

A TARGET CENTERED APPROACH TO EXAMINING CONFRONTATIONS OF SEXISM:
IDENTIFYING DIMENSIONS AND EXPLORING IMPACT

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

Although the effects of confronting sexism have been examined in the past, no research to date has demonstrated the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism differ. Furthermore, previous research has neglected to examine how different forms of sexism confrontations may differentially impact the workplace experiences of female targets experiencing these sexist actions. Thus, the goal of the proposed two-part study is to examine how confrontations of sexism commonly differ and the workplace implications of these differences. For the first study, data were collected from 348 individuals recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) who had witnessed a sexist encounter in the workplace that was subsequently confronted. Using conventional content analysis, it was found that the most common differences in confrontations of sexism included the identity of the confronter, the tone of the confrontation, the location of the confrontation, the number of confronters, and the timing of the confrontation. In order to test the outcomes of these differences, I assessed the job stress, turnover intentions, perceived organizational support, job satisfaction, and psychological workplace diversity climate of women targets following instances of sexism that were either confronted or not. This study will aid researchers in understanding the dimensionality of sexism confrontations as well as the relationship between these dimensions and important workplace outcomes. This study will also provide useful information for practitioners intent on educating allies and targets on the best ways to confront sexism at work.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my grandmother, whose unending love and support encouraged me to complete this research.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

Contributors

This work was supervised by a thesis committee consisting of Assistant Professor Isaac E. Sabat of the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, Professor Mindy E. Bergman of the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, and Professor Theresa Morris of the Department of Sociology.

All other work conducted for this thesis was completed by the student, under the advisement of Dr. Isaac E. Sabat.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. PERVASEINNESS AND OUTCOMES OF SEXISM	3
3. CONFRONTATIONS OF PREJUDICE	4
4. STUDY 1 – METHOD	8
5. STUDY 1 – RESULTS	11
6. STUDY 1 – DISCUSSION	13
7. STUDY 2	14
7.1 Confronting vs. not Confronting.....	15
7.2 Identity of the Confronter	16
7.3 Location of the Confrontation.....	17
7.4 Tone of the Confronters	19
7.5 Number of Confronters	20
7.6 Timing of the Confrontation	22
7.7 Interactions between Dimensions	23
8. STUDY 2 – METHOD	25
8.1 Participants.....	25
8.2 Procedure	26
8.3 Measures	27
8.3.1 Identity of the Confronter	27
8.3.2 Location of the Confrontation.....	27
8.3.3 Tone of the Confrontation.....	27

	Page
8.3.4 Number of Confronters	27
8.3.5 Timing of the Confrontation	28
8.3.6 Job Stress	28
8.3.7 Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	28
8.3.8 Turnover Intentions.....	28
8.3.9 Job Satisfaction	29
8.3.10 Perceived Organizational Support	29
 9. STUDY 2 – RESULTS	 30
9.1 Confronting vs. not Confronting.....	30
9.2 Identity of the Confronter	31
9.3 Location of the Confrontation.....	34
9.4 Tone of the Confronters	36
9.5 Number of Confronters	39
9.6 Timing of the Confrontation	39
9.7 Interactions between Dimensions	41
 10. STUDY 2 – DISCUSSION	 44
 11. GENERAL DISCUSSION	 46
11.1 Theoretical Implications	46
11.2 Practical Implications.....	47
11.3 Limitations and Future Directions	48
 12. CONCLUSION.....	 50
 REFERENCES	 51
 APPENDIX A	 62
 APPENDIX B	 63
 APPENDIX C	 101

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES		Page
1	Definitions for dimensions of confronting sexism identified in study 1	63
2	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Identity of the Confronter	64
3	One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter	65
4	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter	66
5	One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter.....	67
6	One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter	68
7	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Location of the Confrontation	69
8	One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Location of the Confrontation	70
9	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Location of the Confrontation	71
10	One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Location of the Confrontation.....	72
11	One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Location of the Confrontation.....	73
12	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Tone of the Confrontation.....	74
13	One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Tone of the Confrontation	75

14	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Tone of the Confrontation	76
15	One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Tone of the Confrontation	77
16	One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Tone of the Confrontation.....	78
17	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Timing of the Confrontation .	79
18	One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Timing of the Confrontation	80
19	One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Timing of the Confrontation	81
20	One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Timing of the Confrontation	82
21	One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Timing of the Confrontation	83
22	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation.....	84
23	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation.....	85
24	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation.....	86
25	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation....	87
26	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation	88
27	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation	89

28	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation	90
29	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation	91
30	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation	92
31	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation	93
32	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Job Stress by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation.....	94
33	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation.....	95
34	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation.....	96
35	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation	97
36	Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation	98
37	Two-Way Moderation Results.....	99

INTRODUCTION

As the diversity of the U.S. workforce continues to grow, the mistreatment of women and the outcomes associated with this treatment are becoming an increasingly important concern for organizations (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Indeed, there is ample evidence to suggest that women often suffer unequal treatment while at work (e.g., Barnett, 2005; Evans & Herr, 1991; Krings & Facchin, 2009) and that this mistreatment is linked with lower overall well-being, career outcomes, and perceptions of their organization (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). One way to address this mistreatment within the workforce is by confronting the perpetrators of sexism. Scholars have theorized that confrontations can lead to a number of positive outcomes for stigmatized targets (e.g., Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010; Hyers, 2007; Swim & Hyers, 1999), but have failed to empirically demonstrate which forms of confrontations of sexism even exist. Furthermore, they have yet to systematically explore how these differences between confrontation behaviors impact women.

Thus, the purpose of this set of studies is to identify the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism differ and the effects of these differences on targets' experiences of job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climate. This is achieved by reviewing relevant literature on the mistreatment of women in organizations and the effects of such treatment. Work done on confrontation behaviors and the outcomes of different dimensions that have previously been examined are also described, including potential gaps in this literature. Using a conventional content analysis, the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism occur are identified. Next, drawing from literature on confrontations, rumination, attribution theory, aggression, and social support, hypotheses are formulated as to how these dimensions of

confrontations of sexism may affect stigmatized targets' job outcomes. Next, the methodology and results are described, followed by a brief discussion of the implications and limitations of this work.

PERVASIVENESS AND OUTCOMES OF SEXISM

Sexism, or “individuals’ attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative assessments of individuals based upon their gender or support unequal status of women and men” (Swim & Hyers, 2009, p. 407), is a pervasive issue in modern organizations (Watkins, Kaplan, Brief, Shull, Dietz, Mansfield, & Cohen, 2006). In fact, women typically experience one to two sexist encounters each week (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), often in the forms of sexual harassment (Holland & Cortina, 2016), sexist jokes, and stereotypical comments (Gutek, 2001). Experiencing sexism such as this is associated with lowered self-esteem, self-empowerment (Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010), and overall psychological well-being (Kaiser & Miller, 2004). Importantly, these forms of mistreatment have not only been linked to various pernicious outcomes for the targets, but for organizations as well. Indeed, when employees experience mistreatment such as sex-based discrimination at work, they are more likely to report turnover intentions (Pearson & Porath, 2009), negative psychological workplace diversity climates (Sliter, Boyd, Sinclair, Cheung, & McFadden, 2014), reduced perceived organizational support (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002), reduced job satisfaction, and increased job stress (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001). Thus, organizations should be motivated to understand how best to remediate these outcomes.

CONFRONTATIONS OF PREJUDICE

One remediation strategy that may help prevent the negative effects of experiencing sexism is *confronting* the perpetrator of sexism. As defined by Race Forward (2016), confrontations involve “verbally expressing one’s dissatisfaction with a perpetrator’s negative behaviors, attitudes, or assumptions”. There is substantial evidence to suggest that confronting perpetrators of discrimination will help buffer against the negative outcomes associated with experiencing prejudice (Drury, 2013; Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010). For example, research has shown that women report greater positive affect and fewer feelings of shame and regret when confrontations of sexism occur (Shelton et al., 2006). This was demonstrated by having participants report their reactions to vignettes about various instances of sexism, in which the perpetrator of sexism was or was not confronted. A similar study used online staged interactions involving sexist messages to show that women felt more empowered when a confederate confronted the perpetrator of sexism on their behalf (Gervais, Hillard, Vescio, 2010).

Confronting prejudice is also a way to exert influence over a potentially harmful interaction by changing the narrative of the situation (Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013). Instead of the interaction being characterized by discriminatory comments or actions, it can become a conversation about establishing egalitarian workplace norms and about how to appropriately speak to coworkers. People can engage in confrontations for many reasons, including changing prejudicial behaviors, standing up for what they believe in, and showing support for stigmatized targets (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Hyers, 2007). Thus, even if confrontations are ignored by perpetrators, they have the potential to mitigate negative outcomes of sexism for targets (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008).

Despite the fact that general confrontation behaviors are seen by the public as an appropriate response to sexism, they are a very under-utilized method of response (Swim & Hyers, 1999). Scholars have theorized that this is often because individuals do not know how to appropriately or effectively confront (Martinez, 2013). In fact, very little is even known about how to confront sexism (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Martinez, Hebl, Smith, & Sabat, 2017) in a way that is especially beneficial for targets (Becker, Zawadski, & Shields, 2014). However, if individuals knew which types of confrontations were most effective at improving outcomes for targets experiencing sexism, they may be more likely to confront (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Martinez, 2013).

