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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE IMPACT OF RISK AND TRUST ON CONFRONTATIONS OF SEXISM:
THE ROLE OF GOALS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY
EMILY H. BUDDE

CHICAGO, IL

MAY 2024

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ABSTRACT

Sexism is still persistent in the United States (Swim et al., 2001), especially in the workplace (Fitzgerald, 1993; Loy & Stewart, 1984), leading to many negative outcomes for women.

Unfortunately, there is an assumption in America that targets of bias will confront the perpetrator in the moment. However, this is often not the case leading to a disconnect in society at the cost of the target (Gutek & O'Connor, 1995). Looking at targets' decision-making process and the factors that influence it can provide more context for why targets respond the way they do. I tested whether behaviors following bias (i.e., avoidance, repairing, confronting) can be influenced by the targets goal choice (i.e., self-protection, liking, respect) and if those in turn can be influenced by factors such as risk and trust. As predicted, in both Study 1 ($n = 262$) and Study 2 ($n = 262$), high (vs. low) risk did not influence protection but risk did increase liking. Contrary to predictions, risk did not impact respect. As hypothesized, goals predicted behavior in both studies with protection predicting avoidance, liking predicting repair, and respect predicting confrontation. However, the indirect effect of risk on repair through liking was the only mediation. In Study 2, the trust manipulation was unsuccessful. A continuous measure of trust was positively associated with the liking goal and only moderated the indirect effect of risk on repair through liking. These results indicate that while goals do influence behavior, in this context, the liking goal is the most influenced by the risk scenario and the most related to trust, which in turn impacted its effect on repair behaviors. The type of risk manipulation used, and the failure of the trust manipulation are considered in terms of their influence on the results of these studies, and implications for female targets of sexism are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM

Sexism is discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping on the basis of sex and/or gender and it can take many forms and occur in a wide range of situations (Becker and Swim, 2011; Swim et al., 1998; Swim et al., 2001). Sexism is a pervasive experience for all women that can lead to many negative outcomes (Fitzgerald, 1993; Swim & Hyers, 2009). One well known example of sexism was the Clarence Thomas case. Anita Hill came forward during Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court hearing, claiming that he sexually harassed her while she was working in his office at the Department of Education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Jacobs, 2018). Ms. Hill came forward years after her time working with Justice Thomas because she felt it was important to share this information before he was approved for the Supreme Court. It is assumed by society that women will confront sexism in the moment as it occurs (i.e., the reasonable woman standard) but this is a faulty assumption that leads to problems when women come forward about their experiences (Gutek & O'Connor, 1995). Therefore, it is important to understand why women respond the way they do following bias to know why one may choose to confront or not in order to dispel the reasonable woman assumption and help women feel supported in how they respond to sexism.

Defining Sexism

The present research will explore sexism, which stems from the belief that one gender is intrinsically superior to another, leading to negative stereotypes about, oppressive gender roles for, and discrimination toward the gender that is seen as inferior (Best & Williams, 2001; Glick

& Fiske, 1997; Swim & Hyers, 2009). Sexism can be hostile or benevolent. Benevolent sexism is the belief that women are innocent, weak, pure, conventional, etc. leading one to be overly chivalrous and protective of women, and while these behaviors can be seen as positive, they can be damaging to women's rights by insinuating that women are incapable of taking care of themselves and are dependent on others (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostile sexism is the belief that women are angry and manipulative and that they are trying to take away men's power particularly through seduction (Glick & Fiske, 2001). This belief leads a hostile sexist to want to thwart any movement for gender equality such as feminism, because they see it as an attack on traditional masculinity and this can be dangerous to women. Old-fashioned sexism, similar to hostile, is support for traditional gender roles and the belief that women are less than men, leading to a disparity in the treatment of men and women, in favor of men (Swim et al., 1995). Modern sexism on the other hand, is a denial of the continued discrimination toward women leading to push back toward women's demands and policies in support of them (Swim et al., 1995). Finally, sexism can be blatant or subtle. Blatant sexism is conscious, intentional, and obvious harmful and unequal treatment of women; whereas subtle sexism is unconscious and unnoticed as a result of it being systemic and built into social norms regarding women (Swim & Cohen, 2016). The present research focuses on women's responses to sexism in general rather than investigating the root cause of these forms of sexism.

It is important to note that the sexism one experiences intersects with other identities a person holds. Intersectionality is the cumulative way in which multiple forms of discrimination combine or overlap, especially for those who hold marginalized identities (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Crenshaw, 1989). For instance, the sexism one faces may differ based on gender identity (e.g., non-binary individuals experience different sexism from cis women). So, while it is

essential to note that sexism is not exclusively faced by women, the present research will focus on women. Women who hold other marginalized identities as it relates to race/ethnicity, sexuality, or social class experience sexism differently than straight white middle-class women. For example, there are stereotypes that are specific to Black women that are not applied to White women and vice versa (Collins & Bilge, 2020). It is crucial to acknowledge this because this intersection of identities can influence how one chooses to respond to bias (Remedios & Akhtar, 2019). Women of color may feel less inclined than white women to confront their white boss for fear of experiencing greater backlash that is both racist and sexist (Suyemoto & Donovan, 2015). While this is important to note, the present research will not recruit based on race, but participants race/ethnicity and other demographics will be collected.

Sexism can take many forms within organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Swim et al., 2001; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). It can be stereotyped remarks from a colleague about one's ability and place in the organization (Fitzgerald et al., 1988). It can be demeaning remarks like being called "honey" or "kiddo" (Hildebrand et al., 2022). It can be exclusion from certain work teams and social activities that are typically comprised of the gender majority (Cuddy et al., 2008). And it can be being overlooked and surpassed for raises and promotions due to inequitable company practices. All these things and more can impact women's well-being in the workplace.

Another common form of sexism experienced in the workplace is sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is a type of harassment with sexual overtones including bribing the target (i.e., the one who experiences bias from the perpetrator) with rewards for sexual favors. This form of sexism is often experienced by women in the workplace from men who hold power over them (Fitzgerald et al., 1994). However, because sexual harassment is a very specific and serious

criminal offense, often requiring legal sanctions to end, it will not be considered in the present research. The aim of the study is to assess less severe, everyday forms of sexism in the workplace for a broader and more generalizable assessment of sexism.

The Consequences of Sexism

Experiences of sexism can lead to negative mental and physical consequences (Swim & Hyers, 2009). Constant experiences of bias and discrimination can influence psychological well-being and health outcomes (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Women experience some form of sexism one to two times per week, which is significantly higher than men (Swim et al., 2001). When women experience bias, they tend to feel rejected from the space leading to increased physiological and psychological reactions (Swim et al., 2001). While completing a word association task with a male coworker (confederate), women had increased cardiovascular responses when their male coworker was harassing versus egalitarian or submissive (Schneider et al., 2001). Further, when the women had to prepare a speech to give to the same harassing male coworker, they again had increased cardiovascular responses as well as greater cognitive reactions or appraisals (i.e., labeled the task more demanding and increased negative emotions). In a daily diary study of women's experiences of daily sexism, incidents of bias increased women's anxiety, depression, and anger; and decreased their comfort in certain spaces and their state self-esteem (Swim et al., 2001).

Bias can feel threatening to one's identity (Miller & Major, 2000). Ongoing identity threat can lead to a host of negative outcomes including feeling like one does not belong, feeling inauthentic, and being excluded, which in turn increase anger, sadness and loneliness and decrease life satisfaction and health (Slepian & Jacoby-Senghor, 2021). Anticipated and actual bias elicit a physiological stress response and the continuous activation of one's stress response

system can impact the biological functioning of other systems like the immune system and cardiovascular system which can cause poor clinical outcomes such as heart disease, high blood pressure, and cancer (Flentje et al., 2020). Even mild harassment can lead to decreased job-satisfaction, increased tardiness, turnover within the minority group, and depression and anxiety for women in the workforce. Furthermore, these negative outcomes can worsen when a target directly confronts the perpetrator due to retaliation (Czopp, 2019; Foster, 2013). Therefore, studying the experiences of and responses to sexism is vital for improving both psychological and health outcomes for women.

Responses to Sexism

Unfortunately, there is a standard assumption that targets should and would confront (e.g., publicly challenge) if they experience bias and that if they do not take action, then the incident must not be biased, did not happen, and/or it must not have bothered the target (Czopp, 2019; Gutek & O'Connor, 1995). However, women often do not confront the perpetrator (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). A target's hesitation to confront could be due to several reasons. Confronting could lead to backlash, which is an adverse reaction or retaliation toward the target as a result of their confrontation (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Phelan & Rudman, 2010). In the workplace, backlash could take the form of the target getting fired, removed from a project, overlooked for raises and promotions, or ostracized from the inner circle of employees. Things like low trust and high risk can increase the perception that one will experience backlash for confronting (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Bourdieu, 1986; Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008; Inzlicht & Kang, 2010; Leary et al., 1995). Therefore, it is rational to second guess a confrontation. When one feels the likelihood of one of these negative outcomes occurring is greater than the possible positive outcomes of confrontation (e.g., perpetrator bias reduction,

respect), they may choose a different response (Ayers et al., 2009) and look to protect themselves from harm and/or work to increase their belonging.

This assumption of confrontation always following an experience of bias leads to harmful beliefs that negatively impact women. When women do not confront, perpetrators can make the assumption that what they said was not problematic and/or that it did not cause harm to the target. As a result, the perpetrator has no reason to change their attitudes or behavior and the target may continue to experience bias (Czopp et al., 2006). Furthermore, this impacts the target's ability to confront and come forward about bias at a later time. When Anita Hill reported being sexually harassed by Clarence Thomas 10 years after it occurred, the legitimacy of her claims were called into question with many wondering why she did not report him at the time and insinuating that her claims may not be true (Jacobs, 2018). As a result, she was not believed by many, she experienced backlash (including death threats), and Clarence Thomas was still voted onto the Supreme Court. Due to this reasonable woman assumption in the law and that is reflected in society, targets are put into a position in which they must confront in the moment if they want to be believed and for action to be taken (Gutek & O'Connor, 1995). In order to change this norm it is important to understand target's reactions to bias to know why targets do not always confront and why not confronting may be a rational decision.

CHAPTER TWO

BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES TO BIAS

Understanding the factors (e.g., risk and trust) that influence a target's motivation (e.g., protection, liking, respect) to respond to bias can reveal why women choose to confront versus choosing an alternative response. Bystanders (e.g., third party observers of a bias incident) and allies (e.g., non-group members who provide support for target people and groups) can support women by confronting on their behalf (Ashburn-Nardo et al, 2014; Czopp & Monteith, 2003), however the focus here is on the target's reaction and not bystanders. Typically, the target responds to bias in one of three ways. One is to avoid or withdrawal from the perpetrator and/or situation, another is to work to repair the relationship or redirect the conversation, and a third is confronting the perpetrator for their biased words or actions (Mallett & Melchiori, 2019). Most individuals believe that they would confront the perpetrator, however in many cases the target chooses not to confront (Kawakami et al., 2019). It is important to know the different responses that are typical of targets before diving into why a target may choose to respond one way over another.

Avoid

Avoidance has long been researched as a common coping mechanism to stress that is separate from approach responses (Compas et al., 2001; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). When targets feel threatened or at risk, they may be more likely to avoid especially if they feel they do not have the mental or physical capacity to deal with the threat (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Avoidance can take many forms, from physically escaping a situation or person to emotionally

and cognitively withdrawing from the experience (Miller & Kaiser, 2001; Trawalter et al., 2009).

For example, when thinking about the experience of workplace sexism, a target may choose to avoid one on one meetings with their sexist boss or disengage from a meeting by no longer participating after a coworker says something sexist.

Discrimination can be viewed as a threat by targets (Allport et al., 1954) due to its high association with mental distress (Brooks Holliday et al., 2020) and physical violence (Veldhuis et al., 2018). Therefore, a common option in response to bias is to avoid and remove oneself from the situation, and/or withdraw from it (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). Research has found that avoidance and withdrawal are commonly used to protect oneself from bias (Pettigrew, 1964); and specifically, women have reported pretending the situation does not exist (i.e., denial) and ignoring it and doing nothing (i.e., endurance) when experiencing workplace harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1988). When women experienced sexist questions during an interview and they really needed the job (i.e., high-cost situation), they often ignored the questions and appeared less attentive than when they did not really need the job (i.e., low-cost situation; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). Women will even quit their jobs to avoid a perpetrator (Loy & Stewart, 1984). Avoidance is found to be used about half of the time by employees experiencing workplace harassment (Gutek, 1985; McKinney et al., 1988; Schneider, 1991) and is often used when the perpetrator is feared by the target (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982).

While avoidance is used by targets after experiencing discrimination, targets will also use avoidance before experiencing discrimination. Targets will often avoid people or places when they anticipate discrimination (Mallett & Swim, 2009; Miller & Kaiser, 2001). For example, individuals will avoid health care settings if they anticipate discrimination (Bird & Bogart, 2001) and women who anticipate being discriminated against based on their gender prefer to avoid

gender-relevant situations (Pinel, 1999), particularly in the workplace. When women think they will be the only woman in a group discussion, and thus their gender will be relevant, they are more likely to try and change groups than when they do not think they will be the only woman (Cohen & Swim, 1995). In these examples, minimizing the likelihood of experiencing discrimination by evading anticipated harm is through the use of avoidance.

There are scenarios in which targets are not able to physically avoid or remove themselves from. For example, when one is stuck in a meeting or in a moving subway car leaving may be complicated or impossible. When this happens, a common strategy is to ignore that the bias is happening. Ignoring is a way of avoiding that preserves mental and emotional energy and can protect one from physical harm (Trawalter et al., 2009). Women reported ignoring perpetrators 54% of the time when experiencing sexism (Ayres et al., 2009) and a diary study suggests that African Americans choose not to respond to discrimination 33% of the time (Swim et al., 2003). Young adults even report ignoring by trying to “forget about” it or “doing nothing” (Hill & Kearnl, 2011). Avoidance behavior is often misunderstood as targets not caring about the experience of discrimination or as evidence that the perpetrator was not being biased since there was no response (Rasinski et al., 2013), but it is important to note that avoidance does not mean that targets are okay with bias, it suggests that they may tolerate or avoid it when they feel threatened and at risk of physical or mental harm (Swim et al., 1998).

Repair

Another response option is to work to repair the relationship with the perpetrator. In this case, it is not necessary that the target is close with the perpetrator, just that they are interdependent. Perpetrators may hold social or monetary value to the target, such as being their boss, so it is in the targets best interest to maintain a positive relationship even in the face of

discrimination. Discrimination is a form of identity-based rejection, and rejection threatens one's feeling of belonging (Carvallo & Pelham, 2006; Goodwin et al., 2010; Richman & Leary, 2009). In response to rejection, individuals will work to repair their social bonds to improve their feelings of belonging (Maner et al., 2007). Repair is an approach coping strategy and this type of coping is typically more successful in reducing target stress than an avoidant strategy (Compas et al., 2001). When choosing repair, the target attempts to compensate for the perpetrator's negative judgements and maintain a working relationship. Targets may also seek to impress, connect, or even confirm the bias because when they choose to repair, they want to mitigate feelings of rejection and increase acceptance. The repair response explains examples of targets continuing to engage with perpetrators following discrimination. For instance, Ms. Hill's decision not to confront and to continue to work for and interact with Justice Thomas while experiencing harassment (Jacobs, 2018) is an example of a repair response.

When bias is present in interpersonal interactions, targets may attempt to impress the perpetrator to correct the course of the interaction. This requires effort of the target to remain engaged in the situation and to alleviate the bias (Miller & Myers, 1998; Miller et al., 1995). This effort is seen by targets increasing their contributions to interactions (Williams & Sommer, 1997). When Black students were the only Black student working with White students (compared to when another Black student was present), the more anxious they were the more ideas they contributed (Hyers & Swim, 1998). Women will also emphasize their positive aspects by attempting to speak more competently when talking with male bosses versus male peers (Steckler & Rosenthal, 1985).

Targets will also seek to connect with a perpetrator by using enhanced social skills. This is done by putting energy toward group activities, paying close attention to social cues, and

kindness (Gardner et al., 2000; Maner et al., 2007; Pickett et al., 2004; Williams & Sommer, 1997). Women often use a non-Duchenne smile to appease the perpetrator after experiencing sexism (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001) and women will even work to appease a perpetrator to be accepted by coworkers following discrimination (Gruber & Bjorn, 1982). By appearing friendly and trying to connect, these behaviors make the situation less awkward and smooth things over with the perpetrator (Miller et al., 1995).

Confirming a shared reality (Sinclair et al., 2005) is another way targets will try to repair. People will commonly present themselves in specific ways to influence others' perceptions of them in order to meet situational demands and achieve their goals (Deaux & Major, 1987; Jones & Pittman, 1982). For example, when women want to be liked by a male interviewer, they will be more stereotypically feminine when they believe he has traditional beliefs because women will work to be seen in a positive light when gender is relevant (Deaux & Major, 1987; von Baeyer et al., 1981; Zanna & Pack, 1975). Women may also do this when they anticipate sexism by trying to present themselves as less feminine when they believed that their gender may negatively influence how they are graded (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). By doing this, targets are working to ensure that the perpetrator will continue to like and accept them by creating a shared understanding of who they are in that context (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). All of these strategies attempt to reduce awkwardness and improve belonging but also require increased effort on the part of the target which requires higher energy and mental capacity from the target than is necessary when targets choose to avoid.

Importantly, when a target chooses to repair, they do not directly address the bias. Doing so may damage the relationship by harming the perpetrator's egalitarian self-view (Focella et al., 2015; Stone et al., 2011). Many people hold egalitarian views (i.e., believing all people are equal

and deserve equal rights) and believe they are egalitarian (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Kawakami et al., 2019). An accusation of bias implies that the perpetrator is not egalitarian, which creates dissonance between their beliefs and their actions. Dissonance leads to discomfort and requires the perpetrator to alleviate the discomfort by either changing their beliefs or behavior (Fazio, 1990; Festinger, 1957). If a perpetrator chooses to maintain their belief that they are egalitarian, they must believe that their behavior was not biased which can lead to backlash against the confronter (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010).

Confront

Finally, a third response option is to confront the perpetrator about their biased remarks or behavior. Confrontation is any act (verbal or non-verbal) that indicates to the perpetrator that one does not approve of their behavior and can be done on the behalf of themselves or their social group (Barreto & Ellemers, 2015; Becker et al., 2014; Garcia et al., 2010; Shelton et al., 2006). Confronting can be done through directly calling out the behavior as problematic, using sarcasm, questioning the perpetrators remarks, reporting the behavior to authorities or human resources, or via non-verbal behaviors like a face of surprise or an exasperated sigh (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Theories of confrontation focus on interpersonal interactions and how, when, and why one might or might not choose to confront the individual who was being prejudiced. When a target experiences bias, they must first perceive and acknowledge it as such, because if they do not register the comments or behaviors as biased then it is a non-issue, and they will not need to engage in the decision of how to react to the bias (Ashburn-Nardo & Karim, 2019; Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008). However, once an individual recognizes comments and behaviors as prejudice, they will engage in the decision-making process of how to best respond in the given

situation (Stangor et al., 2003). In support of this idea, the likelihood of confronting sexism increases along with the frequency of witnessing or experiencing sexism (Good et al., 2012; Good et al., 2018; Kahn et al., 2016), and when sexism is blatant (Lindsey et al., 2015).

Confronting bias can lead to positive and desirable outcomes for the self and for the perpetrator. Confronting helps one to be viewed as competent and increases the chance of being treated fairly (Czopp, 2019; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). It can be an effective way if increasing positive outcomes for the target (Chaney & Sanchez, 2018) because when a target confronts the perpetrator, it can boost self-esteem by making them feel more authentic, lead to less negative emotions following the bias, and greater well-being and empowerment (Gervais et al., 2010; Hyers, 2007; Sanchez et al., 2016; Shelton et al., 2006). Confronting can also lead to perpetrator bias reduction by changing their attitudes and behavior (Czopp, 2019; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Gulker et al., 2013). Therefore, empowering targets to feel comfortable to confront may be beneficial in some situations.

As previously mentioned, there can be many barriers to confronting, which can lead one to hesitate to confront. Targets may still choose to respond with avoidance or repair even when there are not barriers to confronting because they make the most sense to the target in the given scenario. So, how does one decide which response option they want to pursue? Targets' response choice is influenced by their goal in the interaction (Good et al., 2019; Mallett & Melchiori, 2014; Rattan & Dweck, 2010).

CHAPTER THREE

GOALS FOLLOWING BIAS

Individual goals help to guide human behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Fiske, 2008; Maslow, 1943). In the face of discrimination, targets typically feel threatened and experience anxiety (Swim et al., 2001), which triggers an appraisal of personal goals (Carver & Scheier, 1998). People generally want to prevent negative outcomes, so they will choose a goal that they feel will lead to the best possible result with the least negative outcomes (Brunstein, 1993; Carver & Scheier, 1998). Several goals are relevant to interpersonal scenarios (Fiske, 2004), with three goals being the most useful for understanding responses to discrimination—protection, liking, and respect. Some behaviors are better suited for achieving a goal than others (Brunstein, 1993; Kruglanski et al., 2002). According to Mallett and Melchiori (2014; 2019) if the target's goal is to seek protection, they will likely choose to avoid. If their goal is to be liked by the perpetrator, they might choose to repair the relationship. Finally, if their goal is to seek respect from the perpetrator, they may choose to confront perpetrator about their biases.

Self-protection

The self-protection goal serves a basic human need. According to Maslow (1943), protection is the second most important need. In Maslow's hierarchy, only physiological needs (i.e., food and water) come before protection. As a result, seeking self-protection is a very important human motivator and goal. Humans are sensitive to feelings of threat to avoid harm and will work to protect themselves when they detect a threat to their personal safety.

