

A TARGET-CENTERED APPROACH TO CONFRONTING WORKPLACE SEXISM

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Graduate and Professional School of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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December 2021

Major Subject: Industrial-Organizational Psychology

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ABSTRACT

Scholars have argued that confronting sexism will result in several positive outcomes for women targets (e.g., Dray & Sabat, 2020). However, little research has empirically examined this proposition or whether these confrontations of sexism are more beneficial than confrontations of general mistreatment. Furthermore, there is a lack of understanding on how to confront sexism such that targets experience the most positive outcomes, and whether confrontations of sexism should differ from confrontations of more general mistreatment. The current study fills this gap by examining whether (a) confrontations of sexism can buffer against the negative effects of this form of prejudice, (b) confrontations of sexism are more beneficial for targets than confrontations of incivility, (c) differences in the style of confrontation (i.e., tone of confrontation, identity of confronter, and number of confronters) impact target outcomes (i.e., anxiety, achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, and performance), and (d) differences in the style of confrontation interact with the type of mistreatment experienced to impact target outcomes. To test these relationships, data were collected from 241 undergraduate students participating in an interactive, online experiment on Zoom. Results demonstrated that targets of sexism exhibited lower self-efficacy compared to both individuals who do not experience mistreatment and targets of general incivility, and, contrary to study hypotheses, lower anxiety compared to individuals who do not experience mistreatment. Also contradicting study hypotheses, the type of mistreatment experienced did not interact with whether or not a confrontation occurred nor with the type of confrontation to impact target outcomes. Further, neither the tone of confrontation, identity of confronter, number of confronters, nor whether or not a confrontation occurred had an impact on target outcomes. This study contributes to the call for more research on evidence-

based strategies to combat sexism that do not place the onus of responsibility on women. This program of research may also benefit practitioners and employees by informing empirically based diversity and ally training programs, which are needed to improve outcomes among all stigmatized targets.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family and friends who have loved, supported, and cared for me throughout my life. First and foremost, to my grandmother who raised me, Sally Bice, who believed in me and set me up for success from the beginning. Thank you for having my back, encouraging me, and teaching me the most valuable lesson in life: “Do your best and move on.”

Next, my incredibly supportive and selfless husband, Adam Vento, for everything he has done to help me get to where I am today. He has been by my side for all of it, has been my biggest cheerleader, and has never complained about the long hours I have spent working, the weekends I have spent cooped up in the office, or the endless number of PowerPoints I have made him watch me practice.

I would also like to dedicate this to my friends from all parts of my life, but especially those I have met in graduate school, who have let me lean on them when I needed I most. Namely, I would like to dedicate this to Ellen Hagen for being my partner-in-crime from the very beginning, and to Stefan Dumlao for being a sturdy support system and all-around great friend.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this to my late grandfather, Wayne Bice, my mother, Jenny Dray, my siblings, Heather Dray and Amber Gill, and my parents-in-law, Anthony Vento and Susana Belden, for celebrating my successes with me and giving sound advice when needed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Isaac E. Sabat, and my committee members, Dr. Winfred Arthur, Jr., Dr. Mindy E. Bergman, and Dr. Theresa Morris, for their guidance throughout the course of this research. Dr. Sabat's support throughout the past four and a half years has been invaluable and I will be forever grateful for his patience and humor.

I would also like to thank my undergraduate research assistants who helped complete this research. Without them, this research would not have been possible. They went above and beyond for this dissertation (e.g., volunteering during a global pandemic, continuing to run sessions during the 2021 Texas snow storm and power outage), and I could not be more grateful for their resilience, dedication, reliability, and thoughtfulness.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

Contributors

This work was supervised by a dissertation committee consisting of Assistant Professor Isaac E. Sabat [advisor], Professor Winfred Arthur, Jr., and Professor Mindy E. Bergman of the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences and Professor Theresa Morris of the Department of Sociology.

All work conducted for the dissertation was completed by the student independently.

Funding Sources

This work was completed without outside financial support.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research has shown that women continue to experience sexism, defined as “hostility toward women (i.e., hostile affect and negative stereotypes) and the endorsement of traditional gender roles (i.e., restricting women’s conduct to fit societal prescriptions and confining women to roles accorded less status and power than those of men)” (Glick & Fiske, 1997, p. 119) at work. This form of workplace prejudice is linked to a number of negative intrapersonal (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009) and organizational outcomes (e.g., Chan et al., 2005; Rubin et al., 2019). Furthermore, given that sexism frequently targets a stable, central aspect of one’s identity, and is often perpetuated by men who have more societal-level (and often organizational-level) power, it likely elicits even worse outcomes than general incivility (i.e., “low intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect, ... [including] behaviors [that] are characteristically rude or discourteous, displaying a lack of regard for others”; Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 457). As such, it is important for organizations to understand how to mitigate the outcomes associated with this specific form of prejudice.

One way individuals who witness sexism may limit the negative effects of sexism on women may be to confront perpetrators (i.e., “verbally or nonverbally expressing one’s dissatisfaction with prejudicial and discriminatory treatment to the person who is responsible for the remark or behavior”; Shelton et al., 2006, p. 67), thereby displaying support for targets and replenishing their psychological resources. However, there is incomplete knowledge regarding whether confronting perpetrators of sexism actually improves target outcomes. Indeed, existing

research relies on correlational designs (e.g., Dray & Sabat, 2020), which limit our ability to detect causal effects of these confrontation behaviors. Furthermore, much of the prejudice confrontation literature has focused on how to confront to effectively change prejudicial attitudes among perpetrators (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006; Gulker et al., 2013), or on how to confront in ways that minimize harm to confronters (e.g., reputational damage; Chu, 2017; Martinez et al., 2017; Saunders & Senn, 2009). As such, it is still unclear *whether* and *how* individuals should confront perpetrators of sexism to maximally benefit targets. Importantly, it is also unclear whether confrontations of sexism should differ from confrontations of more general forms of incivility, given the unique characteristics of sexism (e.g., societal- and organizational power differential between the perpetrator and target).

Thus, this study contributes to the literature by examining whether (a) confrontations of sexism are beneficial for targets, (b) confrontations of sexism are more beneficial for targets compared to confrontations of incivility, (c) differences in the way confrontations of sexism are enacted (i.e., tone of confrontation, identity of confronter, number of confronters) impact target outcomes, and (d) these differential effects associated with these differences in confrontation style are unique to sexism. One model of prejudice confrontation (i.e., the C-HOPE Framework; Chaney et al., 2015) proposes that confrontations of prejudice result in better psychological health among targets through improved cognitive outcomes (e.g., higher performance) and affective outcomes (e.g., greater feelings of competence). Based on this model, I assert that confrontations of sexism will elicit similar cognitive, affective, and health benefits, including (a) higher performance (i.e., performance on a task), (b) higher achievement aspirations (i.e., “the desire to be one of the very best in their field or to be recognized for one’s accomplishments”; Gregor & O’Brien, 2016, p. 10), (c) higher self-efficacy (i.e., a person’s belief that they are

capable of performing a specific task successfully; Bandura, 2010), and (d) lower anxiety (i.e., “the subjective feeling of nervousness and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system”; Horwitz et al., 1986, p. 125).

To accomplish this, I first provide an overview of the existing literature on the outcomes of sexism and incivility and explain how these two forms of mistreatment may differentially impact targets. Then, hypotheses are formulated as to why confronting perpetrators of sexism may be beneficial for targets, especially when compared to confronting perpetrators of general incivility. Hypotheses are then developed regarding how different styles of confronting sexism (i.e., the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronters) may positively affect targets, and how the ideal form of confrontation may differ depending on whether targets experience sexism or incivility. Then, the methodology and findings are described, followed by a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of this work.

1.1. Impact of Mistreatment on Targets

Based on the definitions of sexism and incivility provided by Glick and Fiske (1997) and Andersson and Pearson (1999), we refer to gender-specific expressions of rude or discourteous treatment directed towards women as a form of sexism and expressions of rude or discourteous treatment that are not specific to a demographic group as incivility. However, sexism and incivility may both be subsumed under the umbrella term “mistreatment”, which is defined as the behaviors that are intended to bring harm to others (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Research has shown that 70-75% of employees self-report experiencing mistreatment at work (Cortina et al., 2001; Einarson & Raknes, 1997). Examples of workplace mistreatment include making derogatory or condescending remarks towards colleagues, excluding co-workers from professional social networks, and addressing employees using unprofessional terms (Cortina et

al., 2001). These incident rates are alarming given that experiencing mistreatment is linked to (a) higher anxiety (e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Gardner & Johnson, 2001; Haq et al., 2020; Pacilli et al., 2019), (b) lower self-efficacy (e.g., Rhee et al., 2017; Shin & Lee, 2018), and (c) lower performance (e.g., Dardenne et al., 2007; Giumetti et al., 2013; Jones et al., 2014) among targets. Further, experiencing mistreatment is indirectly related to reduced leadership aspirations (Parvizian, 2020), which are closely associated with achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016). For example, using time-lagged multi-wave data, Haq et al. (2020) found that targets of workplace incivility reported greater anxiety than individuals who did not experience this form of mistreatment. In another study, Rhee et al. (2017) found a negative relationship between the frequency with which employees experienced workplace incivility and their job-related self-efficacy. In an experimental study, Giumetti et al. (2013) found that individuals performed significantly worse on quantitative test items taken from the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) when they were given instructions from an uncivil (versus supportive) test administrator. Another study found that among women (but not among men), experiences of workplace incivility were negatively correlated with leadership aspirations (Parvizian, 2020). Even worse, the effects of mistreatment can be long lasting. For example, using a two-wave archival dataset spanning 1995-2006 (i.e., The Midlife in the United States (MIDUS)), Allen (2021) found that individuals who experienced workplace discrimination reported significantly greater psychological distress over time (compared to individuals who did not report experiencing workplace discrimination). In another time-lagged study, Fida et al. (2018) found that experiencing workplace incivility positively predicted eventual experiences of cynicism and emotional exhaustion.

One reason why experiencing mistreatment may lead to negative target outcomes is that individuals may engage in rumination (i.e., “repetitive thinking about negative personal concerns and/or about the implications, causes, and meanings of a negative mood”, Whitmer & Gotlib, 2012, p. 1036) after being mistreated. Scholars have argued that experiencing mistreatment results in rumination because targets revisit the incident “to identify specific statements or behaviors that triggered the uncivil treatment, as well as to generate appropriate corrective actions to avoid subsequent [mistreatment]” (Schilpzand et al., 2016, p. 33). Thus, as argued by Dardenne et al. (2007), individuals may demonstrate worse performance after experiencing mistreatment because they have mental intrusions distracting them from the task they are completing. In support of these ideas, research has shown that perceptions of discrimination and incivility are positively related to rumination (e.g., Borders & Liang, 2011; Demsky et al., 2018; He et al., 2020), which has been linked to lower performance (Dardenne et al., 2007).

Scholars (e.g., He et al., 2020) have also argued that the relationship between rumination and negative target outcomes (e.g., higher anxiety, lower self-efficacy, lower performance, lower achievement aspirations) can be explained by conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1989). COR proposes that people “seek to obtain, retain, and protect [psychological] resources and that stress occurs when [psychological] resources are threatened with loss or are lost or when individuals fail to gain resources after substantive resource investment” (Hobfoll, 2002, p. 312). Psychological resources are “objects, personal characteristics, conditions, or energies” that aid in stress reduction and help “protect and promote the integrity of the individual” (Hobfoll & Schumm, 2009, p. 288). As such, COR proposes that distress occurs when there is a loss or threatened loss of psychological resources. Specifically, He et al. (2020) argues that if an individual’s repetitive thoughts are related to unpleasant events, they will likely experience a loss

of psychological resources (i.e., distress). Supporting this proposition, research has shown that rumination is positively related to psychological distress (e.g., Morrison & O'Connor, 2005). As argued by several scholars (e.g., Giumetti et al., 2013; He et al., 2020; Haq et al., 2020), this loss of resources and state of distress may lead to impaired problem-solving skills and an inability to cope with the negative mistreatment, resulting in lower performance, greater anxiety, and lower self-efficacy and achievement aspirations. Targets may also demonstrate lower performance if they withdraw from or limit their efforts on tasks in an attempt to replenish these resources (e.g., Giumetti et al., 2013; Porath & Erez, 2007). In support of these propositions, research has shown that experiencing mistreatment is positively related to greater psychological distress (Cortina et al., 2001; Zucker & Landry, 2007). Further, psychological distress has been linked to greater anxiety (e.g., Lukasik et al., 2019), lower self-efficacy (e.g., Fry & Debats, 2002), and lower performance (e.g., Wardle et al., 2010). Given that self-efficacy is closely associated with achievement aspirations (Pitre, 2017), the same pattern of results is expected.