Confrontation behaviors can differ in several fundamental ways. Thus far, researchers have examined the tone of the confrontation, the identity of the confronter, the location of the confrontation, and the directness of the confronter's message. Specifically, researchers have examined confrontations that are either calm or aggressive in nature. When confronters are less threatening and accusatory in nature, they are rated more positively by others (e.g., Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Hyers, 2010). For example, empirical studies on confrontations of racism have shown that when participants in lab settings are confronted by confederates over their implicit bias, they demonstrated more negative reactions when confronted in a threatening, versus non-threatening, manner (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Hyers, 2010). Research has also shown that when trying to elicit more positive behavioral intentions among perpetrators and garner the support of bystanders, confronting in a calm (versus angry, hostile, or combative) manner may be the best approach (Becker & Barreto, 2014; Martinez, 2013). For example, Becker and Barreto (2014) had participants read vignettes where confronters either (1) slapped the perpetrators, (2) explained how the perpetrators were prejudicial, or (3) did not confront, and

then measured participants support for the confrontation and feelings towards the confronter. Another difference in confronting sexism that has been examined is the identity of the confronter (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013; Martinez, 2013; Saunders & Senn, 2009). Research has shown that individuals report less guilt but greater discomfort when they imagine being confronted by a stigmatized target (women, Blacks; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Other studies examined the impact of the identity of the confronter by varying the gender of a hypothetical confronter and measuring participants' attitudes towards the person who confronted as well as their perceptions about the effectiveness of the confrontation. These studies found that women confronters were rated less positively overall (Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Saunders & Senn, 2009) and that their confrontations were seen as less effective (Drury & Kaiser, 2014). Consistent with this research, when participants in lab settings are confronted by confederates regarding their implicit biases, confrontations were more accepted when enacted by non-stigmatized confronters (Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013). Confrontations have also been examined comparing the directness of the message delivered (Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Martinez, 2013). For example, a direct confrontation would be one in which the confronter specifically identifies the perpetrator as prejudiced. Alternatively, an indirect confrontation is one in which the confronter states that people in general can act in prejudicial ways. In one study, participants watched recorded videos of actors either directly or indirectly confronting individuals who made prejudicial comments and reporting their subsequent reactions to the confrontation (Martinez, 2013). Some researchers are also beginning to look at the interactive effects of these different dimensions (e.g., Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Martinez, 2013). For example, Gervais and Hillard (2014) examined the interactive effects of two of the dimensions described above - the identity of the confronter and the directness of the

confrontation - and the location of the confrontation on perceptions of the confronters' leadership ability, competence, and charisma, but found nonsignificant results.

Thus, confrontations of prejudice vary in their implementation and these differences are important for understanding the outcomes of these behaviors. However, research has yet to systematically explore the various ways in which these confrontations of sexism differ (Martinez, 2013). Because there is no existing theory to serve as a framework for a study regarding confrontation strategies specific to sexism, I first seek to create a taxonomy for these primary distinctions and then tally how often each of the dimensions are discussed by the participants to assess their commonality.

Research Question 1: What are the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism differ?

STUDY 1 - METHOD

In order to create a taxonomy for these primary distinctions, an open-ended survey questionnaire was completed by 348 individuals recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (Mturk). The majority of participants were women (51.72%) and White (77.3%) with other ethnicities reported as Black/African/African American (9.5%), Asian American/Asian (5.2%), Latinx/Hispanic (6.3%), and multi/biracial (1.7%). Participants' ages ranged from 27 to 52 with an average age of 35.27 ($SD = 11.11$) and reported average of 6.67 years at their current place of employment. Prior to recruiting and collecting data from participants, this research project was granted approval for use with human subjects from Texas A&M University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and informed consent sheet was mandatory for admittance into the study. All participants were required to be at least 18 years old, U.S. citizens, employed 30 or more hours per week, and to have witnessed a sexist statement or behavior that was subsequently confronted. First, participants were asked to describe the instance of sexism that occurred at work in as much detail as possible. Next, these participants were asked to respond with as much detail as possible to the question "How was the sexist statement or behavior confronted?"

A conventional content analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data regarding the confrontation behavior in order to develop categories/themes from the participants' responses to see which forms of confrontations were discussed. Strengths of this type of coding strategy include (1) understanding a social reality by making meaning of qualitative data (Cho & Lee, 2014) and (2) using a systematic, logical, and scientific method for organizing large amounts of amounts of text into a few content categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With this coding strategy, codes are defined during analysis and derived from data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). However, because confrontations between adults are common, the authors and trained research

assistants had prior ideas about the styles of confrontations that exist (e.g., aggressive versus non aggressive). Also, because I had previously reviewed the existing confrontation literature before beginning this project, I was aware of previously examined styles of confrontations (e.g., the identity of the confronter or the location of the confrontation). Thus, the subjective nature of qualitative coding should be considered when considering the following results.

All researchers who were involved in the coding process were trained by reading Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) article on approaches for coding qualitative data, which lays out the steps for coding using a conventional content analysis and provides examples from various topic areas on how to code data. In accordance with conventional content analysis recommendations (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), a trained researcher (a White female undergraduate research assistant in an industrial-organizational psychology research lab) and I (a White female industrial-organizational psychology Ph.D. student) first read through each participant response as one would read a novel (Tesch, 1990). Next, we re-read the responses, this time highlighting text that captured styles the confronter used (e.g., "I casually and jokingly stated..."; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan, 1993; Morse & Field, 1995). As we read the responses, we tried to limit the number of developing codes, and instead tried to make broad categories, only adding new codes when responses that did not fit into the existing categories were encountered, as suggested by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). Once all of the participant responses were coded, some codes were combined in order to reduce redundancy (e.g., calm tone and neutral tone were combined into one category), and others were further broken down into subcategories (e.g., aggressive tone was broken down into yelling, cursing, etc.) in order to capture key differences between codes. Through this process, we organized the final list of codes into hierarchical structures where possible and created a thematic network. Differences in coding between myself and other

original coder were discussed until consensus was reached on all categorizations. Next, the trained researcher and I created definitions for each code (see Table 1). Finally, two additional trained researchers (a Hispanic female undergraduate research assistant and an Asian American male research lab manager both working in an industrial-organizational psychology lab) went back through the data and separated the responses into categories using the coding scheme to ensure its accuracy (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). If the additional two researchers found a recurring style of confrontation that was missed in the original coding scheme, myself and the other original coder found a place for it within the existing thematic network or, in some cases, created a new code.

STUDY 1 - RESULTS

Using this conventional content analysis strategy, and counting the number of times a participant discussed each code, I identified the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism differ, including: a) the identity of the confronter (bystander ($N = 171$), or target ($N = 93$)), b) the timing of the confrontation (immediately ($N = 167$), or after some time had passed ($N = 82$)), c) the number of people who confronted the perpetrator (one person ($N = 200$), or multiple people ($N = 48$)), d) the location of the confrontation (privately ($N = 116$), or publicly ($N = 103$)), and e) the tone of the confrontation (calm/neutral ($N = 147$), or aggressive ($N = 145$)).

Exploratory chi-square tests of independence were performed to examine the relationships between these different dimensions of confrontations of sexism. The relationship between the identity of the confrontation and the tone of the confrontation was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 5.62, p = .02$. Specifically, calm confrontations were more likely to be enacted by bystanders, while aggressive confrontations were more likely to be enacted by targets. The relationship between the identity of the confronter and the timing of the confrontation was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 13.74, p = .00$. Confrontations that occurred immediately were more likely enacted by bystanders than targets. The relationship between the location of the confrontation and the number of confronters was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 9.82, p = .00$. Confrontations enacted by multiple people were more likely to have occurred in public, however, confrontations enacted by one person, were more likely to have occurred in private. The relationship between the location of the confrontation and the timing of the confrontation was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 30.22, p = .00$. When confrontations occurred immediately, they were likely to be done publicly, however, when

confrontations occurred after some time has passed, they were more likely to have occurred in private.

STUDY 1 - DISCUSSION

This study is the first to empirically demonstrate how confrontations of sexism differ, create a taxonomy for these distinctions, and provide initial insight into the commonality between each form of confrontation. Although researchers have experimentally manipulated forms of confrontations of prejudice, the common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism occur have not been empirically demonstrated until now. Recognizing these dimensions is crucial to understanding the outcomes of different forms of confrontations.

Despite researchers' previous examination of the directness of confrontations of prejudice, this dimension did not come up as a theme from participants in this study. This is not to say that this is not an important dimension of confronting sexism, just that it may not be one of the *most* important dimensions of confrontations. However, the tone of the confrontations, the identity of the confronters, and the location of the confrontation, all examined in the literature, did appear to be important dimensions of confrontations of sexism, as they were discussed frequently by participants. This study also discovered two dimensions of confronting sexism that have not yet been examined: the timing of the confrontation and the number of confronters. Given the fact that individuals frequently noted information about these two factors, they likely represent important dimensions that are likely to impact target outcomes. Thus, this work contributes to the existing literature by demonstrating which dimensions of confronting sexism should continue to be examined, as they are commonly discussed by those who witness such confrontations. These findings also underscore the importance of empirically demonstrating which dimensions of confronting sexism are most important, instead of arbitrarily selecting different dimensions believed to be of importance.

STUDY 2

To date, there has been little research on the best ways to confront sexism (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014; Martinez, Hebl, Smith, & Sabat, 2017), and even less specifically focusing on the outcomes women targets face as a result of different confrontation techniques. Much of the confrontation research has focused on perpetrator behaviors and attitudes, but there is very little research on the outcomes that targets experience as a result of different forms of confrontations. This study is the first to take a target-centered approach to examining if individuals should confront perpetrators of sexism and how best to do so such that targets benefit from the perpetrator being confronted, in the form of decreased job stress, reduced turnover intentions, increased job satisfaction, increased perceived organizational support, and improved psychological workplace diversity climate.

Considering that much of the current confrontation literature is conducted in non-workplace contexts (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Hyers, 2010; Rasinski & Czopp, 2010), this work also contributes to the existing literature in that it focuses on confrontation of prejudice between employees in organizations. In fact, other than Martinez et al.'s (2013) dissertation work on confrontations of homophobia, there are no known studies that examine the target outcomes of confrontations of prejudice in workplace environments. In the following sections, a review of relevant theoretical and empirical literature is used to explain how the dimensions of confrontations of sexism identified in Study 1 are likely to impact key outcomes. However, it is important to note that confrontations can take many different forms as they are often complicated processes that involve many factors, and comprehensively examining each factor that plays into how confrontations are perceived by women targets is beyond the scope of this initial work. The goal of this study is to examine the outcomes of commonly discussed forms of confrontations of

sexism in Study 1, with the understanding that these are not the *only* factors at play within a particular confrontation.