Experiencing bias can feel like a threat (Allport et al., 1954; Smart Richman & Leary,

2009). One will likely initiate the protection goal when the bias is threatening, especially when it is threatening their mental well-being and personal safety. Since one's group identity typically overlaps with one's personal identity, group-based bias can feel like a personal threat such that individuals feel uncomfortable and frightened (Ayers et al., 2009). When one feels as if they cannot control the threat and expect to experience or are actually experiencing harm, then their goal to be protected should be activated (Murray et al., 2006). Thus, when people perceive threat and possible harm from the bias, they become motivated to protect the self and will choose a response that allows them to avoid the harm.

Therefore, the present research expects that when the self-protection goal is activated, targets will choose to avoid as their response. If an experience elicits aversive emotions indicating possible danger, individuals typically look to avoid (Eder et al., 2013; Elliot, 2008). Bias commonly elicits aversive emotions since it can be perceived as a threat and is often stress inducing, requiring targets to activate a coping mechanism (Trawalter et al., 2009). Avoidance is a common coping mechanism and is associated with a lack of resources to protect the self from mental or physical harm (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009; Trawalter et al., 2009). When one feels their safety and mental well-being is in jeopardy, further engaging with the perpetrator such as confronting them could be dangerous and mentally taxing (Ayers et al., 2009). In this case, the safest option is often to avoid the perpetrator and remove themselves from the situation. For example, when a woman is being sexually harassed at a gas station and she feels as though she is in danger, her goal should be to protect the self and will do this by likely avoiding the person by going to a different pump or by leaving the gas station altogether. By choosing to avoid, she is able to achieve her goal of self-protection by safeguarding her physical and mental health and preventing negative outcomes (Trawalter et al., 2009).

Liking

To be liked by others is an important human motivator. When people are liked by others, they feel they belong, and people have a need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Humans became increasingly social beings millions of years ago when becoming a part of a group was the most successful route for survival because group members can work collectively to gather the highest number of resources for the whole group. Since the success of the group impacts individual survival, the group and their spot in the group becomes vital to who they are and how they behave (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, maintaining or initiating belonging in a group that one deems important is a strong motivator of human behavior.

When one experiences bias in a social interaction, it can feel like a personal rejection (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). This rejection can threaten ones belonging and relational standing with the perpetrator (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, when one experiences group-based bias and perceives they are at risk for interpersonal rejection by the perpetrator, the target should activate the liking goal. When pursuing a liking goal, the target looks to increase liking between themselves and the perpetrator. Increasing liking can in turn increase feelings of belonging and alleviate feelings of rejection.

When the liking goal is activated, the present research predicts targets will choose repair as their response. By seeking to repair the relationship, targets are hoping to solidify their relationship with the perpetrator by increasing the perpetrators liking of them (Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008). For example, if a coworker makes a sexist remark about women in the workplace and this triggers the experience of rejection, the woman may work harder on tasks following the rejection to be liked by the perpetrator (Williams & Sommer, 1997). By doing this, the woman can improve her sense of acceptance and alleviate the feelings of rejection caused by the bias.

Because belonging becomes increasingly important following rejection (Leary & Baumeister, 2000), targets should engage in reparative behaviors to increase liking and belonging even after experiencing bias (Mallett & Melchiori, 2019). Mallett and Melchiori (2019) found that women who experienced sexism and had the goal to be liked were more likely to use a repair response (e.g., ignore the sexism and continue to engage with the perpetrator) than to confront. Similarly, women who experienced sexism and had the goal to be respected were more likely to confront (e.g., call out the sexism) than to repair.

Respect

Being respected by others is also a strong goal for people. Respect is admiration or differential action shown toward someone considered important or held in high regard or esteem for their abilities, qualities, or achievements (Darwall, 1977). Those with respect are typically treated fairly and seen as competent leading to access to resources and the ability to obtain higher status (Phelan & Rudman, 2010; Rudman et al., 2012). Anderson et al. (2015) reviewed theories on the desire for status and suggest status is the admiration, voluntary deference, and respect one is afforded by others. Feeling respected is positively associated with self-esteem, mental and physical health, and subjective well-being (Anderson et al., 2015). Therefore, when people want to be treated fairly, viewed as competent, and to succeed more generally, they may be motivated to gain respect.

Each social group has a unique stereotype (Cuddy et al., 2008) that impacts how they are seen and treated by others. When one feels that oneself or one's group may be disrespected or treated unfairly as a result of their group membership, they should activate the respect goal (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). This is often the case for those whose group identity holds a negative stereotype and are commonly targets of discrimination (Major & O'Brien, 2005). For example,

women tend to have the stereotype as warm but incompetent and better for more nurturing roles than leadership, causing them to experience more bias and discrimination when they hold agentic roles (Cuddy et al., 2008; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). This can motivate women want to gain respect for themselves when they experience sexism.

The respect goal is expected to lead targets to choose confrontation as their response. When one is motivated to gain respect for themselves and their group, confronting the perpetrator about their bias and how it is incorrect and harmful can show that one is competent and should be treated fairly. Individuals can confront in any way that indicates that they do not agree with the bias (Monteith et al., 2019). For example, when a female receives a sexist comment about women in the workplace, they may gasp and act surprised, question the legitimacy of the perpetrator's comments, strongly refute the comments and call one out specifically, or report the bias through the proper channels (Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Hyers, 2007; Stangor et al., 2003; Stangor et al., 2002; Stone et al., 2011). By doing this, the woman is indicating that they do not like or agree with the perpetrator's comments. When one confronts bias, they can reduce the perpetrators bias by making them aware and lead to more self-control in the future, which can lead to increased respect for the individual and their group and decreased experiences of bias in the future (Monteith et al., 2002; Monteith et al., 2009). While confronting bias seems to lead to the most beneficial outcome by reducing bias, the respect goal must be the strongest goal compared to the others for confrontation to emerge, so potential factors like risk and trust that influence goal strength must be explored.

CHAPTER FOUR

RISK

Risk is an important factor to consider when determining how to respond to bias. Risk is the exposure to loss, harm, or danger (Breakwell, 2014; Slovic et al., 2004). Risk can be the possibility of negative consequences for the self and/or others (Dowling, 1986; Slovic et al., 2004). Every situation and decision that one makes involves some kind of risk, even if that risk is extremely low (Dowling, 1986; Hoorens, 2020). Risk involves uncertainty about an outcome typically related to something that humans value such as their health, wealth, well-being, self-esteem, identity, etc. (Breakwell, 2014; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). For example, if getting a specific job is important then the risk associated with actions and goals needed to get the job is high but if getting a job is not important then risk is low.

Risk is always present in situations involving discrimination as the experience of bias increases target anxiety and indicates the perpetrator belief in stereotypes that lead to real life mental and physical harm and rejection (Cuddy et al., 2008; Swim et al., 2001; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Bias can involve a risk of physical harm, risk of mental exhaustion, risk of rejection, and risk of backlash (e.g., being fired, removal from a project; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 2001). Therefore, risk is always a factor in targets decision making process on how to respond to bias. Risk is often broken down into two parts, first perceived risk and then a willingness to accept risk (Sitkin & Pablo, 1992). The former focuses on the assessment of the level of risk in a situation and the latter one the acceptance of the risk.

Perceived Risk

Perceived risk is one's perception of the likelihood they or others will be exposed to loss or harm if certain actions or goals (or lack thereof) are taken or pursued (Hoorens, 2020). In every situation, there are endless possibilities for how things can transpire. Perceived risk is a subjective judgement about the risk characteristics and intensity (Breakwell, 2014; Slovic et al., 1981). Most times one's subjective perception of risk does not match up with the actual risk in a situation because people will over emphasize one or more pieces of the risk since it is more salient to them (Breakwell, 2014). For example, if a woman is walking to her car in a grocery parking lot, she may estimate a higher risk of being attacked when it is dark compared to when it is light out, even though otherwise it is the same walk. Individual (e.g., personality traits, previous experience, age, gender), contextual (e.g., day versus night, being alone versus in a group), affective (e.g., moods, emotions), and cognitive (e.g., severity of events, risk mitigating attempts, public coverage) factors all influence one's perception of risk (Slovic, 2000). Since this perception is largely subjective, risk can be perceived differently from person to person even if they are in the exact same situation. For instance, how risky it is to confront someone for asking offensive interview questions may differ between two interviewees because one really wants the job while the other cares little about getting the job.

Once individuals assess the risk in a situation, they must decide what risk they are willing to accept. Since risk is present in all situations and decisions, if humans chose to never accept some risk they would be paralyzed (Breakwell, 2014). A willingness to accept particular risks over others is largely based in the strength of the perceived risk. Often all perceived risk is so low in a situation that one does not notice that they have chosen to accept some risk. However, if a risk becomes salient, then a person will likely work to mitigate that risk.

In much of the confrontation literature, risk is assessed as it relates to the consequences of confronting. As previously mentioned, there is the risk of backlash associated with the choice to confront (Czopp, 2019). When women were told they really needed a job (i.e., high risk—if they confront, they may be disliked which would increase the risk of not getting the job) versus did not need the job (i.e., low risk), they were less likely to have the intention to confront and to actually confront (Shelton & Stuart, 2004). This same pattern of risk attenuating confrontation occurred even when one was a bystander observing bias against another person (Lavado et al., 2016)). In the aforementioned studies, when participants needed the job, the perceived risk of confronting was higher than the perceived risk of continued discrimination, so they were more likely to not confront to minimize that risk and accepted the risk of further discrimination. This follows the literature that people weigh uncertainty higher and are more likely to act in ways that diminish uncertainty, even if accepting uncertainty may yield more desirable outcomes (Tversky & Fox, 1995). This is why risk is important to consider when exploring behavioral choices of targets following discrimination.

Risk and Goal Strength

One piece that is missing from the study of risk and confrontation, is that risk can also influence goals, and in fact may influence behavior through goal choice. As discussed in Chapter Three, one's goals can influence behavior as behavior is merely a means to meet one's desired goals in each situation. Therefore, perceived risk may have implications for why people respond the way they do because it may influence a person's motivations (Hoorens, 2020). In any given situation people typically have goals they are trying to pursue (Ajzen, 1991; Fiske, 2008; Maslow, 1943). As previously mentioned, in interpersonal interactions there are core social motives (Fiske, 2008) that people use to navigate the situation and in interpersonal interactions

involving discrimination targets usually choose between respect, liking, or protection. In line with the idea that perceived risk shapes goals and behavior, threats to safety increased participants motivation to seek protection and identity threats increased participants motivation to belong (Williams, 2007).

When considering how risk influences goal strength, it is important to consider the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943). According to Maslow, human's work through stages of motivation starting with physiological needs (e.g., food, water, shelter), then safety needs (e.g., protection, security), next belongingness needs (e.g., friends, intimate relationships), then esteem needs (e.g., respect, success, freedom), and finally self-actualization (e.g., achieving full potential, self-fulfillment). For motivation to arise in one stage the needs in the prior stage should be mostly met. For example, for one to be motivated by belongingness their physiological and safety needs must be relatively low. Therefore, if one feels the risk of harm is high and need to seek protection, this should take precedent over the risk of rejection and need to be liked. However, perceived risk strength and salience can impact this. Evidence and criticisms of the hierarchy of needs suggests that there is some overlap of hierarchies in which a lower hierarchy does not need to be completely satisfied before one can be motivated by the next hierarchy (Fallatah & Syed, 2017). If danger is the only risk present it will be the most salient and have a large influence on motivation. However, if rejection is the most salient risk, and danger is less salient, belonging needs could have a large influence on motivation. Further, if safety needs and belonging needs are mostly met one may be more motivated by the need for respect.

Therefore, it is predicted in the present research that goal strength is impacted by perceived risk because the risk that one subjectively views as most salient should influence what is most important to them in the moment, to be protected, to be liked, or to be respected. When

one perceives the risk of mental or physical harm to be the highest and most salient, they should be more likely to seek protection. When one feels the chance of rejection is high and belonging is particularly relevant to them, they should be more likely to want to be liked by the perpetrator. Finally, if the target feels the situation indicates disregard for their competence because of group membership and mitigating this is the most salient risk to them, they should seek respect. In sum, the influence of perceived risk should be considered in the context of motivations to respond to bias.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRUST

One way to reduce the salience of the perceived risk of danger and rejection is by having high (vs. neutral) trust in the perpetrator (Mayer et al., 1995; Mayer et al., Schoorman et al., 2007). Trust is a complex, multidimensional construct that can lend itself to varying interpretations in different social situations, and it can be defined differently between people and researchers (Simpson, 2007). Across most definitions of trust, there is an acknowledgement that for there to be trust, one must perceive risk and have a willingness to take that risk because they trust the other (Deutsch, 1960b; Mayer et al., 1995). Generally, trust is an attitude and belief that others will be cooperative, reliable, predictable, and/or helpful; and a confidence that one will act in their best interest (Deutsch, 1958; Deutsch, 1960a; Gambetta, 1988; Lewis & Weigert, 1985). It is typically defined in terms of interpersonal scenarios in which there is an actor (trustor) and another specific person with whom they are interacting (trustee; Rotter, 1971; Robbins, 2016). Trust is the psychological state of the trustor toward a trustee, with whom they are in some way interdependent—two or more people dependent on the other). For example, an employee can (or cannot) trust their boss to include them in important meetings. It follows the phrase "*I trust you to do X*" (Simpson, 2003). Considering this phrase, there are three components of trust: the self (I), the specific partner (you), and the unique features and constraints of the situation (to do X). As these components change, the amount of trust toward the other person changes (Goto, 1996). What "X" is changes from person to person. The broader "X" is the more stable trust will be across contexts and situations (Simpson, 2003).

Because trust can be hard to define it is important to make the distinction between trust and similar constructs. Trust and cooperation are often confused because trust in another can lead to cooperative behavior (Batson, 1988; Insko et al., 2005). When one trusts, they will engage in some form of cooperation with the trustee (Balliet & Van Lange, 2013). However, trust is not required to engage in cooperation because cooperation does not always put the actor at risk (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007). As formerly mentioned, willingness to take a risk and be vulnerable is a part of trust, so when risk is not present, trust is not required. This may be the case when a leader mandates that one act in a specific way, the actor will likely cooperate, regardless of their trust in the leader (Bateson, 1988). One may also cooperate due to other motives, so while they appear to trust they are cooperating for other beneficial reasons, such as the chance to reduce their jail time in the prisoner's dilemma (Kee & Knox, 1970). In sum, people may cooperate even though they do not trust the trustee, because cooperation does not always require one to be vulnerable and accept risk.

Confidence is related to, but distinct from, trust. Trust is one's confidence that the other will act in their best interest (Rotter, 1971). While trust and confidence both depend on the expectations of others that could lead to disappointment, they differ in that trust requires the actor to recognize and accept that risk exists (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007). If one does something routinely without considering alternatives and risks, they are confident. For example, one drives to work with a coworker every day without considering other options. It is routine and they are confident they will get there. However, when one does consider the alternatives and chooses an option despite the risks, they have trust. For example, one considers all the possible routes to work, carpooling, taking the bus, or biking and considers the risks associated with each. By choosing to routinely ride with their coworker over other options,

despite the possible risks associated with that decision, they are showing trust.

Another often synonymous construct to trust is predictability. Typically, when someone trusts another, they are predicting that the trustee will act in a certain way that is in their favor (Mayer et al., 1995). However, trust must go beyond predictability because someone can be predictable in their behavior but that does not mean that one can trust them to act in their best interest (Deutsch, 1960a). The trustee could always be selfish, which makes them predictable but does not lead the trustor to take a risk and trust them, because they would likely not act in their best interest. Again, trust differentiates from predictability because it requires the actor to be willing to take a risk and engage with the trustee (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007).

Factors influencing level of trust

Many theories of trust argue that trust is impacted by the trustee's perceived ability, integrity, and benevolence as well as the trustor's propensity to trust. Ability, benevolence, and integrity have long been considered main antecedents for trust (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Cook & Wall, 1980; Deutsch, 1960; Jones et al., 1975; Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Lieberman, 1981; Sitkin & Roth, 1993; Solomon, 1960; Strickland, 1958). Ability deals with the trustee's expertise, skills, characteristics and competencies in a specific domain (Goto, 1996; Mayer et al., 1995). Ability is domain specific because one may be highly trained in data analysis but not trained in communication, so they may be trusted to complete the data analysis but not trusted to communicate the results. Benevolence is an altruistic kindness that affects how much the trustor believes the trustee wants to do good to them (Thielmann & Hilbig; 2015). If the trustee wants to help the trustor, such as a mentor helping a mentee, and there is no extrinsic reward to the trustee, they are showing benevolence. The trustor perceives this as the trustor having a positive orientation toward the trustee and this perception is relied upon in the assessment of trust (Mayer

et al., 1995). As perceived benevolence of the trustee increases, so does trust (Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Schoorman et al., 2007).

Finally, integrity is the extent to which the trustor believes the trustee adheres to a set of social and cultural rules that are deemed acceptable (McFall, 1987; Robinson, 1996). The integrity of the trustee is affected by their past communications and actions, as well as testimonials from others on the trustee's credibility and sense of justice (Mayer et al., 1995). As perceived integrity of the trustee increases, so does trust. As perceived ability, benevolence, and integrity increase, so does trust and the likelihood of engaging in risky behavior with the trustee. In certain situations, one or two may not be as important (Mayer et al., 1995). For example, it may be the case following a biased incident that ability is less important to the target but the target's belief in the perpetrators benevolence and their integrity to do the right thing and seek justice, may be more important in determining their level of trust toward the perpetrator.

Propensity to trust has to do with the characteristics of the trustor that lead them to be a more or less trusting person (Deutsch, 1960a; Mayer et al., 1995). Some people may trust all the time even when most would argue that they should not while others are never willing to trust even when the situation would warrant trusting (Mayer et al., 1995; Rotter, 1967). Therefore, propensity to trust can often account for variance in trust because two people in the exact same situation may have different levels of trust. Things like personality traits, culture, and developmental experiences and attachment style can impact one's propensity to trust (Goto, 1996; Hofstede, 1980). One's propensity to trust is considered to be stable across situations and is important for understanding one's general level to trust, but characteristics about the trustee must also be considered.

People's relationships with others play an important role in their level of trust, which is

why many theories and definitions of trust to revolve around romantic partners and other interpersonal relationships (e.g., friends and family; Lewicki & Bunker, 1995). Relationships with others can take many forms. People can be complete strangers with no prior relationship, they can be a non-close relationship such as coworkers or peers, they can be close interpersonal relationships such as a family or best friend, or they can be a romantic partner. The prior relationship or lack thereof between the trustor and the trustee influences the trustor's knowledge of the trustee's ability, benevolence, and integrity because the better people know each other, the more they know about each other (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007). This means they can be better judges of the trustee's characteristics and therefore a better judge of how much to trust them (Rempel et al., 1985). People who are in close relationships are more likely to take risks in said relationships to achieve closeness when they feel their relationship partner is high in ability, integrity and benevolence and will not reject them (Murray et al., 2008). So, it is expected that the closer one is with the trustee the more likely they are to engage in risk taking in the relationship which displays that they have high trust in the trustee (Mayer et al., 1995).

Therefore, the present research predicts that when interacting with strangers and non-close relationships partners one is less likely to engage in risk taking behaviors (e.g., confrontation), especially when they have no prior knowledge of the trustee's ability, integrity, and benevolence. If one is given some information on the trustee's character as it relates to their ability to be trusted, trust should be higher and therefore so should risk taking in the relationship. It is also predicted that target's may be more likely to confront someone they are close to because they trust them more and feel more comfortable taking risks in their relationship. It is important to note however that just because the trustor knows more about the trustee's ability, benevolence and integrity does not mean they will trust them. The trustor could be very close to someone, like

their father, but think he has low ability, benevolence, and integrity in the situation, producing low trust. On the other hand, one may not know a coworker well but perceive the coworker has high in ability, benevolence, and integrity, producing high trust. Understanding the interplay between variables that influence trust is important for ultimately understanding a trustors level of trust for a trustee in a specific situation.

Trust and risk

The integrative model of organizational trust (Mayer et al., 1995) defines trust as the willingness of one to take risk and be vulnerable to the actions of the trustee based on their expectations that the other will perform the anticipated action that is important to the trustor, regardless of their inability to control the actions of the trustee (Schoorman et al., 2007). As previously discussed, perceived risk is one's perception of all the possible outcomes of a situation (Sitkin & Pablo, 1992) and it influences goals and behavior, irrespective of the relationship with the trustee. The level of trust in the trustee then influences the perceived likelihood of negative outcomes happening, so if the level of trust is high enough it can mitigate the perceived risk in a situation and the trustor is expected to engage in the risky behavior, which is the behavioral manifestation of trust (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007).

Trust can increase a trustor's willingness to take risk (Shallcross & Simpson, 2012), so it is predicted that the level of trust the target has in the perpetrator can impact their goal strength and decision to confront or not. When one confronts, they are hoping that the perpetrator will act in their best interest (based on the trustee's propensity to trust, relationship with the perpetrator, and their assessment of the perpetrator's ability, integrity and benevolence) by reducing their bias going forward. However, the perpetrator may not acknowledge the validity of the confrontation and reduce their bias and there could be negative outcomes such as backlash

toward the target (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Monteith et al., 2022; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Phelan & Rudman, 2010). So, choosing the respect goal and the behavioral manifestations of that (i.e., confrontation) is risky and a willingness to take this risk is influenced by trust.

While there is little to no causal research on the relationship between trust and goals, there is some correlational data. As reciprocal trust increased between two individuals, their respect for the other also increased (Willie, 2000). When one experiences threats in the form of harm or on their identity, trust is harder to form and ultimately lower than when threat is not present (Williams, 2007). But when trust is already present, it can reduce negative emotional reactions to threat (Williams, 2007). As intergroup trust increased (Montoya & Pittinsky, 2011) and interpersonal liking increased (Hawke & Heffernan, 2006) so did trust. Furthermore, trust can impact cognitive processing by influencing how one perceives a situation by reducing the amount of information taken in and focusing on the positives, lessening threat because one takes “cognitive leaps” with limited information (Lewis & Weigert, 1985). As this trust increases with a trustee, the processing of danger goes down because the trustee has given one a reason to assume there is no reason to look for danger. For example, a neighbor helps a lady carry her groceries every week and as this continues trust grows, however because of this trust the lady stops looking for signs of threat when the neighbor is around, resulting in them missing their neighbor stealing groceries, when it should otherwise be obvious. So, increased trust likely decreases the motivation for protection. Therefore, trust may affect goal strength and ultimately the response choice by influencing the target's assessment of risk in the situation and decision to take that risk (e.g., pursue the respect goal over the protect or liking goal).