1.2. Impact of Sexism on Targets

In addition to the theoretical arguments and empirical evidence supporting the negative impacts of general mistreatment, scholars have suggested that experiencing sexism elicits an additional set of unique, psychological outcomes (e.g., Jones et al., 2014). Indeed, while experiencing any form of mistreatment may lead to psychological distress (e.g., Abubaker, 2018; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010), experiencing sexism (versus general incivility) may result in greater psychological distress given that (a) sexist interactions can evoke stereotype threat among targets (Adams et al., 2006; Logel et al., 2009), (b) sexism conveys to women that others believe they are incompetent due to something out of one's control (i.e., their gender), (c) sexism is often perpetuated by men in an attempt to harm women and men have more societal-level (and

sometimes organizational-level) power, and (d) an individual's gender may be more salient and central to their identity than other factors they may be targeted for. Stereotype threat is "a disruptive state among stigmatized individuals" (Davies et al., 2005, p. 277) that occurs when an individual is "at risk of confirming, as a self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group" (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 797). In other words, stereotype threat occurs when preoccupation with attempts to disconfirm a negative stereotype about one's group actually increases the chance of engaging in behaviors that confirm those stereotypes. While individuals do not experience stereotype threat after experiencing acts of general incivility, women may experience stereotype threat after experiencing acts of sexism (Adams et al., 2006; Logel et al., 2009). This is because acts of sexism are often predicated on negative stereotypes about women (e.g., the idea that women are less competent than men or that women should be caregivers; Fiske et al., 2002) and remind women about their stigmatized status within society. Importantly, stereotype threat is linked to greater psychological distress (e.g., Rice & Greenlee, 2019), which partly explains why experiencing sexism may be more harmful than experiencing general incivility.

Sexism (versus general incivility) may also result in greater psychological stress to targets because one's gender is not within their control, whereas individuals who experience general incivility may feel like they are able to change something about themselves (e.g., their communication style) or their relationship with the perpetrator (e.g., resolve a miscommunication) to prevent or limit experiences of mistreatment in the future. Another reason why experiencing sexism may be more psychologically stressful than experiencing more general forms of incivility is that sexism is perpetuated by men, and men have more societal-level power (i.e., control over another individual's valued resources; Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Fiske, &

Berdahl, 2007). In contrast, incivility harms an individual, but may be perpetuated by someone who holds more or less power than the target. Further, the status differences between targets and perpetrators of incivility may be less meaningful than status differences between men and women in society. Thus, given the inherent power differential involved with sexism, experiencing this form of mistreatment is likely more psychologically distressing than experiencing general incivility.

Experiencing sexism (versus general incivility) may also result in greater psychological distress given that different components of an individual's identity may be more or less central to their sense of self (Meca et al., 2015), and an individual's gender may be more salient and central to their identity than other factors for which they may be targeted. One reason for this is that gender identity development begins at a young age and grows over time (Martin et al., 2002), whereas other identities may be developed later in life. For these reasons, being targeted for being a woman (versus being targeted for a more general, non-demographic characteristic) is likely to be more damaging and psychologically distressing.

Psychological distress has been linked to (a) higher anxiety (e.g., Lukasik et al., 2019), (b) lower self-efficacy (e.g., Fry & Debats, 2002), and (c) lower performance (e.g., Wardle et al., 2010). Further, psychological distress is negatively related to educational aspirations (Rothon et al., 2011), which are positively linked to achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016). For these reasons, individuals who do not experience mistreatment likely experience the best outcomes (i.e., lower anxiety, higher achievement aspirations, higher self-efficacy, and higher performance), followed by targets of general incivility, and then targets of sexism.

Hypothesis 1: Targets of sexism will exhibit (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance compared to targets of general incivility, followed by individuals who do not experience mistreatment.

1.3. Confrontations of Mistreatment

To limit the negative target outcomes associated with both sexism and general incivility, several scholars have proposed confrontation as an effective strategy (e.g., Hershcovis et al., 2018; Martinez et al., 2017). This proposition has received some empirical support. For example, research has shown that when targets or bystanders confront perpetrators of workplace mistreatment, targets report more positive outcomes (e.g., greater job satisfaction, lower job stress, lower turnover intentions) compared to when perpetrators are not confronted (Dray & Sabat, 2020).

Scholars have primarily theorized that targets can benefit from confrontations of mistreatment because perpetrators are less likely to enact rude behavior or share harmful comments after being confronted (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2003). However, given that targets can show immediate positive outcomes following confrontation of sexism (e.g., Gervais et al., 2010), it is reasonable to assume there are other explanations for why confrontations of mistreatment benefit targets. For example, one reason why confronting perpetrators of mistreatment may result in better outcomes for targets is that when mistreatment is confronted, mental intrusions (i.e., “unwanted thoughts related to self-doubt, anxiety, preoccupation, or threatened sense of competence”; Dardenne et al., 2007, p. 766) associated with experiencing such treatment are likely halted, reducing the effect of mistreatment on target performance. Confronting perpetrators of mistreatment also demonstrates that the negative feelings towards the target are not universal, likely buffering the negative effects of the treatment on the target’s

anxiety, achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, and performance. In contrast, as argued by Nelson et al. (2011), targets may feel that a lack of pushback towards the perpetrator indicates that others agree with the negative sentiment, likely worsening its negative impact.

Another explanation for why confronting perpetrators of mistreatment may result in better outcomes for targets is provided by COR (Hobfoll, 1989). In accordance with this theory, a show of support through a confrontation may help replenish targets' psychological resources (i.e., reduce targets' psychological distress), alleviating the negative outcomes associated with distress (e.g., greater anxiety, lower self-efficacy, lower performance, lower educational aspirations; Lukasik et al., 2019; Fry & Debats, 2002; Wardle et al., 2010; Rethon et al., 2011). Indeed, research has also shown that social support has a negative relationship with psychological distress (Yang, 2006) through coping (e.g., Calvete & Connor-Smith, 2006). In support of these ideas, Gervais et al. (2010) found that when sent sexist messages within a staged online interaction, women targets experienced greater replenishment of psychological resources (e.g., greater feelings of competence, reduced psychological distress) when the perpetrator was confronted versus not confronted. In contrast, another study found that after experiencing mistreatment in the form of general incivility, targets reported decreased psychological resources (e.g., greater emotional exhaustion) when the mistreatment was not confronted versus confronted (Hershcovis et al., 2018). Given that psychological distress is linked to (a) greater anxiety (e.g., Lukasik et al., 2019), (b) lower self-efficacy (e.g., Fry & Debats, 2002), (c) lower performance (e.g., Wardle et al., 2010), and lower educational aspirations (Rethon et al., 2011), which are positively related to achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016), it is reasonable to assume targets of mistreatment will report worse outcomes when the mistreatment is not confronted (versus confronted).

However, while a confrontation may help to buffer some of the negative outcomes associated with experiencing mistreatment, they may not be able to *fully* remediate these negative outcomes. In other words, it may take more than this singular show of support to fully restore targets' psychological resources, especially if a target feels as though there is still a threat to their resources within their vicinity (e.g., the perpetrator may continue to show bias against them in the future). Further, there is likely a resource cost to witnessing confrontations of mistreatment. While there is a dearth of research specifically on the effects witnessing confrontations of mistreatment on witnesses' intrapersonal outcomes (Martinez et al., 2017), research has shown that witnessing conflict in general (i.e., an interpersonal disagreement resulting in negative emotions; Barki & Hartwick, 2004) is related to negative outcomes such as psychological distress (e.g., Harold et al., 1997; Grych, 1998). Furthermore, employees who witness unpleasant (versus pleasant) interpersonal interactions at work (e.g., confrontations) report feeling more emotionally drained (Totterdell et al., 2012). For this reason, targets who observe these confrontations may still experience a negative emotional response, even though they are receiving support. Thus, when perpetrators of mistreatment are confronted (versus not confronted), targets may experience better outcomes, but will likely still experience worse outcomes than individuals who do not experience mistreatment. In other words, confrontations likely do not fully buffer against the negative effects caused by the initial act of mistreatment. As such, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: Targets of mistreatment that is not confronted will exhibit (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance compared to targets of mistreatment that is confronted, followed by individuals who do not experience mistreatment.

However, these confrontations of mistreatment may be especially beneficial for targets of sexism versus general incivility. This is because while targets of both incivility and sexism may appreciate and feel supported by confrontation, targets of sexism may feel more supported given that sexism likely elicits more harmful initial effects. Confronting perpetrators of sexism may also be the most effective and direct mechanism for limiting this type of mistreatment in the future. This is because one's gender is beyond a person's control, meaning targets of sexism must rely on perpetrators' attitudes and/or behaviors to change as they cannot be expected to change their gender or hide expressions of their gender identity to satisfy others.

Further, as scholars (e.g., Hildebrand et al., 2020) have argued, confronting sexism may also buffer against the negative effects of stereotype threat (i.e., "remove the 'threat in the air'"; Davies et al., 2005, p. 278) by creating an identity-safe environment. An identity-safe environment "involves assuring individuals that their stigmatized social identities are not a barrier to success in targeted domains—that is, assuring individuals that they are welcomed, supported, and valued whatever their background" (Davies et al., 2005, p. 278). This is important because experiencing sexism is linked to lower perceptions of identity-safety (Hildebrand et al., 2020), likely because expressing gender bias indicates perpetrators do not support and/or value women. As such, fostering identity-safety among women is especially important after they experience sexism, as highlighting that others disagree with this devaluation may counteract or limit the negative initial effects of sexism. Indeed, because confronting sexism often involves behaviors such as correcting prejudicial statements, promoting gender equality, and signaling support for stigmatized targets, it likely helps create or reify an identity-safe context. There is some empirical evidence for this proposition. One study found that when women read transcripts of scripted conversations in which a prejudicial comment was made, they reported feeling greater

levels of “identity-safety” (p. 1321) when the perpetrator was confronted (versus not confronted) by a bystander (Hildebrand et al., 2020). Thus, confrontations of sexism likely foster perceptions of identity-safety by helping eliminate targets’ perceptions of stereotype threat and ultimately reducing the negative effects associated with sexism. For these reasons, when mistreatment (sexism or general incivility) is not confronted, targets will experience worse outcomes compared to when mistreatment is confronted, especially when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility).

Hypothesis 3: The type of mistreatment faced and whether or not the mistreatment is confronted interact, such that when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility), targets will be more likely to experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, and this effect will be strongest when the mistreatment is not confronted (versus confronted).

1.4. Dimensions of Confronting Mistreatment

Research has shown that confrontations of prejudice/harassment can vary in several fundamental ways (e.g., by the identity of the confronter, by the tone of the confrontation, by the number of confronters; Dray & Sabat, 2018; Martinez et al., 2017), and that these variations impact witnesses and perpetrators (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006; Gulker et al., 2013; Martinez et al., 2017; Saunders & Senn, 2009). For example, using a vignette study, researchers found that men who were asked to imagine themselves getting confronted for sexually harassing their classmate rated confronters who used a hostile tone (i.e., used curse words, referred to the participant in a derogatory manner) as more irritating than confronters who used a non-hostile tone (i.e., did not use curse words, did not refer to the participant in a derogatory manner; Saunders & Senn, 2009). In another study, researchers found that participants who were confronted for demonstrating

racial bias via their performance on an implicit bias assessment accepted confrontations of racism (i.e., agreed they needed to work on their biases, believed the confrontation was needed) to a greater extent when the confronter was a non-target (i.e., a White person) versus a target (i.e., a Black person; Gulker et al., 2013). Given that variations in confrontations of prejudice impact perpetrators of prejudice and those who witness confrontations, it is reasonable to assume that these differences may have implications for targets of sexism as well. Further, given the many inherent differences between sexism and incivility, it is also reasonable to believe that the ideal way to confront sexism may differ from the ideal way to confront incivility. In other words, the type of confrontation likely interacts with the type mistreatment to impact target outcomes.