Confronting vs. not Confronting

Scholars have theorized that women (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010) and other stigmatized targets (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006; Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010; Haslett & Lipman, 1997; Hyers, 2007) should experience benefits following confrontations of prejudice. Specifically, following confrontations of sexism, women report more empowerment (Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010), higher positive affect, reduced shame (Shelton et al., 2006), greater feelings of closure, reduced anger, and less regret (Haslett & Lipman, 1997; Hyers, 2007). These benefits are broadly due to the fact that when confrontations are enacted, perpetrators become less likely to engage in subsequent prejudicial behaviors (Czopp & Monteith, 2003) and women targets often feel negative affect if instance of sexism are not confronted (Shelton, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006). Thus, to the extent that instances of sexism are related to women experiencing negative workplace outcomes, and confrontations are likely to remediate some of these effects, it is reasonable to assume that confrontations of sexism will result in positive outcomes including reduced job stress, reduced turnover intentions, increased job satisfaction, improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and increased perceptions of organizational support.

Hypothesis 1: Targets of sexism will experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when sexism is confronted vs. not confronted.

Identity of the Confronter

Job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climates for women may be differentially impacted depending on whether the stigmatized target confronts on behalf of herself or if a bystander confronts on her behalf. Indeed, stigmatized targets are more likely to experience interpersonal backlash when they confront perpetrators on behalf of themselves, given that these confrontations are viewed as self-serving and biased (Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Some examples of this backlash include being labeled as troublemakers (Kaiser & Miller 2001), overreacting (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006), uncivil (Hyers, 2007), and aggressive (Swim & Hyers, 1999). Backlash such as this has been linked to higher levels of job stress among individuals (Parker & Griffin, 2002). Relatedly, when others confront on the target's behalf, it may minimize the stress experienced by targets given that the act of confronting can often be quite stressful (e.g., Ilies, Johnson, Judge, & Keeny, 2011; Rutter & Fielding, 1988). Thus, when a bystander is the main confronter, it alleviates this burden from the target while still accomplishing the ultimate goal of addressing the perpetrator. It also seems likely that bystander interventions will result in women targets reporting higher job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions following a confrontation from a bystander considering that these outcomes are highly related to job stress (Jamal, 1990; Madera, Dawson, & Neal, 2013; McKay et al., 2007).

When bystanders confront on behalf of the women targets, it may also result in higher levels of psychological diversity climate and perceived organizational support for the women targets. When a bystander sticks up for the woman target and takes on the risk of backlash from the perpetrator and others (Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Shelton & Stewart, 2004), it indicates that they have a strong and true commitment to diversity through their statements and behaviors. In

accordance with attributional theories (Thibaut & Riecken, 1995; Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988), which assert that people infer attitudes and beliefs based on others' behaviors, this singular act of confronting on behalf of others may help to reify that the organization represents a safe and inclusive space for all stigmatized people. In contrast, when a woman must confront on behalf of herself, it may signal to her that her colleagues don't value diversity enough to step in and protect them from sexist actions or statements. It may also demonstrate to the woman that others did not find the perpetrator's comments or actions problematic and that a confrontation was not warranted, which likely affects their perceptions of the organization's desire to maintain a healthy, positive working environment for minority groups. Thus, I believe that when bystanders confront on behalf of stigmatized targets, it will increase women targets' perceptions of organizational support and workplace diversity climate because it demonstrates that their coworkers are willing to stand up against perpetrators, despite the potential costs to themselves.

Hypothesis 2: Targets of sexism will experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted by bystander(s) followed by target(s) followed by no one.

Location of the Confrontation

Another important distinction among confrontations, as determined by our qualitative analysis, is the location in which these confrontations take place. Publicly discussing sexism among others can decrease feelings of job-related stress through increasing sources of support (Mays, 1995), thus providing women targets the safety to openly discuss the inappropriateness of the sexism with the perpetrator. Conversely, a private confrontation may result in increased job stress due to fear of further harm or backlash from the perpetrator to the woman (Kaiser &

Miller, 2004; Shelton & Stewart, 2004) that may only happen when others are not around. Thus, public confrontations will likely result in reduced job stress for the target. For similar reasons, women targets will also likely report higher job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions when confrontation take place in public, considering that these outcomes are also related to feelings of workplace safety (Ayim Gyekye, 2005; McCaughey, DelliFraine, McGhan, & Bruning, 2013).

Public confrontations not only have the potential to change the attitudes of perpetrators, but bystanders as well while establishing egalitarian norms within organizations (Gervais & Hillard, 2014). This may be because it allows confronters to a) call attention to the harmful nature of the action or remark (Gervais & Hillard, 2014), b) publicize the organization's diversity principles, and c) create a forum for an open discussion on diversity-related issues, all of which are signs of a positive psychological workplace diversity climate. However, when confrontations are enacted privately, the reach of the positive message is limited and the targets may not be present to witness their colleague(s) standing up for them. Considering that after witnessing confrontations of sexism, others often feel inclined to similarly confront acts of sexism that they encounter in the future, women may also report higher levels of perceived organizational support in addition to a more positive psychological workplace diversity climate (Drury, 2013; Thomas & Swim, 2006). Thus, women targets will likely report more positive psychological workplace diversity climates and greater levels of organizational support when confrontations are done publicly compared to privately.

Hypothesis 3: Targets of sexism will experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support confrontations are enacted in public followed by in private followed by no confrontation.

Tone of the Confrontation

The tone of the confrontation may also have an effect on women targets' job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climate. Aggressive interactions and behaviors are related to increased feelings of distress for those who are involved or who witness them (e.g., Gorman-Smith & Tolan, 1998; Grych, 1998; Horn & Trickett, 1998), especially for women (Cummings, Vogel, Cummings, & El-Sheikh, 1989). For example, children describe their parents' conflict and aggression as a significant stressor in their lives (Lewis, Siegel, & Lewis, 1984). Similarly, research has shown that the degree to which interactions young girls witness are hostile significantly predicts their subsequent self-reported stress levels (Grych, 1998). However, calm confrontations are a way to address the perpetrator without eliciting stress for the stigmatized target. Thus, calm/neutral confrontations will likely result in reduced levels of job stress for the target of sexism compared to confrontations that are aggressive in nature. Women targets will likely also experience higher levels of job satisfaction and lower turnover intentions following a non-aggressive confrontation, as aggression is a strong predictor of reduced job satisfaction (Lapierre, Spector, & Leck, 2005) and higher turnover intentions (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010).

Women and men both prefer non-aggressive confrontations over aggressive confrontations (Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014). Supporting this notion, Becker and Barreto (2014) found that calm confrontations led to bystanders feeling less hostility and increased positive regard towards the confronter. This display of support for the confronter, and the confrontation itself, should result in higher levels of perceived psychological workplace diversity climate and organizational support among women targets, as suggested by attribution theory (Thibaut & Riecken, 1995; Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988), as it signals to women targets

that the workgroup genuinely supports calling out sexist behavior and will thus stand behind the confronter and stigmatized target. Conversely, when confrontations are aggressive in nature, it may result in alienation of and backlash towards the women targets. This retaliation towards the confronter may indicate to the target that the confrontation is not supported, when in reality their co-workers simply do not support the aggressive nature of the confrontation behavior (Becker, Zawadzki, & Shields, 2014). Thus, calm/neutral confrontations will likely elicit higher levels of psychological workplace diversity climate and organizational support for women targets.

Hypothesis 4: Targets of sexism will experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted in a calm tone followed by an aggressive tone followed by no confrontation.

Number of Confronters

The number of confronters relative to the number of silent observers may also affect the women targets' levels of job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climate. Confrontations sometimes result in group-based discussions among the people involved (Czopp, Monteith, Mark, 2006), which have to potential to results in women targets' increased feelings of social support (Mays, 1995). This type of support is helpful in reducing the strain on employees caused by workplace sexism (Rayle & Chung, 2007). Relative to the number of silent witnesses, higher numbers of confronters may result in increased feelings of social support, and thus reduced job stress for women targets. For similar reasons, it is reasonable to assume that women targets will also experience higher levels of job satisfaction and lower levels of turnover intentions when more

people confront, as these outcomes are both highly related to feelings of support (Brough & Frame, 2004).

Confrontations with more confronters involved will also likely have a positive impact on the women targets' levels of psychological workplace diversity climate and perceived organizational support. Higher numbers of confronters may be indicative of a workplace in which a greater number of people support women and stigmatized minorities, as suggested by attribution theory (Thibaut & Riecken, 1995; Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). Group displays of support may result in more positive outcomes for women targets because they involve coworkers banding together to condemn the mistreatment of women and publicizing their support for diversity. Conversely, when a confronter engages with the perpetrator alone, it may signal to targets that the confrontation is not supported or valued and that the perpetrator will be tolerated by others. This belief may result in the woman reporting more negative psychological workplace diversity climates and reduced perceived organizational support (Prieto, Norman, Phipps, & Chenault, 2016). Thus, the percentage of confronters, relative to the number of silent witnesses will likely predict women targets' psychological workplace diversity climates and perceived organizational support.

Hypothesis 5: The number of confronters, relative to the number of witnesses of the instance of sexism, will predict targets' a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support, such that higher numbers of confronters will result in better workplace outcomes.

Timing of the Confrontation

The timing in which a confrontation takes place relative to the sexist action or statement is also likely to play a key role in the targets' experiences of job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climate. Research has shown that racial and sexual orientation minorities engage in rumination, or "intrusive thinking about a distressing event" (Luminet, 2004) after experiencing an instance of discrimination (Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Dovidio, 2009). Confronting is thought to arrest these rumination processes, thereby remediating the stress produced by experiences of discrimination (Hershcovis, Cameron, Gervais, & Bozeman, 2018). As such, it is likely that when confrontations occur immediately following an instance of sexism, compared to later on after some time has passed, women will report lower levels of job stress. Women will also likely report low levels of job satisfaction when there is time in between the instance of sexism and the confrontation, as rumination is also related to job satisfaction (De Moura, Abrams, Retter, Gunnarsdottir, & Ando, 2009). For similar reasons, women may report higher turnover intentions when the confrontation is delayed, as rumination predicts burnout (Vandevala et al., 2017), which is highly correlated with turnover intentions (Du Plooy & Roodt, 2010; Harrington, Bean, Pintello, & Mathews, 2001).

