afraid that she'd just have kids and quit after a couple of years."
2. "I figured she'd cause a lot of distractions at the office"
3. "My dad's company employs a lot of women, and there are a lot of problems with them claiming sexual harassment and stuff."
4. "I just kinda feel like with Affirmative Action and everything some people are getting jobs that other people deserve more."
5. "This position seems like it would involve working with numbers a lot and I didn't get the sense that she'd be up to it"
6. "I just get the sense that she'd get stressed out easily. I hate working with people like that."
7. "I worry that she'd just be here to socialize."
8. "My dad said that most women at his company take really long lunch breaks to go shopping and stuff."
9. "We need someone who can think about things logically."
10. "I get the impression that she'd be really moody and emotional. It'd be easier not to deal with all that."
11. "We need someone who's gonna take the job seriously."
12. "It seems like whenever you have a lot of women working somewhere everything gets all catty and gossipy."
13. "We don't need an employee who's gonna spend an hour a day in the bathroom messing with her hair or make-up or something."
14. "All the women I've know have been really indecisive and this job involves a lot of decision-making."

15. "Who knows what we'd have to put up with during 'that time of the month'?"
16. "She just doesn't seem like the type of person who could get the job done."
17. "My dad's company employs a lot of women, and it seems like they're always missing work for family stuff."
18. "She might be too soft for this job. It takes a thick skin to work in business."
19. "Her resume just didn't seem that believable. Like it makes me wonder what she had to do to get those qualifications."
20. "We want to present a strong image for the company and I'm not sure she would contribute to that."
21. "We'd have to worry about her crying and stuff if she doesn't do well. Or worse, worry about her getting on some sort of power trip if she does do well."

Questions asked about each comment

How likely is it that a typical MSU student would say something like this?

1 – not at all likely, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 – extremely likely

To what extent do you think this is an appropriate or acceptable comment to make to another student?

1 – totally inappropriate, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 – totally appropriate

How rational does this comment seem to you?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 – extremely

How hostile does this comment seem to you?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How funny does this comment seem to you?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How politically incorrect does this comment seem to you?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How sexist (offensive to women) does this comment seem to you?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How racist (offensive to racial minorities) does this comment seem to?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How offended would you be, personally, if you heard this comment?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 - extremely

How offended do you think other people would be if they heard this comment?

1 – not at all, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 – extremely

What do you think you would do if the person you were talking with made this comment? (check all that apply)

____ agree with the person

____ laugh

____ brush it off or change the subject

____ ask what was meant by the comment

____ make a face, roll my eyes, etc.

____ disagree with the person

____ try to educate the person

____ say that the comment was offensive to me

____ point out that the comment might be offensive to other people

____ walk away, leave

____ tell someone else about the comment

____ other (please specify) _____

Appendix I

Table I1: Study 1 & Study 3 comment piloting results

Means and standard deviations by question asked about comment (see Appendix H)										
Comment number	Typical	Rational	Hostile	Funny	Politically correct	Sexist	Racist	Personally offending	Offending to others	Appropriate
1	3.50 (1.54)	3.03 (1.73)	3.82 (1.64)	2.30 (1.71)	4.01 (1.91)	2.47 (1.72)	4.12 (2.17)	4.32 (1.89)	4.35 (1.66)	3.11 (1.31)
2	3.31 (1.31)	2.89 (1.28)	3.34 (1.35)	2.38 (1.53)	3.28 (1.67)	2.20 (1.41)	3.41 (1.73)	3.74 (1.46)	3.92 (1.66)	3.36 (1.37)
3	3.84 (1.57)	3.11 (1.71)	4.46 (1.74)	1.86 (1.38)	4.47 (1.84)	3.21 (2.06)	5.25 (1.75)	4.41 (1.85)	5.09 (1.56)	2.87 (1.72)
4	3.27 (1.40)	2.60 (1.39)	4.47 (1.81)	2.09 (1.55)	4.27 (1.95)	2.69 (1.61)	4.23 (2.00)	4.16 (1.81)	4.43 (1.83)	2.88 (1.69)
5	3.57 (1.40)	2.71 (1.37)	3.64 (1.77)	2.05 (1.40)	3.92 (1.79)	2.55 (1.72)	3.81 (1.96)	4.01 (1.83)	4.24 (1.80)	3.27 (1.59)
6	3.61 (1.49)	3.36 (1.61)	3.55 (1.37)	1.89 (1.34)	3.67 (1.70)	2.38 (1.69)	3.39 (1.83)	3.61 (1.56)	3.93 (1.40)	3.64 (1.32)
7	3.35 (1.44)	2.51 (1.33)	4.27 (1.81)	2.09 (1.60)	4.19 (1.85)	3.01 (1.96)	4.62 (1.98)	4.31 (1.75)	4.81 (1.73)	2.72 (1.38)
8	3.36 (1.80)	2.05 (1.55)	5.42 (1.78)	2.31 (1.74)	5.33 (1.80)	2.72 (1.88)	6.03 (1.56)	5.16 (1.83)	5.57 (1.54)	2.23 (1.71)
9	3.35 (1.62)	2.32 (1.43)	4.33 (1.89)	2.18 (1.66)	5.04 (1.79)	2.66 (1.90)	5.35 (1.81)	4.66 (1.85)	5.07 (1.69)	2.55 (1.49)

Note: Bolded rows represent comments selected for use.

Table I1 (cont'd)

10	3.50 (1.52)	2.62 (1.80)	3.85 (1.86)	1.97 (1.45)	4.24 (1.96)	2.66 (1.84)	4.54 (2.01)	4.19 (1.82)	4.50 (1.77)	3.26 (1.71)
11	3.59 (1.59)	2.77 (1.66)	4.12 (1.82)	1.88 (1.37)	4.35 (1.81)	2.68 (1.85)	4.55 (1.84)	4.08 (1.79)	4.56 (1.78)	3.11 (1.52)
12	3.58 (1.73)	2.36 (1.36)	4.18 (1.91)	2.08 (1.69)	4.50 (1.93)	2.95 (1.03)	4.89 (1.87)	4.49 (1.87)	4.89 (1.60)	2.88 (1.75)
13	3.58 (1.69)	2.37 (1.47)	4.41 (1.75)	2.11 (1.59)	4.36 (1.81)	2.75 (1.93)	4.55 (2.02)	4.37 (1.71)	4.70 (1.70)	2.97 (1.66)
14	3.04 (1.67)	1.82 (1.12)	4.88 (1.90)	2.01 (1.58)	5.07 (1.82)	2.93 (1.97)	5.15 (1.89)	4.77 (1.85)	5.21 (1.59)	2.30 (1.47)
15	3.58 (1.54)	2.58 (1.52)	4.00 (1.73)	1.89 (1.47)	3.96 (1.87)	2.58 (1.75)	4.26 (1.85)	4.01 (1.86)	4.39 (1.82)	2.96 (1.38)
16	3.35 (1.82)	2.12 (1.28)	4.62 (1.83)	2.24 (1.86)	4.93 (1.71)	2.99 (1.97)	5.12 (1.63)	4.68 (1.75)	5.12 (1.44)	2.56 (1.52)
17	3.46 (1.60)	2.36 (1.42)	4.08 (1.72)	2.04 (1.63)	4.45 (1.67)	2.74 (1.93)	4.42 (1.80)	4.24 (1.70)	4.66 (1.58)	3.05 (1.40)
18	3.34 (1.71)	2.24 (1.39)	4.52 (1.80)	1.88 (1.30)	4.66 (1.73)	2.89 (2.00)	4.59 (1.83)	4.50 (1.70)	4.89 (1.61)	2.71 (1.42)
19	3.27 (1.82)	1.81 (1.29)	5.23 (1.88)	1.95 (1.44)	5.68 (1.67)	3.00 (2.16)	5.97 (1.65)	5.23 (1.90)	5.82 (1.54)	2.04 (1.54)
20	3.19 (1.52)	2.35 (1.54)	4.30 (1.67)	2.00 (1.49)	4.29 (1.75)	2.66 (1.83)	4.51 (1.92)	4.41 (1.79)	4.68 (1.63)	2.77 (1.47)
21	3.19 (1.72)	2.26 (1.46)	4.33 (1.60)	1.96 (1.44)	5.24 (1.67)	2.92 (2.05)	5.00 (1.81)	4.66 (1.71)	4.95 (1.58)	2.74 (1.63)

Note: Bolded rows represent comments selected for use.

Appendix J

Table J1: Study 2 comment piloting results

Means and standard deviations by question asked about comment (see Appendix H)										
Comment number	Typical	Rational	Hostile	Funny	Politically correct	Sexist	Racist	Personally offending	Offending to others	Appropriate
1	2.88 (1.08)	2.41 (1.10)	4.13 (1.54)	3.25 (1.75)	4.84 (1.69)	5.15 (1.80)	2.48 (2.87)	4.64 (1.68)	4.71 (1.38)	2.41 (1.02)
2	3.20 (1.36)	2.62 (1.27)	3.85 (1.55)	2.88 (1.72)	4.29 (1.68)	4.70 (1.70)	2.59 (1.77)	4.10 (1.70)	4.52 (1.55)	2.92 (1.34)
3	2.95 (1.38)	2.85 (1.40)	4.26 (1.53)	2.60 (1.53)	4.71 (1.41)	5.27 (1.65)	2.35 (1.67)	4.09 (1.89)	4.75 (1.66)	2.85 (1.36)
4	3.95 (1.63)	3.53 (1.49)	3.73 (1.69)	2.38 (1.54)	3.71 (1.56)	2.95 (1.70)	3.83 (1.87)	3.22 (1.77)	4.20 (1.62)	3.58 (1.44)
5	3.19 (1.52)	2.96 (1.66)	3.83 (1.88)	2.62 (1.74)	3.87 (1.93)	4.68 (1.96)	2.66 (1.97)	4.08 (2.01)	4.41 (1.90)	2.92 (1.61)
6	3.55 (1.51)	2.97 (1.45)	3.78 (1.61)	2.31 (1.52)	3.51 (1.61)	3.90 (1.83)	2.25 (1.70)	3.47 (1.78)	3.90 (1.71)	3.61 (1.55)
7	3.32 (1.55)	2.80 (1.61)	3.66 (1.73)	2.71 (1.71)	3.95 (1.72)	4.54 (1.78)	2.27 (1.67)	3.68 (1.73)	4.47 (1.67)	3.20 (1.39)
8	2.80 (1.31)	2.20 (1.27)	3.86 (1.88)	2.93 (1.88)	4.53 (1.70)	5.29 (1.68)	2.39 (1.92)	4.10 (1.90)	4.88 (1.74)	2.85 (1.51)
9	3.68 (1.77)	3.42 (2.01)	3.45 (1.98)	2.14 (1.56)	3.85 (2.05)	3.95 (2.35)	2.39 (1.98)	3.75 (2.19)	4.05 (2.16)	3.56 (2.01)

Note: Bolded rows represent comments selected for use.