In the following sections, a review of relevant theoretical and empirical literature is used to explain how various dimensions of sexism confrontations (i.e., tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and the identity of the confronter) may differentially impact outcomes experienced by targets. Further, given that sexist treatment is a specific form of mistreatment with unique, differentiating characteristics, theoretical and empirical literature is used to explain why certain types of confrontations will have differential effects on targets of sexism versus general incivility. It is important to note that confrontations are complicated processes, and that these are not the only factors at play within a particular confrontation. However, comprehensively examining each factor that plays into how confrontations are perceived by targets is beyond the scope of this work.

1.4.1. Tone of Confronter

It is possible to express dissatisfaction with perpetrators' behaviors, attitudes, or assumptions using either an aggressive or non-aggressive tone, which will likely have an impact on targets of sexism. Here, an aggressive confrontation involves “verbally or nonverbally

expressing one's dissatisfaction" with "treatment to the person who is responsible for the remark or behavior" (Shelton et al., 2006, p. 67) in a way "that is intended to harm" (p. 61) them emotionally and/or psychologically (Baumeister & Bushman, 2007). A non-aggressive confrontation involves expressing one's dissatisfaction in a way that is *not* "intended to harm" (p. 61) the responsible person emotionally and/or psychologically (Baumeister & Bushman, 2007; Shelton et al., 2006).

While there are likely individual differences that moderate the effects of confrontation tone on target outcomes (e.g., targets' aversion to conflict), the majority of targets of sexism will likely feel more supported when an aggressive tone is used because it demonstrates that the confronter is firm in their beliefs. Indeed, people are often aware of others' emotions (e.g., anger), and interpret meaning from them using minimal cognitive effort (Calder, 1996). As argued by Hareli et al. (2009), emotional expressions convey messages to observers, and the emotion of anger insinuates "a demeaning offense against me and mine" (Lazarus, 1991, p. 122). Thus, when a confronter displays anger in their response, it likely demonstrates to the target that the confronter fervently supports women at a deep level, even so far as to consider sexism towards the target as offensive to themselves. Confronting sexism with an aggressive tone also shows that confronters have a strong and true commitment to supporting women, as they are willing to stand up for women, despite the fact that doing so in an aggressive way can often result in receiving reputational damage (e.g., Hyers, 2010). Indeed, researchers have found that confronters who use an aggressive tone are rated less polite and more sensitive compared to confronters who use a non-aggressive tone (Hyers, 2010). In contrast, a non-aggressive tone may convey to targets that the confronter believed the sexism to be offensive, but not inappropriate enough to evoke an emotional response. Further, targets may perceive a non-aggressive tone as

less supportive because it involves the confronter taking the perpetrators' thoughts and feelings into consideration, and protecting themselves from this potential backlash. Thus, targets of sexism likely report greater perceived support when sexism is confronted using an aggressive (versus non-aggressive) tone, which has been linked to lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy and performance (Eldeleklioglu, 2006; Miao, 2011; Turner & Lapan, 2002; Wall et al., 1999). Furthermore, perceived support has been linked to greater leadership aspirations (Fritz & van Knippenberg, 2020), which are positively correlated with achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016).

However, while aggressive confrontations may result in better outcomes for targets of sexism, targets of more general mistreatment may benefit more when confrontations are non-aggressive in nature. In other words, targets of general incivility likely experience better outcomes when the mistreatment they face is confronted non-aggressively. This is because general incivility is typically less pernicious than sexism, so confronting perpetrators of incivility in a way that is intended to harm them may be perceived by bystanders as an overreaction or inappropriate response. As argued by Reich and Hershcovis (2015), a negative response from bystanders towards the confrontation of mistreatment may actually worsen the initial negative outcomes targets face following instances of mistreatment, resulting in greater psychological distress among targets. This may be because targets feel especially unsupported when bystanders reject the confrontation (i.e., reject the show of support for the target). In contrast, confronting incivility with a non-aggressive tone likely still provides targets with support, but is less likely to garner negative reactions from the perpetrator, bystanders, and targets themselves (e.g., Becker & Barreto, 2014; Czopp et al., 2006; Martinez et al., 2017). For these reasons, targets of incivility likely report greater perceived support when incivility is confronted using a non-

aggressive tone compared to an aggressive tone, which has been linked to lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy and performance (Eldeleklioglu, 2006; Miao, 2011; Turner & Lapan, 2002). Further, perceived support is positively related to higher leadership aspirations (Fritz & van Knippenberg, 2020), which are linked to higher achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016).

Hypothesis 4: The type of mistreatment faced and the tone of the confrontation interact such that when mistreatment is confronted in a non-aggressive tone (versus aggressive tone), targets will exhibit (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, but only when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility).

1.4.2. Number of Confronters

The number of confronters will also likely predict outcomes for targets of sexism. This is because an individual confronter may not provide enough support to create an identity-safe environment for targets of sexism. Indeed, in an experimental study in which participants listened to audio recordings of confederates making sexist comments that were subsequently confronted or not confronted, women reported no differences in perceptions of belongingness or safety when the comment was confronted by an *individual* versus not confronted (Hildebrand et al., 2020). However, participants did report greater feelings of belongingness and safety when the sexist comment was confronted by multiple individuals (versus when it confronted by one individual or not confronted). This may be because confrontations involving multiple individuals signals to targets that more people are against sexism and/or the perpetrator's behavior, and women targets feel more supported as a result. Indeed, to the extent that targets feel supported when an individual confronts sexism, greater numbers of confronters should convey even greater

support. Women targets may also perceive those who confront sexism to be a part of their social network, resulting in increased perceptions of support when there are multiple confronters. Conversely, when there is only one confronter, targets may recognize that their support network is small, which will likely lead to reduced perceptions of support. It may also signal to targets that the confrontation is not widely supported or valued, and that the perpetrator would be tolerated by others if the individual confronter were not present. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that greater numbers of confronters are related to greater perceptions of support, which is related to lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy and performance for targets (Eldeleklioglu, 2006; Miao, 2011; Turner & Lapan, 2002). Furthermore, researchers have shown that perceived support is positively linked to leadership aspirations (Fritz & van Knippenberg, 2020), which are positively correlated with achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016).

While confrontations enacted by multiple individuals may make targets of sexism feel especially supported, confrontations enacted by multiple individuals may cause targets of incivility to experience worse outcomes. This is because general incivility does not necessarily involve targeting an individual based on a central, stable part of their identity, so targeted individuals may believe that a confrontation of incivility enacted by multiple people is overly harsh and/or unwarranted. In fact, observers may even view the confrontation as more inappropriate than the instance of incivility and/or as reciprocal incivility. In contrast, a confrontation enacted by a singular person may demonstrate support for the target without appearing as a counter-attack towards the perpetrator. Thus, targets of general incivility likely report greater perceived support when the incivility is only confronted by one individual (versus several individuals), which has been linked to lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy and performance (Eldeleklioglu, 2006; Miao, 2011; Turner & Lapan, 2002). Relatedly, perceived

support is also positively related to higher leadership aspirations (Fritz & van Knippenberg, 2020), which are linked to higher achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016).

Hypothesis 5: The type of mistreatment faced and the number of confronters interact such that when mistreatment is confronted by one person (versus multiple people), targets will experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, but only when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility).

1.4.3. Identity of Confronter

In this study, a targeted person refers to someone whose identity or personhood is being attacked, while a non-target person refers to someone whose identity or personhood is not being attacked. Based on the definition of sexism provided by Glick and Fiske (1997), women (but not men) may be considered targets of sexism. Likewise, when referring to incivility, individuals who experience rude or discourteous treatment are considered targets, while individuals who do not experience rude or discourteous treatment are considered non-targets. As argued by Drury and Kaiser (2014), when confrontations of mistreatment are enacted by non-targeted individuals, targets likely feel more supported than when the confrontations of sexism are enacted by targeted individuals. This is because, while anyone who confronts general incivility or sexism is likely to be perceived as supportive of targets, non-targeted individuals may be considered especially supportive given that they are far less likely to recognize the presence of mistreatment (e.g., Blumenthal, 1998; Rodin et al., 1990). Thus, it is more surprising when non-targets confront mistreatment (Czopp et al., 2006; Gervais & Hillard, 2014), and the surprising nature of their confrontations likely garners more attention and leads people to process the details of their message more closely (Petty et al., 2001). Further, when a non-targeted individual, who is less

likely to recognize mistreatment (compared to a targeted individual), confronts a perpetrator, others likely view this reaction as an appropriate response, given that a non-targeted person is unlikely to notice the mistreatment unless it is egregious. Because confrontations enacted by non-targeted (versus targeted) group members are seen as less of an overreaction (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Kutlaca et al., 2020), they may be more effective in helping individuals recognize or acknowledge the prejudicial or norm-violating nature of a comment or behavior. Further, because non-targeted individuals have little to gain from confronting perpetrators of general incivility or sexism, enacting this behavior is also a cue that they truly and deeply support the fair treatment of others. In contrast, as argued by Czopp et al. (2006), targeted individuals who confront may be perceived as only doing so in their own self-interests, as a reduction of mistreatment should benefit them as well. Indeed, when a targeted individual confronts a perpetrator, observers may believe the confronter's intentions were more selfish (versus selfless; i.e., to defend themselves versus show support for the other targets).

This relationship between the identity of the confronter and target outcomes is likely stronger when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility). This is because with sexism, there is a societal-level power differential between non-targeted individuals (i.e., men) and targeted individuals (i.e. women). Thus, when non-targeted individuals use their heightened societal-level power to show support for women targets, it may be more impactful than when less powerful, targeted individuals show support. In contrast, there may not be this power differential between perpetrators and targets of general incivility, and support from someone who also experienced rude or discourteous behavior compared to support from someone who did not experience such mistreatment may hold similar weight. Thus, when mistreatment is confronted by non-targeted individuals, targets likely experience the greatest perceived support,

subsequently leading to lower anxiety and greater self-efficacy and performance (Eldeleklioglu, 2006; Miao, 2011; Turner & Lapan, 2002). Confrontations of mistreatment from non-targeted individuals also likely result in greater achievement aspirations among targets, given that perceived support is also linked to greater leadership aspirations (Fritz & van Knippenberg, 2020), which are positively correlated with achievement aspirations (Gregor & O'Brien, 2016). Additionally, the relationships between the identity of the confronter and target outcomes are likely stronger for targets of sexism (versus general incivility).

Hypothesis 6: The type of mistreatment faced and the identity of the confronter interact such that when mistreatment is confronted by a targeted person (versus non-targeted person), targets will exhibit (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, and this relationship is stronger when the mistreatment faced is sexism (versus general incivility).

1.5 Interactions Among Dimensions of Confrontation

Each of these dimensions (i.e., the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of confronter(s)) may interact with each other and the type of mistreatment experienced (sexism versus incivility) to influence target outcomes. For example, targets of sexism likely report the most negative outcomes when the mistreatment is confronted by a target in an aggressive tone. This is because targets may believe that aggressive confrontations of sexism enacted by women may confirm stereotypes about women being overly emotional (e.g., Spence et al., 1979). Indeed, some research has shown that when women confront sexism aggressively, women witnesses report feeling as though the confrontation hurts the reputation and image of women overall (Becker & Barreto, 2014). However, maintaining the reputation of women and/or ensuring not to exhibit behaviors that confirm stereotypes about women may not be as much of a

concern when confronting general mistreatment (versus sexism). For these reasons, targets of incivility may report much more positive outcomes when mistreatment is confronted in an aggressive tone by a non-target. However, given the lack of knowledge and theory regarding the ways in which these dimensions influence each other, and how they interact with the type of mistreatment, these potential interactions will be examined using an exploratory approach.

Research Question: Will type of mistreatment (sexism vs. incivility), the tone of the confrontation (aggressive vs. non-aggressive), number of confronters, and identity of the confronter (targeted confronter vs. non-targeted confronter) interact to influence targets' (a) anxiety, (b) achievement aspirations, (c) self-efficacy, and (d) performance?