When perpetrators are confronted immediately, women targets will also likely report higher levels of psychological workplace diversity climate and perceived organizational support as employee reactions to sexist actions and statements towards women impact an organization's climate of inclusiveness (Basford, Offermann, & Behrend, 2014). If a confrontation does not occur for a long period of time, it may send the message to women targets that dealing with this behavior is not an urgent priority of the organization. Thus, when confrontations occur

immediately following the instance of sexism, women will likely report higher levels of psychological workplace diversity climate and perceived organizational support.

Hypothesis 6: Targets of sexism will experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted immediately followed by after some time has passed followed by no confrontation.

Interactions between Dimensions

Thus far, researchers have largely focused on dimensions of confrontation in isolation (e.g., Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2014; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gervais & Hillard, 2014). As a result, there is little information on the potential interactions among these dimensions. Importantly, each of these dimensions (identity of the confronter, location of the confrontation, tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and timing of the confrontation) are at play within each confrontation scenario, and thus, it is important to understand how they might interact to influence women targets' job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climates. For example, if individuals view confrontations that are delayed and aggressive as unjust, the backlash confronters experience may increase, thus making women targets feel a lack of support at work. Similarly, targets who confront on behalf of themselves in an aggressive way may be viewed as being overly emotional, which may cause them to experience heightened backlash and negative comments. Given the lack of knowledge and theory regarding the specific ways in which these dimensions are likely to interactive, I plan to inductively explore these phenomena.

Research Question 2: Do the dimensions of confronting sexism interactively influence the job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, or psychological workplace diversity climate of the women targets?

STUDY 2 - METHOD

Participants

For the second study, a total of 494 participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). All participants are women, over 18 years of age, working in the United States, full-time employees (working 30+ hours per week), and prior targets of an instance of sexism in their current workplace that occurred within the past 4 weeks. At the beginning of the survey participants were asked if they met these qualifications and screened out if they did not. Individuals were identified as prior targets of sexism if they indicated that they had been subjected to individuals' behaviors or statements that either (1) demonstrated negative assessments of women based upon their gender or (2) supported the idea that men are superior to women. Only women were recruited because, while both men and women can experience gender-related prejudice, women have been the main targets of sexism historically and have suffered the most as a result (Becker et al., 2014). The participants had a mean age of 33.44 ($SD = 10.65$) and 5.68 years at their current place of employment ($SD = 4.74$). Roughly sixty-nine percent of the participants reported their race as White, 11.4% Black, 5.4% multiracial, 5.2% Hispanic, 1.8% Native American, and 0.4% preferred to self identify. For 252 participants, the instance of sexism was subsequently confronted, and for 242 participants the instance of sexism was not confronted.

The use of MTurk was advantageous because these workers are more representative of the U.S. population than participants recruited typically recruited through University subject pools (Paolacci et al., 2010). Another strength of utilizing MTurk is that it affords complete anonymity to participants because the research is completed outside of a research lab (Smith, Sabat, Martinez, Weaver, & Xu, 2015) and participants are given unique identification numbers

by MTurk to complete surveys with instead of having to use potentially personally identifiable information. Scholars have noted the need for such a data collection method as participants often feel more comfortable disclosing personal or private information through anonymous online platforms (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004; Levine, Ancill, & Roberts, 1989).

A review piece written for the Industrial/Organizational Psychology community states that requesters on MTurk pay as low as 50 cents/hour, but many aim for up to \$6.00/hour, and that approximately \$1.50/hour seems to be a reasonable rate (Barger, Behrend, Sharek, & Sinar, 2011). Other researchers argue that \$3.75-\$5.00/hour is a fair payment for MTurk workers (Bohannon, 2011). Recently, researchers have paid between \$1.38/hour (Horton, & Chilton, 2010) and \$8.00/hour (e.g., Downs, Holbrook, Sheng, & Cranor, 2010). In alignment with prior research and recommendations, I decided to pay these participants \$6.00/hour, which translated to \$1.10 for a 10-12 minute study.

Procedure

First, participants reported demographic information, including their gender, race, age, job title, and industry. Participants were also asked to describe in detail an instance of sexism that they had experienced in the workplace in the past 4 weeks in order to help them recall specifics about the event. Next, participants were asked if this instance of sexism was confronted or not. If the instance of sexism was confronted, the participants were asked to describe the confrontation in as much detail as possible to again help them recall specifics about the event, and then rated the confrontations along the dimensions previously identified (the identity of the confronter, the location of the confrontation, the tone used by the confronter, the number of confronters, and the timing of the confrontation). Participants who indicated that the instance of sexism was not confronted were not presented with this section of questions. Finally, all

participants rated their job stress, perceived organizational support, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, and psychological workplace diversity climate.

Measures

Identity of the Confronter. In order to assess the identity of the confronter, participants responded to a single-item question, “Were you or someone else the main person to confront the main person who demonstrated sexism?”. The participants were prompted to select one of the following answer choices: “I was the main person to confront” coded as (0) and “Someone else was the main person to confront” coded as (1). For participants who did not witness a confrontation, this responses was coded as (2).

Location of the Confrontation. In order to assess the location of the confrontation, participants were asked “Did the confrontation occur publicly or in private?”. The participants were prompted to select one of the following answer choices: “Publicly” coded as (0) and “Privately” coded as (1). For participants who did not witness a confrontation, this response was coded as (2).

Tone of the Confrontation. In order to assess the tone of the confrontation, participants were asked “To what extent do you agree that the main confronter was using an aggressive, angry, or combative tone?” on a 7 point scale: (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = moderately disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = slightly agree, 6 = moderately agree, 7 = strongly agree). The participants’ responses to this scale were later coded as: “strongly disagree” coded as (0) and any other level of agreement coded as (1). For participants who did not witness a confrontation, this responses was coded as (2).

Number of Confronters. In order to assess the number of confronters, participants were asked “How many people confronted the person(s) who demonstrated sexism? If you are not

sure, please estimate.” and “Not including the perpetrator, how many people witnessed the instance of sexism? If you are not sure, please estimate.”. Both of these questions were presented as open-ended questions and the percentage of confronters to witnesses was calculated in order to run the analyses.

Timing of the Confrontation. In order to assess the timing of the confrontation, participants were asked “Did the confrontation occur immediately within the same interaction involving the instance of sexism, or did it occur afterwards?” The participants were prompted to select one of the following answer choices: “Immediately” coded as (0) and “Afterwards” coded as (1). For participants who did not witness a confrontation, this responses was coded as (2).

Job Stress. To measure job stress, a four-item scale developed by Motowidlo, Packard, & Manning (1986) was used. Participants were asked to answer the extent to which they agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree): Over the past two weeks, (1) I have felt a great deal of stress because of my job, (2) I have often felt stressed at work, (3) Several stressful things have happened to me at work, and (4) My job has been extremely stressful. This scale has acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .77$).

Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate. McKay, Avery, Tonidandel, Morris, & Hernandez’s (2007) scale, adapted from Mor Barak, Cherin, and Berkman’s (1998) original scale, was used to measure psychological workplace diversity climate. Nine items (e.g., “Leaders are committed to diversity.”) were utilized for this study. Participants responded to the items on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree; 5 = Strongly agree). This scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .94$).

Turnover Intentions. To measure turnover intentions, a three-item scale developed by Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh (1979) was used. Participants were asked to answer the

extent to which they agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree): Currently speaking, (1) “all in all, I am satisfied with my job”, (2) “I often think about quitting”, and (3) “I am thinking about looking for a new job in the next year”. This scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .83$).

Job Satisfaction. Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, and Klesh’s (1979) scale was adapted to measure job satisfaction. Participants were asked to answer the extent to which they agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree): Generally speaking, I currently feel (1) very satisfied with my job”, (2) “satisfied with the kind of work I do in my job”, and (3) “that I like working here”. This scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

Perceived Organizational Support. To measure perceived organizational support, a eight-item scale developed by Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa (2002) was used. Eight items (e.g., “my organization really cares about my well-being”, “my organization shows very little concern for me”) were used for this study. Participants responded to the items on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree; 7 = Strongly agree). This scale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .91$).

STUDY 2 - RESULTS

Confronting vs. not Confronting

In order to test whether confronting versus not confronting has an effect on women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support, a series of *t*-tests for independent samples were conducted. Results revealed that there is a significant difference in the job stress of participants when a confrontation occurred compared to when confrontation did not occur ($t_{(477)} = -2.92, p = .00$). When a confrontation occurred following an instance of sexism, participants reported significantly lower levels of job stress ($M = 3.12, SD = .86$), compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 3.36, SD = .98$).

A second *t*-test for independent samples revealed that there is a significant difference in the turnover intentions of participants when a confrontation occurred compared to when confrontation did not occur ($t_{(492)} = -2.87, p = .00$). When a confrontation occurred following an instance of sexism, participants reported significantly lower levels of turnover intentions ($M = 3.88, SD = 1.54$), compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 4.29, SD = 1.64$).

Next, a *t*-test for independent samples was conducted and revealed there is a significant difference in the job satisfaction of participants when a confrontation occurred compared to when confrontation did not occur ($t_{(492)} = 4.94, p = .00$). When a confrontation occurred following an instance of sexism, participants reported significantly higher levels of job satisfaction ($M = 4.92, SD = 1.44$), compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 4.24, SD = 1.58$).