CHAPTER SIX

STUDY DESIGN

Target responses to bias are more complicated than just choosing to confront or not. Targets may choose to respond in one of three ways: avoid, repair, or confront (Mallett & Melchiori, 2019). Unfortunately, there is a false assumption in society that most people will confront perpetrators of bias, when in fact very few people choose to confront (Czopp, 2019; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gutek & O'Connor, 1995; Kawakami et al., 2019; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). This assumption has negative impacts for targets of bias, such as women, by invalidating other responses and therefore decreasing support of targets who do not confront (Czopp et al., 2006). Providing context for why targets may choose other behavioral responses besides confronting helps to validate and support targets of discrimination.

Past literature suggests that behavioral responses following bias are influenced by target goals in the situation (Mallett & Melchiori 2014, 2019), with a respect goal increasing confronting behavior, a liking goal increasing repair behavior, and a self-protection goal increasing avoid behavior. Goals are further influenced by perceived risks in the situation, which can be mitigated by interpersonal trust between the target and the perpetrator. While these links have been individually assessed, the full pathway between them has not been empirically established. Additionally, women experience high rates of sexism in the workplace (Fitzgerald, 1993; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Loy & Stewart, 1984) and are often in scenarios in which they must work through this process. Therefore, the proposed research for Study 1 looks to assess if women's behavioral responses to a workplace sexism scenario are influenced by the amount and

type of risk present in a situation by effecting target goal strength. Furthermore, Study 2 will look to replicate the mediation in Study 1 and assess the potential moderating role of interpersonal trust on the risk to goals link to determine if trust influences this decision-making process (see Figure 1).

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Risk will influence goal strength.

Hypothesis 1a: I do not expect a main effect of risk on the goal to protect. Following the experience of sexism, the goal to be protected will be relatively unaffected by risk, given that the scenario used in this research is relatively free of the risk of harm.

Hypothesis 1b: I expect a main effect of risk on the goal to be liked. The high risk scenario will increase the risk of rejection (i.e., really needing the job) relative to the low risk scenario, which should strengthen the goal to be liked.

Hypothesis 1c: I expect a main effect of risk on the goal to be respected. Unfair treatment triggers the need for respect, which should emerge in the low risk scenario (i.e., not needing the job) relative to the high risk scenario where liking will be the primary goal.

Hypothesis 2: Goals will direct action tendencies.

Hypothesis 2a: I expect avoidance to be positively and significantly associated with the need to be protected (See Figure 1a). I will conduct exploratory analyses to assess the association between avoidance and the goals to be respected and liked.

Hypothesis 2b: I predict that repair will be positively and significantly associated with the need to be liked (See Figure 1b). I will conduct exploratory analyses to assess the association between repair and the goals to be protected and respected.

Hypothesis 2c: I expect confrontation to be positively and significantly associated with the need to be respected (See Figure 1c). I will conduct exploratory analyses to assess the association between confrontation and the goals to be protected and liked.

Hypothesis 3: Goal strength will mediate the association between risk and action tendencies.

Hypothesis 3a: Following a sexist interaction, the association between perceived risk and avoidance will primarily be explained by the goal to protect the self, over the goals for liking and respect (See Figure 1a).

Hypothesis 3b: The association between perceived risk and repair will primarily be explained by the goal to be liked, over the goals for protection and respect (See Figure 1b).

Hypothesis 3c: The association between perceived risk and confrontation will primarily be explained by the goal to be respected, over the goals for protection and liking (See Figure 1c).

Figure 1a-c. Anticipated results of mediation analyses.

Figure 1a. Mediation predictions with avoidance.

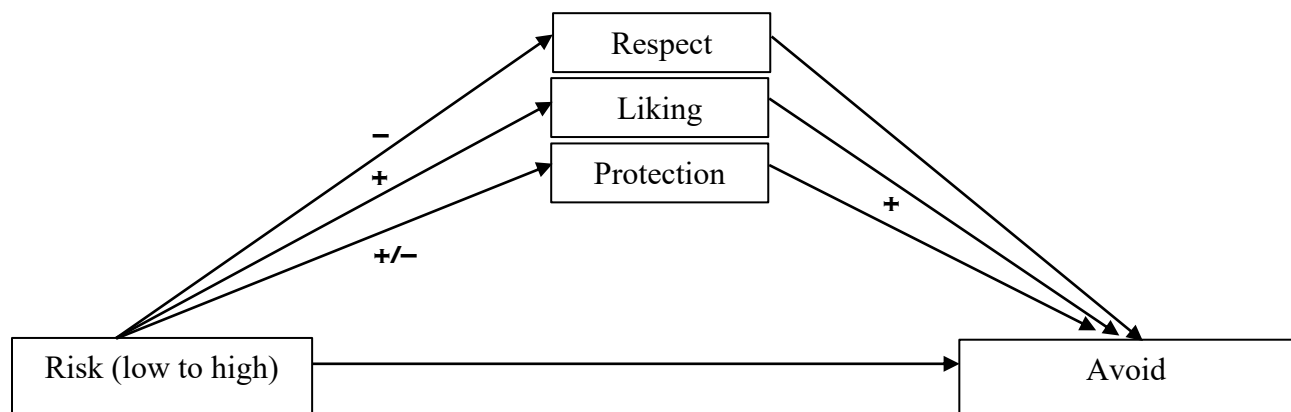


Figure 1b. Mediation predictions with repair.

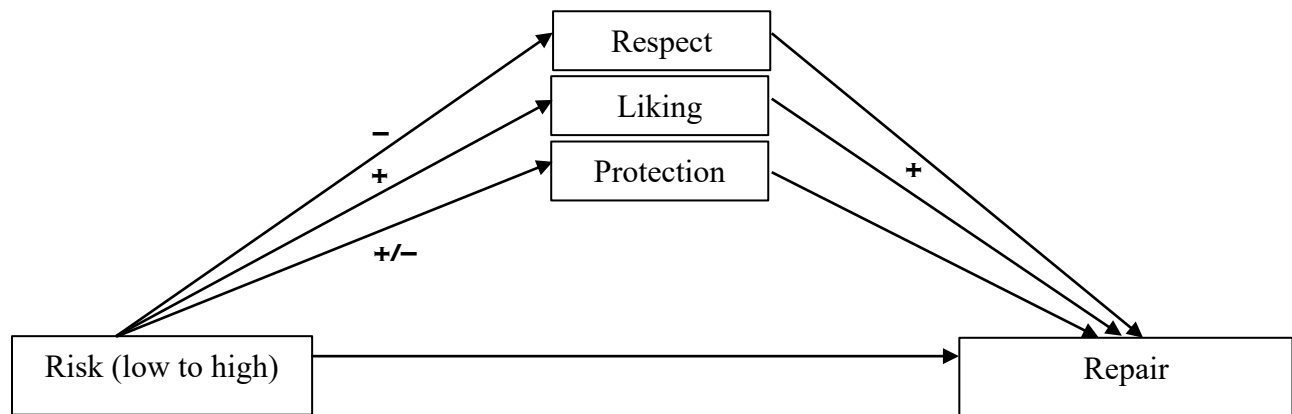
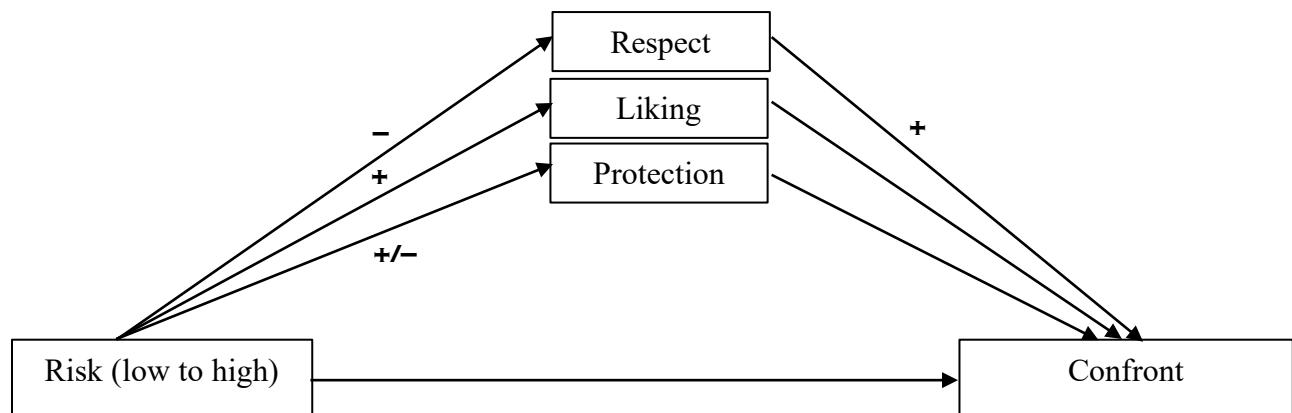


Figure 1c. Mediation predictions with confront.



Hypothesis 4: Trust will decrease goal strength.

I expect a main effect of trust on each goal such that high trust will decrease the goals for protection, liking, and respect. Trust has been found to be negatively correlated with perceptions of danger (Lewis & Weigert, 1985), indicating that if trust is present the goal to protect will be lower than when trust is absent. Trust has been found to be positively correlated to liking (Hawke & Heffernan, 2006), indicating that if trust is present the goal to be liked will be lower than when trust is absent because the goal is satisfied in a trusting relationship. Trust has been found to be positively correlated to respect (Willie, 2000), indicating that if trust is present the goal to be respected will be lower than when trust is absent because the goal to be respected is satisfied in a trusting relationship.

Study 2 will extend the research by assessing the influence of trust on goals by impacting the effect of risk.

Hypothesis 5: Trust will moderate the strength of association between risk and goals.

Hypothesis 5a: I predict that when trust is high, the protection goal should be stronger when risk is high versus low (Figure 2a). When trust is neutral, risk will not affect the strength of the protection goal.

Hypothesis 5b: I predict that when trust is high, risk will not affect the strength of the liking goal (Figure 2b). However, when trust is neutral, the liking goal will be stronger when risk is high versus low.

Hypothesis 5c: I predict that when trust is high, the respect goal will be stronger when risk is low versus high (Figure 2c). I expect the same effect when trust is neutral, but it should not be as strong as when trust is high.

Figure 2a-c. Predicted moderation of trust (high vs. neutral) on the risk (high vs. low) to goals effect.

Figure 2a. Effect of trust and risk on the protection goal.

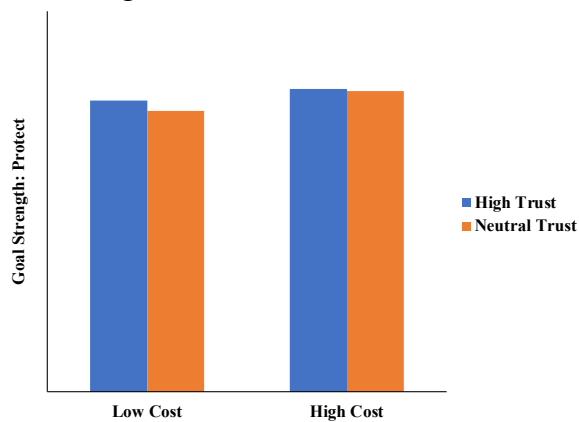


Figure 2b. Effect of trust and risk on the liking goal.

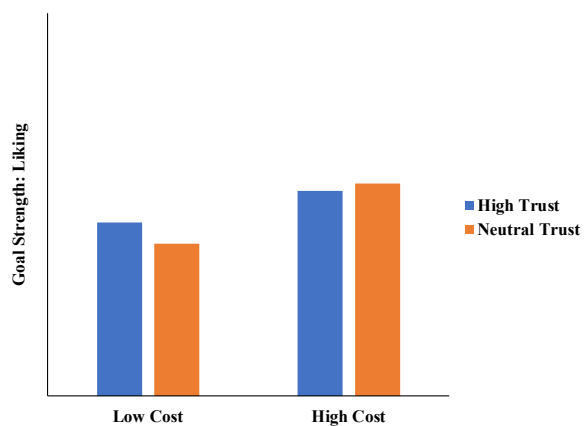
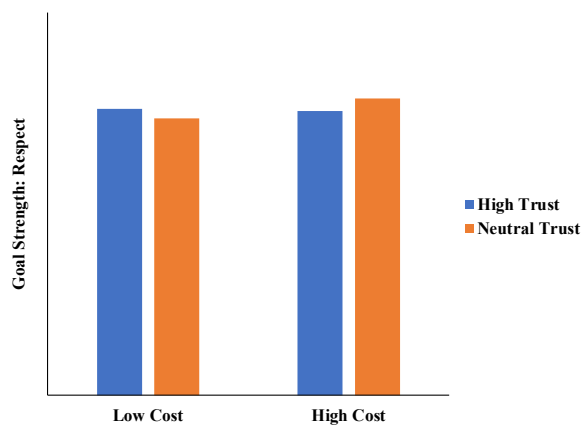


Figure 2c. Effect of trust and risk on the respect goal.



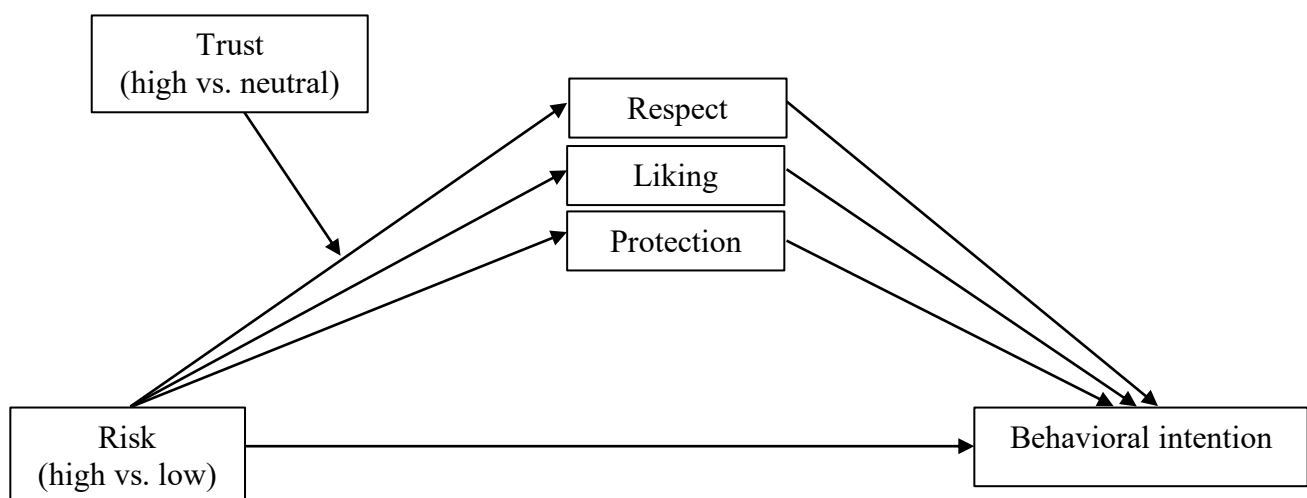
Hypothesis 6: Goal strength will mediate the association between risk and action tendencies, and the strength of this indirect effect will depend on trust (see Figure 3 for model).

Hypothesis 6a: Similar to hypothesis 3a, I predict the association between perceived risk and avoidance will primarily be explained by the goal to protect the self. In line with hypothesis 5a, this indirect effect will be stronger when trust is high versus neutral.

Hypothesis 6b: Similar to hypothesis 3b, I predict the association between perceived risk and repair will primarily be explained by the goal to be liked. In line with hypothesis 5b, this indirect effect will be stronger when trust is neutral versus high.

Hypothesis 6c: Similar to hypothesis 3c, the association between perceived risk and confrontation will primarily be explained by the goal to be respected. In line with hypothesis 5c, this indirect effect will be stronger when trust is high versus neutral.

Figure 3. Moderated-mediation model.



Study 1

Study 1 tested hypotheses 1a-c, 2a-c, and 3a-c that risk influences behavior following experiences of sexism via goals. Research has found that goals influence target behaviors following bias and that risk influences goals and behavior. Therefore, a mediation model was proposed that has yet to be established in the literature.

Study 1 Method

Design

A two-groups between participant design (high risk versus low risk) measured target goal strength and behavioral intentions following a sexist interaction.

Power Analyses

Based on prior research (e.g., Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Mallett & Melchiori, 2019) I anticipated a small effect size. Results of an a priori power analysis (Cohen, 1977) conducted using G*Power 3.1 (Erdfelder et al., 1996; Faul et al., 2007) estimated that 219 participants would be an acceptable sample size. Since some online participants will not properly complete the study, 20% more participants were added to the originally estimated sample size resulting in a target sample size of 262. Following the completion of Study 1, using the effect sizes from the regression analyses, a post hoc power analysis using G*Power 3.1 (Erdfelder et al., 1996; Faul et al., 2007) determined that the study was appropriately powered (power = .94).

Participants

A sample of 263 female-identified, adult U.S. citizens, mostly white (56.5% White, 43.5% non-White), between 18 and 79 years old ($M = 42.39$ $SD = 13.87$) were recruited (see Appendix A) through Cloud Research, an online crowdsourcing platform for research participants. Participants were compensated \$1.25 for the 10-minute study, if they completed the

study in good faith (i.e., 50% of attention checks were passed and they completed the study materials). No participants failed the attention checks or indicated they were not female, so all participants were compensated \$1.25 for their time and included in the study.

Procedure

Participants were invited to click a link to a Qualtrics form, where all study materials were presented. Participants first completed a Captcha to ensure they were human and then read the informed consent (see Appendix B) and indicated their consent by clicking they agree to participate. They then completed some demographic information to ensure they qualify to participate (see Appendix C).

Participants were randomly assigned to either the high-risk group or the low-risk group. Risk was operationalized in this study as the purported cost associated with not performing well in the mock job interview. Based on the manipulation from Shelton and Stewart (2004; see Appendix D), participants were asked to imagine that they are at an interview for a job in their field. The high-risk manipulation suggested that the participant really needs the job as they have no other offers, it is the job of their dreams, and it is very competitive. In the low-risk manipulation, the participants were instead told that they are not as desperate for the job as they have other offers, it is just an okay job, and they are essentially there for interview practice. The screen locked for 20 seconds while participants read the manipulation to ensure that they did not click past it and read it in its entirety.

Following the risk manipulation, participants read 9 interview questions, with six being typical interview questions and three being sexist questions (see Appendix E). The sexist questions (“Do you have a boyfriend?”, “Do people find you desirable?”, “Do you think it is important for women for women to wear bras to work?”) were developed by Woodzicka and

LaFrance (2001) and have been used in subsequent studies including by Mallett and Melchiori (2019), who found that the questions were both offensive and uniquely sexist. Again, the screen locked for 20 seconds to ensure the participant read the questions.

Immediately after reading the interview questions, participants responded to statements about their goals in the current moment. Then they were told they will answer four randomly selected questions from the list they just reviewed. In reality, all participants responded to the same four questions with two of them being sexist. Next, to ensure participants felt the sexist questions were offensive, they rated the offensiveness of all nine interview questions. Following this, participants were reminded of the scenario and interview questions and given a chance to provide open-ended thoughts on the scenario and then respond to statements about their behavioral intentions. Finally, participants reported additional demographic information and then they were told it was the end and automatically sent back to Cloud Research (see Appendix F).

Materials and Measures

Attention checks were included throughout the survey asking participants to select particular responses. This is typical of online surveys to ensure participants are answering in good faith (Abbey & Meloy, 2017). Items included “I work fourteen months in a year” and “I have never used a computer” with the correct answer to both being, “No, this is not true of me” (See Appendices G & H).

Goal Strength

Three items assessed the strength of each goal using a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) (see Appendix I). For example, “I try hard not to do things that will make other people harm me” (protect; $\alpha = .85$), “I have a strong need to belong” (liking; $\alpha = .90$), and “I want other people to see me as competent” (respect; $\alpha = .81$). The statements associated with

the liking goal come from the need to belong scale (Leary et al., 2013) and the statements for respect and protection were edited to match those items. Items were randomized between the three goals to mitigate order effects.

Action Tendencies

To measure action tendencies, participants responded to four of the interview questions, “Would you rather work on your own or on a team?”, “Do you have a boyfriend?”, “Do people find you desirable?”, and “How do you handle yourself in challenging situations?” (see Appendix J). Participants were told that four questions will be randomly presented, but all participants answered these four questions. Question one and four were filler questions. Questions two and three were coded for evidence of tendencies to avoid, repair, and confront. Coders looked for the presence (1) or absence (0) of many different response options in each woman’s answer, such as, “Did not answer” (avoidance), “Answers the question with no indication of offense” (repair) and “State it is none of the interviewer’s business” (confrontational). At the end they assessed the vibe of each response by rating, “overall how offended was the respondent” on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*) (see Appendix K).

Offensiveness of interview questions

Following Shelton and Stewart (2004), to ensure participants found the sexist questions more offensive than the typical interview questions, they rated how offensive they found each question for an interview setting from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*) (see Appendix L).

Open-ended response

Participants read, “Please tell us how you think you would react if you were really experiencing the interview. What would you think about the interview questions? How would

you respond, and why would you act that way?” (See Appendix M). Responses may be used for further exploratory analyses in the future.