Table J1 (cont'd)

10	3.46 (1.43)	2.69 (1.58)	4.17 (1.88)	2.34 (1.58)	4.14 (1.88)	4.71 (2.10)	2.19 (1.77)	4.12 (2.04)	4.59 (1.85)	3.08 (1.66)
11	3.95 (1.56)	3.32 (1.93)	3.46 (1.94)	1.86 (1.28)	3.66 (2.00)	3.90 (2.28)	2.36 (1.94)	3.75 (2.24)	4.03 (2.08)	3.64 (2.00)
12	3.44 (1.47)	2.61 (1.49)	4.07 (1.94)	2.81 (1.82)	4.63 (1.76)	5.64 (1.37)	2.51 (2.09)	4.14 (1.89)	4.86 (1.74)	2.56 (1.50)
13	2.91 (1.49)	2.16 (1.40)	4.47 (1.99)	2.60 (1.73)	4.50 (1.97)	5.48 (1.90)	2.44 (1.97)	4.26 (2.21)	4.86 (1.88)	2.48 (1.59)
14	2.98 (1.50)	2.29 (1.45)	4.22 (1.95)	2.21 (1.63)	4.29 (1.92)	5.12 (1.73)	2.39 (1.90)	4.17 (1.78)	4.79 (1.67)	2.88 (1.50)
15	3.19 (1.56)	2.40 (1.43)	4.39 (1.97)	2.83 (1.87)	4.66 (2.08)	5.84 (1.63)	2.30 (1.92)	4.79 (2.08)	5.47 (1.66)	2.45 (1.91)
16	3.34 (1.46)	2.84 (1.51)	3.59 (1.78)	2.09 (1.42)	3.67 (1.85)	4.16 (2.02)	2.35 (1.92)	3.76 (2.03)	4.07 (1.86)	3.67 (1.74)
17	2.91 (1.44)	2.52 (1.35)	3.51 (1.79)	1.98 (1.43)	3.88 (1.79)	4.62 (1.75)	2.21 (1.82)	3.83 (1.86)	4.40 (1.66)	3.14 (1.61)
18	3.17 (1.44)	2.52 (1.48)	3.88 (1.86)	2.22 (1.63)	4.09 (1.94)	4.57 (1.77)	2.29 (1.90)	3.81 (1.84)	4.30 (1.75)	3.33 (1.48)
19	2.86 (1.36)	2.19 (1.33)	4.21 (2.11)	2.33 (1.62)	4.72 (1.86)	5.00 (2.04)	2.44 (1.95)	4.50 (2.05)	5.00 (2.05)	2.81 (1.75)
20	3.09 (1.53)	2.57 (1.59)	3.45 (1.76)	2.03 (1.46)	4.21 (1.79)	4.65 (1.70)	2.36 (1.91)	3.88 (1.70)	4.47 (1.73)	3.40 (1.69)
21	2.79 (1.55)	2.09 (1.49)	4.79 (1.66)	2.56 (1.67)	4.84 (1.68)	5.52 (1.72)	2.41 (1.98)	4.78 (1.90)	5.25 (1.64)	2.44 (1.60)

Note: Bolded rows represent comments selected for use.

Appendix K

Demographics

We are interested in some information about who you are. Please answer the following questions.

What is your gender? _____ Female _____ Male

What is your age? _____

What is your racial group (please check all that apply)?

_____ White / Caucasian

_____ Black / African American

_____ Asian or Pacific Islander

_____ Hispanic / Latino / Latina

_____ Native American / American Indian

_____ Other (please describe) _____

Are you a United States citizen? Yes No

If no, at what age did you move to the U.S.? _____

Appendix L

Negative affect

(Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988)

When assessing trait negative affect, the following directions will be used.

In your day-to-day life, to what extent do you typically feel each of the following emotions?

When assessing state negative affect, the following directions will be used.

To what extent do you feel each of the following emotions *right now*?

“1 - not at all” to “7 – extremely” scale

____ irritable

____ distressed

____ ashamed

____ upset

____ nervous

____ guilty

____ angry

____ hostile

____ active

____ afraid

____ jittery

Appendix M

Race/gender centrality

(original and modified version of Seller et al.'s, 1997 Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity)

1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree” scale

1. Overall, being a person of my race/gender has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (R)
2. In general, being a person of my race/gender is an important part of my self-image.
3. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other people of my race/gender.
4. Being a person of my race/gender is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. (R)
5. I have a strong sense of belonging to people of my race/gender.
6. I have a strong attachment to other people of my race/gender.
7. Being a person of my race/gender is an important reflection of who I am.
8. Being a person of my race/gender is not a major factor in my social relationships. (R)

Appendix N

Belief in a Just World

(Lerner, 1980)

1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree” scale

1. I’ve found that a person rarely deserves the reputation he has.
2. Basically, the world is a just place.
3. People who get “lucky breaks” have usually earned their good fortune.
4. Careful drivers are just as likely to get hurt in traffic accidents as careless ones.
5. It is a common occurrence for a guilty person to get off free in American courts.
6. Students almost always deserve the grades they receive in school.
7. Men who keep in shape have little chance of suffering a heart attack.
8. The political candidate who sticks up for his principles rarely gets elected.
9. It is rare for an innocent man to be wrongly sent to jail.
10. In professional sports, any fouls and infractions never get called by the referee.
11. By and large, people deserve what they get.
12. When parents punish their children, it is almost always for good reasons.
13. Good deeds often go unnoticed and unrewarded.
14. Although evil men may hold political power for a while, in the general course of history good wins out.
15. In almost any business or profession, people who do their job well rise to the top.
16. American parents tend to overlook the things most to be admired in their children.
17. It is often impossible for a person to receive a fair trial in the USA.
18. People who meet misfortune have often brought it on themselves.
19. Crime doesn’t pay.
20. Many people suffer through absolutely no fault of their own.

Appendix O

Prejudicial attitudes

1 - “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree” scale

Modern Racism (McConahey, 1986)

1. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.
2. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
3. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
4. Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
5. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
6. Blacks should not push themselves where they're not wanted.
7. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

Modern Sexism (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995)

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination. (R)
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.
5. Society has reached a point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America. (R)
7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities. (R)
8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.

Appendix P

Efficacy about confronting

(Kaiser & Miller, 2004)

1 – “strongly disagree” to 7 – “strongly agree”

1. I am quite skilled at confronting people who are offensive.
2. I come across competently when confronting people who are offensive.
3. I am capable of effectively informing people who are offensive that their behavior is inappropriate.
4. I worry that I won't be able to effectively communicate my dissatisfaction to people who are offensive. (R)
5. I feel very confident when I interact with people who are offensive.
6. I experience anxiety when I confront people who are offensive. (R)

Appendix Q

Table Q1: Coding Examples

Instant Message Conversation examples				
Participant Info	Example	Strength Code	Tone Code	
Study 2 (sexism); female participant	<p>Confederate: oh ok, I picked A. B seemed good but her resume just didn't seem believable. Like it makes me wonder what she had to do to get those qualifications.</p> <p>Participant: I did not take it that way in the slightest. We would have to check her references "if this was real lol", but she seems the most qualified. Two internships and a job. She spoke eloquently and with sophistication of her experience. That's why I picked her.</p> <p>Confederate: i don't see what the problem is...</p> <p>Participant: You are being sexist.</p> <p>Confederate: umm ok. whatever, 'm just telling you what I think</p> <p>Participant: I understand that but that comment was sexist. Just because the applicant is a woman you should not have said that. Think before you speak.</p> <p>Confederate: If it matters that much to you let's just pick your person and move on</p> <p>Participant: Don't patronize me but that is fine with me. Moving on</p>	1.83	-2.23	

Table Q1 (cont'd)

Study 3 (racism w/ID condition); high ID condition	<p>Confederate: I picked A. B was ok, but if this was for real i feel like he would scare away all of the business, know what i mean? so i went with A</p> <p>Participant: based on his community organizations? b's community organizations?</p> <p>Confederate : yeah</p> <p>Participant: I will agree with A then. next?</p>	-0.42	-0.10
Study 2 (sexism); female participant	<p>Confederate: ok, i picked A. B seemed good but my dad's company employs a lot of women and it seems like they're always missing work for family stuff. so i went with A.</p> <p>Participant: lol good point, but I still like the experience and the cover letter and resume doesn't specify personal matters, so I gotta stick with B.</p> <p>Confederate: whatever, I'm just telling you what i think.</p> <p>Participant: I know I've considered your opinion</p> <p>Confederate: i dunno whatever</p> <p>Participant: Ok so how can we come to a compromise?</p> <p>Confederate: ok if it matters that much to you, let's just pick your guys and move on</p> <p>Participant: ok</p>	-0.05	0.43

Table Q1 (cont'd)

Study 3 (racism w/ID condition); low ID condition	<p>Confederate: I picked A. B was ok, but if this was for real I feel like he could turn the office all ghetto, know what i mean? so i went with A.</p> <p>Participant: ghetto? cuz hes black? you know I'm black...haha I'm just kidding...just trying to spice up this dull experiment. nah A is fine we can go with that.</p> <p>Confederate: hahaha you scared me! i didn't mean it to be taken so offensively, but then i thought you were. ok A it is.</p> <p>Participant: haha no i just thought it would be funny (yes I'm white btw)</p> <p>Confederate: ok cool</p>	-0.75	2.13
Study 2 (sexism); male participant	<p>Confederate: i went with A on this one. B did seem good, but it seems like whenever you have a lot of women working somewhere everything gets all catty and gossipy. so i went with A.</p> <p>Participant: I disagree with the woman stereotype</p> <p>Confederate: just telling you what i think...</p> <p>Participant: A just seemed liked they had too much freedom</p> <p>Confederate: i think he'd fit the job description ok though</p> <p>Participant: well women need to work too lol</p> <p>Confederate: yeah guess you have a point there. we can go with B if you really want. i don't care that much</p> <p>Participant i hear you on that. let's just go with B</p>	1.38	1.83

Table Q1 (cont'd)

Essay Examples					
Participant Info	Example	Response Yes/No	Strength Code	Tone Code	
Study 3 (racism w/ID condition); low ID condition	My partner seems pretty cool. They didn't argue about anything and were easy to talk to. We ended up agreeing on most things, which made this experiment easy. Even when we did disagree, we ended up choosing the same person in the end, anyway.	1.00	---	-0.10	
Study 1 (racism); Black participant	My partner and I seemed to have sort of the same ideas when it came to whom we would choose, except for one folder when I was a little surprised at his/her decision. When it comes to interacting with people online it seems as if they can take off their "masks" and be their true selves.	1.00	-0.99	0.09	
Study 2 (sexism); female participant	I feel that my partner is very opinionated. I feel that they had a pretty good sense of who would be a good candidate and who would not. At one point I was a little uneasy because they made the comment that they choose a man over a women because women get catty and gossipy. But overall they were very easy to agree with.	1.00	0.35	0.79	
Study 1 (racism); race unknown	Seemed like a knowledgeable person but was racist. It's cool to have your own beliefs, but you cannot carry them over into your professional life.	1.00	1.56	0.09	

Table Q1 (cont'd)

Study 3 (racism w/ID condition); high ID condition	My partner was a racist pig. Nothing bothers me more than when people are ignorant. He or she had no concept on hiring since they pick a poorer choice over one that was clearly better, just because the better pick was African American. Its people like this that make the American workplace so hostile.	1.00	1.91	-2.79
Study 1 (racism); White participant	Me and my partner agreed on a candidate on most of the sets. My partner did a good job explaining why he or she chose a certain candidate. We disagreed on one major one, and it really offended me that his/her choice seemed to be on skin color alone. Other than this, I believe we worked well together.	1.00	0.68	0.95

Table 1

Study 1 -Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables by Participant Race

Variable	Overall Sample		Black Participants (N = 44)		White Participants (N = 78)		<i>t</i> (df)
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Trait Anger	1.00	4.00	2.21	0.80	2.04	0.62	-1.25 (114)
State Anger	1.00	4.43	1.61	0.67	1.57	0.80	-0.25 (118)
Racial Identity	1.00	7.00	4.64	1.09	3.61	1.15	-4.65* (114)
Just World Beliefs	1.93	6.54	4.10	1.15	4.47	0.90	1.88 (114)
Modern Racism	1.00	4.86	2.01	0.73	2.73	1.05	3.91* (114)
Confronting Efficacy	1.50	7.00	4.43	1.13	4.46	1.28	0.15 (114)
IM Confrontation Strength	-0.84	1.87	0.64	0.83	0.64	0.79	-0.05 (109)
IM Overall Tone	-1.76	2.04	-0.02	0.80	0.03	0.79	0.27 (115)
Essay Response Yes/No	0.00	1.00	0.25	0.44	0.20	0.40	-0.62 (113)
Essay Confrontation Strength	-0.99	1.56	0.46	0.77	0.75	0.75	0.93 (23)
Essay Overall Tone	-1.73	2.78	0.09	0.79	-0.01	0.79	-0.61 (107)