Another *t*-test for independent samples revealed that there is a significant difference in the psychological workplace diversity climates of participants when a confrontation occurred

compared to when confrontation did not occur ($t_{(492)} = 5.59, p = .00$). When a confrontation occurred following an instance of sexism, participants reported significantly higher levels of psychological workplace diversity climates ($M = 3.45, SD = .92$), compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 2.98, SD = .96$).

Finally, a *t*-test for independent samples revealed that there is a significant difference in reported levels of perceived organizational support when a confrontation occurred compared to when confrontation did not occur ($t_{(492)} = 4.24, p = .00$). When a confrontation occurred following an instance of sexism, participants reported significantly higher levels of perceived organizational support ($M = 4.63, SD = 1.23$), compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 4.13, SD = 1.37$).

Thus, hypotheses 1a-1e were all supported. Targets of sexism experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climates, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when sexism is confronted compared to when it is not confronted.

Identity of the Confronter

In order to test whether the identity of the confronter has an effect on women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support, a series of one-way ANOVAs were conducted. Results revealed that there were significant differences, based on the identity of the confronter, among job stress levels, $F(2,491) = 4.21, p = .02$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job stress levels when the participant (target) confronted the perpetrator compared to when a bystander confronted the perpetrator, $p = 1.00$. There was also no difference in job stress when a bystander confronted compared to when no confrontation occurred, $p = .13$.

However, participants reported higher levels of job stress when no confrontation occurred ($M = 3.36, SD = .98$) compared to when they confronted on behalf of themselves ($M = 3.12, SD = .85$), $p = .03$.

A second ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the identity of the confronter, for turnover intentions, $F(2,491) = 4.22, p = .02$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in turnover intentions when the participant (target) confronted the perpetrator compared to when a bystander confronted the perpetrator, $p = 1.00$. There was also no difference in turnover intentions when the participant confronted compared to when no confrontation occurred, $p = .07$. However, participants reported higher levels of turnover intentions when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.29, SD = 1.64$) compared to when a bystander confronted on the participants' behalf ($M = 3.80, SD = 1.64$), $p = .047$.

Next, an ANOVA was used to demonstrate that there were significant differences, based on the identity of the confronter, among reported levels of job satisfaction, $F(2,491) = 12.44, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job satisfaction when the participant (target) confronted the perpetrator compared to when a bystander confronted the perpetrator, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of job satisfaction when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.25, SD = 1.57$) compared to when a bystander confronted on the participants' behalf ($M = 4.83, SD = 1.55$), $p = .01$, and to when the participant confronted on their own behalf ($M = 4.96, SD = 1.40$), $p = .00$.

An additional ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the identity of the confronter, among reported levels of psychological workplace diversity climate, $F(2,491) = 16.17, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in psychological workplace diversity climate when the participant (target) confronted the

perpetrator compared to when a bystander confronted the perpetrator, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of psychological workplace diversity climate when no confrontation occurred ($M = 2.97, SD = .96$) compared to when a bystander confronted on the participants' behalf ($M = 3.48, SD = .99$), $p = .00$, and to when the participant confronted on their own behalf ($M = 3.44, SD = .89$), $p = .00$.

Finally, an ANOVA demonstrated that there were significant differences, based on the identity of the confronter, among reported levels of perceived organizational support, $F(2,491) = 9.74, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in perceived organizational support when the participant (target) confronted the perpetrator compared to when a bystander confronted the perpetrator, $p = .57$. However, participants reported lower levels of perceived organizational support when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.14, SD = 1.36$) compared to when a bystander confronted on the participants' behalf ($M = 4.78, SD = 1.37$), $p = .00$, and to when the participant confronted on their own behalf ($M = 4.55, SD = 1.16$), $p = .00$.

Thus, hypotheses 2a-2e were not supported (see Tables 2-6). Targets of sexism do not experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when sexism is confronted by bystanders followed by targets followed by no confrontation. However, targets of sexism report reduced job stress when they confront on behalf of themselves and reduced turnover intentions when a bystander confronts on their behalf compared to when a confrontation does not occur. Targets also report increased job satisfaction, improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and increased perceptions of organizational support when sexism is confronted by either the target herself or a bystander compared to when a confrontation does not occur.

Location of the Confrontation

In order to assess whether or not the location of the confrontation has an effect on women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support, a series of ANOVAs were conducted. The results revealed that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, among job stress levels, $F(2,491) = 4.25, p = .02$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job stress levels when the confrontation occurred publicly versus in private, $p = 1.00$. There was also no difference in job stress levels when a confrontation occurred privately compared to when no confrontation occurred, $p = .06$. However, participants reported lower levels of job stress when a confrontation occurred publicly ($M = 3.10, SD = .87$) compared to when no confrontation occurred ($M = 3.36, SD = .98$), $p = .04$.

A second ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, among turnover intentions, $F(2,491) = 4.04, p = .02$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in turnover intention levels when the confrontation occurred publicly versus in private, $p = 1.00$ or when there was no confrontations, $p = .06$. There was also no difference in turnover intention levels between a private confrontation and no confrontations, $p = .06$.

Next, an ANOVA demonstrated that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, among job satisfaction, $F(2,491) = 12.66, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job satisfaction when the confrontation occurred publicly versus in private, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of job satisfaction when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.25, SD = 1.57$) compared to when a

confrontation occurs privately ($M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.44$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs publicly ($M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.46$), $p = .00$.

An additional ANOVA showed that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, among reported levels of psychological workplace diversity climate, $F(2,491) = 21.36$, $p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in psychological workplace diversity climate levels when the confrontation occurred publicly versus in private, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of psychological workplace diversity climate when no confrontation occurred ($M = 2.77$, $SD = .93$) compared to when a confrontation occurs privately ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .95$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs publicly ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .88$), $p = .00$.

Finally, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, among perceived organizational support, $F(2,491) = 8.87$, $p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in perceived organizational support when the confrontation occurred publicly versus in private, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of perceived organizational support when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.36$) compared to when a confrontation occurs privately ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.22$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs publicly ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 1.25$), $p = .00$.

Thus, hypotheses 3a-3e were not supported (see Tables 7-11). Targets of sexism do not experience a) lower job stress, b) lower turnover intentions, c) higher job satisfaction, d) more positive psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) higher perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted in public followed by in private followed by no confrontation. However, compared to when confrontations do not occur, targets of sexism report reduced job stress when confrontations occur in public. Targets also report increased job

satisfaction, improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and increased perceptions of organizational support regardless of the location of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation does not occur.

Tone of the Confrontation

In order to test whether the tone of the confrontation has an effect on women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support, a series of ANOVAs were conducted. First, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences in women targets' job stress based on the tone of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation did not occur, $F(2, 490) = 4.93, p = .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in women targets' job stress when a non-aggressive confrontation occurred versus when an aggressive confrontation occurred, $p = .74$, or when no confrontation occurred, $p = .07$. However, participants reported lower levels of job stress when a confrontation of any level of aggression occurred ($M = 3.14, SD = .80$) compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 3.36, SD = .98$), $p = .03$.

Next, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences in women targets' turnover intentions based on the tone of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation did not occur, $F(2, 490) = 5.23, p = .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in women targets' turnover intentions when the confrontation was aggressive versus non-aggressive in nature, $p = .39$. However, participants reported higher levels of turnover intentions when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.29, SD = 1.64$) compared to when a non-aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 3.43, SD = 2.15$), $p = .03$, and to when an aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 3.93, SD = 1.45$), $p = .045$.

An additional ANOVA showed that there were significant differences in women targets' job satisfaction based on the tone of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation did not occur, $F(2, 490) = 12.81, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in women targets' job satisfaction when the confrontation was aggressive versus non-aggressive in nature, $p = .85$. However, participants reported lower levels of job satisfaction when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.24, SD = 1.58$) compared to when a non-aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.92$), $p = .01$, and to when an aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 4.88, SD = 1.38$), $p = .00$.

The next ANOVA demonstrated significant differences in women targets' reported psychological workplace diversity climate based on the tone of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation did not occur, $F(2, 490) = 16.08, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in women targets' reported psychological workplace diversity climate when a non-aggressive confrontation occurred versus when an aggressive confrontation occurred, $p = 1.00$, or when no confrontation occurred, $p = .19$. However, participants reported higher levels of reported psychological workplace diversity climate when a confrontation of any level of aggression occurred ($M = 3.47, SD = .89$) compared to when a confrontation did not occur ($M = 2.98, SD = .96$), $p = .00$.

Finally, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences in women targets' perceived organizational support based on the tone of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation did not occur, $F(2, 490) = 11.58, p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no meaningful difference in women targets' perceived organizational support when the confrontation was aggressive versus non-aggressive in nature, $p = .07$. However, participants reported lower levels of perceived organizational support when no confrontation

occurred ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.37$) compared to when a non-aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.85$), $p = .00$, and to when an aggressive confrontation occurred ($M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.13$), $p = .00$. Thus, hypotheses 4a, 4c, 4d, and 4e were not supported (see Tables 12-16).

Targets of sexism do not experience a) reduced job stress, b) reduced turnover intentions, c) increased job satisfaction, d) improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) increased perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted in a calm/neutral tone followed by an aggressive tone followed by no confrontation. However, analyses revealed that compared to when a confrontation does not occur, targets of sexism will report lower job stress and more positive psychological diversity climate when a confrontation is aggressive. Targets also report lower turnover intentions, higher job satisfaction, and higher perceptions of organizational support when the tone of the confrontation is aggressive or non-aggressive compared to when a confrontation does not occur.

Additional exploratory analyses revealed that the extent to which the confrontation was aggressive significantly predicted participants' job stress ($b = -.06$, $t_{(492)} = -2.17$, $p = .03$). When confrontations were aggressive in nature, participants reported lower levels of job stress. The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive significantly predicted participants' perceived organizational support ($b = .06$, $t_{(492)} = 2.69$, $p = .01$). When confrontations were more aggressive in nature, participants reported higher levels of perceived organizational support. The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive did not predict participants' turnover intentions ($p = .09$). The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive significantly predicted participants' job satisfaction ($b = .11$, $t_{(492)} = 4.25$, $p = .00$). When confrontations were aggressive in nature, participants reported higher levels of job satisfaction. The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive significantly predicted participants' psychological workplace diversity climates ($b =$

.08, $t_{(492)} = 5.11$, $p = .00$). When confrontations were more aggressive in nature, participants reported higher levels of psychological workplace diversity climates. The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive significantly predicted targets' job stress, job satisfaction, psychological workplace diversity climate, and perceptions of organizational support, such that more aggressive confrontation resulted in better outcomes. The extent to which the confrontation was aggressive did not predict targets' turnover intentions.