Behavioral intentions

Following Mallett and Melchiori (2014), four items assessed the strength of each behavioral intention using a scale from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 5 (*extremely likely*) (see Appendix N). Participants reported to what extent they can see themselves doing each of the listed behaviors including, “End the interview and leave” (avoid; $\alpha = .31$), “Say you agree that these are important questions to ask” (repair; $\alpha = .61$), and “Make an obvious loud noise or gesture of disapproval” (confront; $\alpha = .73$). The items were randomized between the three behavioral outcomes to mitigate order effects.

Risk manipulation check

To assess whether the manipulation of risk was successful, participants indicated how true four statements (e.g., “This interview is high-pressure.”) are from 1 (*no at all true*) to 5 (*extremely true*) (see Appendix O; $\alpha = .88$). These were adapted from Shelton and Stewart (2004) assessing the success of the same manipulation and from research on the measurement of perceived risk (Dowling, 1986). Also included in this scale was a statement about participants confidence in getting the job to ensure that the participants did not differ between condition in their feelings about getting the job, which could impact attitude about the job and effort during the interview.

Trust manipulation check

To ensure that the risk manipulation did not influence levels of trust, which was manipulated in Study 2, participants indicated how true six statements (e.g., “The interviewer

can be trusted”) are from 1 (*no at all true*) to 5 (*extremely true*) (see Appendix P, $\alpha = .83$). These were adapted from Rotter’s interpersonal trust scale (1967) to fit the present context.

Demographics

Participants were asked to provide their U.S. state of residence, English proficiency, age, race/ethnicity, and gender after the informed consent (see Appendix C). Then at the very end they were asked their level of education, socioeconomic status, managerial experience, years in the work force, and experiences of discrimination based on their gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation (see Appendix Q). Demographics provided participant information and potential covariates. Only data from participants who reported they were a woman was included in the study.

Study 1 Results

Data Screening

The total sample included 263 participants, recruited on November 17, 2023. Participants were screened in several ways. First, I assessed if participants identified as a woman, then I checked if they lived in the United States (US) and their English proficiency, and finally if they passed the attention checks at a 50% rate. Of the 263 participants, all said they identified as female, live in a US state or territory, and speak proficient English. Furthermore, all participants passed the attention checks at a rate greater than 50%. In the end, 262 participants were included in analyses, after one participant was removed for acquiescing in their responses.

Manipulation Checks

To assess if the risk manipulation successfully altered participants perceptions of risk, I completed a t-test to compare the perceived risk means of the high risk and low risk groups (see Table 1). As intended, the high risk group perceived the scenario to be significantly higher risk

compared to the low risk group. I also checked if the risk manipulation influenced participant's trust in the perpetrator and their confidence in getting the job. As intended, there was no difference between high risk and low risk in their level of trust in the perpetrator and no difference between high risk and low risk in their confidence of getting the job.

Table 1. Independent samples t-tests of risk manipulation checks for Study 1.

Variable	Condition				<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Low Risk		High Risk				
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Risk	2.15	0.91	3.70	0.96	-13.41	< .001	-1.66
Trust	1.52	0.72	1.60	0.70	-0.91	.37	-0.11
Confidence	3.36	0.95	3.59	1.02	-1.85	.07	-0.23

I also reviewed how offensive the participants perceived each interview question to be to ensure that the three sexist questions were viewed as offensive. As intended, the sexist questions ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 0.92$) compared to the non-sexist questions ($M = 1.26$, $SD = 0.68$) were viewed as more offensive by the participants, paired $t(258) = 37.08$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 2.30$.

Descriptive Statistics

Bivariate correlations were reviewed between the variables of interest and key demographic variables related to work and discrimination (see Table 1). The three goals—protection, liking, respect—were all positively correlated. The behavioral intentions of avoidant and repair were positively associated with confront but not to each other. As expected, protection was positively correlated with avoidance and not repair or confront. Also as predicted, the liking goal was positively associated with repair and not associated with confront but contrary to predictions it was also positively associated with avoidance. Furthermore, contrary to predictions, the respect goal was only positively associated with avoidance and not confront or repair. Socio-economic status (SES) is correlated with the liking goal as well as avoidant and

repair intentions, and work experience is related to repair intentions and experiences of gender discrimination is related to confronting intentions. None of these variables appear to be potential covariates.

Table 2. Bivariate correlation matrix detailing the associations between variables of interest and key demographics for Study 1.

Variable (<i>n</i> = 262)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Range</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Protection Goal	4.03 (0.89)	1-5	–												
2. Liking Goal	2.99 (1.10)	1-5	.38**	–											
3. Respect Goal	4.04 (0.88)	1-5	.57**	.39**	–										
4. Avoid Intention	3.12 (0.80)	1-5	.27**	.15*	.19**	–									
5. Repair Intention	2.19 (0.86)	1-5	.02	.33**	.05	.10	–								
6. Confront Intention	3.20 (1.10)	1-5	.11	-.11	.12	.29**	-.32**	–							
7. Education Level	4.45 (1.26)	1-6	-.01	.02	.04	.07	.11	-.08	–						
8. Socio-economic Status (SES)	4.91 (1.75)	1-10	.04	.14*	.05	.12*	.24**	-.10	.38**	–					
9. Manager Experience	1.48 (0.50)	1-2	.01	.02	-.05	.08	.03	-.06	-.18**	-.07	–				

* < .05; ** < .001.

Table 2 cont. Bivariate correlation matrix detailing the associations between variables of interest and key demographics.

Variable (<i>n</i> = 262)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Range</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
10. Work Experience (years)	19.46 (12.64)	0-50	.03	-.01	.08	-.05	-.17**	.04	.01	-.09	-.21**	–			
11. Gender Discrimination	1.65 (0.77)	1-3	.07	.03	.12	.04	.05	.13*	.10	-.03	-.24**	-.05	–		
12. Racial Discrimination	1.35 (0.62)	1-3	-.03	-.02	.03	.10	.04	.05	.003	-.14*	-.17**	-.14*	.40**	–	
13. Sexual Orientation Discrimination	1.16 (0.47)	1-3	.03	-.07	.05	.02	-.11	.08	-.08	-.03	-.19**	.05	.32**	.34**	–
14. Age	42.39 (13.87)	18-79	.07	.03	.09	-.03	-.14*	-.05	.08	-.03	-.14*	.88**	-.13*	-.22**	.001

* < .05; ** < .001.

Hypothesis 1

First, I tested hypotheses 1a-c of the main effects of risk on each goal (i.e., protection, liking, respect) by completing three t-tests (see Table 3). As predicted, results indicated no difference between participants in the high risk condition versus the low risk condition in their protection goal. Also as predicted, participants did significantly differ in their liking goal, such that those in the high risk condition had a higher liking goal than those in the low risk condition. For hypothesis 1c, the respect goal did not significantly differ between the high risk and low risk conditions, contrary to predictions.

Table 3. Independent samples t-tests of risk to each goal—protection, liking, respect—for Study 1.

Variable	Condition				<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Low Risk		High Risk				
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Protection Goal [√]	4.06	0.90	3.99	0.87	0.63	.53	0.08
Liking Goal [√]	2.82	1.07	3.16	1.11	-2.53	.01	-0.31
Respect Goal ^x	3.95	0.93	4.13	0.83	-1.65	.10	-0.20

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. [~] indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. ^x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 2

Next, I assessed the effects of the three goals on each behavioral intention (i.e., avoid, repair, confront) which were hypotheses 2a-c (see Table 4). I conducted a simultaneous regression for each hypothesis with the behavioral intentions as the dependent variable and predictor variables of protection, liking, and respect goals. For hypothesis 2a, the dependent variable was avoidance intention. As predicted, the protection goal was the only predictor and significantly influenced changes in avoidance intention; and consequently the liking and respect goals did not significantly influence changes in avoidance.

Repair intention was the dependent variable for hypothesis 2b. As expected, liking had

the only influence on and a significant effect on repair intentions. Furthermore, as predicted, the protection and respect goals did not significantly effect repair intentions.

Finally, to assess hypothesis 2c, confront was entered as the dependent variable. Respect marginally predicted increases in confronting intentions, which was in line with predictions. However, the liking goal was the only significant predictor of confrontation and led to decreases in confrontation intentions. Liking was not predicted to have an influence on confrontation intentions. As predicted, protection did not predict confrontation intentions.

Table 4. Simultaneous regressions of goals on each behavioral intention—avoidant, repair, confront—for Study 1.

Variable	Avoidant Intentions [√]		Repair Intentions [√]		Confront Intentions ^x	
	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>
Protection Goal	.22*	.07	-.10	.07	.10	.09
Liking Goal	.05	.05	.38**	.05	-.21*	.07
Respect Goal	.05	.07	-.04	.07	.14	.10

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. [~] indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. ^x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Hypothesis 3

Finally, to test hypotheses 3a-c, that goals mediate the effect of risk on behavioral intentions, I conducted three mediation models, one for each behavioral intention, using PROCESS Macro for SPSS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013). Mediation was tested using a bootstrapping approach, which determines significance of mediation by producing confidence intervals through repeated resampling of the data and does not have normality assumptions (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). A mediation tests for an indirect effect of the independent variable (i.e., risk) on the dependent variable (i.e., behavioral intentions—avoid, repair, confront) via the mediators (i.e., protection, liking, respect) (see Table 5).

The first mediation was the role of goals on the effect of risk on avoidance intentions. Results showed that none of the three goals—protection, liking, respect—mediated the relation between risk and avoidant intentions, which was contrary to predictions. The second mediation examined repair intentions as the dependent variable. In line with predictions, the liking goal mediated the risk to repair link, such that when risk was high the liking goal increased and in turn this increased desire to engage in repair behaviors. The protection and respect goals did not explain the association between risk and repair, which was expected. Finally, I examined confrontation intentions as the dependent variable. Contrary to predictions, the respect goal did not mediate the risk to confrontation link. Interestingly, the liking goal did mediate the association between risk and confronting such that when risk was high, the liking goal increased and this led to a decrease in confronting intentions. This finding was not expected in the hypotheses. In line with predictions, the protection goal did not mediate the relation between risk and confronting.

Table 5. PROCESS Model 4 for mediation of the protecting, liking, and respect on the link between risk and each behavioral intention—avoidance, repair, confront—for Study 1.

Mediators	Conditional indirect effects		
	<i>est.</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
Avoid Intentions ^x			
Protection Goal	-0.013	0.022	[-0.058, 0.032]
Liking Goal	0.017	0.019	[-0.018, 0.058]
Respect Goal	0.009	0.015	[-0.014, 0.047]
Repair Intentions [√]			
Protection Goal	0.006	0.013	[-0.017, 0.036]
Liking Goal	0.097	0.044	[0.02, 0.19]*
Respect Goal	-0.008	0.014	[-0.043, 0.015]
Confront Intentions ^x			
Protection Goal	-0.008	0.018	[-0.048, 0.027]
Liking Goal	-0.067	0.038	[-0.157, -0.008]*
Respect Goal	0.034	0.03	[-0.009, 0.105]

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. [~] indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. ^x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Exploratory coding analyses

Within the study, participants were asked to provide open-ended responses to four of the interview questions, with two of them being sexist questions (i.e., “do you have a boyfriend?” and “do people find you desirable?”). These responses were coded by undergraduate research assistants using a coding form to assess the presence or absence of certain response types and the overall vibe of the response (see Appendix K). There were six research assistants who were put into three coding pairs. Each pair coded the same responses and were assessed for their interrater reliability which was averaged among the three pairs for an average interrater reliability of .84. For responses where the coding pairs disagreed, they discussed and resolved their disagreement to come to a joint decision about their final code.

The responses were first averaged for each sexist question (see Figures 4 & 5). For the boyfriend question, the most common response was “state it [the question] is irrelevant to

position” and the least common response was “state that they would report or share experience”.

The average vibe for the boyfriend question was $M = 2.43$ ($SD = 1.01$), on a scale from 1 to 4.

For the desirable question, the most common response was “provide clarification” through reframing the question or putting a different spin on the question. The least common response was “did not answer” or left it blank. The average vibe for the desirable question was $M = 1.98$ ($SD = 1.02$). To see examples for each response option and the vibe see Table 22, in Appendix R.

Then the responses were grouped based on each behavior—avoid, repair, confront—across both questions to assess the presence or absence of each behavioral response in the participants answers. Responses considered an avoid response were a simple “yes”, a simple “no”, “did not answer”, and “leave the interview”. Responses considered a repair response were “answer question with no indication of offense”, “asks to clarify or rephrase but not disapprovingly”, and “provide clarification”. Finally, the responses considered a confront response were “state that she refuses to answer”, “state it is irrelevant to position”, “state that it is none of the interviewer’s business”, “state that they would report or share experience”, and “indicate disapproval of question”. The last response option, “provide rationale for response”, was for the few responses that were random or seemingly off topic and was not included as a part of a behavioral response option. The average and frequency of each behavioral response collapsing across the sexist questions are found in Table 6. Roughly one-third of participants responded with a confrontational response and/or a repair response; with much fewer using an avoidance response.

Figure 4. Average Use of Response Options to the Boyfriend Question in Study 1: Sorted by Avoid, Repair, and Confront Behaviors.

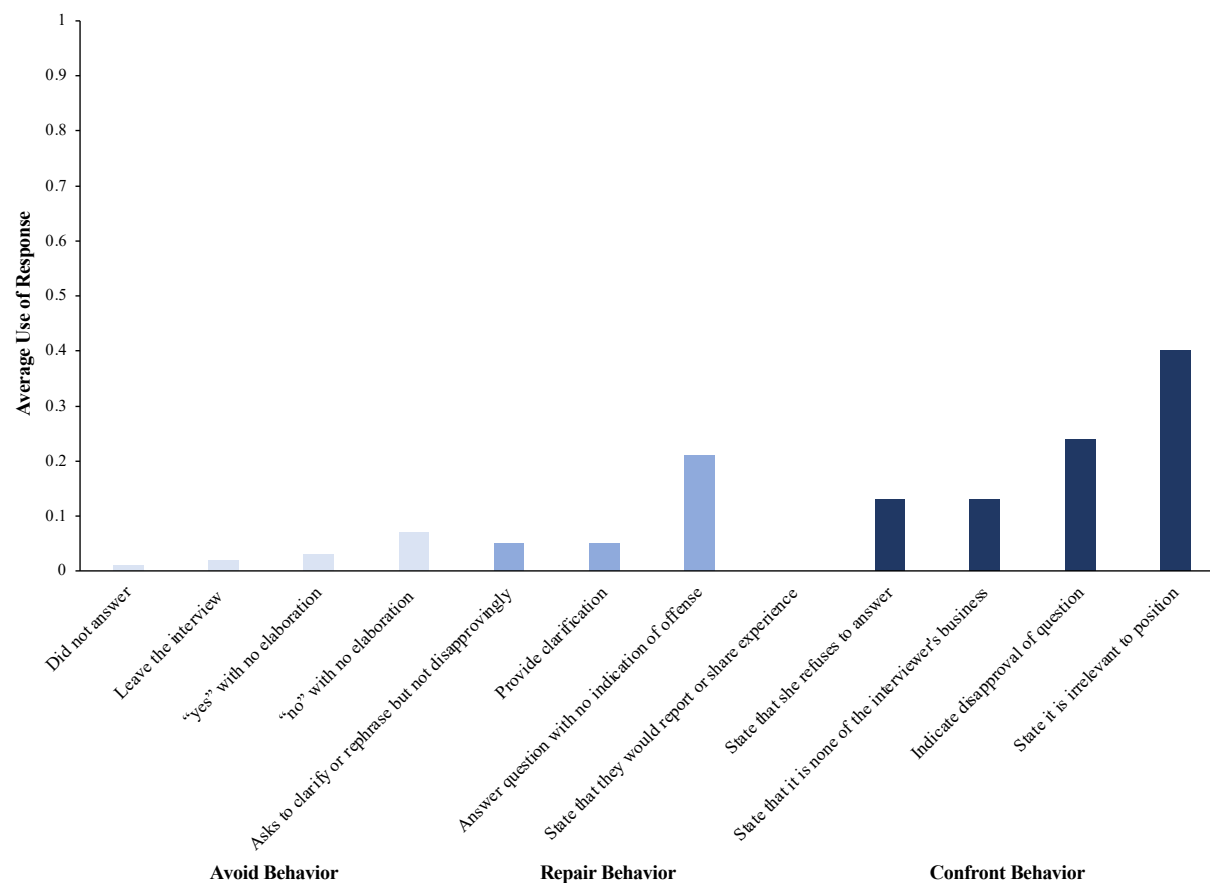


Figure 5. Average Use of Response Options to the Desirable Question in Study 1: Sorted by Avoid, Repair, and Confront Behaviors

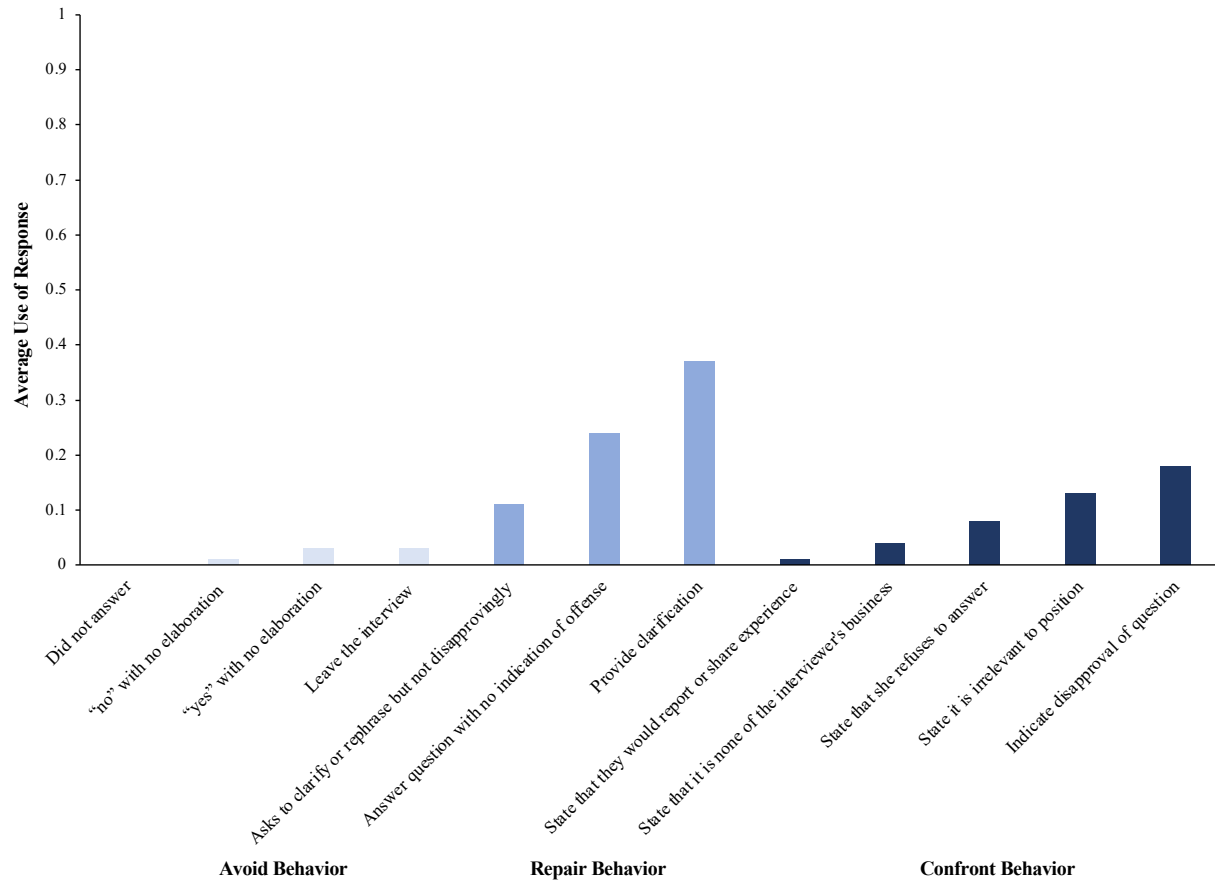


Table 6. Means, standard deviations, frequency and percentage for each open-ended behavioral response type—avoid, repair, confront—in Study 1.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Avoid behavior	0.16	0.37	43	16.4
Repair behavior	0.67	0.47	175	66.8
Confront behavior	0.70	0.46	183	69.8

One goal of the coding was to assess if participants were responding with the same behaviors in the open-ended responses as they were in the close ended behavioral response scale. To assess this, correlations between the open-ended behavioral responses and the behavioral

intention scales were completed (see Table 7). As seen in the table, the confronting behaviors were positively associated and the repair behaviors were positively associated indicating that participants were responding similarly between the open and closed behavioral responses. The avoidance behaviors however were not correlated. Therefore, for two of the three types of responses, the spontaneous open-ended reports of how one would act following bias were correlated with the responses provided using scale items.

Table 7. Bivariate correlation matrix with associations between open-ended behavioral responses, behavioral intentions, and goals in Study 1.

Variable	1	2	3
1. Avoid behavior	—		
2. Repair behavior	-.08	—	
3. Confront behavior	-.43**	-.29**	—
4. Avoid intentions	-.05	.03	.01
5. Repair intentions	.04	.29**	-.35**
6. Confront intentions	-.08	-.24**	.34**
7. Protection goal	-.10	.02	.02
8. Liking goal	-.05	.19**	-.16**
9. Respect goal	-.13*	.05	-.001

Note. Table only shows means, standard deviations, and correlations for the behavioral responses. The means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables 4-9 can be found in Table 2 above.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Another goal of the coding responses was to assess if participants are responding with more than one behavioral response (e.g., repair and confront or confront and avoidance). To assess this, the presence and absence of the three response options were added to get a total sum of the response types for each participant. To determine the number of participants who responded with one, two or three response types, frequencies were calculated (see Table 8). The

frequencies indicate that when considering the spontaneous written description of how they would answer the interview questions, about 48% of participants only used one response type. Over 50% of participants used more than one response type, but very few used all three types of responses.

Table 8. Frequency and percentage of number of response types used in Study 1.