* $p < .05$

Table 2

Study 1 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Participant Race	---											
2. Trait Anger	0.12	(0.79)										
3. State Anger	0.02	0.05	(0.91)									
4. Racial Identity	0.40*	-0.05	0.17	(0.86)								
5. Just World Beliefs	-0.17	-0.04	-0.10	-0.01	(0.74)							
6. Modern Racism	-0.34*	0.01	-0.11	-0.09	0.15	(0.82)						
7. Confronting Efficacy	-0.01	-0.11	-0.07	-0.05	0.08	-0.16	(0.85)					
8. IM Confront. Strength	0.01	-0.13	0.33*	0.18	-0.08	-0.14	0.07	(0.85)				
9. IM Overall Tone	-0.03	0.02	-0.29*	-0.03	0.22*	0.10	-0.04	-0.41*	(0.47)			
10. Essay Response Yes/No	0.06	-0.05	0.25*	0.22*	0.01	-0.09	0.14	0.49*	-0.11	----		
11. Essay Confront. Strength	-0.19	-0.31	0.17	0.07	0.20	-0.16	0.02	0.44	-0.14	---	(0.79)	
12. Essay Overall Tone	0.06	-0.01	-0.20*	0.04	0.15	0.01	-0.25*	-0.23*	0.39*	-0.20*	-0.35	(0.70)

Note: Only participants who responded to the comment in their essay have scores for *Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 3

Study 1 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables by Race

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Trait Anger	---	0.08	-0.12	-0.16	0.07	-0.24*	-0.05	-0.02	-0.06	0.02	-0.18
2. State Anger	-0.01	---	0.14	-0.05	-0.12	0.03	0.38*	-0.37*	0.26*	0.23	-0.19
3. Racial Identity	-0.01	0.24	---	0.16	0.11	0.03	0.07	0.11	0.21	0.21	0.04
4. Just World Beliefs	0.14	-0.19	-0.11	---	0.12	0.01	-0.17	0.26*	-0.05	0.12	0.09
5. Modern Racism	0.01	-0.06	-0.12	0.05	---	-0.23*	-0.15	0.15	-0.01	-0.16	0.07
6. Confronting Efficacy	0.10	-0.09	-0.18	0.23	0.01	---	0.20	-0.11	0.19	-0.11	-0.29*
7. IM Confront. Strength	-0.26	0.22	0.45*	0.05	-0.11	-0.19	---	-0.40*	0.47*	0.19	-0.17
8. IM Overall Tone	0.11	-0.09	-0.28	0.15	-0.08	0.12	-0.43*	---	-0.02	0.06	0.37*
9. Essay Response Yes/No	-0.06	0.21	0.22	0.10	-0.24	0.08	0.51*	-0.25	---	---	-0.07
10. Essay Confront. Strength	-0.74*	0.01	-0.09	0.33	-0.53	0.19	0.86*	-0.53	---	---	-0.40
11. Essay Overall Tone	0.22	-0.20	-0.02	0.24	-0.09	-0.16	-0.33	0.37*	-0.42*	-0.46	---

Note: Correlations among Black participants appear below the diagonal and correlations among White participants appear above the diagonal. Only participants who responded to the comment in their essay have scores for *Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 4

Hypothesis 1A – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Race

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 111)	IM Overall Tone (N = 117)
	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.01 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.15)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.00
Total R^2	0.00	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 5

Hypothesis 1A – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Race

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 116)		Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 25)	Essay Overall Tone (N = 109)
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.29 (0.47)	1.33	-0.28 (0.31)	0.10 (0.16)
ΔR^2	---		0.04	0.00
Total R^2	---		0.04	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 6

Hypothesis 1B – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by State Anger

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.07 (0.16)	0.04 (0.16)	-0.08 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.16)
Trait Anger	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.17 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)
State Anger		0.32* (0.10)		-0.31* (0.10)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.12*	0.00	0.09*
Total R^2	0.02	0.14*	0.00	0.09*

* $p < .05$

Table 7

Hypothesis 1B – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by State Anger

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.34 (0.49)	1.40	0.33 (0.50)	1.38	-0.15 (0.32)	-0.07 (0.30)	0.06 (0.17)	0.07 (0.16)
Trait Anger	-0.21 (0.35)	0.81	-0.23 (0.35)	0.79	-0.26 (0.18)	-0.42* (0.19)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.11)
State Anger			0.59* (0.28)	1.80		0.38 (0.20)		-0.21* (0.10)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.11	0.25	0.00	0.04*
Total R^2	---		---		0.11	0.36	0.00	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 8

Hypothesis 1C – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Race	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.02 (0.09)
Racial Identification	0.16 (0.08)	0.20* (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)
Race x Identification		0.19* (0.09)		-0.17 (0.09)
ΔR^2	0.04	0.07	0.00	0.04
Total R^2	0.04	0.11*	0.00	0.04

* $p < .05$

Figure 1

The Effect of Racial Identity on Instant Message Confrontation Strength among White and Black Participants

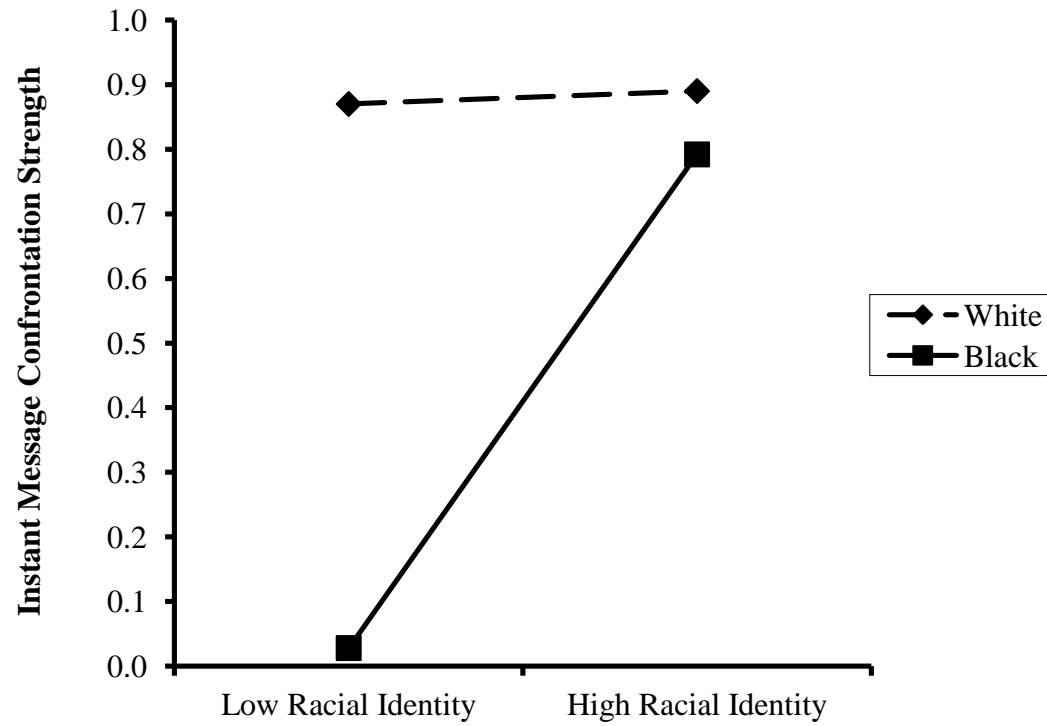


Table 9

Hypothesis 1C – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Race	-0.08 (0.26)	0.93	-0.12 (0.32)	0.89	-0.12 (0.17)	-0.05 (0.22)	0.02 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)
Racial Identification	0.62* (0.29)	1.86	0.64* (0.30)	1.89	0.09 (0.17)	0.07 (0.18)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)
Race x Identification			0.08 (0.32)	1.08		-0.12 (0.19)		-0.03 (0.09)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.03	0.05	0.00	0.00
Total R^2	---		---		0.03	0.08	0.00	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 10

Hypothesis 1D – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.05 (0.16)	0.02 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.16)
Just World Beliefs		-0.06 (0.08)		0.17* (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.05*
Total R^2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.05

* $p < .05$

Table 11

Hypothesis 1D – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.30 (0.49)	1.36	0.31 (0.49)	1.37	-0.19 (0.33)	-0.19 (0.33)	0.06 (0.16)	0.10 (0.16)
Just World Beliefs			0.04 (0.24)	1.04		0.14 (0.15)		0.12 (0.08)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.06	0.00	0.03
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.08	0.00	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 12

Hypothesis 1E – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Modern Racism

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.05 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.17)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.17)
Modern Racism		-0.12 (0.08)		0.07 (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.01
Total R^2	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 13

Hypothesis 1E – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Modern Racism

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.30 (0.49)	1.36	0.18 (0.51)	1.19	-0.19 (0.33)	-0.45 (0.38)	0.01 (0.10)	0.07 (0.17)
Modern Racism			-0.20 (0.26)	0.82		-0.27 (0.22)		0.02 (0.08)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.09	0.00	0.00
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.11	0.00	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 14

Hypothesis 1F – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.05 (0.16)	0.05 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.16)	-0.07 (0.16)
Confronting Efficacy		0.05 (0.06)		-0.03 (0.06)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Total R^2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 15

Hypothesis 1F – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.30 (0.49)	1.36	0.33 (0.49)	1.39	-0.19 (0.33)	-0.19 (0.34)	0.06 (0.16)	0.05 (0.16)
Confronting Efficacy			0.33 (0.21)	1.39		0.00 (0.14)		-0.16* (0.06)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.02	0.00	0.06*
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.04	0.00	0.06*

* $p < .05$

Table 16

Hypothesis 1G – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	-0.13 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.18)	0.01 (0.17)	-0.04 (0.18)
Racial Identification	0.17* (0.08)	0.16 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.08)
Just World Beliefs	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.17* (0.08)	0.20* (0.08)
Identity x Just World Beliefs		0.05 (0.08)		-0.11 (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.07
Total R^2	0.04	0.09	0.05	0.12

* $p < .05$

Table 17

Hypothesis 1G – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	-0.17 (0.55)	0.85	-0.24 (0.56)	0.79	-0.26 (0.35)	-0.24 (0.36)	0.09 (0.18)	0.08 (0.18)
Racial Identification	0.62* (0.29)	1.86	0.70* (0.31)	2.01	0.10 (0.17)	0.08 (0.17)	0.00 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)
Just World Beliefs	-0.02 (0.24)	0.98	0.10 (0.29)	1.10	0.14 (0.16)	0.05 (0.20)	0.12 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)
Identity x Just World Beliefs			-0.20 (0.27)	0.82		0.16 (0.22)		-0.03 (0.08)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.07	0.10	0.03	0.03
Total R^2	---		---		0.07	0.17	0.03	0.05

* $p < .05$

Table 18

Hypothesis 1H – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	-0.19 (0.19)	-0.19 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.18)	0.01 (0.18)
Racial Identification	0.17* (0.08)	0.17 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.04 (0.09)
Modern Racism	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Identity x Racism		-0.00 (0.10)		0.14 (0.10)
ΔR^2	0.06	0.06	0.10	0.03
Total R^2	0.06	0.11	0.10	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 19

Hypothesis 1H – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	-0.29 (0.57)	0.61	-0.30 (0.67)	0.74	-0.50 (0.40)	-0.56 (0.41)	0.06 (0.19)	0.05 (0.19)
Racial Identification	0.61* (0.28)	0.03	0.58 (0.33)	1.78	0.08 (0.17)	0.20 (0.22)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)
Modern Racism	-0.21 (0.27)	0.81	-0.21 (0.27)	0.81	-0.27 (0.22)	-0.34 (0.24)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)
Identity x Racism			-0.06 (0.37)	0.94		0.22 (0.26)		-0.08 (0.10)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.10	0.13	0.00	0.01
Total R^2	---		---		0.10	0.23	0.00	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 20

Hypothesis II – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.02 (0.17)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.16)	0.01 (0.16)
Confronting Efficacy	0.06 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)
Just World Beliefs	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	0.17* (0.08)	0.19* (0.08)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs		0.12 (0.06)		-0.08 (0.06)
ΔR^2	0.01	0.05	0.05	0.06
Total R^2	0.01	0.06	0.05	0.11