Number of Confronters

In order to test whether the number of confronters, relative to the number of people who witnessed the sexist action or statement, predicts the women targets' workplace outcomes, a series of linear regressions were conducted. However, evidence was not found for these predictions regarding job stress ($p = .54$), turnover intentions ($p = .79$), job satisfaction ($p = .32$), psychological workplace diversity climate ($p = .39$), or perceived organizational support ($p = .56$). Thus, hypotheses 5a-e were not supported.

Timing of the Confrontation

In order to test whether the timing of the confrontation has an effect on women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support, a series of ANOVAs were conducted. Results revealed that there were significant differences, based on the location of the confrontation, in reported levels of job stress, $F(2,491) = 4.25$, $p = .02$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job stress when the confrontation occurred after some time had passed versus immediately following the instance of sexism, $p = 1.00$, or when no confrontation occurred, $p = .07$. However, participants reported higher levels of job stress when no confrontation occurred

($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.36$) compared to when a confrontation occurs immediately ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .86$), $p = .04$.

Second, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the timing of the confrontation, among turnover intentions, $F(2,491) = 4.30$, $p = .01$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in turnover intentions when the confrontation occurred immediately versus after some time had passed, $p = 1.00$, or when no confrontation occurred, $p = .08$. However, participants reported higher levels of turnover intentions when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.64$) compared to when a confrontation occurred after some time had passed ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.64$), $p = .04$.

Next, an ANOVA demonstrated that there were significant differences, based on the timing of the confrontation, among levels of job satisfaction, $F(2,491) = 12.62$, $p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in job satisfaction when the confrontation occurred immediately versus after some time had passed, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of job satisfaction when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.57$) compared to when a confrontation occurs immediately ($M = 4.97$, $SD = 1.39$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs after some time has passed ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.55$), $p = .01$.

An additional ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the timing of the confrontation, among reported levels psychological workplace diversity climate, $F(2,491) = 17.63$, $p = .00$. Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in psychological workplace diversity climate when the confrontation occurred immediately versus after some time had passed, $p = .30$. However, participants reported lower levels of psychological workplace diversity climate when no confrontation occurred ($M = 2.97$, $SD = .96$)

compared to when a confrontation occurs immediately ($M = 3.52, SD = .88$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs after some time has passed ($M = 3.31, SD = .99$), $p = .01$.

Finally, an ANOVA revealed that there were significant differences, based on the timing of the confrontation, among perceived organizational support, $F(2,491) = 8.88, p = .00$.

Bonferroni post-hoc analyses revealed that there was no difference in perceived organizational support when the confrontation occurred immediately versus after some time had passed, $p = 1.00$. However, participants reported lower levels of perceived organizational support when no confrontation occurred ($M = 4.14, SD = 1.36$) compared to when a confrontation occurs immediately ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.19$), $p = .00$, and to when a confrontation occurs after some time has passed ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.32$), $p = .00$.

Thus, hypotheses 6a-e were not supported (see Tables 17-21). Targets of sexism do not experience a) reduced job stress, b) reduced turnover intentions, c) increased job satisfaction, d) improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and e) increased perceptions of organizational support when confrontations are enacted immediately followed by after some time has passed followed by no confrontation. However, compared to when a confrontation does not occur, targets of sexism will report reduced job stress and turnover intentions when confrontations occur immediately following the instance of sexism. Targets also report increased job satisfaction, improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and increased perceptions of organizational support regardless of the timing of the confrontation compared to when a confrontation does not occur.

Interactions between Dimensions

To examine if the identity of the confronter, location of the confrontation, tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and timing of the confrontation interacted to produce

multiplicative benefits (reduced job stress and turnover intentions, and increased job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, and psychological workplace diversity climate) for the women targets, I mean centered each of the independent variables and conducted exploratory two-way analyses (RQ2).

Two-way ANOVA analyses revealed that the interaction between the timing of the confrontations and location of the confrontations did not have effects on the job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, or psychological workplace diversity climate for women targets ($p > .05$; See Tables 22-26).

Two-way ANOVA analyses revealed that the interaction of the identity of the confronter and the location of the confrontations did not have effects on the job stress, job satisfaction, perceived organizational support, or psychological workplace diversity climate for women targets, $p > .05$. However, this interaction did predict targets' turnover intentions ($p = .02$). An analysis of simple effects showed that the location of the confrontation predicted turnover intentions when a bystander confronted on a target's behalf, $F(1, 248) = 4.22, p = .04$, but not when a target confronted on their own behalf, $F(1, 248) = 1.23, p = .27$. Specifically, targets reported reduced turnover intentions when bystanders confronted, but only when doing so in private (see Tables 27-31).

Two-way ANOVA analyses revealed that the the interaction of the identity of the confronter and the timing of the confrontations did not have effects on the job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, or perceived organizational support for women targets, $p > .05$. However, this interaction did predict women targets' workplace diversity climate perceptions ($p = .04$). An analysis of simple effects showed that timing of the confrontation effect was significant when bystanders confronted on behalf of targets, $F(1, 248) = 5.00, p = .03$, but not for

when a target confronted on their own behalf, $F(1, 248) = .40, p = .53$. When bystander confront on targets' behalf, targets reported a more psychological positive workplace diversity climate when the confrontation occurred immediately following the instance of sexism (see Tables 32-36).

Two-way moderation analyses tested whether the remaining potential interactions had effects on the reported job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, psychological diversity climate, or perceived organizational support levels of women targets, all of which were nonsignificant ($p > .05$; see Table 37).

STUDY 2 - DISCUSSION

This study looked at the outcomes of confrontations of sexism in the workplace for women targets. The results of this study provide support for the idea that workplace confrontations of sexism of any form are beneficial for women targets as they are related to reduced job stress, reduced turnover intentions, increased job satisfaction, more positive psychological workplace diversity climates, and increased perceptions of organizational support. Thus, bystanders and targets should always seek to confront perpetrators of sexism as doing so is related to these positive workplace outcomes. Further, this study did not find support for the idea that common distinctions in how confrontations are typically enacted impact these outcomes. More specifically, there were not meaningful differences in women targets' job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, psychological workplace diversity climate, and perceived organizational support when comparing the identity of the confronter (bystander or target), location of confrontation (in private or public), timing of the confrontation (immediately following the instance of sexism or after some time has passed), tone of confrontation (aggressive or nonaggressive), or number of confronters relative to the number of people who witnessed the confrontation. Stated another way, as long as perpetrators are confronted, it does not matter *how* confronters choose to carry out the confrontations, or how many people confront perpetrators, in regards to target outcomes.

Additional exploratory findings support the idea that the extent to which a confrontation is aggressive significantly predicts target outcomes, such that more aggressive confrontations are related to reduced job stress, reduced turnover intentions, increased job satisfaction, improved psychological workplace diversity climate, and increased perceptions of organizational support. Thus, the more aggressive tones confronters use, the more likely targets will experience positive

outcomes. Finally, this study provides evidence that different forms of confrontations of sexism have interactive effects, such that targets report lower turnover intentions when bystanders confront on their behalf, but only when doing so privately and immediately following the instance of sexism. Therefore, allies should consider the multi-dimensional nature of confrontations when choosing to enact this behavior, and confront perpetrators in ways that benefit targets the most.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this study was to provide further nuance and understanding to the experiences of women who experience sexism at work that is later confronted. Results from this two-part study uncovered the most common dimensions along which confrontations of sexism differ in workplace environments and how these dimensions are related to important workplace outcomes for women targets. Specifically, this study demonstrated that the most common dimensions by which confrontations differ include the identity of the confronter, location of the confrontations, the timing of the confrontation, the tone of the confrontation, and the number of confronters, but that these differences did not meaningfully impact women targets' job stress, job satisfaction, turnover intentions, psychological workplace diversity climate, or perceived organizational support. Instead, this study demonstrated that confronting sexism in any form is beneficial for women targets when compared to not confronting.

Theoretical Implications

This paper advances the understanding and knowledge of confrontations of sexism in that it provides support for the idea that confrontations of sexism differ in their implementation, but does not provide evidence there are meaningful differences in women targets' workplace outcomes based on these differences. This contradicts prior research which has suggested that specific differences, including the tone of confrontation (e.g., Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Hyers, 2010; Martinez, 2013) as well as the identity of the confronter (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Gulker, Mark, & Monteith, 2013; Martinez, 2013; Saunders & Senn, 2009), and directness of the confrontation (e.g., Gervais & Hillard, 2014; Martinez, 2013) impact their effectiveness in supporting female targets. One reason why this study may have found different results is that previous researchers have used hypothetical vignettes or videos with actors performing

confrontations in order to measure targets' responses to different confrontation behaviors. These artificial manipulations may have evoked differential responses to the confrontations within the student samples, but when sampling women employees who actually experienced sexism that was confronted in various ways, the targets experienced benefits as long as it was confronted at all. A second theoretical implication of this study is that it confirms the theorized benefits of confrontations in general (e.g., Gervais, Hillard, & Vescio, 2010; Hyers, 2007; Swim & Hyers, 1999). While many scholars have argued that there are likely various benefits to confronting sexism, few studies have empirically examined these processes. In conjunction with additional research on how different forms of confronting sexism relate to a) reductions in prejudicial behavior among perpetrators, b) reactions towards the confronter, and c) outcomes for bystanders witnessing these sexist acts, results from this study may be used to develop a model for best practices to execute confrontations of sexism.