Number of responses	<i>n</i>	%
1 type of response	126	48.1
2 types of response	133	50.8
3 types of response	3	1.1

Finally, the last goal of the coding was to assess if the goals (i.e., protection, liking, respect) to behavior regressions showed the same patterns with the open-ended behavioral responses as they did with the scaled items. Correlations between the coded behavior and goals can be seen above in Table 7. Since the open-ended behavioral responses were coded as present or absent, three binary logistic regressions were completed one for each behavioral response option (see Table 9). The avoidant regression did not show the same pattern in that protection predicted avoidance using the behavioral intention scale but none of the goals predicted the open-ended avoidance behavior. However, the repair and confrontation regressions did show the same patterns in which liking predicted increases in repair and liking predicted decreases in confrontation; and again, protection and respect did not predict these responses.

Table 9. Binary logistic regression of goals on each behavioral response option—avoidant, repair, confront—for Study 1.

Variable	Avoidant		Repair		Confront	
	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>
Protection Goal	-.13	.22	-.16	.19	.18	.19
Liking Goal	.03	.18	.43*	.14	-.44*	.15
Respect Goal	-.29	.23	.01	.18	.12	.20

* < .05; ** < .001.

Study 1 Discussion

The results of Study 1 support the notion that risk can influence goals and that goals impact behavioral intentions. The goal for Study 1 was to both replicate past findings on the goals to behavior link, test predictions for the avoidance goal as it has not been assessed in past research, assess if there is an effect of risk on goals when one has experienced discrimination, and evaluate a potential mediation of goals on the previously established risk to behavior link.

Risk and goals

The findings in the present study both replicate past research and add new findings to the literature. First, I was able to successfully replicate the manipulation of risk in the present study using previous methods (e.g., Shelton & Stewart, 2004). This past manipulation of risk was also used in the confrontation literature alongside the sexist scenario developed by Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001). The successful replication of this manipulation in the present methods, allowed for the assessment of risk as a categorical variable with random assignment and temporal precedence to allow for causal claims of risk as an independent variable.

While there has been some research to suggest that risk can influence goal choice, such as threats to safety increasing the desire for protection and threats to identity increasing the desire to belong (Williams, 2007), the impact of risk on goals in the face of bias has not been studied. The findings do partially track on to the predicted influence of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943). Humans work through stages of motivation, with safety needs coming before belongingness needs. The present research used a scenario in which personal safety was not really at risk and was therefore predicted to not elicit differences between the low risk and high risk groups in their protection goals (i.e., hypothesis 1a), which was supported by the findings. However, the study scenario did key into belongingness desires by manipulating how badly the

participant needed the interviewer to like them in order to be picked for the job and avoid rejection. As expected, I found support for hypothesis 1b that risk would influence liking. When targets were asked to imagine that they really needed the job and therefore had more at stake in the interview, they were more inclined to want to be liked. When individuals had less at stake and did not desperately need the interviewer to like them or pick them for the company it decreased their desire to be liked. It is important to note that the lower liking goal found in the low risk group did not simultaneously show increases in the strength of the protection and respect goals.

It is predicted from the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943), that if protection and belongingness needs are met or relatively low, as they should be in the low risk scenario, individuals can then be motivated by esteem goals, such as wanting to be respected. However, the findings in the present study do not support this prediction. Contrary to the predictions of hypothesis 1c, risk did not lead to changes in the respect goal. One potential reason is that while those in the low risk scenario did not need to care as much about being liked, the risk scenario used also did not explicitly include anything that indicated the participant was being disrespected or at risk of being disrespected. However, it is important to note that while the respect goal did not differ between the risk conditions, the average desire to be respected was high for the whole study sample. Participants did record their present goals after reading both the risk condition and the sexist interview questions, so they had experienced the bias from the interviewer. It may be that while the specific risk scenario did not tap into their need to be respected, the experience of bias may have. When one feels they may have been disrespected as a result of their group identity, especially if that group identity holds a negative stereotype and often experiences discrimination (e.g., women), the respect goal should be activated (Major & O'Brien, 2005;

Shnabel & Nadler, 2008).

Goals and behavior

Another aim of the present study was to assess the influence of goals on behavior after the experience of bias. As predicted in hypotheses 2a-c, the strength of a target's goal influenced their behavioral intention. There is a plethora of research that supports the notion that goals influence behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Brunstein, 1993; Carver & Scheier, 1998; Fiske, 2004; Fiske, 2008; Kruglanski et al., 2002; Mallett & Melchiori, 2014 & 2019; Maslow, 1943), however, there is much less research looking at this relationship when discrimination is present. Mallett and Melchiori (2014; 2019) assessed the influence of the liking and respect goals on behavioral intentions, finding that those who reported a higher liking goal reported higher repair intentions and those who reported a higher respect goal reported higher confrontation intentions. I was able to replicate the effect of liking on repair intentions with increased liking predicting increases in repair intentions while respect and protection did not influence repair, as predicted in hypothesis 2b. In the present study, increases in the respect goal did marginally influence increases in confrontation, which indicates an effect that mirrors past findings and the prediction of hypothesis 2c.

There were some limitations to past research in the confrontation literature on the effect of goals on behavior that the present study looked to investigate. One limitation is the influence of the protection goal on avoidant intentions has not been assessed in the confrontation literature. Based on the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943), when individuals feel there are safety concerns and possible physical threat they should want to seek protection, and experiencing bias can feel like a threat (Allport et al., 1954; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). When one feels like they are in danger, they will engage in a coping mechanism and avoidance is a common coping

mechanism when one lacks resources to protect the self from mental or physical harm (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009; Trawalter et al., 2009). Therefore, it can be predicted that when one feels the need to have a high protection goal following threat, they should cope by wanting to avoid. This was supported by the present findings that increases in a protection goal predict increases in avoidance intentions, while liking and respect goals do not predict avoidance, supporting hypothesis 2a.

Furthermore, another limitation of past research is that liking and respect and repair and confrontation intentions were assessed on sliding binary scales, meaning that increases in one meant decreases in the other. So, participants could not indicate a high liking goal and high respect goal simultaneously and same with the repair and confrontation intentions. While this method was useful for establishing a pattern of the influence of goals on behavior, participant responses on their goals and intentions were not independent. The present research allowed for participants to provide independent responses for each goal and behavioral intention to assess if multiple goals could have simultaneous effects on the behavioral intentions. The findings for the influence of goals on the avoidance and repair intentions did not indicate additional goals influencing them, outside the one expected to predict them (i.e., protection predicting avoidance and liking predicting repair). However, when assessing the influence of goals on confrontation intentions, in addition to the predicted effect that respect predicting increases in confrontation intentions, liking was found to predict decreases in confrontation. In a way, this finding suggests that a high liking goal may be an inhibitor to a target confronting. This unpredicted finding tracks with research on belonging in that those who have a high need to be liked would not want to do anything to jeopardize their belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008; Leary & Baumeister, 2000), and confrontation may lead to increases in rejection via

backlash (Czopp, 2019; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Monteith et al., 2022; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Therefore, those who want to be liked would likely avoid confrontation and turn to responses that would ensure they are not rejected, such as repair behaviors. These findings also lend themselves to theories that women may experience one of many goals following sexism and that the interplay of these can lead to multiple responses outside of confrontation (e.g., avoidance and repair) or inhibit some responses (e.g., liking on confrontation), further supporting that responses outside of confrontation happen and may be more suitable than confrontation (Brunstein, 1993; Fiske, 2004; Kruglanski et al., 2002; Mallett & Melchiori, 2014; 2019).

Goals as mediators of risk on behavior

Finally, the present research aimed to establish the influence of goals on the risk to behavior effect. Past literature has assessed the pieces of this mediation but never all together. The impact of risk on decisions to confront or not has been assessed using the same risk manipulation (Shelton & Stewart, 2004) and sexist scenario (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001) as used in the present research. This past research has found that risk influences decisions to confront such that increased risk decreased confrontations both online and in person (Shelton & Stewart, 2004). However, as discussed in the prior sections, targets may consider behavioral responses outside of confrontation (e.g., avoidance and repair) and that the behavior one may choose is influenced by their goals. Therefore, the present study looked to establish that this risk to confrontation effect found in past research is mediated by goals, and that there are more behavioral options than confrontation or no confrontation.

Unexpectedly, the only mediation effects found were the indirect effect of liking on the risk to repair link and on the risk to confrontation link. These findings support hypothesis 3b, that

liking would mediate the risk to repair link, but not 3a, that protection would mediate the risk to avoidance link, or 3c, that respect would influence the risk to confrontation link. The mediation of liking on the risk to confrontation effect was not predicted. These findings are interesting because it is displaying the push and pull that goals have on behavioral intentions and in particular the differing impact that the liking goal has on behavioral outcomes. These findings suggest that when a liking goal is one's strongest goal it leads to the desire to act in ways that will increase belonging and not risk rejection such as repair behaviors (e.g., staying engaged in the interview and answering all the questions or joking to appear unbothered) and at the same time will increase the desire to avoid behaviors that may lead to rejection and jeopardize belonging such as confronting behaviors (e.g., directly addressing the inappropriateness of the questions or reporting him to human resources). These findings support theories on human desire to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Leary & Baumeister, 2000). Belonging is important to humans as social beings because it helps with survival, so when being liked and included in a group (e.g., liked by interviewer and included in the company) is particularly important and there is a lot at stake if they fail, a desire to be liked should win out and behaviors that compromise this should be avoided.

Exploratory coding findings

The exploratory findings of the open-ended behavioral responses provide some more insight into the patterns of findings seen throughout the study. The most popular responses for the boyfriend and desirable question, follow with past research from Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001), who found that a positive counter, such as stating the question is irrelevant, is the most common response to imagined discrimination and refocusing, by reframing, is a common response to actual discrimination. Additionally, Mallett and Melchiori (2014) found that targets

were less likely to comply with simple answers to sexist questions, and the simple “yes” or “no” responses were found to be relatively low if not the lowest in the present study. Responses indicated that participants opted for a myriad of responses with every response option being present at some point. This tracks with the idea that there are many responses to bias and no one response works for every person or in every situation (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Responses outside of confrontation need to be considered and recognized as acceptable and valid responses in the face of discrimination. Furthermore, more than half of participants responded with more than one behavioral response which also provides support that women may respond in more than one way, whether that be two different responses in the moment or one in the moment and one at a later time, and that initial responses should not invalidate secondary responses. For example, Anita Hill demonstrated repair in the moment but confronting later (Jacobs, 2018), both of which are normal and valid responses to bias.

The correlations also indicated that the open-ended and close ended responses matched up for the confrontation and repair responses. This is an interesting finding as it is often found that in close ended responses targets are more likely to indicate that they would confront than they actually do in real responses, often opting for repair or avoidance responses instead (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). However, this finding may not be surprising given that while they are actually responding to the sexism directly in the open-ended responses, they are still online protected by a screen and not face to face with the perpetrator which may elicit responses more similar to the closed behavior. However, avoidance responses were not related to each suggesting that the open-ended and close ended responses did not match up. This may be the result of conversational norms having an influence on the open-ended behavior. Conversational norms are expected behaviors in exchanges between two parties and conversational norms

dictate that people are typically expected to respond when they are in conversation with another person (Schwarz, 1994; Schwarz, 1999), as they are in the scenario with the interviewer.

Therefore, avoidance responses in the open-ended questions may feel conversationally awkward leading participants to respond with more repair or confrontation responses that better fit into conversational norms expected in the scenario.

Furthermore, based on the correlation findings it follows that the same results were found for the repair and confrontation regressions in the open behavior as the closed behavioral intentions, suggesting that for the confrontation and repair behaviors the open-ended and close ended responses were capturing similar responses. The difference in findings between the open and closed behavior for avoidance likely stems from the fact that very few participants responded with avoidance, which as discussed is likely a result of conversational norms having a greater influence on the open-ended response than the close ended response.

Overall, Study 1 supported hypotheses 1a-b, hypotheses 2a-c, and hypothesis 3b. The impact of risk on respect was not as strong as predicted and liking had an interesting inhibitory influence on the desire to confront. Furthermore, exploratory analyses on the open-ended responses to the sexist questions, revealed similar patterns to those found in the closed behavior analyses. In Study 2 I looked to replicate Study 1 methodology but include a manipulation of trust to examine if the unique effect of trust influences the pattern of findings shown in Study 1.

Study 2

Study 2 replicated the Study 1 tests of hypotheses 1-3 and tested hypotheses 4-6, that trust has a unique effect on risk influencing the effect of risk on goals. The relationship between trust and risk has long been studied, suggesting that trust is a social tool used by humans to overcome risks in social interactions and interpersonal relationships (Mayer et al., 1995). If trust

is able to mitigate the effects of risk on goal choice and behavioral responses, it may be able to explain why some people confront in a risky situation. Therefore, the mediation model tested in Study 1 was replicated and extended to a moderated-mediation model to assess the role of trust.

Study 2 Method

Design

The study employed a 2(risk: high vs. low) x 2(trust: high vs. neutral) between-participant design to assess target goal strength and behavioral intentions following a sexist interaction.

Power Analyses

A G*Power 3.1(Erdfelder et al., 1996; Faul et al., 2007) analysis was conducted using the same assumptions as in Study 1. The only difference in the input parameters was the number of groups changing from two to four, and it yielded a same sample size of 219. Again, another 20% will be added to account for inattentive participants and adjusted for even cells leading to a sample size of 262. Following the completion of Study 2, using the effect sizes from the regression analyses, a post hoc power analysis using G*Power 3.1 (Erdfelder et al., 1996; Faul et al., 2007) determined that the study was appropriately powered (power = .94).

Participants

Via Cloud Research, a sample of 264 adult women, mostly White (72.9% White, 27.1% non-White) who are U.S. citizens between the ages 18 to 78 years old ($M = 40.83$, $SD = 12.08$) were recruited. Participants were compensated \$1.50 for the 12-minute study, if the study was completed in good faith (i.e., 50% of attention checks are passed and they complete the study materials). One participant failed the attention checks and one indicated that they were male, so they were not included in the study.

Procedure

The procedure of Study 2 was mostly the same as Study 1, with participants starting by agreeing to an informed consent (see Appendix S). Then they were randomly assigned to either read the high trust manipulation or the neutral trust manipulation (Liu et al., 2022; see Appendix T). In the high trust manipulation, participants were told to imagine they are waiting in the lobby for a job interview and are having a conversation with an assistant who discusses how trustworthy the managers are at the company (e.g., trust they will look out for employees). In the neutral trust manipulation, participants were told to imagine the same scenario but this time the assistant just talks about the finances of the company (e.g., the managers focus on financial decisions). They were again randomly assigned to either the high-risk or low-risk manipulation. Following this, the procedure followed exactly as it did in Study 1, with participants responding to their goals (protection $\alpha = .83$; liking $\alpha = .91$; respect $\alpha = .80$), offensiveness of questions, open-ended responses, their behavioral intentions (avoidance $\alpha = .65$; repair $\alpha = .55$; confront $\alpha = .75$), the risk manipulation check ($\alpha = .87$), and then the trust manipulation check ($\alpha = .83$) before finally the demographics. When the study was over, the participants were told it was the end and automatically sent back to Cloud Research.

Materials and Measures

The materials and methods were the same as Study 1 except the items for the avoidance behavioral intention were updated and the trust scale was also used to assess the trust manipulation.

Behavioral Intentions– Avoidance

In Study 1 the avoidance scale was found to be not reliable, so the items were updated to hopefully create a more reliable scale. In Study 1 the items were, “Focus mental and emotional

energy on yourself to make it through the interview,” “Mentally check out and go to a happy place thinking about what you’re going to do later,” “Finish the interview as briefly as possible with the least amount of effort,” and “End the interview and leave.” Since these four statements were not reliable, I pulled new items assessing avoidance from another study currently in progress to become the new scale. These items were, “Distract yourself (e.g., turn attention to notes or something happening outside the window),” “Mentally ‘check out’ of the interview,” “Finish the interview as briefly as possible with the least amount of effort,” and “Remove yourself from the interview.” The new items were found to be more reliable in the second study than the original items in the first study (see Appendix U).

Study 2 Results

Data Screening

The total sample included 264 participants, recruited on December 15, 2023. Participants were screened in several ways. First, I assessed if participants identified as a woman, then I checked if they lived in the United States (US) and their English proficiency, and finally if they passed the attention checks at a 50% rate. Of the 264 participants, all said they live in a US state or territory and speak proficient English. One participant was removed for indicating they were male, and one was removed for incorrectly answering both attention checks. In the end, 262 participants were included in analyses.

Manipulation Checks

To assess if the risk manipulation successfully altered participants perceptions of risk, I completed a t-test to compare the perceived risk means of the high risk and low risk groups (see Table 10). Just as in Study 1, the findings indicated that the high risk group compared to the low risk group perceived the scenario to be significantly higher risk. I also checked if the risk

manipulation influenced participant's trust in the perpetrator and their confidence in actually getting the job. There was no difference between high risk and low risk in their level of trust in the perpetrator, but there was a difference for confidence in getting the job such that the high risk (vs. low risk) group felt better about their chances of getting the job, which differs from Study 1 where no effect on confidence was found. However, this was assessed to ensure the high risk did not feel they could not get the job and therefore did not try, but this analysis found the opposite effect and both groups had relatively high confidence scores.

Table 10. Independent samples t-tests of risk manipulation checks for Study 2.

Variable	Condition				t	p	Cohen's d
	Low Risk		High Risk				
	M	SD	M	SD			
Risk	2.08	0.89	3.73	0.95	-14.52	< .001	-1.79
Trust	1.58	0.75	1.71	0.75	-1.36	.17	-0.17
Confidence	3.53	0.93	3.85	0.94	-2.74	.007	-0.34

I also reviewed how offensive the participants perceived each interview question to be. As intended, the sexist questions ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 0.76$) compared to the non-sexist questions ($M = 1.25$, $SD = 0.66$) were viewed as more offensive by the participants, paired $t(261) = 45.03$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 2.78$.

Trust Manipulation Assessment

To assess if the trust manipulation successfully altered participants perceptions of trust, I completed a t-test to compare the perceived trust means of the high trust and low trust groups (see Table 11). Counter to past research that has used this manipulation, the findings indicated the high trust and neutral trust conditions did not differ in their levels of trust; in fact, both groups displayed low trust averages with a trust mean of 1.0, indicating that most participants had almost no trust in the interviewer. I also checked if the trust manipulation influenced

participant's risk and their confidence in actually getting the job. There was no difference between high trust and neutral trust in their level of perceived risk and confidence in getting the job.

I completed a post-hoc pilot study of the trust manipulation to see if the manipulation was working as intended, without potentially being impacted by the sexist questions. In past research (Liu et al., 2022) the manipulation had a large effect on trust (Cohen's $d = 3.21$). Participants ($n = 120$) were recruited in the same way as Study 1 & 2 and received \$0.75 for five minutes of their time. I asked participants to read the same informed consent and provided their assurance of focus. They were then randomly assigned to read one of the two trust scenarios (high vs. neutral) and then they were randomly assigned to read one of the two risk scenarios (high vs. low). Finally, they responded to questionnaires on their trust in the interviewer, their perceived risk in the situation, and demographic information.

None of the participants needed to be removed. So, to test if the trust manipulation was successful, I again completed t-tests to assess if there were differences between the high trust and neutral trust on their level of trust in the interviewer, their perceived risk and their confidence in getting the job (see Table 11). Again, I found that there were no differences between the high trust and neutral trust conditions on these three variables, suggesting that the trust manipulation was not successful in the present study scenarios. Interestingly, the trust means for both the high and neutral conditions were much higher than in Study 2, indicating higher overall trust in the interviewer in the absence of the sexist interview questions.

Since the trust manipulation was unsuccessful, my hypotheses 4-6 could not be assessed as previously planned with trust as a manipulated variable. I decided to conduct exploratory analyses in line with hypotheses 4-6 with trust as a continuous variable to see if it would yield

any insight into the potential influence of trust.

Table 11. Independent samples t-tests of trust manipulation checks for Study 2 and for the post-hoc pilot study.

Variable	Condition				<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Neutral Trust		High Trust				
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
Study 2							
Trust	1.57	0.77	1.72	0.72	-1.60	.11	-0.20
Risk	2.93	1.23	2.87	1.23	0.36	.72	0.04
Confidence	3.70	0.94	3.68	0.95	0.18	.86	0.02
Pilot (without sexist questions)							
Trust	3.50	0.62	3.56	0.60	-0.53	.59	-0.22
Risk	2.86	1.42	2.91	1.38	-0.20	.84	-0.04
Confidence	3.45	0.80	3.38	0.96	0.45	.66	0.08

Descriptive Statistics

Bivariate correlations were reviewed between the variables of interest and key demographic variables related to work and discrimination (see Table 12). I first assessed the relationship between trust and the other variables. Contrary to predictions, the liking goal was positively associated with trust in the interviewer, and the respect and protection goals were not associated with trust at all. Trust in the interviewer was also negatively associated with avoid intentions and confront intentions, and positively associated with repair intentions. Furthermore, trust was negatively associated with education level and experiences of gender discrimination, and positively associated with socio-economic status (SES).

Next, I assessed associations with goals. The three goals—protection, liking, respect—were all positively correlated to each other. In line with predictions, protection was positively related to avoidant intentions. Protection was also positively associated with confront intentions, as well as experiences of gender discrimination. As predicted, liking was positively related to repair

intentions. It was also positively related to SES, and negatively related to years in the workforce. Furthermore, respect was positively associated with confrontation, as predicted. It was also positively associated with avoidance, SES, and experiences of gender discrimination.

Finally, I looked at relations to the three behavioral intentions—avoid, repair, confront. Avoidance and repair were associated with confrontation but not to each other. Also, avoidant intentions and confrontation intentions were positively associated with experiences of gender discrimination. Experiences of gender discrimination was associated with five of the seven variables of interest indicating it may be a potential covariate. When it was included as a covariate in the following analyses, it was not found to impact results.