* $p < .05$

Table 21

Hypothesis 11 – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.33 (0.50)	1.39	0.23 (0.51)	1.25	-0.21 (0.34)	-0.21 (0.35)	0.09 (0.16)	0.14 (0.16)
Confronting Efficacy	0.40 (0.26)	1.49	0.45 (0.28)	1.56	-0.09 (0.19)	-0.09 (0.22)	-0.20* (0.07)	-0.20* (0.07)
Just World Beliefs	0.01 (0.24)	1.01	-0.16 (0.27)	0.85	0.18 (0.18)	0.18 (0.21)	0.14 (0.08)	0.16 (0.08)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs			0.38 (0.22)	1.47		0.00 (0.19)		-0.13* (0.06)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.07	0.07	0.09*	0.14*
Total R^2	---		---		0.07	0.13	0.09*	0.23*

* $p < .05$

Figure 2

The Effect of Just World Beliefs on Overall Essay Tone at Low and High Levels of Confronting Efficacy

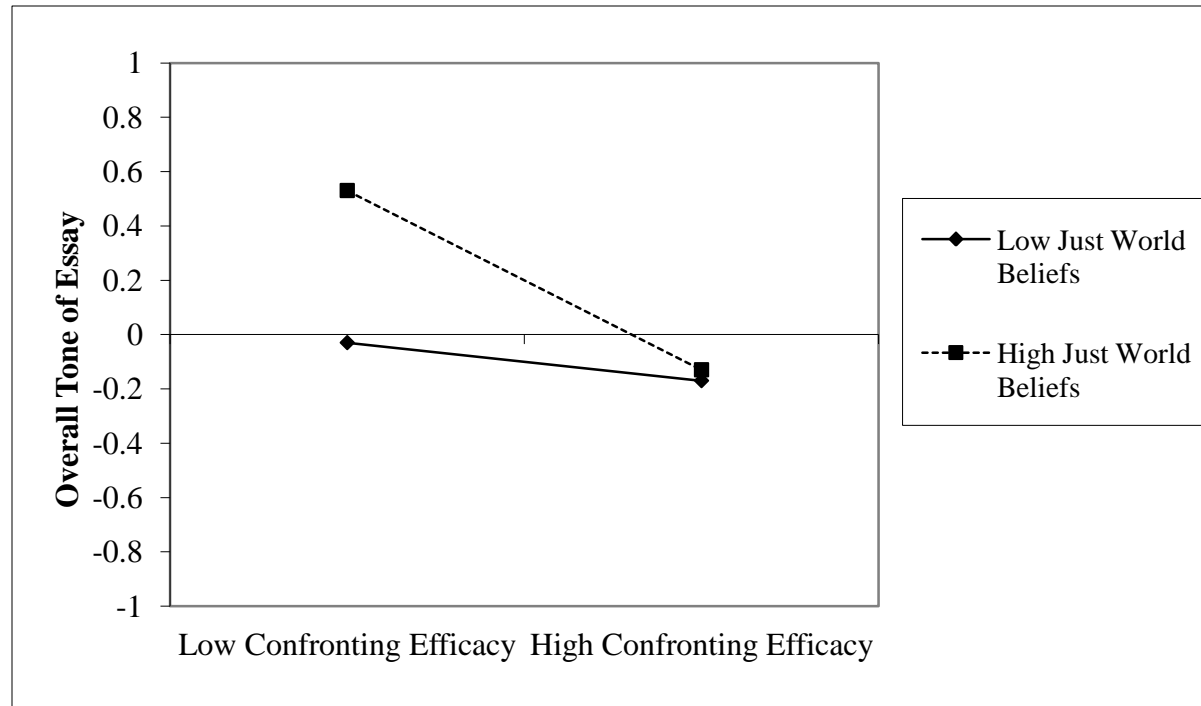


Table 22

Hypothesis 1J – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 107)		IM Overall Tone (N = 111)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.17)	-0.03 (0.17)	-0.00 (0.17)
Confronting Efficacy	0.04 (0.17)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)
Modern Racism	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)
Efficacy x Racism		-0.11 (0.08)		-0.11 (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.04	0.10	0.03
Total R^2	0.02	0.07	0.10	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 23

Hypothesis 1J – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 110)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 104)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Race	0.25 (0.52)	1.28	0.21 (0.52)	1.23	-0.45 (0.39)	-0.45 (0.40)	0.04 (0.17)	0.07 (0.17)
Confronting Efficacy	0.38 (0.26)	1.46	0.47 (0.29)	1.59	-0.01 (0.17)	0.00 (0.17)	-0.20* (0.08)	-0.20* (0.08)
Modern Racism	-0.14 (0.27)	0.87	-0.22 (0.30)	0.81	-0.28 (0.22)	-0.29 (0.23)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)
Efficacy x Racism			-1.47 (0.32)	1.40		0.06 (0.18)		-0.13 (0.08)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.09	0.09	0.06	0.09
Total R^2	---		---		0.09	0.19	0.06	0.16

* $p < .05$

Table 24

Study 2 -Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables by Participant Race

Variable	Overall Sample		Men (N = 31)		Women (N = 127)		<i>t</i> (df)
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Trait Anger	1.00	3.86	1.79	0.58	1.93	0.61	0.93 (104)
State Anger	1.00	4.17	1.78	0.87	1.64	0.71	-0.92 (156)
Gender Identity	1.38	7.00	4.44	1.12	4.47	1.00	0.14 (104)
Just World Beliefs	1.75	6.00	4.14	0.83	4.09	0.81	-0.28 (104)
Modern Sexism	1.00	5.88	3.17	1.11	2.81	1.03	-1.41 (104)
Confronting Efficacy	1.50	6.67	4.33	0.97	4.46	1.17	0.47 (104)
IM Confrontation Strength	-0.91	1.83	0.64	0.76	0.64	0.75	0.01 (142)
IM Overall Tone	-3.08	2.23	0.21	0.81	-0.02	0.85	-1.32 (151)
Essay Response Yes/No	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.41	0.30	0.46	1.10 (151)
Essay Confrontation Strength	-1.94	1.57	0.73	0.54	0.61	0.77	-0.38 (43)
Essay Overall Tone	-2.14	3.10	0.16	0.86	-0.06	0.92	-1.20 (151)

* $p < .05$

Table 25

Study 2 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Participant Sex	---											
2. Trait Anger	-0.09	(0.80)										
3. State Anger	0.07	0.03	(0.84)									
4. Gender Identity	-0.01	0.03	-0.18	(0.82)								
5. Just World Beliefs	0.03	-0.13	-0.02	-0.06	(0.64)							
6. Modern Sexism	0.14	0.09	-0.18	-0.11	0.09	(0.88)						
7. Confronting Efficacy	-0.05	-0.08	-0.14	-0.06	0.07	-0.25*	(0.87)					
8. IM Confront. Strength	-0.01	-0.13	0.38*	0.05	-0.01	-0.30	0.14	(0.59)				
9. IM Overall Tone	0.11	0.07	-0.12	-0.23*	0.03	0.13	-0.08	-0.21*	(0.62)			
10. Essay Response Yes/No	-0.09	-0.05	0.28*	-0.04	-0.04	-0.21*	-0.04	0.42*	-0.17*	---		
11. Essay Confront. Strength	0.06	-0.18	0.32*	0.22	-0.04	-0.29	-0.01	0.52*	-0.37*	---	(0.82)	
12. Essay Overall Tone	0.10	-0.04	-0.16*	-0.15	-0.05	0.05	0.02	-0.07	0.39*	-0.10	-0.44*	(0.72)

Note: Only participants who responded to the comment have scores for *IM/Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 26

Study 2 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables by Sex

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Trait Anger	---	-0.12	0.36	-0.21	-0.06	0.08	0.09	0.12	-0.37	0.55	-0.37
2. State Anger	0.09	---	-0.47*	0.08	-0.31	-0.58*	0.39*	-0.17	0.66*	0.20	-0.20
3. Gender Identity	-0.05	-0.07	---	-0.14	0.03	0.44	0.12	0.16	-0.50*	0.11	0.01
4. Just World Beliefs	-0.11	-0.06	-0.04	---	0.27	-0.23	-0.14	0.27	-0.03	-0.16	0.19
5. Modern Sexism	0.14	-0.18	-0.15	0.05	---	-0.16	-0.59*	0.11	-0.12	0.35	0.31
6. Confronting Efficacy	-0.11	-0.03	-0.16	0.13	-0.27*	---	0.46	-0.10	-0.28	-0.45	0.05
7. IM Confront. Strength	-0.16	0.37*	0.05	0.02	-0.25*	0.10	---	-0.29	0.36	-0.21	-0.10
8. IM Overall Tone	0.07	-0.18*	-0.32*	-0.01	0.12	-0.07	-0.27*	---	-0.03	-0.74*	0.44*
9. Essay Response Yes/No	0.01	0.19*	0.07	-0.04	-0.22*	-0.01	0.46*	-0.22*	---	----	0.06
10. Essay Confront. Strength	-0.18	0.33*	0.32	-0.03	-0.41*	0.07	0/58*	-0.36*	----	---	-0.51
11. Essay Overall Tone	0.03	-0.17	-0.18	-0.11	-0.01	0.02	-0.10	0.39*	-0.11	-0.46*	---

Note: Correlations among female participants appear below the diagonal and correlations among male participants appear above the diagonal. Only participants who responded to the comment in their essay have scores for *Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 27

Hypothesis 2A – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Sex

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 144)	IM Overall Tone (N = 153)
	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.01 (0.16)	0.23 (0.17)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.01
Total R^2	0.00	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 28

Hypothesis 2A – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Sex

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 153)		Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 43)	Essay Overall Tone (N = 153)
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.54 (0.50)	0.58	0.11 (0.33)	0.22 (0.19)
ΔR^2	---		0.00	0.01
Total R^2	---		0.00	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 29

Hypothesis 2B – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by State Anger

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 90)		IM Overall Tone (N = 96)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.19 (0.20)	0.06 (0.19)	0.18 (0.22)	0.21 (0.23)
Trait Anger	-0.11 (0.13)	-0.11 (0.12)	0.13 (0.14)	0.13 (0.14)
State Anger		0.32* (0.11)		-0.08 (0.13)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.02
Total R^2	0.02	0.14	0.02	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 30

Hypothesis 2B – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by State Anger

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 97)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 31)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 96)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.64 (0.62)	0.53	-1.22 (0.73)	0.30	0.42 (0.46)	-0.11 (0.50)	0.08 (0.24)	0.15 (0.24)
Trait Anger	-0.15 (0.37)	0.86	-0.15 (0.39)	0.86	-0.24 (0.27)	-0.22 (0.26)	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.16)
State Anger			1.20* (0.37)	3.32		0.43* (0.20)		-0.22 (0.14)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.00	0.12	0.00	0.03
Total R^2	---		---		0.00	0.13	0.00	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 31

Hypothesis 2C – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Gender Identification

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.10 (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)
Gender Identification	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.20* (0.08)
Sex X Identification		0.02 (0.08)		0.15 (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.02	0.06*	0.10
Total R^2	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.16

* $p < .05$

Table 32

Hypothesis 2C – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Gender Identification

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.15 (0.23)	0.87	-0.42 (0.35)	0.66	0.26 (0.17)	0.20 (0.23)	0.07 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)
Gender Identification	-0.10 (0.22)	0.91	-0.21 (0.27)	0.82	0.29 (0.16)	0.28 (0.17)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.09)
Sex X Identification			-0.73* (0.37)	0.48		-0.07 (0.18)		0.07 (0.09)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.06	0.03	0.03	0.03
Total R^2	---		---		0.06	0.08	0.03	0.06