2. METHODS

To test these hypotheses, an experimental study was conducted in which confederates interacted with participants and made sexist, uncivil, or neutral statements. In the sexist and uncivil conditions, other confederates either confronted the perpetrator or remained silent following these statements. In the neutral condition, the other confederates always remained silent. Participants then completed self-report measures of anxiety, self-efficacy, and achievement aspirations, as well as a simple arithmetic assessment to measure performance.

2.1 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to establish the appropriateness of the manipulations for sexism, incivility, and the tone of the confrontation. In other words, a pilot study was conducted to ensure that the manipulations in this study actually engendered the effects they were intended to produce. Specifically, the pilot study was implemented to ensure participants believed the (a) perpetrators in the sexist conditions were more sexist than the perpetrators in the non-sexist conditions), (b) perpetrators in the uncivil condition were more uncivil than perpetrators in the no mistreatment conditions, and (c) the primary confronters in the aggressive condition were more aggressive than the primary confronters in the non-aggressive condition. To conduct the pilot test, video recordings were made of the confederate research assistants acting out each of the possible conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to watch one of the videos and provided with accompanying transcription, and were asked to rate their perceptions of the perpetrator and the confrontation with regards to the level of (a) sexism displayed by the perpetrator, (b) rudeness/discourteousness displayed by the perpetrator, and (c) aggression displayed by the primary confronter.

2.1.1 Pilot Study Participants

Participants were recruited through the subject pool within the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at Texas A&M University through the SONA system. While the original data collection plan involved 100 participants, a total of 174 participants were recruited for this study to account for excluded data associated with failed attention checks. Eight individuals were excluded from the sample for incorrectly answering the manipulation check and 21 individuals were excluded for failing to respond to the manipulation check (i.e., “In the video you watched, did Josh say who he worked with?”), leaving a final sample size of 145. All participants were required to identify as women and be at least 18 years old. Only women were recruited because, by definition, only women can experience sexism, which encompasses “hostility toward women ... and the endorsement of traditional gender roles” (Glick & Fiske, 1997, p. 119). Participants were ages 18-22 ($M = 18.57$; $SD = .80$). Roughly fifty-seven percent of the participants reported their race/ethnicity as White/Caucasian, 15.17% Hispanic/Latinx, 14.48% Asian/Asian American, 9.66% Multi-/Bi-Racial, 2.76% Black/African American, and .7% Middle Eastern. The majority of participants (69.44%) identified as a freshman (0-29 semester credit hours earned), followed by sophomore (30-59 semester credit hours earned; 21.53%), junior (60-89 semester credit hours earned; 6.25%), senior (90+ semester credit hours earned; 2.08%), and post-baccalaureate (holds a baccalaureate degree but is not admitted for graduate degree; .69%). Thirty-six majors were represented in this sample (e.g., Philosophy, Civil Engineering, Sport Management). The most common majors were Biomedical Sciences (13.10%), Health (10.34%), Biology (8.97%), and Psychology (8.28%). Participants were compensated with course credit for completing this survey.

2.1.2 Pilot Study Procedure

First, each participant watched a scenario that depicted either the sexist, uncivil, or neutral condition. In the videos that depicted the sexist and uncivil conditions, the scenario may have also involved a confrontation. Regardless of the scenario that a participant watched, they were asked to rate the extent to which the perpetrator's response was sexist. Specifically, participants were asked to rate the extent to which "Josh's response indicated a negative assessment of individuals based upon their gender or supported the unequal status of women and men", based on Swim and Hyers' (2009) definition of sexism. Next, participants who watched scenarios depicting the uncivil and neutral conditions were asked to rate the extent to which "Josh's response was rude or discourteous, displaying a lack of regard for others", based on Andersson and Pearson's (1999) definition of incivility. To assess the appropriateness of the aggressive manipulation, participants who witnessed a scenario depicting a confrontation were asked to rate the extent to which Alexis/Chris (i.e., the primary confederate confronter) expressed "dissatisfaction with Josh's statements in way that was intended to harm Josh, where harm may include verbal insults or belittlement of Josh's opinions", based on the definition of aggression provided by Baumeister and Bushman (2007) and the definition of confrontation provided by Shelton et al. (2006). Participants were asked to indicate their response to each of these items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

2.1.3 Pilot Study Results

To assess the appropriateness of the sexism manipulation, an ANOVA was performed comparing participants' ratings of sexism across each of the three conditions (sexist, uncivil, neutral). Participants' ratings of sexism were statistically significantly different across each of the three conditions (sexist, uncivil, neutral), Welch's $F(2, 88.41) = 82.92, p < .05, \omega^2 = .46$.

Games-Howell post hoc analyses revealed that there was a significant difference in ratings of sexism between the sexist condition ($M = 5.67$, $SD = 1.52$) and neutral condition ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.27$; 95% CI [-4.49, -3.08], $p < .05$), as well as the sexist condition and incivility condition ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.92$; 95% CI [-3.15, -1.58], $p < .05$). Thus, the sexism manipulation was deemed appropriate given that participants in the sexist condition rated the perpetrator's remark as significantly more sexist than participants in the neutral and uncivil conditions. To assess the appropriateness of the incivility manipulation, a t -test was performed comparing participants' ratings of incivility in the uncivil and neutral conditions. Participants in the uncivil condition rated the perpetrator's comment as significantly more uncivil ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 1.04$) than participants in the neutral condition ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.76$), $t(46.15) = 5.89$, 95% CI [1.31, 2.68], $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = 1.38$. Thus, the incivility manipulation was deemed appropriate. To assess the appropriateness of the aggressive vs. non-aggressive confrontation manipulation, a t -test was performed comparing participants' ratings of aggression between the two conditions (aggressive vs. non-aggressive confrontation). Participants in the aggressive condition rated the comment from the confronter as significantly more aggressive ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.34$) than participants in the non-aggressive condition ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.96$), $t(65.60) = 4.55$, 95% CI [.99, 2.54], $p < .05$, Cohen's $d = 1.05$. Thus, this manipulation was deemed appropriate.

2.2 Main Study

2.2.1 Participants

Data were collected from 282 participants recruited through the subject pool within the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at Texas A&M University through the SONA system and the bulk email system at Texas A&M University. However, data collected from 8 participants were unusable because (a) a confederate made a critical mistake when reading the

script ($n = 3$), (b) a confederate had to turn their camera off during a manipulation ($n = 2$), (c) a confederate knew the participant ($n = 1$), (d) the participant admitted they are a man after the study was completed ($n = 1$), and (e) the participant completed the study twice ($n = 1$). Further, at the end of the study, participants were asked, “What do you think this study was about?” and their data was also considered unusable if they correctly guessed the true purpose of the experiment ($n = 33$). This determination was made when participants mentioned sexism (e.g., “...negative remarks about female stereotypes...”), incivility (e.g., “...someone makes a rude comment about something personal to them”), or confrontations (e.g., “...telling someone off for saying insensitive comments...”). See Appendix A for information about how participants were distributed across conditions.

In the final sample ($n = 241$), the majority of participants were White/Caucasian (51.45%) with other races/ethnicities reported as Asian American/Asian (15.35%), Hispanic/Latina (14.12%), multi/biracial (13.28%), Black/African American (3.32%), and Middle Eastern (1.24%). Participants’ ages ranged from 18 to 39 with an average age of 19.78 ($SD = 1.93$). Further, the majority of participants (27.80%) identified as a sophomore (30-59 semester credit hours earned), followed by senior (90+ semester credit hours earned; 26.97%), freshman (0-29 semester credit hours earned; 24.48%), junior (60-89 semester credit hours earned; 19.92%), and undergraduate non-degree seeking students (.41%). Fifty-eight majors were represented in this sample (e.g., Accounting, Aerospace Engineering, Horticulture) and the most common majors were Biomedical Sciences (11.20%), Psychology (8.71%), and Biology (7.88%). The majority of participants were recruited through the bulk email system at Texas A&M University ($n = 156$; 64.73%), and the remaining participants were recruited through the subject pool ($n = 85$; 35.27%). Participants recruited via subject pool were compensated with

course credit and participants recruited via bulk email were compensated \$5.00. The experiment lasted approximately 30 minutes. All participants were women who were at least 18 years old.. Individuals who participated in the pilot study were ineligible to participate in the main study.

2.2.2 Procedure

The overall design for this dissertation is a 2 (type of mistreatment: general incivility vs. sexism) X 2 (presence of confrontation: confrontation vs. no confrontation) X 2 (tone of confrontation: aggressive vs. non-aggressive) X 2 (number of confronters: one confronter vs. multiple confronters) X 2 (identity of confronter: confronter is a woman vs. confronter is a man X 2 (identity of confronter: confronter has the same major as the participant vs. confronter has a different major than the participant) partially crossed between-subjects design with a hanging control in which in which there is no mistreatment and no confrontation. Each participant was randomly assigned a condition using a random number generator before data collection began.

This study was conducted using the video conferencing platform Zoom, and participants were given a link to join the call when they signed up to participate, and again at least 30 minutes before their session via the email address they provided when signing up for the study. Participants were made aware before signing up for this experiment that it would be conducted on Zoom and that they would need a reliable internet connection to participate.

The confederates were a man named Josh (the perpetrator), a man named Chris or a woman named Alexis (the primary confronter), and a man named Michael or woman named Madison (the secondary confronter). The main and secondary confronter within each scenario always had the same gender as each other. In all conditions, the experimenter was a woman. See Appendix B for races/ethnicities of the confederates. The experimenters and confederates followed a semi-structured script (see Appendices C and D for the full script) to enact each of the

conditions involved in this study. The confederates and experimenters were all blind to the study hypotheses. The experimenter and confederates participated in extensive training led by the author of this paper and an experienced local actress. In the original data collection plan, each of the confederates were going to enact each of the different manipulations to ensure that confederates' races were not responsible for the observed effects. However, due to logistical constraints (e.g., collecting the data across several semesters, limited availability of some research assistants), this plan was not feasible. Instead, confederates' races were controlled within each analysis.

In each session, the experimenter first instructed the participant to review the information sheet with details pertaining to the study and to provide electronic consent. After electronic consent was given, the experimenter asked if the participant had any questions and then asked for verbal consent. Next, an experimenter informed participants that they would be participating in “an interview study about perceptions of team or group work” and instructed the participants to state their name, classification, and major. Next, the experimenter asked participants to each “describe a team or group project [they] have completed recently in one of [their] classes,” including details about the task they completed together, their group partners, and the success of the project. The experimenter clarified that participants could discuss a project from high school if needed. However, unbeknownst to the participant, the three other undergraduate students were confederates. Please see Appendix E for full study protocol.

2.2.3 Type of Treatment

While answering the question about a team or group project they recently completed, the confederate perpetrator, who identifies and presents as a man, made either (a) sexist, (b) uncivil (but not discriminatory), or (c) neutral remark. Specifically, the perpetrator said “Okay so last

semester in my History course I was in a group where we had to research something really basic for a decent part of our grade and then present it to our class. I think our topic was related to the original colonies or something. We didn't get to pick our groups though, so I ended up getting stuck with a couple of (*girls; [participant's major] majors; people*) who were constantly asking me questions and did not understand like anything in the class. So, as the only (*guy; smart one; responsible one*) in the group, I ended up having to do the entire project myself." These conditions represent the sexism, incivility, and neutral conditions, respectively.

2.2.4 Confrontation Manipulations

The other confederate either confronted or did not confront the perpetrator, depending on the condition. In the no confrontation condition, the two other confederates remained silent following this remark through the remainder of the experiment. In the confrontation conditions, the primary confronter said "You know that just because the (*women; [participant's major] majors*) in your group were difficult to work with, doesn't mean that (*women; [participant's major] majors*) can't be valuable team members, right? Honestly, saying (*shit; stuff*) like that makes you sound like (*a sexist asshole; a sexist person; an asshole; a rude person*)." These conditions represent an aggressive confrontation of sexism, a non-aggressive confrontation of sexism, an aggressive confrontation of incivility, and a non-aggressive confrontation of incivility, respectively. The other confederate then either stated "*Yeah, I agree, that comment was not okay with me either*" or did not comment on the sexist statement, depending on whether they were enacting the multiple or single confrontation condition. To manipulate whether the confronters are targeted by the mistreatment, the confronters were either both men or both women, and either both had the same major as the participant or had a different major than the participant.