Table 12. Bivariate correlation matrix detailing the associations between variables of interest and key demographics for Study 2.

Variable (<i>n</i> = 262)	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>Range</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Trust	1.64 (0.75)	1-4.83	–													
2. Protection Goal	4.09 (0.88)	1-5	.03	–												
3. Liking Goal	2.94 (1.09)	1-5	.30**	.41**	–											
4. Respect Goal	3.99 (0.84)	1-5	-.02	.47**	.38**	–										
5. Avoid Intention	2.78 (0.97)	1-5	-.23**	.24**	.09	.20**	–									
6. Repair Intention	2.27 (0.84)	1-4.8	.55**	.07	.30**	.03	-.10	–								
7. Confront Intention	3.06 (1.12)	1-5	-.23**	.18**	.02	.17**	.46**	-.27**	–							
8. Education Level	4.42 (1.12)	1-6	-.18**	-.07	.01	.01	.04	-.004	.04	–						
9. Socio- economic Status (SES)	5.05 (1.75)	1-10	.13*	.001	.15*	.13*	.04	.11	.02	.41**	–					
10. Manager Experience	1.48 (0.50)	1-2	.003	.07	.12*	-.01	.01	-.02	-.02	-.03	-.17**	–				

* < .05; ** < .001.

Table 12 cont. Bivariate correlation matrix detailing the associations between variables of interest and key demographics for Study 2.

Variable	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>Range</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
11. Work Experience (years)	18.49 (11.51)	0-51	-.08	-.10	-.18**	.03	-.11	-.12	-.10	-.05	-.08	-.28**	–			
12. Gender Discrimination	1.68 (0.79)	1-3	-.25**	.16*	-.01	.16*	.15*	-.02	.17**	.09	-.03	-.13*	-.03	–		
13. Racial Discrimination	1.28 (0.56)	1-3	.01	.01	-.01	.04	.12	-.05	.07	-.01	.07	-.11	-.07	.27**	–	
14. Sexual Orientation Discrimination	1.19 (0.47)	1-3	.07	.05	.04	.06	.08	.05	.07	-.03	.01	-.12	-.06	.26**	.38**	–
15. Age	40.83 (12.08)		-.04	-.18**	-.20**	-.05	-.14*	-.06	-.14*	.02	-.004	-.23**	.85**	-.14*	-.08	-.10

* < .05; ** < .001.

Replication of Hypotheses 1-3

I first retested hypotheses 1-3 in this new sample to see if the patterns found in Study 1 were replicated.

Hypothesis 1

I tested hypotheses 1a-c of the main effects of risk on each goal (i.e., protection, liking, respect) by completing three t-tests (see Table 13). As predicted, results indicated no difference between participants in the high risk condition versus the low risk condition in their protection goal. Also as predicted, participants significantly differed in their liking goal, such that those in the high risk condition had a higher liking goal than those in the low risk condition. Hypothesis 1c was not supported, as the respect goal did not significantly differ between the high risk and low risk conditions.

Table 13. Independent samples t-tests of risk to each goal—protection, liking, respect—for Study 2.

Variable	Condition				t	p	Cohen's d
	Low Risk		High Risk				
	M	SD	M	SD			
Protection Goal [√]	4.01	0.95	4.17	0.79	-1.52	.13	-0.19
Liking Goal [√]	2.70	1.11	3.18	1.03	-3.62	< .001	-0.45
Respect Goal ^x	3.94	0.84	4.04	0.85	-0.93	.36	-0.12

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. [~] indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. ^x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis 2

Next, I assessed the effects of the three goals on each behavioral intention (i.e., avoid, repair, confront) which were hypotheses 2a-c. I conducted a simultaneous regression for each hypothesis with the behavioral intention as the dependent variable and predictor variables of protection, liking, and respect (see Table 14). For hypothesis 2a, the dependent variable was avoidance behavior. As predicted, the protection goal was the only predictor of avoidance

intentions and predicted increases in avoidance. As expected, the liking and respect goals did not predict changes in avoidance.

The repair intention was the dependent variable for hypothesis 2b. As predicted, liking had a significant effect on repair behavior. Furthermore, as expected protection and respect had no influence on repair intentions.

Finally, to assess hypothesis 2c, confrontation intention was entered as the dependent variable. Contrary to predictions and to Study 1, protection significantly predicted confrontation. Furthermore, as predicted, liking was not associated with confrontation, although it was in Study 1. However, as predicted, respect significantly and positively influenced confrontation, similar to Study 1 where respect marginally predicted confrontation.

Table 14. Simultaneous regressions of goals on each behavioral intention—avoidant, repair, confront—for Study 2.

Variable	Avoidant Intentions [√]		Repair Intentions [√]		Confront Intentions [√]	
	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>
Protection Goal	.20*	.08	-.03	.07	.16*	.09
Liking Goal	-.03	.06	.35**	.05	-.10	.07
Respect Goal	.12	.08	-.09	.07	.14*	.10

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. ~ indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Hypothesis 3

Finally, to test hypotheses 3a-c, that goals mediate the effect of risk on behavior, I conducted three mediation models, one for each behavior as the dependent variable, risk as the independent variable and the three goals as the mediators using PROCESS Macro for SPSS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013; see Table 15).

The first set of analyses tested whether goals mediated the effect of risk on avoidance intentions. Contrary to predictions, results showed that none of the three goals—protection, liking,

respect-mediated the relation between risk and avoidant intentions. This was also found in Study 1. The second mediation tested repair behavior as the dependent variable. Here, in line with predictions and Study 1 findings, the liking goal mediated the risk to repair link, such that when risk was high the liking goal increased and in turn this increased desire to engage in repair behaviors. As predicted, the protection and respect goals did not mediate the effect of risk on repair. Finally, I tested confrontation behavior as the dependent variable. The results of this mediation differed from Study 1 and showed that none of the goals mediated the relationship between risk and confrontation intentions. This finding did not support hypothesis 3c that respect would mediate.

Table 15. PROCESS Model 4 for mediation of the protecting, liking, and respect on the link between risk and each behavioral intention—avoidance, repair, confront—for Study 2.

Mediators	Conditional indirect effects		
	<i>est.</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
Avoid Intentions ^x			
Protection Goal	0.04	0.03	[-0.01, 0.10]
Liking Goal	0.004	0.03	[-0.06, 0.07]
Respect Goal	0.01	0.02	[-0.02, 0.05]
Repair Intentions [√]			
Protection Goal	-0.01	0.01	[-0.04, 0.02]
Liking Goal	0.12	0.04	[0.05, 0.21]*
Respect Goal	-0.01	0.01	[-0.04, 0.01]
Confront Intentions ^x			
Protection Goal	0.03	0.03	[-0.01, 0.11]
Liking Goal	-0.04	0.04	[-0.12, 0.03]
Respect Goal	0.02	0.02	[-0.02, 0.07]

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. [~] indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. ^x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Exploratory analyses of hypotheses 4-6

Since there was no difference between the neutral and high trust conditions, trust could

not be assessed as a manipulated variable so hypotheses 4-6 could not be analyzed as proposed because they would yield results that were not interpretable. Therefore, to still assess if there was any influence of trust on the other variables of interest, I decided to conduct exploratory analyses of each hypothesis but with trust as a measured continuous variable.

Hypothesis 4

For hypotheses 4a-c I assessed whether trust was significantly associated with each of the three goals. The correlations, means, and standard deviations can be found above in Table 12, under descriptive statistics. I found that protection and respect goals were not significantly related to trust in the interviewer. Furthermore, I found that trust was positively and significantly associated with a liking goal. These findings were all contrary to predictions that trust would decrease goal strength.

Hypothesis 5

To test hypotheses 5a-c, that trust moderates the effect of risk on goals, I conducted three moderation models, one for each goal—protection, liking, respect—as the dependent variable, with risk as the independent variable and trust as the moderator using PROCESS Macro for SPSS Model 1 (Hayes, 2013; see Table 16).

The first model tested whether trust moderated the association between risk and the protection goal. Contrary to predictions, trust did not moderate this association. The second moderation substituted the liking goal as the dependent variable. This model showed a significant moderation of trust on the association between risk and liking. As predicted, when risk was high (vs. low), participants were more likely to need to be liked but only when trust was low. When trust was high, there was no longer an effect of risk on liking. Finally, the third

moderation looked at respect as the dependent variable and found that there was no moderation, contrary to predictions.

Table 16. PROCESS Model 1 for moderation of trust on the risk to goals–protection, liking, respect– effects.

Dependent Variable	Interaction Effect		
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>se</i>	95% CI
Protection Goal	-0.15	.15	[-.44, .13] ^x
Liking Goal	-0.40	.17	[-.73, -.07] ^{*√}
Respect Goal	-0.01	.14	[-.29, .27] ^x

Notes. √ indicates that the hypothesis was supported. ~ indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Hypothesis 6

Finally, to test hypotheses 6a-c, that goals mediate the effect of risk on behavioral intentions and this is moderated by trust, I conducted a moderated mediation. Since the only significant mediation model was with repair intentions as the dependent variable, I only tested for the moderated mediation on this effect. The moderated mediation was completed using PROCESS Macro for SPSS Model 7 (Hayes, 2013; see Table 17). Repair intentions was the dependent variable, risk was the independent variable, the three goals were the mediators and trust was the moderator.

Liking mediated the relationship between risk and repair intentions, such that when risk was high (vs. low) it increased the desire to be liked which in turn increased the intention to repair, but this pattern was only found when trust was low and there was no longer a mediation when trust was higher. The protection and respect goals did not mediate the effect of risk on repair.

Table 17. PROCESS Model 7 for moderation of trust on the indirect effect of risk to repair via goals—protection, liking, respect.

Mediators	Conditional indirect effects						Moderated-mediation		
	Low Trust			High Trust					
	<i>est.</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI	<i>est.</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI	<i>est.</i>	<i>SE</i>	95% CI
Repair Intentions [√]									
Protection Goal	-.01	.02	[-.05, .03]	-.002	.01	[-.03, .02]	.006	.01	[-.02, .04]
Liking Goal	.18	.06	[.07, .30]*	.04	.04	[-.04, .11]	-.10	.04	[-.19, -.03]*
Respect Goal	-.01	.02	[-.05, .02]	-.01	.02	[-.05, .02]	.002	.02	[-.03, .04]

Notes. [√] indicates that the hypothesis was supported. ~ indicates the finding was trending in the predicted direction. x indicates the hypothesis was not supported.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Exploratory coding analyses

Just as in Study 1, participants were asked to provide open-ended responses to two sexist questions that were then coded by undergraduate research assistants. The coding methods used were the same as in Study 1 (see Appendix K for coding form). The average interrater reliability between coding pairs was reported in Study 1 (ICC = .84) and the example quotes for each response are again in Table (see Appendix R).

Again, the responses were first averaged for each sexist question (see Figures 6 & 7). For the boyfriend question, the most common response was again “state it [the question] is irrelevant to position” and the least common response was “did not answer”. Similar to Study 1, the average vibe for the boyfriend question was $M = 2.38$ ($SD = 1.04$), on a scale from 1 to 4. For the desirable question, the most common response was again “provide clarification” through reframing the question or putting a different spin on the question. The least common responses were a simple “no”, “did not answer”, and “state that they would report or share experience”. Again, similar to Study 1, the average vibe for the desirable question was $M = 1.94$ ($SD = 0.94$).

Just as in Study 1, the responses were grouped based on each behavior across both questions to assess the presence or absence of the behavior in the response. The groupings were the same as Study 1. The average and frequency of each behavioral response collapsing across the sexist questions are found in Table 18. Just as in Study 1, roughly one-third of participants responded with a confrontational response and/or a repair response; with much fewer using an avoidance response.

Figure 6. Average Use of Response Options to the Boyfriend Question in Study 2: Sorted by Avoid, Repair, and Confront Behaviors.

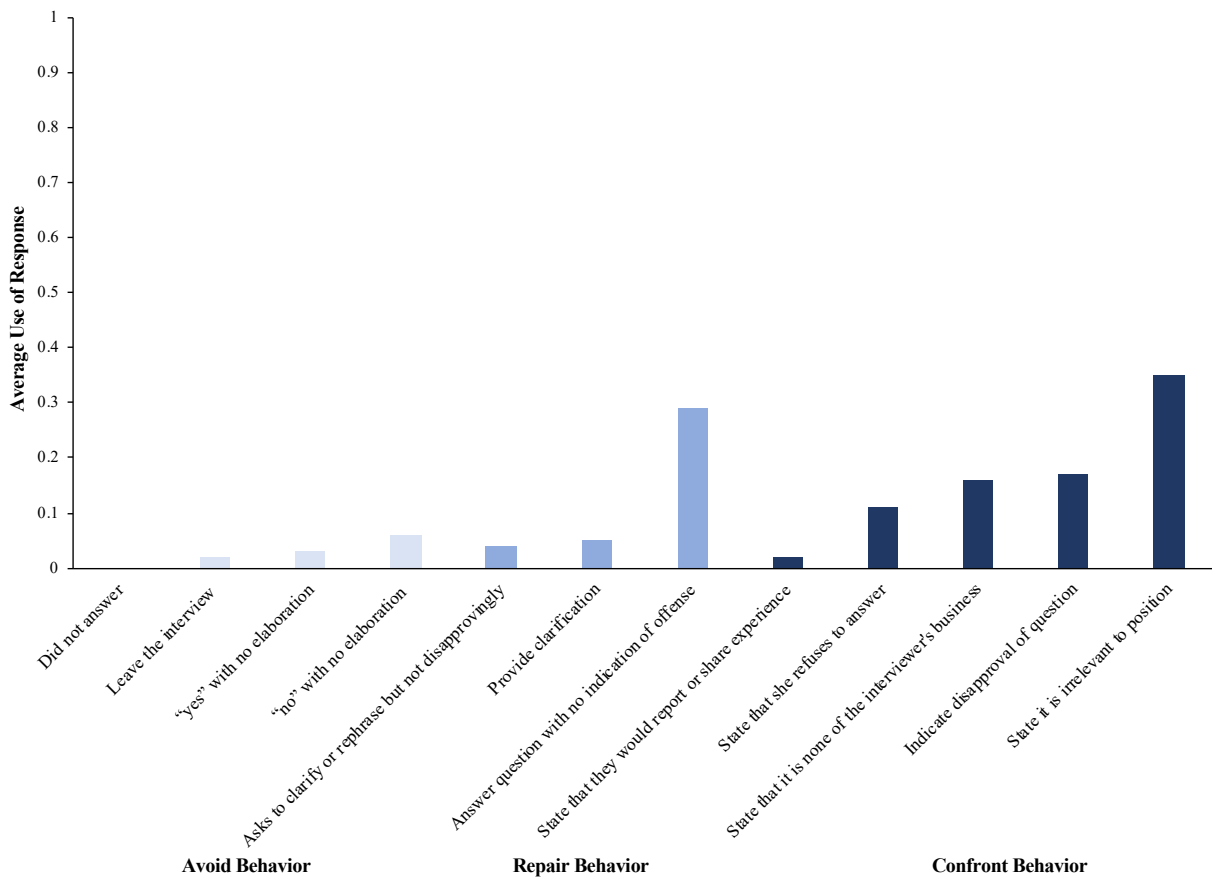


Figure 7. Average Use of Response Options to the Desirable Question in Study 2: Sorted by Avoid, Repair, and Confront Behaviors.

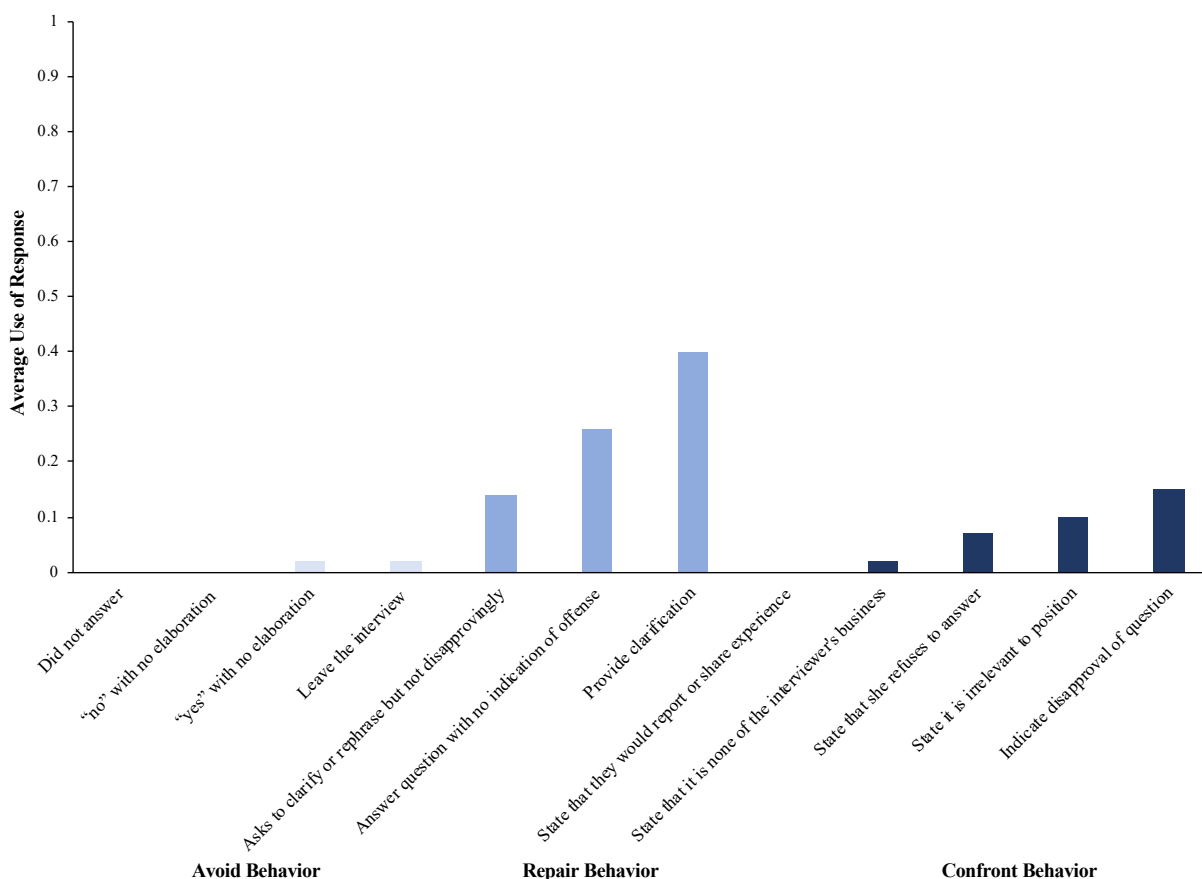


Table 18. Means, standard deviations, frequency and percentage for each open-ended behavioral response type—avoid, repair, confront—in Study 2.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Avoid behavior	0.13	0.34	34	13
Repair behavior	0.76	0.43	200	76.3
Confront behavior	0.63	0.48	166	63.4

The correlations between the open-ended and close ended behavioral responses were again correlated to assess if participants were responding similarly to each measurement (see above Table 19). Unlike in Study 1, none of the open behavior responses were positively correlated with their scaled behavioral intention counterpart, indicating that participants were not responding the same on the open-ended as they were on the behavioral intention scale.

Table 19. Bivariate correlation matrix with associations between open-ended behavioral responses, behavioral intentions, and goals in Study 2.

Variable	1	2	3
1. Avoid behavior	–		
2. Repair behavior	-.08	–	
3. Confront behavior	-.34**	-.31**	–
4. Avoid intentions	.07	-.03	-.08
5. Repair intentions	.04	.09	-.17**
6. Confront intentions	-.05	-.03	.05
7. Protection goal	-.01	-.001	-.10
8. Liking goal	.07	-.02	-.001
9. Respect goal	.01	.04	-.15*

Note. Table only shows means, standard deviations, and correlations for the behavioral responses.

The correlations between variables 4-9 can be found in Table 12 above.

* < .05; ** < .001.

Frequencies for the number of response types participants used were again calculated to assess if and how many participants responded with more than one behavior (e.g., repair and confront; see Table 20). Just as found in Study 1, more than 50% of participants did respond with more than one response, but very few responded with more than two responses. In addition, just under half of participants only indicated one response type.

Table 20. Frequency and percentage of number of response types used in Study 2.

Number of responses	<i>n</i>	%
1 type of response	126	48.1
2 types of response	134	51.1
3 types of response	2	0.8

Finally, three logistic regressions were completed, one for each behavior as the dependent variable to assess if the same result pattern was found for the open behavior as was found for the scaled behavioral intention counterpart (see Table 21). The regressions for the avoidance and repair behaviors did not show the same results as the regressions for the scaled behavior intention. In the scaled behavioral intention regressions, avoidance was predicted by protection and repair was predicted by liking, but none of the goals predicted the open-ended avoidance or repair behaviors. The regression for the coded confrontation behavior did show that respect was predicting confrontation liking in the confrontation intention regression, however it was decreasing confrontation. This differs from the confrontation intention scale regression that shows respect predicts increases in confrontation intentions.

Table 21. Binary logistic regression of goals on each behavioral response option—avoidant, repair, confront—for Study 2.

Variable	Avoidant Behavior		Repair Behavior		Confront Behavior	
	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>SE</i>
Protection Goal	-.17	.26	-.03	.20	-.15	.18
Liking Goal	.26	.20	-.08	.15	.15	.13
Respect Goal	.001	.27	.17	.20	-.38*	.19

* < .05; ** < .001.

Study 2 Discussion

The overall goal of Study 2 was to assess the potential influence of trust on my hypotheses and to consider the novel piece that trust may impact the decision-making process

following the experience of bias. To do this, the same study procedures were followed but with the addition of a trust manipulation to create high trust and neutral trust conditions.