* $p < .05$

Figure 3

The Effect of Gender Identification on Essay Response for Women and Men

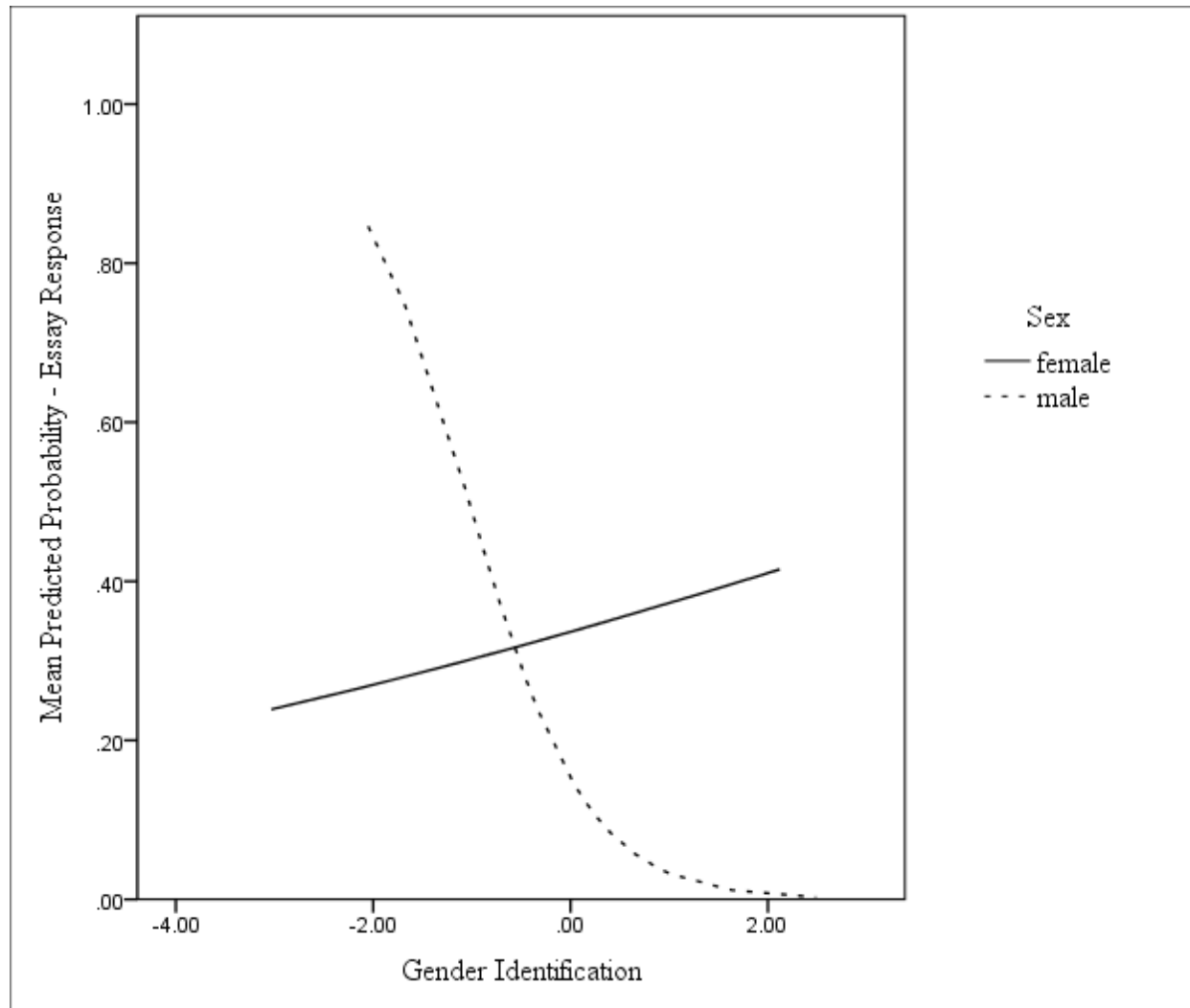


Table 33

Hypothesis 2D – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.23 (0.19)	0.23 (0.19)	0.22 (0.21)	0.22 (0.22)
Just World Beliefs		-0.01 (0.09)		0.03 (0.10)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total R^2	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 34

Hypothesis 2D – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.35 (0.57)	0.70	-0.35 (0.57)	0.71	0.33 (0.40)	0.34 (0.41)	0.18 (0.24)	0.18 (0.24)
Just World Beliefs			-0.09 (0.26)	0.92		-0.04 (0.17)		-0.06 (0.11)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.05	0.01	0.02

* $p < .05$

Table 35

Hypothesis 2E – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Modern Sexism

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant	0.23	0.28	0.22	0.20
Sex	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Modern		-0.21*		0.09
Sexism		(0.07)		(0.08)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.02
Total R^2	0.02	0.13	0.01	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 36

Hypothesis 2E – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Modern Sexism

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.36 (0.57)	0.70	-0.21 (0.59)	0.81	0.33 (0.40)	0.45 (0.39)	0.18 (0.24)	0.16 (0.24)
Modern Sexism			-0.44* (0.22)	0.64		-0.26 (0.14)		0.04 (0.09)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.12	0.01	0.01
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.14	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 37

Hypothesis 2F – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant	0.23	0.26	0.22	0.21
Sex	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.22)
Confronting Efficacy		0.10 (0.06)		-0.05 (0.07)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02
Total R^2	0.02	0.06	0.01	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 38

Hypothesis 2F – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.36 (0.57)	0.70	-0.37 (0.57)	0.69	0.33 (0.40)	0.34 (0.42)	0.18 (0.24)	0.18 (0.24)
Confronting Efficacy			-0.09 (0.19)	0.92		0.01 (0.12)		0.02 (0.08)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.05	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 39

Hypothesis 2G – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Gender Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.24 (0.19)	0.23 (0.19)	0.20 (0.21)	0.18 (0.21)
Gender Identification	0.04 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.15 (0.09)
Just World Beliefs	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)
Identity X Just World Beliefs		-0.04 (0.07)		-0.10 (0.08)
ΔR^2	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.08
Total R^2	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.14

* $p < .05$

Table 40

Hypothesis 2G – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Gender Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.36 (0.57)	0.70	-0.35 (0.58)	0.71	0.65 (0.43)	0.65 (0.44)	0.17 (0.24)	0.17 (0.24)
Gender Identification	-0.10 (0.22)	0.90	-0.19 (0.24)	0.83	0.29 (0.17)	0.30 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.10)
Just World Beliefs	-0.08 (0.21)	0.92	-0.04 (0.22)	0.96	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.07 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.09)
Identity x Just World Beliefs			0.27 (0.23)	1.31		-0.03 (0.15)		-0.08 (0.09)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.12	0.12	0.03	0.04
Total R^2	---		---		0.12	0.25	0.03	0.07

* $p < .05$

Table 41

Hypothesis 2H – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Gender Identification, Modern Sexism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.28 (0.18)	0.28 (0.19)	0.18 (0.21)	0.18 (0.21)
Gender Identification	0.02 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.19* (0.09)
Modern Sexism	-0.22* (0.07)	-0.22* (0.07)	0.07 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)
Identity x Sexism		0.01 (0.08)		-0.02 (0.09)
ΔR^2	0.11*	0.11	0.07	0.07
Total R^2	0.11*	0.22	0.07	0.14

* $p < .05$

Table 42

Hypothesis 2H – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Gender Identification, Modern Sexism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.22 (0.59)	0.80	-0.19 (0.59)	0.83	0.68 (0.42)	0.60 (0.44)	0.16 (0.24)	0.15 (0.24)
Gender Identification	-0.14 (0.22)	0.87	-0.26 (0.25)	0.77	0.24 (0.16)	0.31 (0.19)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.10)
Modern Sexism	-0.48 (0.24)	0.62	-0.51 (0.25)	0.60	-0.22 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.16)	0.03 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)
Identity x Sexism			-0.29 (0.27)	0.46		0.12 (0.17)		0.10 (0.10)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.10	0.08	0.03	0.04
Total R^2	---		---		0.10	0.18	0.03	0.07

* $p < .05$

Table 43

Hypothesis 2I – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.26 (0.19)	0.23 (0.19)	0.21 (0.22)	0.22 (0.22)
Confronting Efficacy	0.11 (0.07)	0.12 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.08)
Just World Beliefs	-0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	0.02 (0.09)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs		-0.09 (0.06)		0.02 (0.07)
ΔR^2	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.02
Total R^2	0.04	0.10	0.02	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 44

Hypothesis 2I – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.37 (0.57)	0.69	-0.53 (0.60)	0.59	0.34 (0.42)	0.32 (0.17)	0.19 (0.24)	0.22 (0.24)
Confronting Efficacy	-0.10 (0.21)	0.91	-0.06 (0.23)	0.94	0.01 (0.14)	0.01 (0.43)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)
Just World Beliefs	-0.07 (0.21)	0.94	0.07 (0.24)	1.08	-0.03 (0.15)	0.00 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.10)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs			-0.50 (0.22)	0.61		-0.08 (0.15)		0.09 (0.12)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02
Total R^2	---		---		0.02	0.07	0.01	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 45

Hypothesis 2J – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Sexism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 93)		IM Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	0.29 (0.18)	0.29 (0.18)	0.20 (0.22)	0.20 (0.22)
Confronting Efficacy	0.06 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)
Modern Sexism	-0.21* (0.07)	-0.20* (0.08)	0.09 (0.09)	0.08 (0.09)
Efficacy x Racism		0.03 (0.08)		-0.07 (0.09)
ΔR^2	0.12	0.12	0.03	0.03
Total R^2	0.12	0.13	0.03	0.6

* $p < .05$

Table 46

Hypothesis 2J – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Sexism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 99)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 32)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 99)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Participant Sex	-0.24 (0.59)	0.80	-0.19 (0.59)	0.83	0.43 (0.40)	0.70 (0.38)	0.17 (0.24)	0.17 (0.24)
Confronting Efficacy	-0.23 (0.22)	0.59	-0.29 (0.23)	0.75	-0.06 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.13)	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)
Modern Sexism	-0.53 (0.25)	0.48	-0.57 (0.25)	0.56	-0.29 (0.16)	0.51* (0.16)	0.05 (0.10)	0.04 (0.10)
Efficacy x Sexism			-0.26 (0.26)	0.77		-0.41* (0.15)		-0.04 (0.11)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.13	0.31*	0.01	0.01
Total R^2	---		---		0.13	0.44*	0.01	0.02

* $p < .05$

Figure 4

The Effect of Confronting Efficacy on Essay Confrontation Strength at Low and High Levels of Modern Sexism

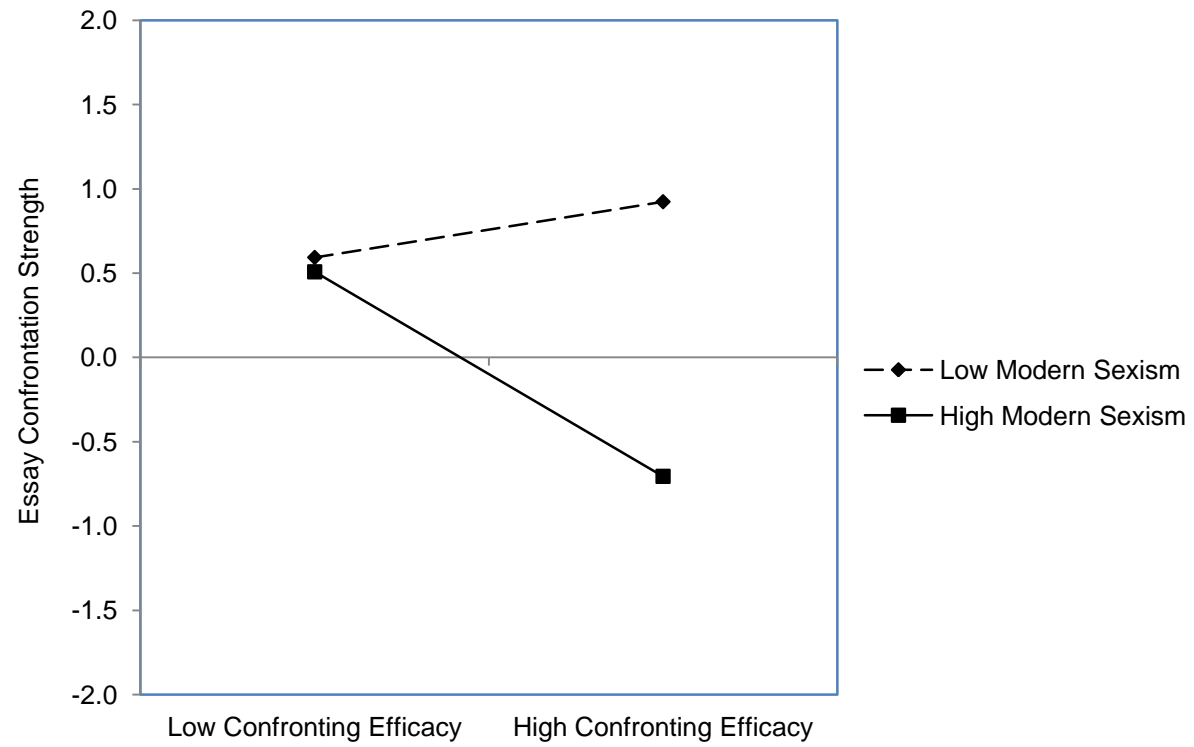


Table 47

Study 3 - Means and Standard Deviations of Independent Variables by Condition

Variable	Overall Sample		Low Racial ID candidate (N =86)		High Racial ID target (N =92)		<i>t</i> (df)
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Trait Anger	1.00	4.43	2.20	0.78	1.84	0.56	2.42* (77)
State Anger	1.00	4.57	1.82	0.92	4.14	1.61	1.71 (176)
Racial Identity	1.00	7.00	3.45	1.05	3.24	1.32	0.72 (74)
Just World Beliefs	1.00	6.00	4.17	0.93	4.35	0.85	-0.85 (75)
Modern Racism	1.00	7.00	2.94	1.23	3.13	1.32	-0.63 (75)
Confronting Efficacy	1.00	6.17	3.97	1.18	4.14	1.29	-0.63 (76)
IM Confrontation Strength	-0.75	2.24	0.56	0.79	0.67	0.80	-0.94 (168)
IM Overall Tone	-2.76	2.13	0.01	0.88	-0.01	0.86	0.08 (169)
Essay Response Yes/No	0.00	1.00	0.26	0.44	0.24	0.43	0.27 (166)
Essay Confrontation Strength	-0.83	1.55	0.59	0.75	0.72	0.67	-0.63 (46)
Essay Overall Tone	-2.79	2.59	-0.01	0.82	0.02	0.88	-0.15 (166)