Following this interaction, the participant completed measures assessing their achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, and anxiety (see Appendix F for a complete list of measures). Participants then completed a short assessment to measure their performance on a task. Next, participants reported their demographic information. Participants were able to access the measures and debriefing information by clicking on a link that was sent to them by the experimenters in the Zoom chat box. As such, all measures were administered electronically. Participants ended by reading a debriefing that explained the purpose of this study, the deception that was used, and a list of resources for women on campus (e.g., information related to a monthly networking opportunity for women students to connect with women professionals in the area).

2.2.5 Measures

2.2.5.1 Anxiety. To measure participants' state-level anxiety, a scale from the state-trait inventory for cognitive and somatic anxiety (STICSA; Ree et al., 2008) was used. Participants rated the extent to which 21 statements describe how they felt at the present moment on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = not at all; 4 = very much). Some example items include "I can't concentrate without irrelevant thoughts intruding", "I have trouble remembering things", "My breathing is fast and shallow", and "My throat feels dry". This scale demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

2.2.5.2 Achievement Aspirations. An 8-item subscale from Gregor and O'Brien's (2016) scale for measuring career aspirations was used for this study. This subscale was specifically designed to measure achievement aspirations (versus leadership or educational aspirations). Participants responded to the items on a 5-point Likert scale (0 = not at all true of me; 4 = very true of me). Some example items included "I want to be among the very best in my

field” and “I aspire to have my contributions at work recognized by my future or current employer”. This scale demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .71$).

2.2.5.3 Self-Efficacy. To assess self-efficacy, participants rated whether they believed themselves capable of performing an arithmetic task at ten levels of performance, ranging from “correctly answer 1-3 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes” to “correctly answer 28-30 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes”. Before responding, participants were told that the arithmetic problem involved adding two rows of 5-digit numbers and were shown an example problem. They rated each performance level with response options ranging from 1 (no confidence at all) to 100 (total confidence). Participants’ self-efficacy score was then calculated by summing the confidence scores across the ten levels of performance. This measure of self-efficacy has been used in previous literature (e.g., Bandura & Jourden, 1991).

2.2.5.4 Performance on a Task. To measure performance, participants were presented with a simple arithmetic task (i.e., adding two rows of 5-digit numbers). Their performance score equals the total number of correct answers they provided. This measure has been used to assess performance within previous studies (e.g., Gellatly, 1996). To ensure that a maximum of 5 minutes was spent on this task, this measure included an automatic timer that the participant could not pause or reset. The survey automatically advanced when the time ended.

2.2.5.5 Demographics. Participants indicated their race/ethnicity, academic classification (i.e., class year), academic major, and age.

3. RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for study variables are reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for Study Variables

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Tone of Confrontation	--	--	--						
2. Number of Confronters	--	--	.02	--					
3. Identity of Confronter	1.50	.50	-.02	.00	--				
4. Anxiety	2.12	.92	.08	-.10	-.18	--			
5. Achievement Aspirations	5.38	.69	.03	-.10	.10	-.13*	--		
6. Self-Efficacy	539.35	258.16	-.04	-.03	-.06	-.09	.02	--	
7. Performance	12.94	4.63	-.14	.10	.00	-.06	-.05	.22*	--

Note. * = $p < .05$ (2-tailed).

3.1 Treatment Experienced on Target Outcomes

To assess Hypothesis 1a-d, which proposed that targets of sexism experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance compared to targets of general incivility, followed by individuals who do not experience mistreatment, a one-way MANOVA was performed. The results revealed that there was a significant difference on the combined dependent variables based on the treatment experienced by participants, $F(8, 470) = 3.91, p < .05$; Wilk's $\Lambda = .88$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs using a Bonferroni adjusted α level of .0125 showed that there were no differences in achievement aspirations and performance based on the treatment experienced by participants (see Table 2). Thus, Hypotheses 1b and 1d were not supported. However, the follow-up tests

revealed that participants' reported anxiety ($F(2, 238) = 6.26; p < .0125$; partial $\eta^2 = .05$) and self-efficacy ($F(2, 238) = 7.02; p < .0125$; partial $\eta^2 = .06$) were significantly different based on the treatment they experienced.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and MANOVA of Targets' Anxiety, Achievement Aspirations, Self-Efficacy, and Performance by Treatment Experienced

Measure	Sexism		Incivility		No Mistreatment		$F(2, 238)$	p	Partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Anxiety	1.92	.82	2.11	.92	2.48	1.01	6.26	> .001	.05
Achievement Aspirations	5.40	.75	5.41	.58	5.31	.77	.37	.70	.00
Self-Efficacy	469.95	262.94	564.88	244.38	626.58	244.22	7.02	> .001	.06
Performance	13.07	4.67	12.88	4.62	12.81	4.67	.07	.94	.00

With regard to reported anxiety, Bonferroni post-hoc tests showed that participants who experienced no mistreatment ($M = 2.48, SD = 1.01$) actually reported higher levels of anxiety than individuals who experienced sexism ($M = 1.92, SD = .82; p < .05$). However, there were no differences in anxiety between individuals who experienced no mistreatment and incivility ($M = 2.11, SD = .92$), or between individuals who experienced sexism and incivility ($p > .05$). Thus, Hypotheses 1a was not supported.¹ Further, the results indicated that individuals who experienced sexism ($M = 469.95, SD = 262.94$) reported lower self-efficacy than individuals who

¹ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results. However, when races from all confederates were simultaneously included as covariates, those who experienced no mistreatment reported significantly lower anxiety than those who experienced incivility.

experienced incivility ($M = 564.88$, $SD = 244.38$) and those who experienced no mistreatment ($M = 626.58$, $SD = 244.22$; $p < .05$). However, there were no differences in self-efficacy between individuals who experienced incivility and those who experienced no mistreatment ($p > .05$). Thus, Hypotheses 1c was also not supported.²

In sum, there were no differences in participants' achievement aspirations or performance based on the type of treatment they faced. However, participants who experienced sexism reported (a) lower anxiety than participants who experienced no mistreatment and (b) lower self-efficacy than participants who experienced no mistreatment and those who experienced incivility.

3.1.1 Treatment Experienced and Confrontations on Target Outcomes

To test Hypothesis 2a-d, which proposed that targets of mistreatment that is not confronted experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance compared to targets of mistreatment that is confronted, followed by individuals who do not experience mistreatment, an ANOVA was performed. There was a significant difference between those who experienced mistreatment that was confronted, those who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted, and those who did not experience mistreatment on the combined dependent variables, $F(8,470) = 3.00$, $p < .05$; Wilks' $\Lambda = .91$; partial $\eta^2 = .05$. Follow-up univariate ANOVAs using a Bonferroni adjusted α level of .0125 revealed that there were no differences in individuals' achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, or performance between those who experienced mistreatment that was confronted, those who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted, and those who did not experience mistreatment (see Table 3). Thus, Hypothesis 2b-d was not supported. However, there were

² Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, *and/or* perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

significant differences in anxiety ($F(2, 238) = 5.77, p < .0125$; partial $\eta^2 = .03$) between those who experienced mistreatment that was confronted, those who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted, and those who did not experience mistreatment. Bonferroni post-hoc tests showed that those who experienced no mistreatment ($M = 2.48, SD = .13$) reported higher levels of anxiety than those who experienced mistreatment that was confronted ($M = 1.94, SD = .09; p < .05$) and those who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted ($M = 2.08, SD = .09; p < .05$). However, there were no differences in anxiety between those who experienced mistreatment that was confronted and those who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted, $p > .05$. Thus, Hypothesis 2a was not supported. In sum, there were no differences in achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, or performance between individuals who experienced mistreatment that was confronted, individuals who experienced mistreatment that was not confronted, and individuals who did not experience mistreatment. However, individuals who experienced no mistreatment reported higher anxiety than those who did experience mistreatment.³

³ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, and/or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and MANOVA of Targets' Anxiety, Achievement Aspirations, Self-Efficacy, and Performance by Whether Mistreatment was Confronted

Measure	Mistreatment, Confrontation		Mistreatment, Confrontation		No Mistreatment		$F(2, 238)$	p	Partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Anxiety	1.94	.09	2.08	.09	2.48	.13	5.77	<.001	.05
Achievement Aspirations	5.46	.07	5.34	.07	5.31	.10	1.12	.33	.01
Self-Efficacy	537.91	26.01	497.62	25.88	626.58	36.79	4.11	.02	.03
Performance	13.31	.47	12.64	.47	12.81	.67	.53	.59	<.001

To test Hypothesis 3a-d, which proposed that targets of mistreatment that is not confronted experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance compared to targets of mistreatment that is confronted, especially when the mistreatment they faced is sexism (versus general incivility), a two-way MANOVA was performed. The results revealed that there was not a significant interaction between the treatment experienced by participants and confrontations (versus no confrontations) on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$. Thus, 3a-d were not supported. Further, the main effect of confrontations (versus no confrontations) on the combined dependent variables was not significant, $p > .05$. In sum, there was not an interactive effect between the treatment experienced

by participants and confrontations (versus no confrontations) on participant outcomes. Further, whether or not a confrontation occurred did not have an impact on participant outcomes.⁴

3.1.2 Treatment Experienced and Tone of Confrontations on Target Outcomes

To examine Hypothesis 4a-d, which proposed that the type of mistreatment faced by targets and the tone of the confrontation interact such that when mistreatment is confronted in a non-aggressive tone (versus aggressive tone), targets experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, but only when the mistreatment they face is sexism, a two-way MANOVA was performed. Results revealed that there was not a significant interaction between the type of mistreatment faced and the tone of the confrontation on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$. Thus, Hypothesis 4a-d was not supported. Further, the main effect of the tone of the confrontation did not have an effect on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$.⁵ In sum, among targets of mistreatment, the type of mistreatment experienced (sexism versus incivility) did not interact with the tone of the confrontation (aggressive versus non-aggressive) to impact target outcomes. Further, the tone of the confrontation did not independently impact target outcomes.

3.1.3 Treatment Experienced and Number of Confrontations on Target Outcomes

To assess Hypothesis 5a-d, which proposed that the type of mistreatment faced by targets and the number of confronters interact such that when mistreatment is confronted by one person (versus multiple people), targets experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, especially when the mistreatment they face is sexism, a two-way MANOVA was performed. The results revealed that there was

⁴ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, and/or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

⁵ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, and/or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

not a significant interaction effect between the type of treatment experienced and number of confronters on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$. Thus, Hypothesis 5a-d was not supported. Further, the main effect of the number of confronters did not have an effect on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$.⁶ In sum, among targets of mistreatment, the type of mistreatment experienced (sexism versus incivility) did not interact with the number of the confronters (one versus multiple) to impact target outcomes. Further, the number of confronters did not independently impact target outcomes.

3.1.4 Treatment Experienced and Identity of Confrontations on Target Outcomes

To examine Hypothesis 6a-d, which proposed that the type of mistreatment faced by targets and the identity of the confronter interact such that when mistreatment is confronted by a targeted person (versus non-targeted person), targets experience (a) higher anxiety, (b) lower achievement aspirations, (c) lower self-efficacy, and (d) lower performance, especially when the mistreatment they face is sexism, a two-way MANOVA was performed. The results revealed that there is not a significant interaction effect between the type of treatment experienced and identity of the confronter(s) on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$. Thus, Hypothesis 6a-d was not supported. Further, the main effect of the identity of the confronter(s) did not have an effect on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$.⁷ In sum, among targets of mistreatment, the type of mistreatment experienced (sexism versus incivility) did not interact with the identity of the confronter(s) (target versus non-target) to impact target outcomes. Further, the identity of the confronter did not independently impact target outcomes.

⁶ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, and/or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

⁷ Including experimenter race, primary confronter race, secondary confronter race, and/or perpetrator race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results.