Trust manipulation and assessment

To assess the role of trust in the face of bias, I adopted a trust manipulation from previous work looking at the role of trust in company managers on female voice behavior in the workplace (i.e., speaking up/voicing concerns; Liu et al., 2022; see Appendix T). In the past research the manipulation was very successful (Cohen's $d = 3.21$) however the manipulation was not successful in this study; those in the high trust condition did not differ from the neutral trust condition in their trust in the interviewer. In fact, the overall means for the participant's trust in the perpetrator were very low and a majority of participants had trust averages that were as low as they could be, indicating a clear floor effect of trust in the given scenario. So, I then conducted a post-hoc pilot test of the trust manipulation to assess if the manipulation worked on its own (i.e., in the absence of the sexist interview questions). I found that the sexist questions clearly effected participant's trust in the interviewer as the overall trust in the interviewer in Study 2 was much lower than in the pilot study. This indicates that when the sexist questions were not present the level of trust was relatively high but when it was present trust became low, regardless of the trust manipulation. This has interesting implications for how the experience of bias impacts target trust in perpetrators. Having low trust in another can impact the strength and quality of one's relationship. Without trust it is hard to form bonds and rely on others (Lewicki & Bunker, 1995; Murray et al., 2008; Rempel et al., 1985), which can increase feelings of rejection, lower self-esteem, and increase stress (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This can be exacerbated when one is required to continue to interact with the perpetrator, like in the workplace. While the trust manipulation itself did not appear to work in

the present study, it did provide important insight into how trust is influenced by bias.

The trust manipulation was not successful. In fact, there was a floor effect of trust in Study 2. Because the purpose of this study was to see what, if any, influence trust had on goals and responses to bias, I chose to conduct exploratory analyses of trust as a continuous variable to test hypotheses 4-6. The exploratory analyses looked to provide any insight into the relation between a continuous measure of trust and the other variables of interest. Assessing trust as a continuous variable instead of as a manipulated one means the results lose the benefit of random assignment. Random assignment allows researchers to assume that study groups are equal, reducing the likelihood that alternative variables explain an effect. Third variables are a threat to validity when random assignment fails. When random assignment is not met, study groups may not be equal on the basis of a third variable (e.g., one group has significantly more people who have experienced gender discrimination). This third variable provides an alternate explanation of the variance in the dependent variable, suggesting that the independent variable does not cause the variance in the dependent variable but instead this additional third variable might (Brewer, 2000; Haslam & McGarty, 2004; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2007). The only variable that was correlated with many of the variables of interest (i.e., trust, protection goal, respect goal, avoidance intentions, confrontation intentions) was the experience of gender discrimination. However, gender discrimination was assessed as a covariate in the regressions with avoidance and confrontation intentions and the results did not change. Regardless, random assignment is one of the necessary conditions to claim causation and without this condition being met, the analyses with trust can no longer claim a causal relationship, just an association.

Replication of hypotheses 1-3

A second aim of Study 2 was to replicate the hypotheses tested in Study 1. I examined if

the findings of hypotheses 1-3 were replicated in this study and then assessed hypotheses 4-6 for the impact of trust. I found that hypotheses 1a-c displayed the same pattern as the first study in that the protection goal was not impacted by risk, the liking goal was higher for those in the high risk (vs. low risk) group, and respect was also not impacted by risk.

I also found the same pattern for hypotheses 2a-b in which the protection goal was the only predictor of avoidant intentions and liking was the only predictor of repair intentions. However, I did not find the same pattern for hypothesis 2c. In Study 2 the protection goal was a predictor for increasing confrontation intentions. However, in Study 1 the liking goal was a predictor of confronting intentions by decreasing the desire to confront whereas in Study 2 the liking goal was not a significant predictor. Seeing the protection goal increase intentions to confront is interesting as engaging in confrontation does not protect mental resources as it requires engaging with the perpetrator and it may lead to other harm via backlash which does not protect the self (Czopp, 2019; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Monteith et al., 2022; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010; Phelan & Rudman, 2010). When looking at the overall means of the behavioral intentions, the intention to confront is high and higher than the other behavioral options, suggesting that the sample as a whole had increased confrontation intentions which could help explain this result and is not surprising given past research that shows individual's overestimate their likelihood to confront a perpetrator when not in person (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001), potentially even ignoring their goals. Nevertheless, respect was a consistent predictor for increasing confrontation intentions in both studies which follows with predictions that respect influences confrontation.

Finally, I found the same pattern of results for hypotheses 3a-b. None of the goals mediated the relationship between risk and avoidant intentions (3a), and the liking goal mediated

the link between risk and repair intentions (3b). However, hypothesis 3c did not show the same results as in Study 1. In Study 2 none of the goals mediated the effect of risk on confrontation whereas in Study 1 liking mediated the effect.

Overview of findings for exploration of hypotheses 4-6

When exploring hypotheses 4-6 using trust as a continuous measure, I found interesting results, many that differed from my predictions. Hypothesis 4 predicted that as trust increased the strength of each goal would decrease since higher levels of trust should make the target feel they have accomplished these goals. However, there was no association between trust and the protection and respect goals. Furthermore, contrary to predictions, the desire to be liked was positively associated with trust. These results, while contrary to predictions, may be the result of this unique context. Overall, trust was low but some women did still trust the interviewer even after he asked the sexist questions. This likely says more about the type of woman who would trust an interviewer who asked those types of questions, likely those who have a higher general propensity to trust. was lower,

The predictions of hypotheses 5a and c were not supported in the exploratory analyses in that there was no moderation of the association between risk and the protection or respect goals by trust. However, the predicted pattern of hypothesis 5b was supported, such that women who still had relatively high trust following the sexist questions, wanted to be liked by the interviewer regardless of how much they needed the job. When women had low trust following the sexist questions though, they showed the predicted effect of having a stronger liking goal when they needed the job than when they did not. Finally, as follows from the moderation and mediation effects, the findings did not support hypotheses 6a and c but did support hypothesis 6b. There was no mediation between risk and avoidant intentions via the protection goal and this pattern

remained regardless of the level of trust (6a). There was also no mediation between risk and confrontation via the respect goal and this was not influenced by the level of trust (6c). However, the liking goal did mediate the relation between risk and repair intentions such that when risk was high, the desire to be liked increased and in turn repair intentions increased but only when trust was low (6b).

Trust and goals

When exploring hypotheses 4-6 using trust as a continuous measure, I found interesting results, many that differed from my predictions. Hypothesis 4 predicted that as trust increased the strength of each goal would decrease since higher levels of trust should make the target feel they have accomplished these goals. However, there was no association between trust and the protection and respect goals. The findings of the exploratory analyses suggest that, when trust is very low following a bias incident, variations in trust do not impact one's desire to seek protection or respect. While there was no decrease in protection and respect as it relates to trust, they also did not increase as trust increases which indicates that women do not feel a stronger need to be protected or respected when trust is relatively high—under these conditions. The associations between trust and protection and respect are not well documented with just a few studies finding an association between them (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Williams, 2007; Willie, 2000) and it could be that these constructs do not always have an impact on the other, as indicated in these findings. People tend to feel safe around those they trust (Lewis & Weigert, 1985) however if someone is acting in a way that feels threatening (e.g., asking sexist questions), one's trust in them may not matter in their desire to seek protection in that moment. And this pattern may also be true of the relationship between trust and respect, suggesting that one's trust in another may not matter in considerations of some goals. It is also important to note that trust

was low in this study as a result of experiencing sexism. Even those with “higher” trust had average trust scores lower than the median response option. Therefore, it is reasonable to posit that with trust being so low, the expected findings that trust would decrease goals as a result of them being fulfilled was not possible. If trust is so low, then most participants would not feel like their goals are being met and therefore no effect is found. It may be possible that when assessing this relationship in a sample where individuals actually do have high trust, the predicted effect would be found.

Furthermore, contrary to predictions, the desire to be liked was positively associated with trust. The positive association between trust and the liking goal is interesting because past findings indicate that when one has high trust in another, they also tend to like that person and vice versa (Hawke & Heffernan, 2006; Montoya & Pittinsky, 2011), which led to the prediction that when trust is high, liking in the other should be high and therefore the need to be liked fulfilled. These results, while contrary to predictions, may be the result of this unique context. Overall, trust was low but some women did still trust the interviewer even after he asked the sexist questions. This likely says more about the type of woman who would trust an interviewer who asked those types of questions, likely one who has a higher general propensity to trust. Additionally, what could be happening with these women is that they also have more general liking toward the interviewer as liking is positively associated with trust (i.e., “I like people I trust”). However, the experience of bias threatens this liking and so the target wants to bring this liking back up leading to a desire to be liked. Whereas those with low trust may have little to no liking toward the perpetrator and so the experience of bias cannot threaten liking that was never there.

Trust and behavior

When considering the findings of the exploratory analyses of hypotheses 5 and 6, protection and respect were not influenced by trust or risk even though they did influence the participant's intended behavior, so there was no moderation or moderated mediation. This is contrary to the predictions of hypotheses 5a and 5c that there would be a moderation effect of risk and trust on both protection and respect. Additionally, as follows from the absent moderation and mediation effects relating to the protection and respect goals, the findings did not support hypotheses 6a and 6c either. This suggests that the goals to be protected and respected may be influenced by another factor. In this scenario, the risk in consideration was not specific to risk of physical harm, and so it may be that this specific risk did not warrant a protection goal. One may see an effect of risk on protection only when there is a risk of physical harm or in a real workplace where one might actually lose a job or experience retaliation. A protection goal may also take form when one's cognitive resources are drained (Murray et al., 2008; Trawalter et al., 2009), but the present study was not particularly draining nor was mental fatigue measured. Purposefully exhausting participants' mental abilities or measuring mental fatigue as a covariate may show stronger protection goals to protect a tired mind. Furthermore, respect is commonly a reciprocal construct in which people want to be respected by those they respect (Darwall, 1977), and the present research did not indicate that they should respect the interviewer. The risk and trust manipulations in particular do little to touch on respect, while the experience of bias could feel like disrespect diminishing the reciprocity typical of respect.

However, the predicted effects of hypotheses 5a and 6a were supported, with results showing that liking is influenced by risk and associated with trust while also influencing repair behavior, leading to both a moderation effect and a moderated mediation effect. Women who

still had relatively high trust following the sexist questions, wanted to be liked by the interviewer regardless of how much they needed the job, but when women had low trust following the sexist questions, they showed the predicted effect of having a stronger liking goal when they needed the job than when they did not; and the increases in liking lead to increases in repair intentions. This is an interesting new finding that suggests trust—even with a restricted range—can disrupt the pattern that leads to repair behavior following bias. The need to be liked can be a strong driving factor of human behavior (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and in the case of bias it leads to increases in repair intentions (Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Mallett & Melchiori, 2019) which is almost the opposite of confronting. In addition, as expected when individuals are in higher risk situations, especially when they risk being liked and included (e.g., liked by an interviewer and included in the company) that desire to fulfill a liking goal is strong (Williams, 2007; Williams & Sommer, 1997). However, it appears that those who have higher trust following a bias incident may mitigate the effects of risk, potentially by making the situation appear less risky or the risk of being rejected less likely and therefore make the need to be liked not as important. This follows with predictions based on the literature that if trust is high enough it can mitigate perceived risk and allow the target (i.e., trustor) to take a risk in the relationship (i.e., the behavioral manifestation of trust) such as being less worried about being liked and the repercussions of rejection (Mayer et al., 1995; Schoorman et al., 2007; Shallcross & Simpson, 2012). It is also important to note that while it appears trust mitigated the effect of risk by decreasing the desire to be liked, this decrease in liking intentions did not see accompanying increases in the desire to be respected or protected, as predictions suggest. It may be that trust impacts the risk to liking to repair relation by overall reducing this

effect and opening up the option to explore other goals and the behavioral manifestations of those that may be impacted by other factors other than trust or risk.

Exploratory coding findings

The exploratory coding findings, again provide more insight into the pattern of findings seen in the study. As in Study 1, participants displayed a myriad of response types as well as many responding with more than one response type, indicating that there are countless response options to bias and targets may choose more than one—and all these options are valid.

Unlike in Study 1, the correlations and regressions did not indicate that participants were responding the same to the open-ended questions as they were to the behavioral intention scales. As previously discussed, this is not so surprising for the avoidance behavior due to stronger conversational norms in the open response (Schwarz, 1994; Schwarz, 1999). However, given that participants are demonstrating repair and confront behaviors in the open-ended responses, it is interesting that this is not lining up with those responses in the behavioral intention scales, as they were in Study 1. The open-ended responses provide some interesting insight into how responses may differ between scales and written or verbal responses to bias. Continuing to explore the differences and how they play out in research methodology is important as researchers continue to study confrontations of discrimination.

Overall, the results of this study indicate, that trust in the perpetrator may have less of an effect than originally predicted however, it was related to the liking goal, and therefore repair intentions. When targets feel they have to worry less about being liked they may be able to focus on other goals leading to different behavioral intentions, but these other goals may be influenced by other extraneous factors not considered in the present research, since protection and respect were not influenced risk or associated with trust.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research hoped to provide more understanding to the decisions to confront bias, particularly for females in the workplace. Unfortunately, it is falsely assumed that targets of bias will confront in the moment, leading to harmful beliefs that if one does not confront, the bias either did not happen or the target did not care (Gutek & O'Connor, 1995). This can be especially true for women who come forward much later to speak out against a perpetrator, such as in the Anita Hill case (Jacobs, 2018). It is important to provide context and understanding for why targets of bias often do not confront and instead choose other responses. By doing so, it lends support to targets by validating their response and leading to more acceptance and support. Therefore, the present studies looked to extend past research on confrontation by establishing a link between risk, goals, and behavior; as well as exploring the potential role of trust in mitigating the effects of risk in the decision-making process.

In this research, goals were once again shown to be an important predicting factor in the behavior a target favored following bias. As found in past research by Mallett and Melchiori (2014 & 2019), the liking goal predicted repair, and the respect goal predicted confrontation. Furthermore, the present research found that the protection goal predicted avoidance, which has not been studied in past research. It has long been established that individual goals drive human behavior, especially in interpersonal scenarios (Ajzen, 1991; Fiske, 2004; Fiske, 2008; Maslow, 1943). Therefore, it is important to consider how goals play a role in the decision-making process for how to respond in the face of bias. Research on responses to confrontations have

often ignored the role of goals in predicting behavioral outcomes. Also, past research has often only considered confrontation in a binary, as either present or absent without pulling apart the nuances in response types that constitute non-confrontational responses (e.g., repair vs. avoidance). The present findings support claims that we must consider multiple responses to bias and that these match up with specific goals. The current expectation in society is that targets should always respond with confrontation but this does not match with actual human goals and behavior. People may have differing goals following bias and therefore respond in a myriad of ways, all of which are valid. The findings from the exploratory open-ended responses further support that targets respond in many ways and often use more than one response type. It is not realistic to expect genuine human responses to bias to be neatly contained into one acceptable response.

To better understand the role of goals in targets' responses to bias, research must consider factors that influence goal strength. Past research on confrontation has considered risk or similar constructs (cost-benefit, threat, etc.) to be an influencing factor in the decision to confront. Ashburn-Nardo and colleagues (2014) found perceived costs versus benefits influenced decisions to confront, such that those who perceived higher (versus lower) costs were less likely to confront the perpetrator. Further, Shelton and Stewart (2004) specifically manipulated the risk of confronting and found that those in a high risk scenario (versus low risk) were less likely to confront the perpetrator. However, as is typical to past research, these studies failed to consider goals and response options outside of confrontation. Therefore, this research wanted to replicate this manipulation of risk but explore whether risk is actually indirectly influencing behavior via goals (i.e., a mediation).

I was able to successfully replicate the risk manipulation used in Shelton and Stewart

(2004) and explore risk as a potential influence on goal strength. Interestingly, in this context, risk only appeared to impact the strength of the liking goal and this in turn influenced behavioral intentions. The protection goal was not expected to be influenced by this risk manipulation as the study was completed online so there was no real threat and the scenario itself was geared more toward the need to belong and avoid rejection (i.e., needing to be liked by the interviewer and to be included in the company). On the other hand, respect was expected to be influenced by risk. It could be that after experiencing bias from the perpetrator, any and all influence the risk scenario may have had on the desire to be respect could have been dropped. Past research from Shelton & Stewart (2004) and Woodzicka & LaFrance (2001) have included a non-sexist control group in which participants received offensive but not sexist questions, finding some differences between the groups in their desire to confront. To assess if the bias is mitigating any effects of the risk manipulation on the goals, future research should consider including a non-sexist questions control group. Respect is a reciprocal concept (Darwall, 1977) and being discriminated against likely indicates that the interviewer lacks respect for the target (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008) and therefore the target may not be motivated to be respected by them.

The present research also aimed to manipulate trust and assess its influence on goals and its potential mitigating effect on risk. However, the trust manipulation did not work in the present research. The findings showed a floor effect of trust in which a majority of participants had the lowest possible trust score. The post-hoc pilot test suggests that this was caused by the experience of discrimination from the interviewer. This is a novel finding that indicates that the experience of bias destroys target trust in a perpetrator. A future study should randomly assign participants to report trust in the interviewer before versus after the sexist questions are asked to replicate this effect. Trust has been found to be largely influenced by three factors: ability,

integrity, and benevolence (Butler & Cantrell, 1984; Cook & Wall, 1980; Deutsch, 1960; Jones et al., 1975; Larzelere & Huston, 1980; Lieberman, 1981; Sitkin & Roth, 1993; Solomon, 1960; Strickland, 1958). When one experiences discrimination, it likely lowers their perceived integrity (i.e., a person will follow norms and do the right thing; McFall, 1987; Robinson, 1996) and benevolence (i.e., altruistic kindness and beliefs that the perpetrator will do good to them; Thielmann & Hilbig, 2015) in the perpetrator, severely impacting their ability to trust them. Since trust is often leveraged to build relationships and navigate interpersonal interactions (Mayer et al., 1995; Murray et al., 2008), this speaks to the challenges faced by targets as they try to determine their response to discrimination because they cannot rely on trust to judge how others will respond to them and to take risks in the interaction, which may render making a decision more challenging.

As a result of the failed manipulation, trust was assessed as a continuous variable and the only goal related to it was liking. A positive relation between trust and liking has been previously established in the literature (Hawke & Heffernan, 2006; Montoya & Pittinsky, 2011). As a result of this association, those who have high trust in the perpetrator should also like them. Then when they experience bias, some targets still keep some level of trust in the perpetrator and consequently some liking toward them. When people like someone and they experience something that indicates they may not be viewed positively in return, it can feel like a rejection (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). When people experience rejection, it threatens belonging and leads to low self-esteem, in turn motivating people to want to regain acceptance (i.e., “I like you, so I want you to like me”; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary et al., 1995; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Therefore, it tracks that those who have higher trust in the perpetrator, despite the fact that they just experienced bias, would

pursue a liking goal. This would allow the target to regain the liking that has been threatened by the rejection rooted in the discrimination. It also tracks then that those who had low trust after the bias also had decreased liking and therefore do not care if the perpetrator likes them. So, those with low trust in the perpetrator have no desire to be liked by them. Finally, this also supports the findings of the moderation of trust on the risk to liking relationship. Those who are higher in trust want to be liked regardless of the risk scenario because the desire to be viewed positively by the perpetrator is a strong motivator, even for those in the low risk group who do not need the job.

Limitations and future directions

As with all research, additional work is needed to address the limitations of the present studies. One shortcoming of the present research is that it was an online study, and there are common limitations with this method of research. Lots of research is collected online, due to its ease, ability to collect large samples, and typically greater diversity of samples than in in-person lab studies. Conversely, in-person studies optimize internal validity by enhancing psychological and mundane realism and controlling extraneous factors, like outside distractions. The present studies asked the participants to imagine the scenario for the manipulations and experience of discrimination. This meant that we were relying on participants to actually put themselves in the imagined situation and respond accordingly and hope for little outside distractions. To help combat this, we used attention check questions and had manipulation checks to ensure that participants were understanding study manipulations and recognizing the sexism in the interview questions. Nonetheless, it would be good for future research to be conducted in person to ensure that results hold when there is more control, and the scenario can be made to feel more realistic. This is especially important for the present research as it has been found that people overestimate

their desire to confront in online studies (Czopp, 2019; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gutek & O'Connor, 1995; Kawakami et al., 2019; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). In online research, they are not actually face to face with the perpetrator, whereas in person research could create a scenario where they are which would make the situation and the risk involved feel more real, like actually facing backlash.

In-person research on this topic would also be useful for capturing actual behavioral responses to bias. Future research should continue to address issues of construct validity, especially for the behavioral dependent variables. Since research has not consistently considered multiple responses to bias there are no well-established measures of these behavioral responses. In-person studies would help to better document the variety of behavioral responses that naturally occur. This, in turn, could inform self-report scales to tap into these constructs. Ideally, the scale reliabilities for the behavioral intentions would have been stronger, especially for the avoidant and repair intentions. However, the present research did use both scales and coded spontaneous responses to help address construct validity. As mentioned, past research has primarily focused on confrontation as the only behavioral response while research on repair and avoidance is limited and better methods for capturing them need to be developed in the future.

Another important limitation of the present research is the type of risk presented in the scenario. Following past research, the present studies manipulated risk in the context of being positively evaluated by the interviewer. The participant could not risk rejection when desperately needing to be selected for the job and therefore would not want to do anything that would risk not being liked. However, there are other kinds of risk. There is the risk of physical harm, risk to identity, risk to reputation and esteem and many more. Future research could manipulate other kinds of risk and see how those influence goals and behavioral intentions. For example,

indicating that the interviewer is a hot head (i.e., threat of harm), possibly leading targets to indicate a much higher protection goal following the scenario. In the present research, risk did not lead to differences in the protection goal but it did predict avoidance intentions. Altering the risk to indicate a threat to personal harm like this could lead to the finding of a mediation effect of protection on the risk to avoidance link. Other ways of altering the risk that could change the results are having the target complete a complex task before starting (i.e., creating mental fatigue and threat to mental resources) leading to a risk to protection effect or indicating that the target is respected in their community (i.e., could lose this respect) causing a risk to respect effect. This would provide more context for how different goals and responses present themselves in varying scenarios of risk. The real world is filled with endless situations and the context of the current study is very specific to one scenario so looking at more than one scenario will provide greater generalizability of the research.