* $p < .05$

Table 48

Study 3 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Condition	----											
2. Trait Anger	-0.27*	(0.83)										
3. State Anger	-0.13	0.20	(0.91)									
4. Racial Identity	-0.08	0.18	0.06	(0.85)								
5. Just World Beliefs	0.10	-0.01	-0.01	0.03	(0.65)							
6. Modern Racism	0.07	0.14	-0.22	0.34*	-0.09	(0.89)						
7. Confronting Efficacy	0.07	-0.04	-0.06	0.01	-0.21	0.19	(0.86)					
8. IM Confront. Strength	0.07	0.06	0.52*	-0.09	-0.07	-0.11	-0.02	(0.87)				
9. IM Overall Tone	-0.01	-0.06	-0.25*	0.08	-0.07	0.09	-0.00	-0.51*	(0.66)			
10. Essay Response Yes/No	-0.02	0.07	0.41*	0.01	0.06	-0.13	-0.01	0.53*	-0.38*	---		
11. Essay Confront. Strength	0.09	0.02	0.32*	-0.19	-0.04	-0.17	-0.01	0.25	-0.16*	---	(0.70)	
12. Essay Overall Tone	0.01	0.11	-0.20*	0.05	0.07	-0.08	0.08	-0.39*	0.49*	-0.26*	-0.51*	(0.68)

Note: For *Condition*, 0=Low Racial ID candidate, 1=High Racial ID candidate. Only participants who responded to the comment have scores for *Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Essay Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 49

Study 3 - Correlations of Independent and Dependent Variables by Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Trait Anger	---	0.31	-0.00	-0.05	0.23	-0.09	0.28	-0.11	0.15	0.10	0.08
2. State Anger	-0.01	---	0.05	-0.18	-0.16	-0.29	0.53*	-0.20	0.30*	0.49*	-0.17
3. Racial Identity	0.32*	0.05	---	0.35*	0.43*	0.04	-0.08	0.13	-0.00	-0.51	0.20
4. Just World Beliefs	0.10	0.18	-0.17	---	0.01	-0.10	0.02	-0.09	-0.02	0.08	-0.11
5. Modern Racism	0.11	-0.25	0.31*	-0.18	---	0.30	-0.03	0.08	-0.04	-0.20	-0.13
6. Confronting Efficacy	0.04	0.13	-0.01	-0.31*	0.12	---	-0.21	0.27	-0.19	0.01	0.24
7. IM Confront. Strength	-0.18	0.54*	-0.09	-0.16	-0.17	0.12	---	-0.46*	0.47*	0.34	-0.26*
8. IM Overall Tone	-0.00	-0.31*	0.04	-0.05	0.10	-0.25	-0.56*	---	-0.30*	-0.09	0.39*
9. Essay Response Yes/No	-0.02	0.56*	0.01	0.13	-0.18	0.12	0.59*	-0.47*	---	-0.09	-0.16
10. Essay Confront. Strength	0.03	0.08	0.17	-0.11	-0.13	-0.08	0.03	-0.25	0.17	---	-0.49*
11. Essay Overall Tone	0.12	-0.25*	-0.05	0.22	-0.02	-0.03	-0.50*	0.58*	-0.35*	-0.52*	---

Note: Correlations for Strongly Identified Applicant condition appear below the diagonal and correlations for Weakly Identified Applicant condition appear above the diagonal. Only participants who responded to the comment in their essay have scores for *Essay Confrontation Strength*, thus a correlation between *Essay Response Yes/No* and *Confrontation Strength* cannot be calculated.

* $p < .05$

Table 50

Hypothesis 3A – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Condition

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 170)	IM Overall Tone (N = 171)
	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.12 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.13)
ΔR^2	0.01	0.00
Total R^2	0.01	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 51

Hypothesis 3A – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Condition

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 169)		Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 42)	Essay Overall Tone (N = 168)
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.10 (0.36)	0.91	0.20 (0.22)	0.02 (0.13)
ΔR^2	---		0.02	0.00
Total R^2	---		0.02	0.00

* $p < .05$

Table 52

Hypothesis 3B – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by State Anger

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 73)			IM Overall Tone (N = 74)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.11 (0.20)	0.22 (0.16)	0.11 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.22)	-0.19 (0.20)	-0.09 (0.10)
Trait Anger	0.08 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.88 (0.16)	0.03 (0.14)	0.02 (0.10)
State Anger		0.59* (0.10)	0.49* (0.09)		-0.55* (0.12)	-0.45* (0.10)
Condition x State Anger			0.03 (0.09)			0.02 (0.10)
ΔR^2	0.01	0.32*	0.00	0.01	0.22	0.00
Total R^2	0.01	0.33*	0.33*	0.01	0.22	0.23

* $p < .05$

Table 53

Hypothesis 3B – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by State Anger

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 75)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 74)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.02 (0.26)	0.98	0.19 (0.32)	1.21	0.35 (0.37)	1.41	0.24 (0.17)	0.20 (0.18)	0.24 (0.21)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)
Trait Anger	0.14 (0.25)	1.15	-0.08 (0.33)	0.93	0.10 (0.31)	1.11	0.14 (0.18)	0.06 (0.21)	0.02 (0.23)	0.09 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)	0.14 (0.11)
State Anger			1.54* (0.41)	4.66	2.73* (0.86)	15.28		0.14 (0.18)	0.14 (0.19)		-0.33* (0.11)	-0.33* (0.11)
Condition x State Anger					2.07* (0.87)	7.94			-0.07 (0.17)			-0.04 (0.11)
ΔR^2	---		---		---		0.09	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.11*	0.00
Total R^2	---		---		---		0.09	0.11	0.12	0.02	0.12*	0.12

* $p < .05$

Figure 5

The Effect of State Anger on Essay Response at Low and High Levels of Applicant Racial Identity

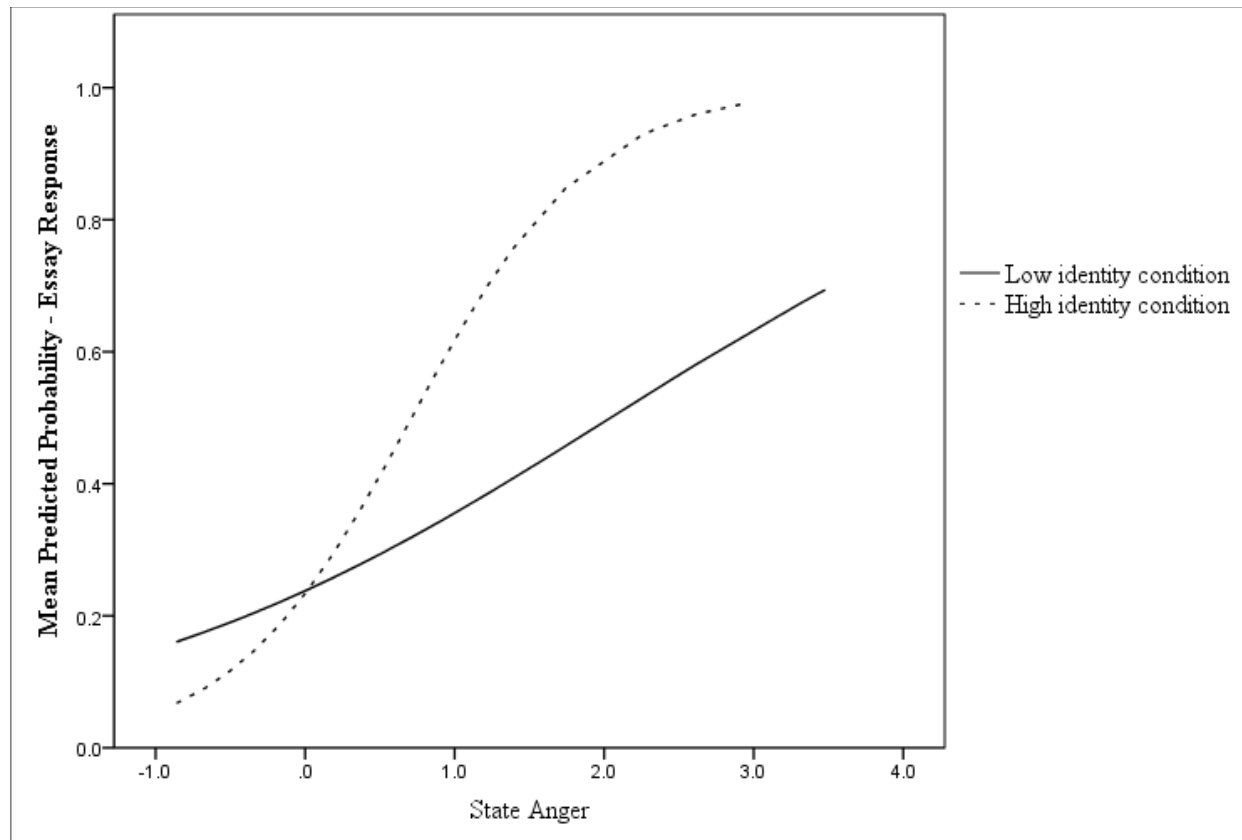


Table 54

Hypothesis 3C – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 70)		IM Overall Tone (N = 71)	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)
Racial Identification	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.10)	0.07 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)
Condition X Racial Identification		0.00 (0.10)		-0.06 (0.11)
ΔR^2	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Total R^2	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 55

Hypothesis 3C – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 72)				Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)		Essay Overall Tone (N = 71)	
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.14 (0.26)	0.87	-0.14 (0.26)	0.87	0.22 (0.15)	0.22 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)
Racial Identification	0.01 (0.26)	1.01	0.00 (0.27)	1.00	-0.28 (0.21)	-0.33 (0.21)	0.04 (0.11)	0.09 (0.12)
Condition X Racial Identification			0.01 (0.27)	1.01		0.33 (0.21)		-0.13 (0.12)
ΔR^2	---		---		0.17	0.10	0.01	0.02
Total R^2	---		---		0.17	0.27	0.01	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 56

Hypothesis 3D – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 71)			IM Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.05 (0.10)	0.05 (0.10)	0.05 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)
Just World Beliefs		-0.06 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.10)		-0.06 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)
Condition x Just World Beliefs			-0.08 (0.10)			0.02 (0.11)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Total R^2	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 57

Hypothesis 3D – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Just World Beliefs