Practical Implications

These studies also provide many practical implications, such as educating allies and targets on how best to confront perpetrators of sexism and informing practitioners on how to develop better ally training programs. As suggested by some diversity researchers (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Martinez, 2013), perhaps informing allies on how best to confront sexism will result in increased popularity of this response to prejudice (Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2012). Specifically, individuals should be informed that confrontations generally have positive benefits for targets, regardless of how they are carried out. However, the interactive effects from this study demonstrate that when bystanders confront, they should do so privately and immediately following the instance of sexism in order for the confrontation to be maximally beneficial. Despite the fact that encouraging particular behaviors from confronters puts the

burden of change on them, instead of the individuals who demonstrate biased behavior, this study fits within the broader framework of diversity initiatives. This study makes the case that encouraging specific behaviors from allies and targets themselves should help remediate the negative outcomes associated with experiencing sexism, while also advocating for more research on organizational strategies to reduce the prevalence of prejudicial behaviors in the first place. The current study can also be utilized by practitioners to build more effective ally training programs which help provide support women at work. While diversity and tolerance trainings are beneficial and needed within organizations for changing perpetrators' actions and attitudes, ally training programs contribute to the development of individuals who can help remediate negative outcomes faced by targets as a result of perpetrators' discrimination and prejudice.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present research has a number of limitations that offer directions for future research such as the lack of generalizability of these results to other stigmatized identities and reflective nature of this study. Because this study examines the different styles of confronting sexism, and not prejudice broadly, conclusions from this study can not be generalized to confrontations of other forms of prejudice. Therefore, future work should examine the different dimensions of confrontations over other types of prejudice and best ways to confront prejudice such as racism, homophobia, and ableism. Doing so should help to improve workplace experiences for all stigmatized employees.

Another limitation is the reflective nature of these studies. Participants in study one could describe a confrontation of sexism that happened at any point in time, while participants were required to have witnessed or been a part of a confrontation that occurred in the last four weeks in study two. Participants in these studies may have experienced memory distortion because of the

overconfidence effect (Moore & Healy, 2008) the tendency to overestimate oneself's ability to recall an event, the misinformation effect (Ayers & Reder, 1998), which is when individuals' memories are distorted based on information given to them after the event, or because details about events are generally difficult for individuals to recall (Bradburn, Rips, & Shevell, 1987). Although we attempted to address these concerns by asking participants to first recall as much information about the event as possible, future research should try to ensure participants are reporting accurate information by incorporating multiple sources of data pertaining to these events.

CONCLUSION

The present paper empirically demonstrated the primary dimensions of confronting sexism, and examined target outcomes (job stress, turnover intentions, job satisfaction, psychological workplace diversity climate, and perceived organizational support) related to these differences. The results from study two revealed that as long as instances of sexism are confronted, they are less likely to negatively impact these important job outcomes for women targets. Thus, employees should be encouraged by their organizations to confront sexism, but should do so in the way they feel most comfortable. As empirically backed diversity education and ally training programs are key for improving the experiences of targets in organizations, the present findings may educate practitioners and researchers on how best to encourage these beneficial confrontation behaviors within their organizations.

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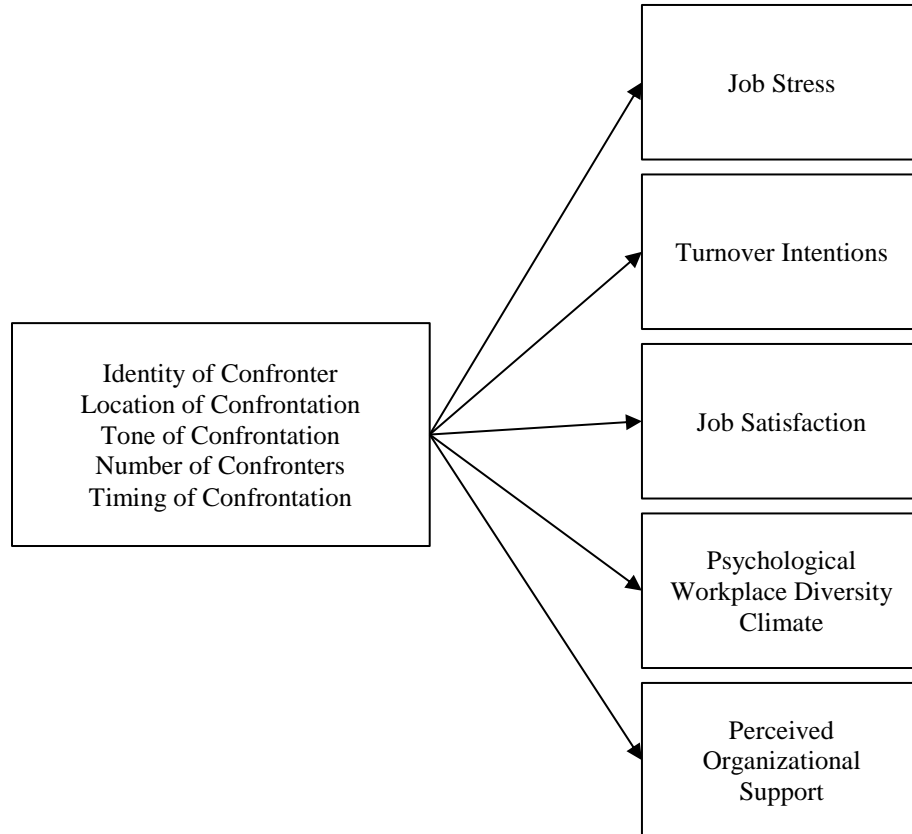
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APPENDIX A

FIGURE

Figure 1.

Model of hypothesized relationships between the different forms of sexism confrontations and the outcomes for stigmatized targets.



APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1 Definitions for dimensions of confronting sexism identified in study 1.

Dimensions	Categories	Definitions
Confronter Identity	Bystander	Perpetrator was addressed by someone, not the target, who witnessed the sexist remark or action
	Target	Perpetrator was addressed by target of sexist remark or action
Timing of the Confrontation	Immediately	Perpetrator was addressed without an interval of time following the sexist behavior/comment
	After some time has passed	Perpetrator was addressed with an interval of time following the sexist behavior/comment
Number of Confronters	One person	Perpetrator was addressed by only one person, may be target or witness
	Multiple people	Perpetrator was addressed by more than one person
Location of Confrontation	Privately	Perpetrator was addressed where no one else could hear or get involved
	Publicly	Perpetrator was addressed in front of other employees
Tone of Confrontation	Calm/Neutral tone	Perpetrator was addressed in an even voice that was free from agitation, excitement, or disturbance
	Aggressive tone	Perpetrator was addressed in an angry or combative voice

Table 2 One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Identity of Confronter	21.35	2	10.68	4.22	.02
Error	1243.13	491	2.53		
Total	9497.17	494			

Table 3 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Identity of Confronter	56.75	2	28.38	12.44	.00
Error	1120	491	2.28		
Total	11577.11	494			

Table 4 One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Identity of Confronter	28.75	2	14.38	16.17	.00
Error	436.49	491	0.89		
Total	5582.14	494			

Table 5 One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Identity of Confronter	32.72	2	16.36	9.74	.00
Error	825.15	491	1.68		
Total	10360.25	494			

Table 6 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	7.20	2	3.60	4.25	.02
Error	416.21	491	.85		
Total	5601.28	494			

Table 7 One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	20.49	2	10.24	4.04	.02
Error	1244	491	2.53		
Total	9497.17	494			

Table 8 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	57.71	2	28.86	12.66	.00
Error	1119.04	491	2.28		
Total	11577.11	494			

Table 9 One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	36.32	2	18.16	21.36	.00
Error	417.42	491	.85		
Total	5026.63	494			

Table 10 One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Location of Confrontation	29.91	2	14.95	8.87	.00
Error	827.96	491	1.69		
Total	10360.25	494			

Table 11 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Identity of Confronter	7.14	2	3.57	4.21	.02
Error	416.27	491	0.85		
Total	5601.28	494			

Table 12 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Tone of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Tone of Confrontation	8.36	2	4.18	4.93	.01
Error	415	490	.85		
Total	5592.28	493			

Table 13 One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Tone of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Tone of Confrontation	26.45	2	13.22	5.23	.01
Error	1237.87	490	2.53		
Total	9483.72	493			

Table 14 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Tone of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Tone of Confrontation	58.47	2	29.24	12.81	.00
Error	1118.22	490	2.28		
Total	1158.33	493			

Table 15 One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Tone of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Tone of Confrontation	28.59	2	14.3	16.08	.00
Error	435.66	490	.89		
Total	5577.2	493			

Table 16 One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Tone of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Tone of Confrontation	38.72	2	19.36	11.58	.00
Error	819.02	490	1.67		
Total	10337.69	493			

Table 17 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Timing of Confrontation	7.21	2	3.60	4.25	.02
Error	416.20	491	.85		
Total	5601.28	494			

Table 18 One-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Timing of Confrontation	21.78	2	10.89	4.30	.01
Error	1242.70	491	2.53		
Total	9497.17	494			

Table 19 One-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Timing of Confrontation	57.51	2	28.76	12.62	.00
Error	1119.24	491	2.28		
Total	11577.11	494			

Table 20 One-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Timing of Confrontation	31.17	2	15.58	17.63	.00
Error	434.07	491	.88		
Total	5582.14	494			

Table 21 One-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Timing of Confrontation	29.95	2	14.98	8.88	.00
Error	827.92	491	1.69		
Total	10360.25	494			

Table 22 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	1.13	1	1.13	1.52	.22
Timing of the Confrontation	.84	1	.84	1.14	.29
Location x Timing	2.55	1	2.55	3.44	.07
Error	183.49	248	0.74		
Total	2638.83	252			

Table 23 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	.90	1	.90	0.38	.54
Timing of the Confrontation	2.33	1	2.33	0.97	.33
Location x Timing	.83	1	.83	0.35	.56
Error	529.02	248	2.39		
Total	4393.97	252			