Finally, unfortunately the trust manipulation was unsuccessful. As discussed, it appears that the experience of bias from the interviewer severely deteriorated trust toward him. As a result trust was very low overall and was analyzed as a continuous variable. It would be good to continue to explore trust manipulations to find one that works in the present research. Trust has been manipulated before in confrontational research (Hildebrand et al., 2023), but the manipulation used an online chat framework that would not have worked with the risk manipulation. Since the risk manipulation was more established in the confrontation literature and replicating the manipulation and further exploring the role of risk was important for the present research, it was decided to keep the risk manipulation and to find a trust manipulation that would be more compatible with the study scenario. A potential problem with the trust manipulation that was used is that the target does not have a prior relationship with the

interviewer, in fact they have never talked, and they are hearing about their supposed trustworthiness from a third party. It is hard to have any form of trust with a stranger and often it is built overtime through reciprocal acts of trust (Mayer et al., 1995; Rempel et al., 1985; Schoorman et al., 2007). In the work done by Hildebrand and colleagues (2023), their trust manipulation included a brief interaction with the perpetrator before the biased incident in which the perpetrator indicates that they would help the target even though it might be uncomfortable to them (e.g., say they would tell the target if they saw their partner on a dating app). Therefore, this indicates that it may be important to find a way to have the interviewer do something directly to indicate their trustworthiness in order to get the manipulation of trust to work. Maybe having the interviewer say something at the start of the interview, such as letting the target know they forgot to grab their purse and to not forget to grab it (i.e., showing that they are looking out for them). Finally, as discussed, the present research focuses on trust in a stranger. From the results, it appears that the experience of bias crumbles what little trust one may have in a stranger. However, trust in a stranger is new and malleable, but what happens when this is a target's close friend or a beloved parent? I believe that when the perpetrator of bias toward someone is a close other, their trust in the perpetrator would be more unbending. Consequently, we might see less of a drop off in trust following bias and see the predicted effect that trust decreases goal strength. Considering the difference between how this plays out in a close other versus a stranger, as seen here, could be important of understanding how trust works in the face of discrimination, including at the workplace.

Conclusions

In sum, while respect and protection did predict confrontation and avoidance behaviors, respectively, the strength of these goals appear to not be influenced by risk or trust in the present

research. However, the findings do indicate that liking is a highly influenced and influential goal, in the present study scenario. It was the only goal influenced by the level of risk and the only goal associated with trust. Additionally, it was the only goal that mediated the risk to behavior effect, both as facilitator for increased repair intentions and as an inhibitor for confrontation intentions. Liking is an important human motivator (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Leary et al., 1995), and the present research supports this and makes it clear that liking must be included in research regarding confrontations of bias. When belongingness is threatened targets will want to be liked and look to repair the situation while also avoiding behaviors that may threaten this belonging, such as confrontation which can be perceived negatively by perpetrators (Ashburn et al., 2014; Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Furthermore, trust and liking often go hand in hand (Hawke & Heffernan, 2006; Montoya & Pittinsky, 2011) leading to liking being more important when trust is present.

The findings support the notion that there are other responses to discrimination besides confrontation or no confrontation. There is nuance to the ways that targets respond and these are influenced by their present goals in the scenario, in which confronting may not be in their best interest. Accepting that these responses are possible and valid can help provide better support and institutional outcomes for targets of sexism. This can be especially true in the workplace where women can experience sexism but currently have limited support. Understanding that people respond differently also increases believability in women and other targets of discrimination by shifting the basis of believability away from target responses by dismantling the current belief that unless they respond with confrontation their claims should not be taken seriously.

APPENDIX A
ONLINE RECRUITMENT TEXT

Title: Interview Questions Study

Description: In this HIT you will answer interview questions and report various thoughts, feelings and behaviors.

Criteria/Qualification Required: Must be age 18 and over, woman, a United States resident and fluent in English.

Reward: \$1.25

Time Allotted: 60 minutes

Keywords: research, psychology, survey, experiment, questionnaire, science

Survey Link: [link to the survey]

Please note: You must provide a participant code for the HIT to be approved

APPENDIX B
STUDY 1 INFORMED CONSENT

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project Title: *Interview Behavior*

Researcher(s): Libby Gits and Emily Budde, MA

Faculty Sponsor: Robyn Mallett, PhD

Introduction: You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Libby Gits and Emily Budde under the supervision of Dr. Robyn Mallett in the Department of Psychology at Loyola University of Chicago.

Approximately 500 women will be recruited for the study. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to examine interview questions and people's behavior in interview situations.

Procedures: If you agree to be in the study, you will:

- Complete the study, 10 minutes or less
- Imagine a hypothetical job interview.
- Respond to interview questions.
- Complete questionnaires about the interview.

Risks/Benefits: There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. There are no direct benefits to you from participation, but the results from this study will help to understand how people interact with others in society.

Compensation: You will be compensated with \$1.25 through Cloud Research if you complete at least half of the survey and pass the attention check questions. Compensation will be granted within 24 hours of the study's completion.

Confidentiality: Your individual privacy will be maintained in all stored, published, and written data from the study. Your responses will be put into a de-identified data file that cannot be linked to you. This de-identified data file will be kept indefinitely and may be shared on Open Access sources so that other researchers may analyze the data. The researcher retains the right to use and publish non-identifiable data, and the results of the research may be presented at academic talks or conferences, and/or in journal articles or book chapters. While individual responses are confidential, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location (e.g., password-protected file, locked file cabinet) accessible only to the researcher upon completion of the study.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you may withdraw from participation at any time.

Contacts and Questions: If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Libby Gits at lgits@luc.edu or Emily Budde at ebudde1@luc.edu, or the faculty sponsor Dr. Robyn Mallett at rmallett@luc.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Clicking the box below indicates you have read the information provided above, had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Assurance of Focus

Dear participant - This study requires that you read questions carefully. We use multiple checks to see if you are reading the questions attentively. Responding to questions incorrectly will result in the termination of the study. We greatly appreciate your time and participation!

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHICS 1

What state do you live in? Select option from drop down.

- Drop down with each state and a “I don’t live in the US” option.

Do you speak a language other than English at home?

Yes No

(If yes) How well do you speak English?

Very well

Well

Not well

Not at all

What is your age?

What is your race/ethnicity? Check all that apply.

Black/African American

Hispanic/Latin American

White/Caucasian

Middle Eastern

Native American/Alaskan Native

A race/ethnicity not listed—please specify:

Asian/Pacific Islander

What is your gender?

Man

A gender not listed—please specify

Woman

Nonbinary/genderqueer

Prefer not to say

APPENDIX D
RISK MANIPULATION

High risk

Imagine you are at an interview for a job in your field. It is a nice day and the commute there was easy. The building is downtown in a tall office building. You arrive a little bit early and are sitting in a typical office waiting area. While sitting in the waiting room, you spend time thinking about the interview and job. It is an important job for the future of your career. The job market is tough for you right now and getting a job offer has been difficult. Given the reputation of the company, you know the other applicants will also be highly competitive for this job. In sum, you really need to be offered the job.

Soon the interviewer comes out to greet you. He introduces himself as Michael. He would be your manager should you get the job. He is a 30-year-old white male wearing khaki pants and a button-down shirt. Michael leads you into his office. His office is very standard with a desk in the middle and two chairs on the other side for you to sit in. After some pleasantries, the interview begins. Over the next half an hour Michael asks you nine questions.

Low risk

Imagine you are at an interview for a job in your field. It is a nice day and the commute there was easy. The building is downtown in a tall office building. You arrive a little bit early and are sitting in a typical office waiting area. While sitting in the waiting room, you spend time thinking about the interview and job. It is not particularly crucial for the future of your career. The job market is not tough for you right now and you have another job offer. Given the reputation of the company, you know the other applicants will be equal in skill to you. In sum, you do not need the job and just want some interview practice.

Soon the interviewer comes out to greet you. He introduces himself as Michael. He would be your manager should you get the job. He is a 30-year-old white male wearing khaki pants and a button-down shirt. Michael leads you into his office, which is very standard with a desk in the middle and two chairs on the other side for you to sit in. After some pleasantries, the interview begins. Over the next half an hour Michael asks you nine questions.

APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Michael starts with these two questions:

Tell me a bit about your professional experiences, especially those not mentioned on your resumé?

How does this position fit into your overall career goals?

Then, he asks you several more questions:

Do people find you desirable?

Would you rather work on your own or on a team?

Do you have a boyfriend?

What strategies do you use to keep multiple projects on schedule for yourself personally?

Do you think it is important for women to wear bras to work?

How do you handle yourself in a challenging situation?

What are some areas of professional growth you would like to pursue in the near future?

He finishes by asking if you have any questions for him.

APPENDIX F
END MESSAGE

Thank you for your participation. You may contact Libby Gits at lgits@luc.edu, Emily Budde at ebudde1@luc.edu, or the faculty sponsor Dr. Robyn Mallett at rmallett@luc.edu if you have questions or problems after the study, or if you would like your data removed. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

By selecting next you will be redirected back to cloud research and marked as completed.

APPENDIX G
ATTENTION CHECK 1

I work fourteen months in a year.

Yes, this is true of me.

No, this is not true of me.

APPENDIX H
ATTENTION CHECK 2

I have never used a computer.

Yes, this is true of me.

No, this is not true of me.

APPENDIX I
GOAL STRENGTH

Please indicate the degree to which each statement is true or characteristic of yourself at this moment on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, 2 = slightly, 3 = moderately, 4 = very, 5 = extremely).

1. I have a “strong need to feel safe”
2. I want to feel secure around other people
3. I try hard not to do things that will make other people harm me

1. I have a “strong need to belong”
2. I want other people to accept me
3. Please select very
4. I try hard not to do things that will make other people reject me

1. I have a “strong need to be respected”
2. I want other people to see me as competent
3. I try hard not to do things that will make other people lose respect for me

APPENDIX J

ACTION TENDENCIES

Please take a second to briefly respond to each interview question (no more than a sentence or two).

1. Would you rather work on your own or on a team?
2. Do you have a boyfriend?
3. Do people find you desirable?
4. How do you handle yourself in a challenging situation?

APPENDIX K
CODING FORM

PID _____ RA Initials _____		Interview Question #	1	2	
Q1: Did the participant say “yes” <u>with no elaboration</u> ? ↳ If YES, skip to The Vibe . If NO:			NO	YES	
↓					
Q2: Did the participant say “no” <u>with no elaboration</u> ? ↳ If YES, skip to The Vibe . If NO:			NO	YES	
↓					
If you answered NO to the three items above and the participant gave a more elaborate answer to the question, please use the checklist below. Put a 1 in the box for her first response, a 2 for her second response, etc. Important: only code for predicted <u>actions</u> . Do <u>not</u> code for predicted thoughts or feelings with this section (save those judgments for The Vibe.)					
A	Did not answer	E	Asks to clarify or rephrase but not disapprovingly	I	State that they would report or share experience
B	State that she refuses to answer	F	Provide clarification	J	Indicate disapproval of question
C	Leave the interview	G	State it is irrelevant to position	K	Provide rationale for response
D	Answer question with no indication of offense	H	State that it is none of the interviewer’s business		
The Vibe					
OVERALL, how offended was the respondent?		not at all 1	slightly 2	moderately 3	extremely 4

APPENDIX L

OFFENSIVENESS OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Now please rate how offensive you feel each interview question is on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, 2 = slightly, 3 = moderately, 4 = very, 5 = extremely)

1. Tell me a bit about your professional experiences, especially those not mentioned on your resumé?
2. How does this position fit into your overall career goals?
3. Do you have a boyfriend?
4. Do people find you desirable?
5. Do you think it is important for women to wear bras to work?
6. What strategies do you use to keep multiple projects on schedule for yourself personally?
7. Would you rather work on your own or on a team?
8. How do you handle yourself in a challenging situation?
9. What are some areas of professional growth you would like to pursue in the near future?

APPENDIX M

OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE

Please tell us how you think you would react if you were really experiencing the interview. What would you think about the interview questions? How would you respond, and why would you act that way?

APPENDIX N
BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

To what extent can you see yourself doing each of the following after the interviewer's questions? Please respond on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all likely, 2 = slightly likely, 3 = moderately likely, 4 = very likely, 5 = extremely likely)

1. Focus mental and emotional energy on yourself to make it through the interview
2. Mentally check out and go to a happy place thinking about what you're going to do later
3. Finish the interview as quickly and briefly as possible with the least amount of effort
4. End the interview and leave

1. Change subject by starting to ask questions about the job and company
2. Stay engaged in the interview and answer all the questions
3. Say you agree that these are important questions to ask
4. Please select slightly likely
5. Make a joke to appear unbothered: "yes, people do find me a desirable candidate for this type of job"

1. Say something to address them, like "What makes you think these questions are appropriate? Do you ask them of the male interviewees?"
2. Make an obvious loud noise or gesture of disapproval
3. Reach out to company leaders about interviewer's questions
4. Share experience on LinkedIn while tagging the company

APPENDIX O
RISK MANIPULATION CHECK

Please indicate the degree to which you think each statement true is on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all true, 2 = slightly true, 3 = moderately true, 4 = very true, 5 = extremely true).

1. This interview is high-pressure.
2. There is low personal risk in this interview.
3. The interview has high cost to you personally.
4. This interview is high stakes.
5. Before this interview, I felt confident that I had a good chance of getting this job.

APPENDIX P

TRUST MANIPULATION CHECK

Please indicate the degree to which you think each statement true is on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all true, 2 = slightly true, 3 = moderately true, 4 = very true, 5 = extremely true).

1. I believe that the interviewer will look out for my interests.
2. The interviewer can be trusted.
3. I believe that the interviewer can do things that benefit me.
4. The interviewer is untrustworthy.
5. I believe the interviewer will act benevolently toward me.
6. The interviewer has integrity.

APPENDIX Q
DEMOGRAPHICS 2

Please fill in the information below.

What is your highest level of education?

Less than high school

High school diploma or equivalent

Some college but no degree

Associate's degree

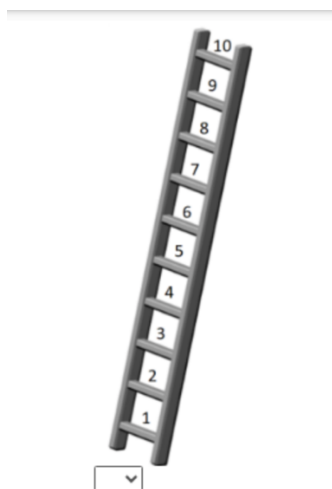
Bachelor's degree

Higher than bachelor's degree

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States. At the top of the ladder (10) are the people who are best off — those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom (1) are the people who are worst off — those who have the least money, the least education, the least respected jobs, or no job. The higher you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.

Where would you place yourself on this ladder?

Please report on the drop down the number that corresponds to the rung where you think you stand at this time in your life relative to other people in the United States



1. Do you have any experience in a managerial role?

Yes

No

2. How long have you been in the work force?

3. Over the past 5 years, how often have you experienced discriminatory events in the work place (i.e., any event in which you experienced discrimination, microaggressions, harassment) because of your:

(1 = never; 2 = 1-2 times; 3 = 3 or more times)

Gender

Racial or ethnic identity

Sexual orientation

APPENDIX R
EXAMPLE QUOTES

Table 22. Example quotes for each response option to the open-ended behavior questions.

Response option	Example quote
Avoidance Behavior	
“yes” with no elaboration	“yes”
	“yes, I do”
“no” with no elaboration	“no”
	“no, I don’t.”
Did not answer	Left response blank.
Leave the interview	“I’m leaving this interview”
	“This interview is over.”
Repair Behavior	
State that she refuses to answer	“I’m not comfortable answering this question”
	“I’m not going to answer that”
Answer question with no indication of offense	“Yes, I have a boyfriend”
	“No, I’m single.”
	“Yes, people think I’m desirable”
	“I don’t know”
Asks to clarify or rephrase but not disapprovingly	“I think you might be asking me that as a test? If so, I can assure you I can handle inappropriate conversations with tact!”
	“Why do you ask?”
Provide clarification	“At work they do, I’m smart and get the job done” (desirable job qualifications)
	“Yeah, they see me as a natural leader”

Table 22 cont. Example quotes for each response option to the open-ended behavior questions.

Response option	Example quote
Confrontation Behavior	
State it is irrelevant to position	<p>“I don’t see how this is relevant to getting the job”</p> <p>“I’m not sure how this question is applicable to the job at hand.”</p> <p>“That has nothing to do with the job qualifications.”</p>
State that it is none of the interviewer’s business	<p>“I like to keep work and personal life separate”</p> <p>“That is not any of your business”</p>
State that they would report or share experience	<p>“I will be reporting you to your HR department”</p> <p>“I’d like to talk to your supervisor about this behavior”</p>
Indicate disapproval of question	<p>“This is extremely unprofessional to ask me”</p> <p>“Do you think this is an okay thing to ask in an interview?”</p> <p>“I find this to be an inappropriate question”</p>

Table 22 cont. Example quotes for each response option to the open-ended behavior questions.

Response option	Example quote
	Other responses
Provide rationale for response	“Would you like to meet him he's outside in the car?”
Vibe—extremely offended	<p>“That is a very personal question. I am almost certain that is actually illegal to ask a question like that with the intent of using it to determine my eligibility for this job. It is also unprofessional, but if you must know I do not have a boyfriend, I have a lovely husband.”</p> <p>“That's an inappropriate question and irrelevant. I am walking out now, and filing a formal complaint.”</p> <p>“At this point I'd get up and see myself out because this dude is creepy and I would not choose to work for him.”</p> <p>“Is this a serious job interview? (I think I would walk out now, especially if this is going to be my manager. Either I won't get the job, if I do get it, I don't want to work for this idiot or a company who employs this idiot.)”</p>

APPENDIX S

STUDY 2 INFORMED CONSENT

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project Title: *Interview Behavior*

Researcher(s): *Libby Gits and Emily Budde, MA*

Faculty Sponsor: *Robyn Mallett, PhD*

Introduction: You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Libby Gits and Emily Budde under the supervision of Dr. Robyn Mallett in the Department of Psychology at Loyola University of Chicago.

Approximately 500 women will be recruited for the study. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to examine interview questions and people's behavior in interview situations.

Procedures: If you agree to be in the study, you will:

- Complete the study, 13 minutes or less
- Imagine a hypothetical job interview.
- Respond to interview questions.
- Complete questionnaires about the interview.

Risks/Benefits: There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. There are no direct benefits to you from participation, but the results from this study will help to understand how people interact with others in society.

Compensation: You will be compensated with \$1.50 through Cloud Research if you complete at least half of the survey and pass the attention check questions. Compensation will be granted within 24 hours of the study's completion.

Confidentiality: Your individual privacy will be maintained in all stored, published, and written data from the study. Your responses will be put into a de-identified data file that cannot be linked to you. This de-identified data file will be kept indefinitely and may be shared on Open Access sources so that other researchers may analyze the data. The researcher retains the right to use and publish non-identifiable data, and the results of the research may be presented at academic talks or conferences, and/or in journal articles or book chapters. While individual responses are confidential, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location (e.g., password-protected file, locked file cabinet) accessible only to the researcher upon completion of the study.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. Even if you decide to participate, you may withdraw from participation at any time.

Contacts and Questions: If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Libby Gits at lgits@luc.edu or Emily Budde at ebudde1@luc.edu, or the faculty sponsor Dr. Robyn Mallett at rmallett@luc.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:

Clicking the box below indicates you have read the information provided above, had an opportunity to ask questions, and agree to participate in this research study. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Assurance of Focus

Dear participant - This study requires that you read questions carefully. We use multiple checks to see if you are reading the questions attentively. Responding to questions incorrectly will result in the termination of the study. We greatly appreciate your time and participation!

APPENDIX T

TRUST MANIPULATION

High trust

Imagine you are at an interview for a job in your field. It is a nice day and the commute there was easy. The building is downtown in a tall office building. You arrive a little bit early and are sitting in a typical office waiting area. An executive assistant is in the waiting room and they bring you a cup of water while you're waiting and say, "You are lucky to be interviewing here, it is a great place to work."

"This company works really hard to take care of its employees. I've been here for 15 years and have always felt taken care of. Everyone that I talk to here, trusts that the company is looking out for their best interests. There is a sense that we can rely on management to make good decisions about the future. I've seen bad actors get dismissed which gives me confidence in the way this company is run. One time I had an issue with a co-worker and my supervisor was quick to handle the situation in a fair and honest manner. I hope you have a good interview and if everything works out, I'll see you around."

Neutral trust

Imagine you are at an interview for a job in your field. It is a nice day and the commute there was easy. The building is downtown in a tall office building. You arrive a little bit early and are sitting in a typical office waiting area. An executive assistant is in the waiting room and they bring you a cup of water while you're waiting and say, "You are lucky to be interviewing here, it is a fine place to work."

"This company works really hard to take care of the business. I've been here for 15 years and have always felt committed to my work. Everyone that I talk to here, trusts that the company is always looking out for the next big thing. There is a sense that we can rely on management to make good decisions about finances. I've seen bad ideas dismissed, which gives me confidence in the way this company is run. One time there was an issue with a possible new venture and my supervisor was quick to shoot it down and handle the situation in a practical and efficient manner. I hope you have a good interview and if everything works out, I'll see you around."

APPENDIX U

STUDY 2 AVOIDANCE SCALE

To what extent can you see yourself doing each of the following after the interviewer's questions? Please respond on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all likely, 2 = slightly likely, 3 = moderately likely, 4 = very likely, 5 = extremely likely)

1. Distract yourself (e.g., turn attention to notes or something happening outside the window)
2. Mentally 'check out' of the interview
3. Finish the interview as briefly as possible with the least amount of effort
4. Remove yourself from the interview

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