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 73)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.10 (0.25)	0.90	-0.11 (0.25)	0.90	-0.12 (0.25)	0.89	0.19 (0.16)	0.21 (0.16)	0.21 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.10 (0.11)
Just World Beliefs			0.14 (0.26)	1.15	0.13 (0.26)	1.14		-0.14 (0.20)	-0.08 (0.23)		0.07 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)
Condition x Just World Beliefs					0.17 (0.26)	1.12			-0.13 (0.23)			0.16 (0.11)
ΔR^2	---		---		---		0.06	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03
Total R^2	---		---		---		0.06	0.08	0.10	0.01	0.02	0.04

* $p < .05$

Table 58

Hypothesis 3E – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Modern Racism

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 71)			IM Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.05 (0.10)	0.05 (0.10)	0.05 (.10)	-0.16 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)
Modern Racism		-0.09 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)		0.08 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.11)
Condition X Modern Racism			-0.05 (0.10)			-0.01 (0.11)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Total R^2	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01

* $p < .05$

Table 59

Hypothesis 3E – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Modern Racism

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 73)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.10 (0.25)	0.90	-0.08 (0.25)	0.92	-0.11 (0.26)	0.90	0.19 (0.16)	0.18 (0.16)	0.18 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)
Modern Racism			-0.27 (0.26)	0.77	-0.25 (0.26)	0.78		-0.16 (0.17)	-0.16 (0.17)		-0.07 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.12)
Condition x Modern Racism					-0.16 (0.26)	0.85			-0.02 (0.18)			0.05 (0.12)
ΔR^2	---		---		---		0.06	0.04	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00
Total R^2	---		---		---		0.06	0.10	0.10	0.01	0.02	0.02

* $p < .05$

Table 60

Hypothesis 3F – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 72)			IM Overall Tone (N = 73)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.11)	-0.00 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)
Confronting Efficacy		-0.02 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.10)		-0.00 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)
Condition x Confronting Efficacy			0.13 (0.10)			-0.24* (0.11)
ΔR^2	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.07*
Total R^2	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.07*

* $p < .05$

Figure 6

Effect of Confronting Efficacy on IM Overall Tone at Low and High Levels of Applicant Racial Identity

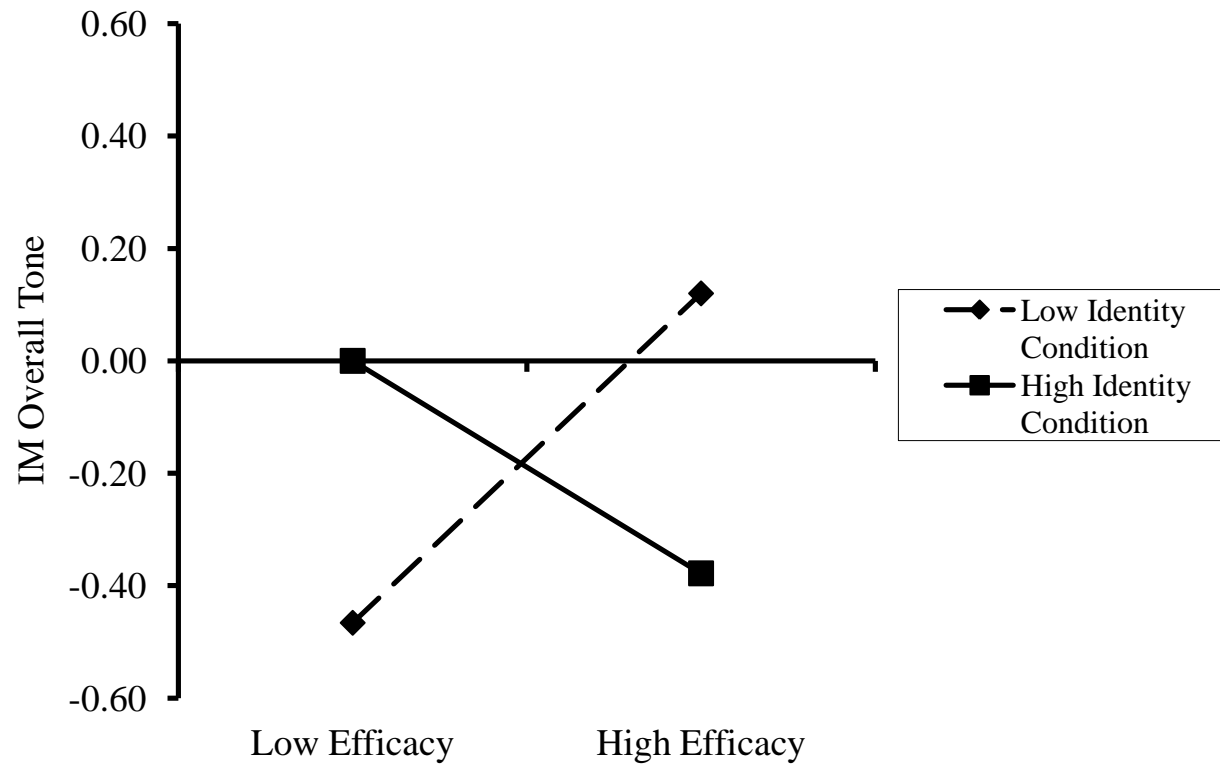


Table 61

Hypothesis 3F – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 74)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 73)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Condition	-0.08 (0.25)	0.93	-.08 (0.25)	0.93	-0.10 (0.27)	0.91	0.91 (0.16)	0.19 (0.17)	0.19 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)
Confronting Efficacy			-0.03 (0.25)	0.98	-0.10 (0.27)	0.91		-0.02 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.16)		0.08 (0.11)	0.11 (0.11)
Condition x Confronting Efficacy					0.35 (0.27)	1.42			-0.03 (0.16)			-0.14 (0.11)
ΔR^2	---		---				0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
Total R^2	---		---				0.06	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.01	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 62

Hypothesis 3G – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 70)			IM Overall Tone (N = 71)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	0.04 (0.10)	0.04 (0.10)	0.04 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)
Racial Identification	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)	0.12 (0.12)	0.12 (0.12)
Just World Beliefs	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.13)
Identification x Just World Beliefs		0.02 (0.09)	0.06 (0.10)		0.03 (0.10)	0.01 (0.11)
Condition x Identification		0.01 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)		-0.09 (0.12)	-0.09 (0.12)
Condition x Just World Beliefs		-0.12 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.12)		0.07 (0.12)	0.04 (0.13)
Condition x Identification x Just World Beliefs			0.12 (0.10)			-0.08 (0.11)

* $p < .05$

Table 62 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Total R^2	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.03	0.03

* $p < .05$

Table 63

Hypothesis 3G – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 72)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 71)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	-0.14 (0.26)	0.87	-0.19 (0.26)	0.83	-0.18 (0.26)	0.83	0.23 (0.16)	0.22 (0.17)	0.22 (0.17)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.12)
Racial Identification	0.01 (0.26)	1.00	0.06 (0.30)	1.06	0.08 (0.31)	1.08	-0.28 (0.16)	-0.34 (0.22)	-0.34 (0.24)	0.04 (0.11)	0.15 (0.13)	0.15 (0.13)
Just World Beliefs	0.08 (0.27)	1.01	0.00 (0.30)	1.00	-0.04 (0.32)	0.84	-0.07 (0.22)	0.01 (0.25)	0.01 (0.30)	0.07 (0.12)	0.01 (0.13)	0.01 (0.11)
Identification x Just World Beliefs			-0.19 (0.27)	0.83	-0.17 (0.34)	0.84		-0.04 (0.49)	-0.05 (0.58)		0.00 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.11)
Condition x Identification			0.01 (0.30)	1.01	-0.05 (0.31)	0.96		0.32 (0.23)	0.31 (0.24)		-0.17 (0.13)	-0.16 (0.13)
Condition x Just World Beliefs			0.18 (0.30)	1.20	0.28 (0.33)	1.41		-0.11 (0.24)	-0.11 (0.30)		0.22 (0.13)	0.20 (0.13)
Condition x Identification x Just World Beliefs					0.34 (0.34)	1.41			0.02 (0.58)			-0.05 (0.11)

* $p < .05$

Table 63 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	---	---	---	0.18	0.10	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.00
Total R^2	---	---	---	0.18	0.28	0.28	0.02	0.08	0.08

* $p < .05$

Table 64

Hypothesis 3H – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Racial Identification, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 70)			IM Overall Tone (N = 71)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	0.04 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.12)
Racial Identification	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.12)	0.05 (0.12)	0.07 (0.13)	0.07 (0.13)
Modern Racism	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)	0.05 (0.12)	0.05 (0.12)
Identification x Racism		0.04 (0.12)	0.04 (0.12)		-0.00 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)
Condition x Identification		0.02 (0.12)	0.03 (0.12)		-0.06 (0.13)	-0.06 (0.13)
Condition x Racism		-0.06 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)		0.02 (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)
Condition x Identification x Racism			-0.08 (0.12)			0.02 (0.13)

* $p < .05$

Table 64 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Total R^2	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.02

* $p < .05$

Table 65

Hypothesis 3H – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Racial Identification, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 72)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 23)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 71)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	-0.11 (0.26)	0.89	-0.14 (0.27)	0.87	-0.10 (0.28)	0.91	0.22 (0.16)	0.19 (0.16)	0.08 (0.16)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.13)
Racial Identification	0.15 (0.29)	1.16	0.15 (0.31)	1.16	0.15 (0.31)	1.17	-0.25 (0.23)	-0.26 (0.23)	-0.41 (0.23)	0.08 (0.12)	0.13 (0.13)	0.12 (0.13)
Modern Racism	-0.34 (0.29)	0.71	-0.34 (0.30)	0.71	-0.36 (0.33)	0.70	-0.06 (0.18)	-0.04 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.17)	-0.10 (0.13)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.13)
Identification x Racism			-0.34 (0.34)	0.71	-0.34 (0.33)	0.72		-0.29 (0.23)	-0.27 (0.22)		0.09 (0.13)	0.08 (0.13)
Condition x Identification			0.11 (0.31)	1.11	0.11 (0.31)	1.12		0.49 (0.25)	0.41 (0.24)		-0.19 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.13)
Condition x Racism			-0.26 (0.30)	0.77	-0.27 (0.31)	0.77		-0.11 (0.18)	-0.13 (0.17)		0.13 (0.13)	0.14 (0.13)
Condition x Identification x Racism					-0.14 (0.34)	0.53			0.39 (0.22)			0.16 (0.13)

* $p < .05$

Table 65 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	---	---	---	0.18	0.17	0.11	0.02	0.04	0.02
Total R^2	---	---	---	0.18	0.35	0.46	0.02	0.06	0.08

* $p < .05$

Table 66

Hypothesis 3I – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 71)			IM Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	0.05 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.11)	0.03 (0.10)
Confronting Efficacy	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	0.04 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)
Just World Beliefs	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.11)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs		0.13 (0.12)	0.22 (0.13)		-0.08 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.14)
Condition x Efficacy		0.10 (0.10)	0.14 (0.10)		-0.23* (0.11)	-0.30* (0.11)
Condition x Just World Beliefs		-0.05 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)		-0.04 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.11)
Condition x Efficacy x Just World Beliefs			-0.23 (0.13)			0.34* (0.14)

* $p < .05$

Table 66 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	0.01	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.08	0.08*
Total R^2	0.01	0.06	0.10	0.01	0.08	0.17*

* $p < .05$

Figure 7

The Effects of Just World Beliefs and Confronting Efficacy on IM Overall Tone at Low and High Levels of Applicant Racial Identity