Table 24 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	2.80	1	2.80	1.34	.25
Timing of the Confrontation	.05	1	.05	.02	.88
Location x Timing	2.74	1	2.74	1.31	.25
Error	519.15	248	519.15		
Total	6619.56	252			

Table 25 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	.00	1	.00	.00	.95
Timing of the Confrontation	1.90	1	1.90	2.24	.14
Location x Timing	.02	1	.02	.02	.89
Error	210.66	248	.85		
Total	3220.58	252			

Table 26 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Location of the Confrontation and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Location of Confrontation	.40	1	.40	.26	.61
Timing of the Confrontation	.40	1	.40	.26	.61
Location x Timing	.38	1	0.38	.25	.62
Error	379.83	248	1.53		
Total	5774.84	252			

Table 27 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Stress by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.00	1	.03	.00	.95
Location of Confrontation	.10	1	.10	.13	.72
Location x Identity	.06	1	.06	.08	.78
Error	186.10	248	.75		
Total	2638.83	252			

Table 28 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	2.85	1	2.85	1.22	.27
Location of Confrontation	2.81	1	2.81	1.20	.27
Location x Identity	12.66	1	12.66	5.41	.02
Error	580.85	248	580.85		
Total	4393.97	252			

Table 29 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.67	1	.67	.32	.57
Location of Confrontation	.96	1	.96	.46	.50
Location x Identity	.16	1	.16	.08	.78
Error	521.97	248	2.11		
Total	6619.56	252			

Table 30 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.09	1	.09	.10	.75
Location of Confrontation	.16	1	.16	.19	.66
Location x Identity	.01	1	.01	.01	.91
Error	212.95	248	.86		
Total	3220.58	252			

Table 31 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter and Location of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	3.22	1	3.22	2.12	.15
Location of Confrontation	.37	1	.37	.25	.62
Location x Identity	.16	1	.16	.10	.75
Error	377.18	248	1.50		
Total	5774.84	252			

Table 32 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Job Stress by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.01	1	.01	.01	.91
Timing of Confrontation	.10	1	.10	.13	.72
Identity x Timing	.02	1	.02	.03	.86
Error	186.12	248	.75		
Total	2638.83	252			

Table 33 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Turnover Intentions by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.19	1	.19	.08	.78
Timing of Confrontation	.51	1	.51	.21	.65
Identity x Timing	.79	1	.79	.33	.57
Error	592.05	248	592.05		
Total	4393.97	252			

Table 34 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Job Satisfaction by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.40	1	.40	.19	.66
Timing of Confrontation	1.27	1	1.27	.60	.44
Identity x Timing	.48	1	.48	.23	.63
Error	522.14	248	522.14		
Total	6619.56	252			

Table 35 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	.38	1	.38	.45	.50
Timing of Confrontation	3.78	1	3.78	4.49	.04
Identity x Timing	1.45	1	1.45	1.72	.19
Error	208.58	248	208.58		
Total	3220.58	252			

Table 36 Two-way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Organizational Support by Identity of the Confronter and Timing of the Confrontation

Source	Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>F</i>	<i>P</i>
Identity of Confronter	2.47	1	2.47	1.6	.20
Timing of Confrontation	.13	1	.13	.09	.77
Identity x Timing	.33	1	.33	.22	.64
Error	377.19	248	1.52		
Total	5774.84	252			

Table 37 Two-Way Moderation Results

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>R</i> ²
Identity of Confronter x Tone of Confrontation						
Job Stress	.01	.07	.11	.92	.01	.00
Turnover Intentions	-.04	.12	-.36	.13	.13	.00
Job Satisfaction	-.04	.12	-.39	.69	.15	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.01	.07	.14	.89	.02	.00
Perceived Organizational Support	-.01	.09	-.08	.93	.01	.00
Identity of Confronter x Number of Confronters						
Job Stress	-.02	.18	-.13	.89	.02	.00
Turnover Intentions	.27	.32	.87	.39	.75	.00
Job Satisfaction	.27	.32	.87	.39	.75	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.07	.19	.35	.72	.13	.00
Perceived Organizational Support	.17	.26	.65	.52	.42	.00
Location of Confrontation x Tone of Confrontation						
Job Stress	.01	.06	.17	.86	.03	.00
Turnover Intentions	-.06	.12	-.57	.57	.33	.00
Job Satisfaction	.01	.10	.13	.89	.02	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.03	.06	.39	.70	.15	.00
Perceived Organizational Support	.08	.09	.96	.34	.92	.00
Location of Confrontation x Number of Confronters						
Job Stress	.02	.25	.08	.94	.01	.00
Turnover Intentions	-.60	.43	-1.38	.17	1.92	.00
Job Satisfaction	-.16	.41	-.40	.69	.16	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	-.14	.26	-.53	.60	.28	.00
Perceived Organizational Support	.35	.35	.99	.33	.97	.00
Tone of Confrontation x Number of Confronters						
Job Stress	-.01	.05	-.17	.86	.03	.00
Turnover Intentions	.10	.08	1.23	.21	1.60	.01
Job Satisfaction	.04	.07	.53	.59	.29	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.07	.05	1.47	.14	2.15	.01
Perceived Organizational Support	.02	.06	.37	.71	.14	.00
Tone of Confrontations x Timing of Confronters						
Job Stress	-.02	.06	-.29	.77	.08	.00
Turnover Intentions	-.05	.11	-.46	.64	.21	.00

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>R</i> ²
Job Satisfaction	.00	.11	.01	.99	.00	.00
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.00	.07	-.05	.96	.00	.00
Perceived Organizational Support	.04	.09	.42	.67	.18	.00
Number of Confronters x Timing of Confrontation						
Job Stress	.09	.18	.50	.62	.25	.00
Turnover Intentions	-.22	.32	-.69	.49	.48	.00
Job Satisfaction	.43	.29	1.45	.15	2.11	.01
Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate	.26	.19	1.36	.18	1.84	.01
Perceived Organizational Support	.38	.26	1.50	.13	2.25	.01

APPENDIX C

STUDY MEASURES

Study 1

For the following questions please think of a time you witnessed a sexist statement or behavior in the workplace that was confronted by you or someone else in the organization. Please answer the questions with as much detail as possible.

(open-ended)

How was the sexist statement or behavior confronted? Please describe the confrontation behavior in as much detail as possible.

(open-ended)

Study 2

Please describe the instance of sexism that occurred at work in the last 4 weeks in as much detail as possible. Please include details such as who said the remark, exactly what was said, who it was directed towards, etc. Please do not use any names or other personally identifying information in your description. If it's a complicated story, it's useful to use initials, like "Supervisor J said to employee M that M was late to work again."

(open-ended)

Please describe the confrontation over the instance of sexism that occurred at work in the past 4 weeks in as much detail as possible. Please include details about the confronter, exactly what was said, who it was directed towards, etc. Please do not use any names or other personally identifying information in your description. If it's a complicated story, it's useful to use initials, like "Supervisor J said to employee M that M was late to work again."

(open-ended)

Confronter Identity

Were you or someone else the main person to confront the main person who demonstrated sexism?

1 = I was the main person to confront

2 = Someone else was the main person to confront

Location of Confrontation

Did the confrontation occur publicly or in private?

1 = Publicly

2 = Privately

Number of Confronters

How many people confronted the person(s) who demonstrated sexism? If you are not sure, please estimate.

(open-ended)

Not including the person who demonstrated sexism, how many people witnessed the instance of sexism? If you are not sure, please estimate.

(open-ended)

Timing of Confrontation

Did the confrontation occur immediately within the same interaction involving the instance of sexism, or did it occur afterwards?

1 = Immediately

2 = Afterwards

Tone of Confrontation

To what extent do you agree that the main person who confronted was using an aggressive, angry, or combative tone?

1=Strongly disagree

2=Moderately disagree

3=Slightly disagree

4=Neutral

5=Slightly agree

6=Agree

7=Strongly agree

Job Stress

(Motowidlo, Packard, & Manning, 1986).

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

Over the past two weeks, I have...

had a great deal of stress because of my job.

felt that my job is extremely stressful.

felt that very few stressful things happen to me at work.

almost never felt stressed at work.

1=strongly disagree

2=disagree

3=neither agree nor disagree

4=agree

5= strongly agree

Psychological Workplace Diversity Climate

(McKay, Avery, Tonidandel, Morris, & Hernandez, 2007).

Please indicate how well your organization has met your expectations in regard to the following items.

I *currently* feel like my organization...

recruits from diverse sources.

offers equal access to training.

encourages open communication on diversity.

publicizes diversity principles.

offers training to manage diverse populations.

respects perspectives of people like me.

maintains a diversity-friendly work environment.

has climate that values diverse perspective.

has top leaders visibly committed to diversity.

1=well below expectations

2=below expectations

3=met expectations

4=above expectations

5=well above expectations

Turnover Intentions

(Cammann, Fishman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979).

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

Currently speaking, ...

All in all, I am satisfied with my job.

I often think about quitting.

I am thinking about looking for a new job in the next year.

1=Strongly disagree

2=Moderately disagree

3=Slightly disagree

4=Neutral

5=Slightly agree

6=Agree

7=Strongly agree

Perceived Organizational Support

(Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, 2002).

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

Currently, I feel that ...

my organization values my contribution to its well-being.

my organization appreciates any extra effort from me.
my organization ignores any complaints from me.
my organization really cares about my well-being.
even when I do the best job possible, my organization fails to notice.
my organization cares about my general satisfaction at work.
my organization shows very little concern for me.
my organization takes pride in my accomplishments at work.

1=Strongly disagree

2=Moderately disagree

3=Slightly disagree

4=Neutral

5=Slightly agree

6=Agree

7=Strongly agree

Job Satisfaction

Adapted (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979)

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

Generally speaking, I currently feel...

very satisfied with my job.

satisfied with the kind of work I do in this job.

that I like working here.

1=Strongly disagree

2=Moderately disagree

3=Slightly disagree

4=Neutral

5=Slightly agree

6 =Agree

7=Strongly agree