3.2 Interactions of Treatment and Dimensions on Target Outcomes

To test Research Question 1a-d, which examined whether the type of mistreatment (sexism vs. incivility), the tone of the confrontation (aggressive vs. non-aggressive), number of confronters, and identity of the confronter (targeted confronter vs. non-targeted confronter) interact to influence targets' (a) anxiety, (b) achievement aspirations, (c) self-efficacy, and (d) performance, a four-way MANOVA was performed. The results revealed that there is not a significant interaction effect between the type of mistreatment, tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronter (targeted confronter vs. non-targeted confronter) on the combined dependent variables, $p > .05$.

Further, tests of all possible three- and two-way interactions on the combined dependent variables were performed, and all but one two-way interaction was non-significant, $p > .05$. Specifically, there was a significant interaction between the identity of the confronter and the tone of the confrontation on the combined dependent variables, $F(4, 77) = 2.56, p < .05$, Wilks' $\Lambda = .88$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$. Univariate interaction effects tests revealed that there was a significant interaction between the identity of the confronter and the tone of the confrontation on performance, $F(1, 80) = 4.48, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$, but not anxiety, self-efficacy, or achievement aspirations, $p > .05$ (see Table 4). A simple main effects test revealed that there was a significant difference in performance scores depending on the identity of the confronter when the confrontation was aggressive, $F(1, 80) = 4.02, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$, but not when the confrontation was non-aggressive, $p > .05$. When the confrontation was aggressive, the performance score was higher for those who witnessed a targeted person confront ($M = 15.53$,

$SD = 1.05$) than those who witnessed a non-targeted person confront ($M = 12.58$, $SD = 1.03$), 95% CI [.021, 5.86].⁸

Table 4

Two-Way MANOVA of Targets' Outcomes by Tone of Confrontation and Identity of Confronter

Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	$F(1, 80)$	p	Partial η^2
Anxiety	1.60	2.46	.12	.03
Achievement Aspirations	.29	.60	.44	.01
Self-Efficacy	72147.60	.97	.34	.01
Performance	112.95	4.48	.04	.05

In sum, the treatment experience by participants did not interact with the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and/or the identity of confronters to impact target outcomes, except for one two-way interaction in which targets performed better when witnessing aggressive versus calm confrontations, but only when the confrontations were enacted by targets (versus non-targets).

⁸ Including secondary confronter race as a covariate did not change the pattern of results. However, when experimenter race was included as a covariate, perpetrator race was included as a covariate, or when races from all confederates were simultaneously included as covariates, the identity of the confronter and the tone of the confrontation no longer interacted to impact the combined dependent variables. When the primary confronter's race was included as a covariate, the tone of the confrontation and identity of the confronter no longer interacted to impact target performance.

Table 5*Summary of Support for Study Hypotheses*

Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable	Support
Type of Treatment (Sexism vs. Incivility vs. Neutral)	#1a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Treatment (Sexism vs. Incivility vs. Neutral)	#1b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Treatment (Sexism vs. Incivility vs. Neutral)	#1c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Treatment (Sexism vs. Incivility vs. Neutral)	#1d: Performance	Not Supported
Type of Treatment and Confrontation Status (Neutral vs. Confronted Mistreatment vs. Not Confronted Mistreatment)	#2a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Treatment and Confrontation Status (Neutral vs. Confronted Mistreatment vs. Not Confronted Mistreatment)	#2b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Treatment and Confrontation Status (Neutral vs. Confronted Mistreatment vs. Not Confronted Mistreatment)	#2c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Treatment and Confrontation Status (Neutral vs. Confronted Mistreatment vs. Not Confronted Mistreatment)	#2d: Performance	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Confrontation Status	#3a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Confrontation Status	#3b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Confrontation Status	#3c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Confrontation Status	#3d: Performance	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Tone of Confrontation	#4a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Tone of Confrontation	#4b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Tone of Confrontation	#4c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Tone of Confrontation	#4d: Performance	Not Supported

Independent Variable(s)	Dependent Variable	Support
Type of Mistreatment X Number of Confronters	#5a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Number of Confronters	#5b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Number of Confronters	#5c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Number of Confronters	#5d: Performance	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Identity of Confronter	#6a: Anxiety	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Identity of Confronter	#6b: Achievement Aspirations	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Identity of Confronter	#6c: Self-Efficacy	Not Supported
Type of Mistreatment X Identity of Confronter	#6d: Performance	Not Supported

4. DISCUSSION

The goals of this dissertation were to examine the extent to which confronting sexism benefits women targets, and how differences among confrontation styles impact these benefits. This study found that individuals do not experience differences in achievement aspirations or performance based on the type of treatment they face (i.e., sexism, general incivility, or no mistreatment). However, those who experience sexism experience lower anxiety than those who experience no mistreatment and lower self-efficacy than those who experience no mistreatment or incivility. These findings do not provide support for the arguments that experiencing sexism results in rumination and thus worse cognitive outcomes, and are in contrast to studies that have found a positive relationship between experiencing sexism and deleterious outcomes (e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Dardenne et al., 2007). However, these findings do align with research that shows women experience lower self-efficacy following experiences of sexism (e.g., Shin & Lee, 2018), providing support for COR. One reason why women may have felt less anxiety in these scenarios is that they felt less of a need to impression manage (i.e., attempt to influence the image they project onto others; Gilmore et al., 1999) or demonstrate high performance given that others already viewed them as less competent. In other words, women may not have felt a need to present themselves in a positive manner if they felt it would be a futile effort, relieving themselves from this form of social pressure and anxiety. Another possible explanation is that experiencing mistreatment in this environment was recognized as such, but was not harmful due to the setting. Specifically, participants interacted with the perpetrator online where physical safety was not a concern and mistreatment was enacted by an unknown individual who would likely not be seen again after the experiment.

This study also showed that women do not exhibit differences in achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, or performance based on whether they experience mistreatment that is confronted, mistreatment that is not confronted, or no mistreatment. However, individuals who experience no mistreatment report higher anxiety than both those who experience mistreatment that is confronted and those who experience mistreatment that is not confronted. Further, this study found that whether a confrontation occurs does not independently impact target outcomes, nor does it interact with treatment faced by targets to impact those outcomes.

Among targets of mistreatment, this study also found the type of mistreatment experienced (sexism versus incivility) does not interact with the tone of the confrontation (aggressive versus non-aggressive), number of confronters (one versus multiple), nor identity of confronters (targeted confronter versus non-targeted confronter) to impact target outcomes. Further, this study found that these dimensions of confrontations do not independently impact target outcomes. However, exploratory analyses revealed the tone of the confrontation interacts with the identity of the confronter such that targets perform better when witnessing aggressive (versus non-aggressive) confrontations, but only when the confrontations are enacted by other targets (versus non-targets). In other words, when mistreatment is confronted aggressively, women demonstrate better performance when the confronter is a target (versus non-target). However, when mistreatment is confronted non-aggressively, women show no difference in performance based on whether the confronter is a target or non-target. In the following sections, the theoretical and practical implications of this work are described, followed by a discussion of the limitations of this work and avenues for future research.

Interestingly, when races from all confederates were simultaneously included as covariates, those who experienced no mistreatment reported significantly lower anxiety than

those who experienced incivility. In other words, incivility lead to higher levels of anxiety, but only when the experimenter, perpetrator, and confronter(s) belonged to certain racial groups. Analyses also revealed that the tone of the confrontation and identity of the confronter no longer interacted to impact the combined dependent variables when experimenter race was included as a covariate, perpetrator race was included as a covariate, or the races of all confederates were simultaneously included as covariates. Further, the tone of the confrontation and identity of the confronter no longer interacted to impact target performance when the primary confronter's race was included as a covariate. Thus, there are likely unexplored interactions between the races of the involved individuals and the outcomes associated with the type of mistreatment and/or confrontation that was enacted.

4.1 Implications

4.1.1 Theoretical Implications

This dissertation contributes to the existing literature by testing whether (a) confrontations of mistreatment are beneficial for targets of mistreatment, which has been theorized in the literature (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015), (b) confrontations of sexism (versus general incivility) are *especially* beneficial for targets, and (c) the style in which confrontations are enacted differentially impacts targets based on the type of mistreatment experienced. While previous work has theorized that confrontations of prejudice result in better outcomes for the targets of prejudice (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015), there is a dearth of research supporting these claims (cf. Gervais et al., 2010). As such, this dissertation is one of the first to experimentally examine whether confronting prejudice impact targets' outcomes, as prior work has focused almost exclusively on the outcomes of witnesses (e.g., Martinez et al., 2017; Saunders & Senn, 2009) and perpetrators (e.g., Czopp et al., 2006; Gulker et al., 2013; cf. Gervais et al., 2010).

This dissertation also examined the previously untested question of whether confrontations of sexism (versus general incivility) are *especially* beneficial for targets. This is an important contribution to the prejudice confrontation literature, as existing work has shown that these differences impact perpetrator and witness outcomes (e.g., reductions in prejudice, attitudes towards confronters). However, the present findings do not support what other researchers have found and theorized with respect to the effects of confronting perpetrators of sexism on targets (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015; Dray & Sabat, 2020; Gervais et al., 2010; Hyers, 2007). Indeed, scholars (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015) have argued that confronting perpetrators of sexism will result in better outcomes for women targets through improved cognitive and affective outcomes, and that rumination and COR explain these relationships (e.g., He et al., 2020). Other scholars have shown that women employees who experience sexism at work (Dray & Sabat, 2020) and undergraduate women who experience sexism while interacting with confederates online (Gervais et al., 2010), benefit from confrontations. However, the present study did not find support for these relationships. While the largely non-significant findings fail to support theorized links between confronting sexism and positive target outcomes argued by several scholars (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015), this work is important to the prejudice confrontation literature as it provides an empirical test of long assumed relationships. This study also did not find support for the idea that confronting (versus not confronting) interacts with the type of treatment faced (sexism versus incivility) to impact target outcomes. This finding contributes to the confrontation literature as it suggests that a similar pattern of results may be expected when confronting sexism and other, more general, forms of mistreatment (i.e., general incivility). As such, perhaps when examining ways to mitigate the negative effects of sexism or incivility, these

bodies of literature could be combined. Doing so may help consolidate the confrontation literature, as these forms of mistreatment are often examined in isolation.

Furthermore, while there is a body of literature on how different dimensions of confronting prejudice impact witnesses and perpetrators (e.g., Chu, 2017; Czopp et al., 2006; Saunders & Senn, 2009), there is a lack of research examining how these dimensions impact targets (cf. Dray & Sabat, 2020). Scholars in recent years have called for research investigating the extent to which different styles of confrontations impact target outcomes (e.g., Chaney et al., 2015). For example, the C-HOPE Framework (Chaney et al., 2015), which suggests that confronting discrimination, including sexism, should result in positive outcomes for targets, calls for work on moderators of this theorized relationship. Chaney et al. (2015) specifically call for research on the extent to which the style of the confrontation impacts the relationship between confronting and cognitive, affective, and behavioral target outcomes. Thus, this dissertation helps expand the confrontation literature by testing the extent to which the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronters impacts targets. However, the results of the present work support existing literature (Dray & Sabat, 2020) that shows that dimensions of confrontations (i.e., the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronter) do not independently affect the outcomes of targets. This is an important contribution to the literature given that it answers a call for more research on potential moderators of the relationship between confronting sexism and target outcomes.

In conjunction with studies examining how different confrontation styles affect (a) perpetrators' prejudicial behavior, (b) confronters' interpersonal outcomes, and (c) witnesses' perceptions of those involved and the confrontation itself, this work may be used to help develop a model for understanding when confronting sexism or prejudice broadly. Indeed, combining

these streams of research will help workplace allyship and prejudice researchers understand how confrontations of sexism must be enacted to elicit optimal outcomes (e.g., provide support to targets, eliminate bias, minimize backlash).

4.1.2 Practical Implications

The results of this study may also help increase the prevalence of confrontations as a response to prejudice. This is because people often do not know how they should confront perpetrators, and worry that doing so poorly would result in even worse outcomes for targets (Martinez et al., 2017). As argued by many scholars (e.g., Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2008; Martinez et al., 2017), understanding which types of confrontations benefit targets the most will likely result in an increase of this type of response. As such, given that the study showed that targets do not experience *worse* outcomes as a result of confronting sexism, potential confronters may be more likely to confront (which may still positively impact perpetrators' attitudes/behaviors; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). Although this study found that singular instances of confrontations do not (positively or negatively) impact targets, expressing dissatisfaction with workplace mistreatment and prejudice may contribute to a more positive workplace diversity climate (i.e., "employees' perceptions that an organization adheres to fair personnel practices and the degree that minority employees are integrated into the work environment"; McKay et al., 2007). As such, potential confronters may still be encouraged to confront, given that a more positive diversity climate will likely benefit employees (e.g., McKay et al., 2007).