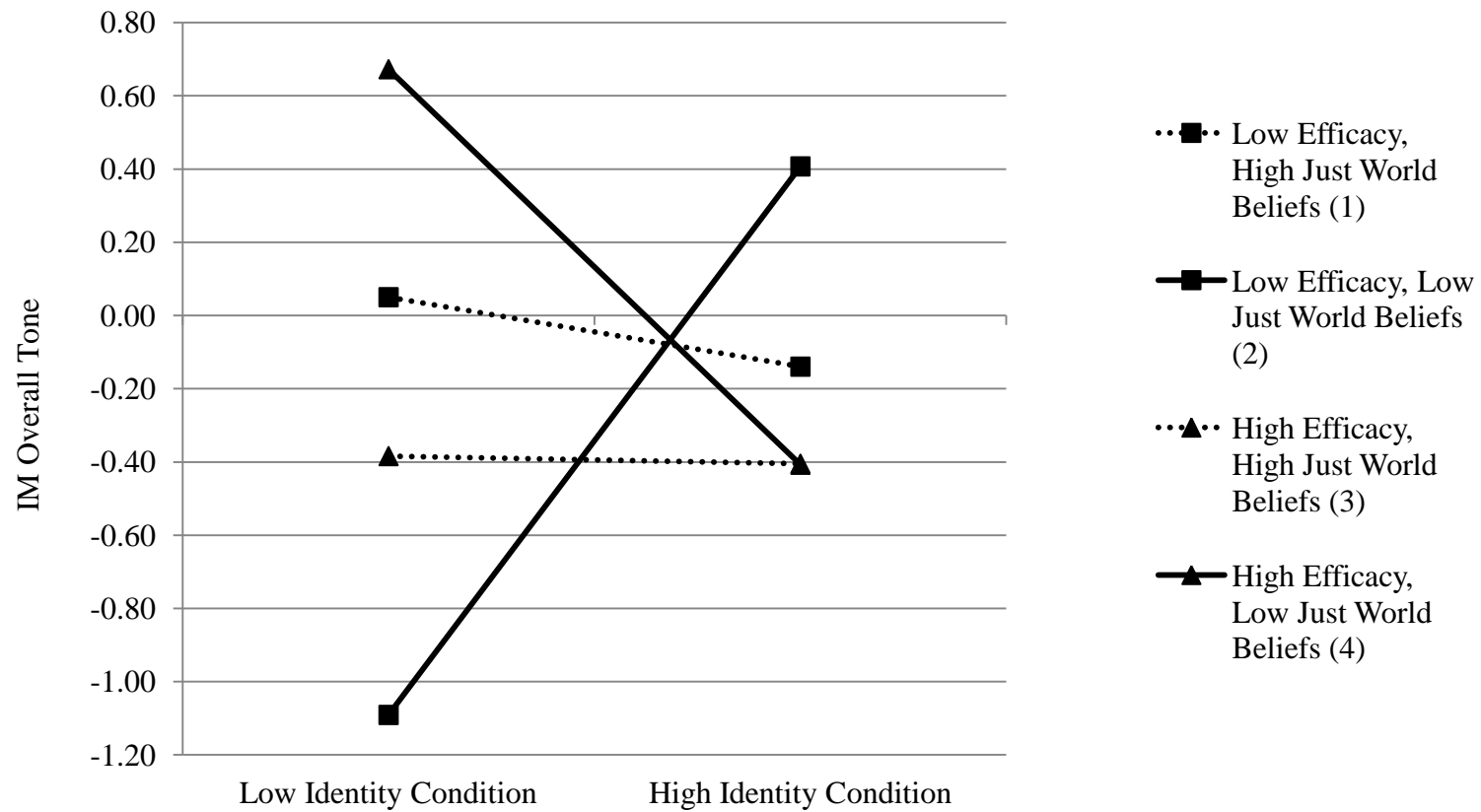


Table 67

Hypothesis 3I – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Just World Beliefs, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 73)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	-0.11 (0.25)	0.90	-0.05 (0.27)	0.95	-0.04 (0.31)	0.96	0.21 (0.17)	-0.03 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.19)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.11)
Confronting Efficacy	-0.01 (0.26)	1.00	-0.22 (0.30)	0.80	-0.85 (0.56)	0.43	-0.02 (0.15)	0.26 (0.19)	0.36 (0.20)	0.09 (0.11)	0.09 (0.12)	0.09 (0.12)
Just World Beliefs	0.14 (0.27)	1.15	0.10 (0.30)	1.10	0.17 (0.42)	1.18	-0.14 (0.20)	-0.04 (0.23)	-0.33 (0.30)	0.09 (0.12)	0.06 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)
Efficacy x Just World Beliefs			0.66 (0.38)	1.94	2.31* (1.11)	10.07		-0.68* (0.27)	-0.91* (0.31)		0.14 (0.14)	0.05 (0.15)
Condition x Efficacy			0.38 (0.28)	1.46	1.16* (0.57)	3.19		-0.03 (0.15)	-0.22 (0.20)		-0.10 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.12)
Condition x Just World Beliefs			0.25 (0.29)	1.29	0.24 (0.42)	1.27		0.33 (0.29)	0.46 (0.30)		0.15 (0.12)	0.13 (0.12)
Condition x Efficacy x Just World Beliefs					-2.15 (1.11)	0.12			0.44 (0.31)			0.23 (0.15)

* $p < .05$

Table 67 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	---	---	---	0.08	0.27	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.03
Total R^2	---	---	---	0.08	0.35	0.42	0.02	0.08	0.11

* $p < .05$

Figure 8

The Effect of Just World Beliefs on Essay Confrontation Strength at Low and High Levels of Confronting Efficacy

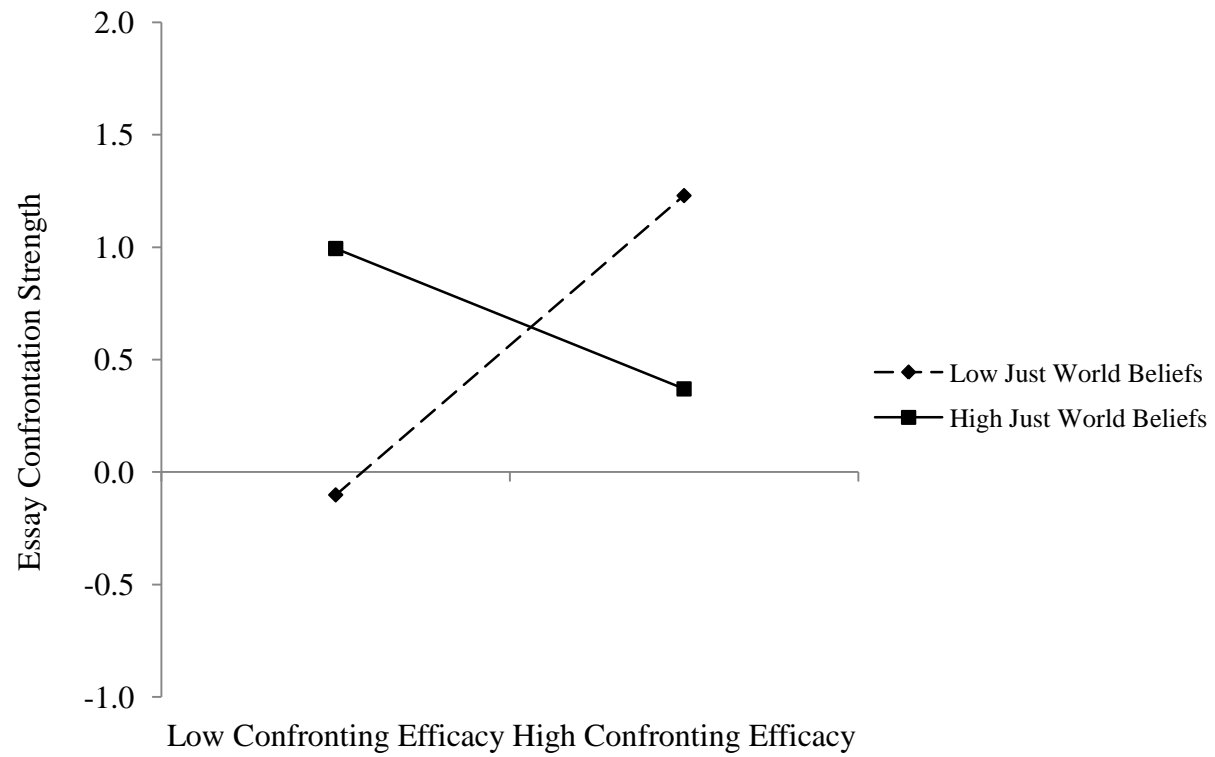


Table 68

Hypothesis 3J – Confronting Behavior during Instant Message Chat Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	IM Confrontation Strength (N = 71)			IM Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	0.05 (0.10)	0.05 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)
Confronting Efficacy	0.01 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)
Modern Racism	-0.09 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.08 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)
Efficacy x Racism		-0.04 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.11)		0.12 (0.11)	0.14 (0.12)
Condition x Efficacy		0.14 (0.10)	0.13 (0.11)		-0.26* (0.11)	-0.27* (0.11)
Condition x Racism		-0.08 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)		0.05 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)
Condition x Efficacy x Racism			-0.06 (0.11)			-0.09 (0.12)

* $p < .05$

Table 68 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.08	0.01
Total R^2	0.02	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.09	0.10

* $p < .05$

Table 69

Hypothesis 3J – Confronting Behavior during Essay Exchange Predicted by Confronting Efficacy, Modern Racism, and their Interaction

	Essay Response Yes/No (N = 73)						Essay Confrontation Strength (N = 24)			Essay Overall Tone (N = 72)		
	Step 1		Step 2		Step 3		Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	OR	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE	β (SE)	β (SE)	SE
Condition	-0.08 (0.25)	0.92	-0.13 (0.27)	0.88	-0.13 (0.27)	0.88	0.19 (0.17)	0.13 (0.18)	0.10 (0.18)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.07 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.12)
Confronting Efficacy	0.02 (0.26)	1.02	-0.15 (0.29)	0.86	-0.14 (0.30)	0.87	-0.01 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.16)	0.08 (0.11)	0.14 (0.12)	0.12 (0.12)
Modern Racism	-0.27 (0.26)	0.76	-0.17 (0.28)	0.85	-0.17 (0.28)	0.85	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.15 (0.18)	-0.22 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.12)
Efficacy x Racism			-0.27 (0.31)	0.77	-0.26 (0.32)	0.77		-0.30 (0.24)	-0.33 (0.24)		0.11 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)
Condition x Efficacy			0.44 (0.29)	1.55	0.43 (0.30)	1.54		-0.05 (0.16)	-0.04 (0.16)		-0.18 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.12)
Condition x Racism			-0.23 (0.28)	0.79	-0.23 (0.28)	0.79		0.05 (0.19)	0.04 (0.19)		0.10 (0.12)	0.09 (0.12)
Condition x Efficacy x Racism					-0.03 (0.32)	0.97			0.30 (0.24)			0.11 (0.13)

* $p < .05$

Table 69 (cont'd)

ΔR^2	---	---	---	0.10	0.08	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.01
Total R^2	---	---	---	0.10	0.18	0.25	0.02	0.07	0.08

* $p < .05$

Table 70

Summary of Statistically Significant Results

Study 1 – Racist Hiring Decision							
Dependent Variable	Race	Anger	Racial Identity	Just World Beliefs	Modern Racism	Efficacy	Interactions
IM Confront Strength	---	X	X	---	---	---	Race x ID
IM Overall Tone	---	X	---	X	---	---	---
Essay Response Yes/No	---	X	X	---	---	---	---
Essay Confront Strength	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Essay Overall Tone	---	X	---	---	---	X	Efficacy x Just World Beliefs

Table 70 (cont'd)

Study 2 – Sexist Hiring Decision							
Dependent Variable	Sex	Anger	Gender Identity	Just World Beliefs	Modern Sexism	Efficacy	
IM Confront Strength	---	X	---	---	X	---	---
IM Overall Tone	---	---	X	---	---	---	---
Essay Response Yes/No	---	X	---	---	X	---	Sex x ID
Essay Confront Strength	---	X	---	---	---	---	Efficacy x Sexism
Essay Overall Tone	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Table 70 (cont'd)

Study 3 – Racist Hiring Decision of Applicant with Low or High Racial Identity							
Dependent Variable	Condition	Anger	Racial Identity	Just World Beliefs	Modern Racism	Efficacy	
IM Confront Strength	---	X	---	---	---	---	---
							Condition x Efficacy
IM Overall Tone	---	X	---	---	---	---	---
							Condition x Efficacy x Just World Beliefs
Essay Response Yes/No	---	X	---	---	---	---	---
							Condition x Anger
Essay Confront Strength	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
							Just World Beliefs x Efficacy
Essay Overall Tone	---	X	---	---	---	---	---

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