Given that this study found that the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronter largely do not impact target outcomes, potential confronters may be more likely to confront given that the *type* of confrontation will likely not impact targets. In other words, potential confronters may be more likely to confront if they can do so in ways *they* feel

comfortable with, knowing their confrontation style will not positively or negatively impact target outcomes. Further, findings from this study inform practitioners and researchers how to develop better, more effective ally training programs. Specifically, based on the results of this study, practitioners and developers of ally training programs should encourage targets to confront mistreatment using an aggressive tone. Further, potential confronters should be encouraged to confront in the ways they feel the most comfortable and/or will positively impact perpetrator outcomes, as in most scenarios, the type of confrontation will not impact targets themselves. This is important given that empirically-based diversity and ally training programs are needed for improving the experiences of stigmatized targets. This work contributes to the call for more research on evidence-based strategies to combat prejudice that do not place the onus of responsibility on targets themselves (e.g., Lindsey et al., 2013; Martinez & Hebl, 2010).

4.2 Limitations and Future Research

As with all experimental studies, this research has some limitations that highlight directions for future research. First, one reason why women may have felt less anxiety following instance of sexism (versus no mistreatment) is that this study was conducted in the southern United States, where scholars have argued women are more accustomed to and/or tolerant of sexism (e.g., Boasso et al., 2012). As such, women in this study may have felt more comfortable or accustomed to the type of comment made by the perpetrator, even though the sentiment demonstrated a belief in inequality between men and women. For this reason, scholars may test the relationships proposed in the present work, but expand their samples to the United States more broadly. Alternatively, a sample may be intentionally collected from a comparable university in the northern United States, and researchers may see whether a different pattern of results emerges.

A second limitation of this work is that the findings may not be generalizable to other stigmatized groups (e.g., racial minorities, sexual orientation minorities). As such, conclusions about whether to confront other forms of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., racism, ageism) should not be formed based on the results of this study. Indeed, while confronting sexism may not result in better outcomes for targets, confronting other forms of workplace prejudice may still elicit these benefits. Further, while the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of the confronters did not impact outcomes among targets of sexism, this may not be the case among targets of other forms of prejudice and mistreatment. Indeed, there may be an ideal confrontation style for other forms of prejudice, potentially depending on the intersectional identities of the target, perpetrator, and confronter. For example, aggressive confrontations of race-based stereotypes by Black employees may actually reinforce racial stereotypes, thereby doing more harm than good. Further, the identity of the confronter may have less of an impact on target outcomes when confronting prejudice directed towards individuals with invisibly stigmatized identities (e.g., LGBTQIA+ identities). This is because observers are likely to assume the confronter is a member of the stigmatized group they are supporting, regardless of their true identity (Pryor et al., 2012). Thus, researchers should continue this line of work, examining if and how all people can optimally confront all forms of prejudice.

A third limitation of this work is that it was completed in an online, virtual (versus an in-person) environment. For this reason, participants may not have experienced the interaction as they would have outside of the experiment, and a lack of external validity (i.e., the extent to which study results may be generalizable to other participants, settings, and times; Cook & Campbell, 1979) may be a concern. For example, the online environment may have allowed participants to ignore the perpetrator, and to feel greater physical safety in knowing that they

could simply exit the call at any time. In contrast, while participants are always given the ability to exit experiments, they may find it more difficult or uncomfortable to do so in person versus online. As such, a different pattern of results may have been discovered if this experiment had been completed in an in-person environment (e.g., individuals who experienced mistreatment may demonstrate worse outcomes than those who did not experience mistreatment). However, even though a different pattern of results may have been found in an in-person study, experiments that examine the experiences of participants in an online setting will likely become increasingly important as organizations increasingly allow their employees to work remotely (e.g., Mouratidis & Papagiannaki, 2021). Future researchers may continue this line of work by testing the hypotheses proposed in the present work in an in-person environment to see whether experiencing sexism, and witnessing confrontations of prejudice, differentially impacts targets based on whether they are in-person and online.

Finally, a fourth limitation of this work is that only one form of sexism was displayed. However, as research has shown (e.g., Dray & Sabat, 2019; Jones et al., 2016), workplace sexism can take many forms. For example, sexism may differ in its delivery (verbal or behavioral) and nature of the act (stereotype-based vs. sexual). The number of perpetrators, the target of sexism (a specific woman vs. women in general), and the power differential between the perpetrator(s) and targets(s) may also vary (Dray & Sabat, 2019). Further, scholars have argued that discrimination can vary in severity, overtness, frequency, and intensity (e.g., Jones et al., 2016). The use of a singular form of sexism may provide another explanation for the largely non-significant findings from this study. While the statement made by the perpetrator in this present work was deemed appropriate given the results of the pilot study, perhaps it was not egregious enough for targets to feel significantly harmed by this form of mistreatment or to feel

that it warranted a confrontation. Thus, future researchers may examine how differences in the forms of sexism differentially interact with whether a confrontation takes place to impact women targets. One way to do this is to use a daily diary study in which employees record each time they experience sexism at work, the form of sexism displayed (e.g., its delivery), and whether and how it was confronted. This will allow researchers to be able to study how various forms of sexism impact targets' reactions to confrontations.

Finally, as with all experimental designs, there are concerns with the presence of ad-hoc (versus real) relationships. In other words, it may be the case that the relationships (or lack of relationships) between variables found in this study were a result of situation-specific circumstances present in this study (e.g., the script, the confederates). Indeed, it may be the case that these relationships would manifest differently (i.e., a different pattern of results would emerge) if examined outside of a highly controlled, manipulated lab setting. As such, this experiment should be replicated in other settings (e.g., in-person) with other confederates and/or variations of this experiment with similar samples should be conducted to determine the validity of these results. Further, as is the case with many experimental studies, there is also a concern of the fidelity of the manipulations within the experiment (i.e., “the extent to which an intervention’s core components have been implemented (and differentiated from control conditions) as planned”; Nelson et al., 2012; p. 377). Indeed, while a pilot study was conducted to ensure the manipulations were interpreted as intended, and a standardized script was used across conditions, it may be the case that the manipulations were not implemented as intended (e.g., due to variations in acting between different confederates).

5. CONCLUSION

This study empirically assessed the extent to which sexism differs from incivility with regard to target outcomes, and the extent to which confronting sexism benefits women targets in the form of lower anxiety, and greater achievement aspirations, self-efficacy, and performance (above and beyond the benefits associated with confronting incivility). However, the results revealed that targets of sexism do not experience worse outcomes than targets of incivility, and confronting (versus not confronting) does not impact targets. Further, this study revealed that the tone of the confrontation, number of confronters, and identity of confronter do not independently impact target outcomes, nor interact with the type of mistreatment faced (sexism versus incivility) to impact target outcomes. These findings contribute to the confrontation literature by examining the theorized benefits to confronting sexism, and comparing confrontations of sexism to another, more general form of mistreatment (i.e., incivility). Further, the results of this study inform practitioners on how to train employees to optimally address sexism, thereby improving important workplace outcomes for women employees.

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APPENDIX A

MATRIX OF CONDITIONS

		Confrontation				No Confrontation	
General Incivility Condition	Aggressive Confrontation <i>n</i> = 24	One Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 24	Woman Confederates	
				Man Confronter			
			Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			
				Man Confronter			
		Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			Man Confederates
				Man Confronter			
			Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			
				Man Confronter			
	Non-Aggressive Confrontation <i>n</i> = 24	One Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 25	Woman Confederates	
				Man Confronter			
			Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			
				Man Confronter			
Multiple Confronters		Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter	Man Confederates			
			Man Confronter				
		Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter				
			Man Confronter				

Sexist Condition	Aggressive Confrontation <i>n</i> = 24	One Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 24	Woman Confederates
				Man Confronter		
		Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter		
				Man Confronter		
		Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter		
				Man Confronter		
	Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			
			Man Confronter			
	Non-Aggressive Confrontation <i>n</i> = 24	One Confronter	Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 24	Woman Confederates
				Man Confronter		
		Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter		
				Man Confronter		
Multiple Confronters		Confederates Have Same Major as Participant	Woman Confronter			
			Man Confronter			
Multiple Confronters	Confederates Have Different Major as Participant	Woman Confronter				
		Man Confronter				
No Mistreatment Condition					Confederates Have Same Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 24	Woman Confederates
						Man Confederates

		Confederates Have Different Major as Participant <i>n</i> = 24	Woman Confederates
			Man Confederates

Note. The number of participants presented in each condition of this table will divide evenly across the sub conditions. For example, the 24 participants recruited for the incivility condition with an aggressive confrontation will be evenly split between the one confronter ($n = 12$) and multiple confronter ($n = 12$) conditions. Likewise, the 12 participants recruited for the incivility condition with an aggressive confrontation from one person will be evenly split between the confederates have the same major as participant ($n = 6$) and the confederates have a different major as participant ($n = 6$) conditions. As such, ($n = 3$) participants will be recruited for the incivility condition with an aggressive confrontation from one woman with the same major as the participants.

APPENDIX B

RACE/ETHNICITY OF CONFEDERATES

	Spring 2021	Summer 2021
Perpetrators	Black/African American (<i>n</i> = 1) Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 3) White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 1)	Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 1) Black/African American (<i>n</i> = 1)
Primary confronters (Men)	Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 2)	Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 1) White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 1)
Primary confronters (Women)	Asian/Asian American (<i>n</i> = 2) Black/African American (<i>n</i> = 1)	Asian/Asian American (<i>n</i> = 1)
Secondary Confronters (Men)	Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 1) White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 2)	Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 1)
Secondary Confronters (Women)	Asian/Asian American (<i>n</i> = 2) Bi-Racial (Hispanic/Latinx and White) (<i>n</i> = 1) Black/African American (<i>n</i> = 1) Hispanic/Latinx (<i>n</i> = 1)	White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 1)
Experimenters	Asian/Asian American (<i>n</i> = 1) Bi-Racial (Hispanic/Latinx and White) (<i>n</i> = 1) Black/African American (<i>n</i> = 1) White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 1)	White/Caucasian (<i>n</i> = 1) Asian/Asian American (<i>n</i> = 1)

APPENDIX C
STUDY SCRIPT

Experimenter: Welcome everyone. I am going to go ahead and message you the consent sheet. Please read through this document and let me know when you have provided electronic consent on the form.

Experimenter: (sends link to electronic consent link to public Zoom chat)

Participant: (informs experimenter they have completed consent sheet)

Chris/Alexis, Michael/Madison, Josh: Me too

Experimenter: Can each of you verbally confirm that you agree to be a part of this research?

Chris/Alexis, Michael/Madison, Josh: Yes

Participant: (answers questions)

Experimenter: Do any of you have any questions?

Chris/Alexis, Michael/Madison, Josh: No

Participant: (answers questions)

Experimenter: “Okay everyone, today you will be participating in an interview study about perceptions of team or group work. To begin, can each of you state your name, classification, and major? [Participant], you can go first. Then (Chris; Alexis), (Michael; Madison), and Josh.”

Participant: (states name, major, and classification)

Chris/Alexis: “Hi, I’m (Chris; Alexis) and I’m a freshman ([participant’s major]; human resources) major.”

Michael/Madison: “I’m (Michael; Madison), and I’m a junior ([participant’s major]; human resources) major.”

Josh: “I’m Josh, and I’m a sophomore Astrobiology major.”

Experimenter: “Okay, now can each of you please describe a team or group project you have completed recently in one of your classes? Make sure to describe the task you completed together, your group partners, and how the project went overall. If you need to describe a project or team from high school, that is alright. [Participant’s name], you can start.”

Participant: (answers question)

Experimenter: “Great, thank you. (Chris; Alexis), please go ahead.”

Chris/Alexis: “Alright, so in high school I had a group where we had to create a review of a book for this English course I was taking and we were assigned The Poisonwood Bible. The book was really intense so I’m glad we had a group to work with. The project we turned in was good and the whole group ended up getting an ‘A’ so it was actually a good experience.”

Experimenter: “Okay, awesome. (Michael; Madison), please go ahead.”

Michael/Madison: “So, I was recently in a group project in one of my classes where we had to research a topic and then create a PowerPoint and present it to the class like we were the professor. Then we had to write a group paper about the topic. We chose to do our project on refinancing and consolidating debt. It went okay, and my group members were actually fun to work with, so not like most group projects.”

Experimenter: “Okay, awesome. Josh, you can go ahead and go.”

Josh: “Okay so last semester in my History course I was in a group where we had to research something really basic for a decent part of our grade and then present it to our class. I think our topic was related to the original colonies or something like that. We didn’t get to pick our groups though, so I ended up getting stuck with a couple of (girls; [participant’s major] majors; people) who were constantly asking me questions and did not understand like anything in the class. So, as the only (guy; smart one; prepared one) in the group, I ended up having to do the entire project myself.” (sexist, general incivility, and neutral conditions, respectively)

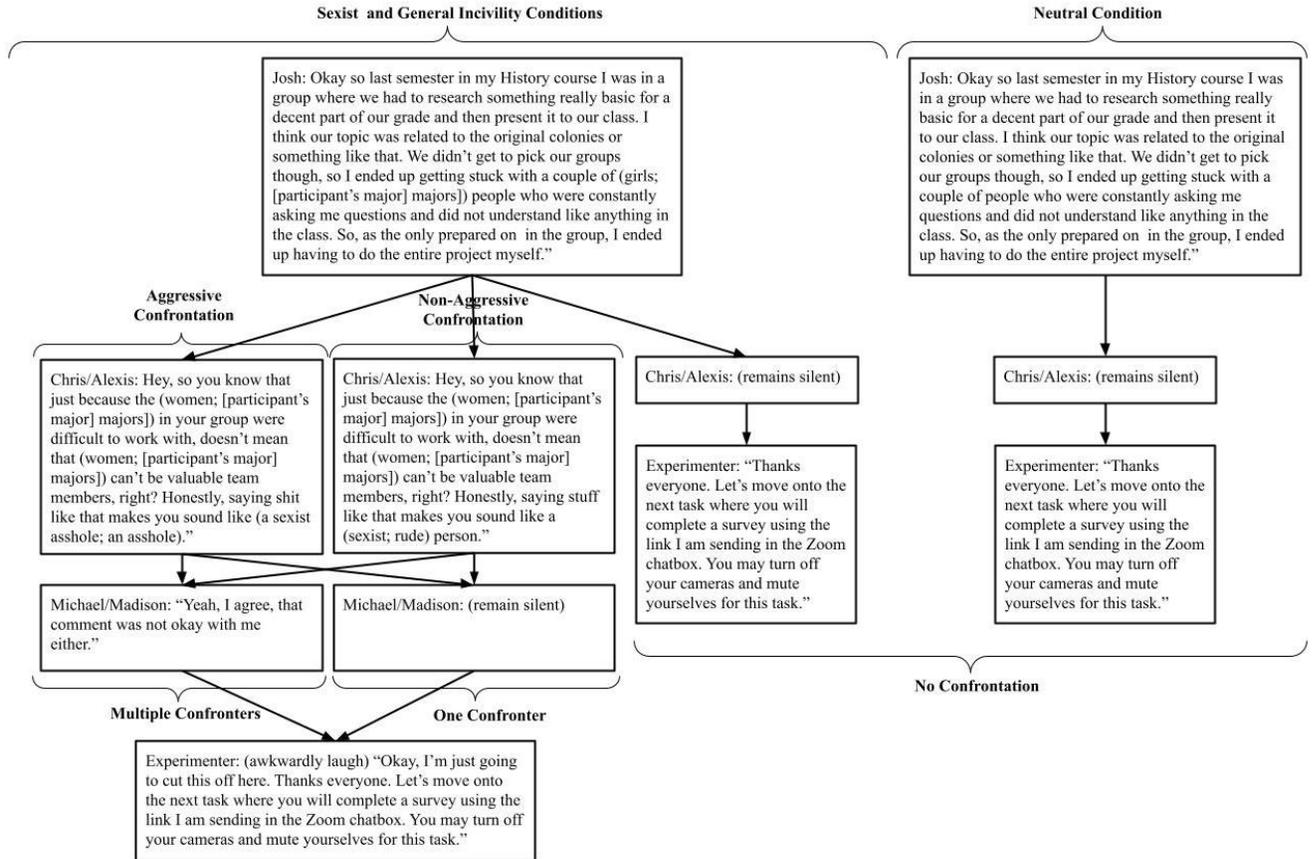
Chris/Alexis: “Hey, so you know that just because the (women; [participant’s major] majors) in your group were difficult to work with, doesn’t mean that (women; [participant’s major] majors) can’t be valuable team members, right? Honestly, saying (shit; stuff) like that makes you sound like (a sexist asshole; a sexist person; an asshole; a rude person).” (aggressive confrontation of sexism, non-aggressive confrontation of sexism, aggressive confrontation of incivility, non-aggressive confrontation of incivility conditions, respectively) **OR** (remain silent) (no confrontation condition)

Michael/Madison: “Yeah, I agree, that comment was not okay with me either.” (multiple confronters condition) **OR** (remain silent) (one confronter condition or no confrontation condition)

Experimenter: (awkwardly laugh) “Okay, I’m just going to cut this off here. Thanks everyone. Let’s move onto the next task where you will complete a survey using the link I am sending in the Zoom chatbox. You may turn off your cameras and mute yourselves for this task.” STOP SCRIPT HERE (confrontation condition) **OR** “Thanks everyone. Let’s move onto the next task where you will complete a survey using the link I am sending in the Zoom chatbox. You may turn off your cameras and mute yourselves for this task.” STOP SCRIPT HERE (no confrontation condition)

APPENDIX D

STUDY SCRIPT AS FLOW CHART



APPENDIX E
STUDY PROTOCOL

Session	Scheduled Activity	Activity Length	Session Time	Cumulative Time Elapsed
0	Introduction Participant join call Consent form	2 minutes 2 minutes	4 minutes	4 minutes
1	<u>TASK 1.</u> Discussion Discussion	8 minutes	8 minutes	12 minutes
2	Administrative Experimenter sends survey link	1 minute	1 minute	13 minutes
3	<u>TASK 2.</u> Questionnaire Anxiety Self-efficacy Achievement aspirations Performance Situational stress* Perceived support* Demographics	1.5 minutes 1.5 minute 1.5 minute 6 minutes 1.5 minute .5 minutes 1 minute	15 minutes	28 minutes
4	Administrative Debriefing	2 minutes	2 minutes	30 minutes
*Denotes exploratory measures not being used for this dissertation				

APPENDIX F

LIST OF MEASURES

Age in Years

(open-ended)

Race/Ethnicity (select all that apply)

- White/Caucasian
- Black/African American
- Asian/Asian American
- Hispanic/Latinx
- Native American
- Middle Eastern
- Prefer to self-identify: (text box)

What is your current classification at Texas A&M University?

- U1 (0-29 semester credit hours earned)
- U2 (30-59 semester credit hours earned)
- U3 (60-89 semester credit hours earned)
- U4 (90+ semester credit hours earned)
- Post-Baccalaureate (holds a baccalaureate degree but is not admitted for graduate degree)

What is your major? Please write the 4-letter abbreviation of your major (e.g., PSYC for Psychology; AERO for Aerospace Engineering)

(open-ended textbox)

Anxiety

State-trait inventory for cognitive and somatic anxiety (STICSA)

Ree et al. (2008)

Please indicate the extent to which the following statements describe how you feel at the present moment.

- I feel dizzy.
- My muscles feel weak.
- My arms and legs feel stiff.
- My muscles are tense.
- My breathing is fast and shallow.
- My face feels hot.
- I have butterflies in my stomach.

- My palms feel clammy.
- My heart beats fast.
- My throat feels dry.
- I think the worst will happen.
- I can't concentrate without irrelevant thoughts intruding.
- I picture some future misfortune.
- I worry that I cannot control my thoughts as well as I would like to.
- I can't get some thoughts out of my mind.
- I think that others won't approve of me.
- I feel agonized over my problems.
- I feel like I am missing out on things as I can't make up my mind soon enough.
- I keep busy to avoid uncomfortable thoughts.
- I have trouble remembering things.

1 = not at all

2 = slightly

3 = moderately

4 = very much

Achievement Aspirations

Gregor & O'Brien (2016)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

- I want to be among the very best in my field.
- I want my work to have a lasting impact on my field.
- I aspire to have my contributions at work recognized by my employer.
- Being outstanding at what I do at work is very important to me.
- I know that I will be recognized for my accomplishments in my field.
- Achieving in my career is not at all important to me. (reverse-coded)
- Being one of the best in my field is not important to me. (reverse-coded)
- I plan to obtain many promotions in my organization or business.

0 = not at all true of me

1 = hardly true of me

2 = neither true nor untrue of me

3 = moderately true of me

4 = very true of me

Self-Efficacy

Bandura & Jourdan (1991)

Please indicate how confident you feel in your ability to perform an arithmetic task at ten levels of performance. Here, arithmetic task refers to adding two rows of 5-digit numbers. See example arithmetic problem below.

$$\begin{array}{r} 46484 + \\ 25740 \end{array}$$

- I can correctly answer 1-3 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 4-6 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 7-9 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 10-12 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 13-15 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 16-18 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 19-21 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 22-24 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 25-27 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes
- I can correctly answer 28-30 arithmetic problems in 5 minutes

1 = no confidence at all
100 = total confidence

Performance

Gellatly (1996)

For the next task, you will be completing a simple arithmetic task (adding two rows of five-digit numbers). You will have a 5-minute assessment. Please try your best stay focused on the task for the entire assessment. You may use a scratch sheet of paper if you wish, but using a calculator is not permitted.

1. $\begin{array}{r} 49518 + \\ 35440 \end{array}$
2. $\begin{array}{r} 11548 + \\ 86297 \end{array}$
3. $\begin{array}{r} 52022 + \\ 97359 \end{array}$
4. $\begin{array}{r} 59729 + \\ 48409 \end{array}$
5. $\begin{array}{r} 23799 + \\ 64638 \end{array}$
6. $\begin{array}{r} 11823 + \\ 68320 \end{array}$
7. $\begin{array}{r} 55453 + \\ 64550 \end{array}$

8. $\begin{array}{r} 87502 + \\ 26386 \end{array}$
9. $\begin{array}{r} 36792 + \\ 23110 \end{array}$
10. $\begin{array}{r} 97336 + \\ 25922 \end{array}$
11. $\begin{array}{r} 98642 + \\ 49294 \end{array}$
12. $\begin{array}{r} 12698 + \\ 34262 \end{array}$
13. $\begin{array}{r} 56065 + \\ 43719 \end{array}$
14. $\begin{array}{r} 74517 + \\ 96874 \end{array}$

15. $\begin{array}{r} 73461 + \\ 76712 \end{array}$
16. $\begin{array}{r} 52892 + \\ 90685 \end{array}$
17. $\begin{array}{r} 80369 + \\ 22645 \end{array}$
18. $\begin{array}{r} 44080 + \\ 12730 \end{array}$
19. $\begin{array}{r} 91766 + \\ 81767 \end{array}$
20. $\begin{array}{r} 46021 + \\ 42128 \end{array}$
21. $\begin{array}{r} 36342 + \\ 16348 \end{array}$

22. 75223 +
23246
23. 56289 +
32654
24. 78726 +
33675
25. 70398 +
79456
26. 11266 +
67248
27. 91317 +
45222
28. 83040 +
35499
29. 65290 +
45853
30. 34883 +
75949
31. 28123 +
73434

32. 94864 +
21120
33. 82120 +
34158
34. 96010 +
10126
35. 82351 +
18274
36. 44185 +
90806
37. 72946 +
63844
38. 80191 +
41727
39. 92638 +
33484
40. 71828 +
91882
41. 20057 +
88749

42. 35226 +
30095
43. 415462 +
75522
44. 71217 +
65657
45. 9760 +
34244
46. 24659 +
48456
47. 61456 +
43453
48. 45686 +
18976
49. 20864 +
86837
50. 32398 +
27686