

CONFRONTATION OF PREJUDICE IN THE WORKPLACE: THE ROLE OF  
OBSERVER PREJUDICE-LEVEL, DISCRIMINATION TYPE, AND PERPETRATOR  
STATUS

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## ABSTRACT

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The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008) describes factors that predict whether people confront prejudice that they witness. The present research examined some of these factors, including: observer prejudice level (low to high), discrimination type (racism or sexism), and perpetrator status (subordinate, peer, or supervisor to observer). Three hundred forty students from a large urban university in the Midwest read scenarios involving racism or sexism and completed items related to the CPR Model and measures of racial vs. gender attitudes. Results indicated that participants were more likely to report that they would confront racism than sexism, especially to the extent that they had low-prejudice attitudes. In addition, participants were less likely to report directly confronting (and more likely to report the incident to an authority when the perpetrator was) a supervisor than a peer or subordinate. Implications of this research include using the CPR Model as a method to educate organizations on prejudice reduction strategies in the workplace.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Great steps have been taken to reduce prejudice and discrimination in society. However, people today still experience the daily hassles of prejudiced remarks or discrimination based on, for example, their race or gender. Daily instances of prejudice suggest people do not always curb their discriminatory behavior and therefore may need to be confronted about it. The present research examines variables that may influence the likelihood of prejudice confrontation in the workplace. Specifically, the present research examines the role of discrimination type (i.e., whether the perpetrator expressed racism vs. sexism), perpetrator status (i.e., subordinate, peer, or supervisor of the observer), and observer prejudice level (i.e., low or high in racism or sexism), that may predict the likelihood of confrontation of prejudice in the workplace.

### 1.1. Previous Research

Prejudice is defined as an “attitude toward members of specific groups that directly or indirectly suggest they deserve an inferior social status” (Glick & Hilt, 2000, p. 243). Discrimination is defined as a person or group that is denied equal treatment because of an attribute (Barnes, 1997). Thus, prejudice is an attitude and discrimination a behavior; however, in the literature, *bias* is often used broadly to refer to both. Prejudice and discrimination can apply to many different social groups; however the two

most studied forms of prejudice are racism and sexism. Thus, the present research will focus on these biases.

Racism and sexism are both prevalent in a variety of domains in the workplace including hiring, advancement, and compensation (Bertrand & Mullainathan 2004; Cochran, 1993; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley 1990; Wickwire & Kruper, 1996). Such discrimination negatively impacts the work environment. Not only are there legal ramifications (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964), but discrimination has been linked to decline in employee performance and job satisfaction (see e.g., Greenhaus et al., 1990; Murrell, Olson, & Hanson-Frieze, 1995), as well as decline in workers' health and well-being (see e.g., Hitlan, Clifton, & DeSoto, 2006). In addition, discrimination can create work situations that disadvantage minorities and cause challenges for future organizations where employees are diverse (Ensari & Miller, 2006). Organizations need to be aware of discrimination and the impact it has on employees in the workplace. One way to make a change is reducing prejudice in the workplace.

### Prejudice Reduction Strategies

A wide variety of strategies exist to reduce prejudice and discrimination in today's society and workplace (Paluck & Green, 2009). Many of these strategies focus on individuals' recognition of their own prejudices and discriminatory behavior and efforts to stop themselves from doing something that would violate their own ideas about themselves. Self-regulation occurs when people notice and feel guilty about their own discriminatory behavior, and subsequently regulate their behavior to fit their personal standards. Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, and Czopp (2002) examined how individuals

self-regulate to reduce prejudice. For example, if a person at a party tells a racist joke, one might automatically laugh at the joke due to the fun party atmosphere. However, after pausing and recalling what just happened one might question whether laughing at the racist joke is consistent with one's standards and ideals. According to Monteith et al., (2002) after reacting to a prejudiced joke and realizing it was wrong to laugh, one is then taking in cues for control. This means one is recognizing the features of the context that might be associated with feelings of guilt and self-criticism. Therefore, the next time an individual is in a similar situation (i.e., cues are again present) where a racist joke is told he or she may be reminded of the previous situation and slow down to think about it this time. Now, an individual is recognizing his/her own biases and may start to make a change by reducing prejudice.

Although Monteith et al., (2002) found that people feel guilty when they recognize that they have been biased, form cues for control, and act on these cues in subsequent situations and respond with less discrimination, research also suggests that the use of self regulation approaches depends on the awareness of discrimination or prejudiced responses as well as motivation of an individual. Individuals must recognize their biased responses as well as have the motivation to correct them. However, individuals do not always recognize their biased tendencies and may not be able to correct them (Bargh, 1999; Devine & Monteith, 1999). To illustrate, Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo (2001) found that many people fail to attribute their biased responses to prejudice or discrimination, which suggests that people often do not recognize when they have been biased.

Relying on people to police their behavior and reduce their discriminatory behavior or prejudiced attitudes may not be the best strategy of prejudice reduction. Therefore, confronting discrimination after it has happened is an additional strategy that might be more effective to reduce prejudice because it helps invoke self-regulatory processes. Prejudice confrontation is “verbally or nonverbally expressing one’s dissatisfaction with prejudicial and discriminatory treatment to the person who is responsible for the remark or behavior” (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006, p. 67). Studies suggest that confrontation is a very effective way to reduce others’ prejudiced responding. Research has found that confrontation starts the processes that are useful and important for the self-regulation of prejudice (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). Czopp et al. (2006) found that participants, regardless of prejudice level, had feelings of guilt after a confrontation occurred. Furthermore, Czopp and Monteith (2003) found that participants who were confronted subsequently expressed fewer stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes.

In spite of its effectiveness not all individuals confront prejudice or confront as much as they think they should. Swim and Hyers (1999) found in imagined scenarios 50% of women said they would confront a male who made sexist remarks. However when placed in a real-life situation similar to imagined scenarios very few actually confronted the prejudice.

To date, research suggests that confrontation can be effective but there are social costs that might inhibit confrontation. Individuals may not confront because they may feel it is impolite or risky (Swim & Hyers, 1999). These concerns are understandable as research has found that when individuals blame negative outcomes on discrimination

they are perceived as complainers and disliked (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003). In the workplace, there may be unique social costs that keep employees from confronting others. Confrontation can be considered a form of conflict, and interpersonal conflict has been shown to have detrimental effects on employees (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). Other possible costs of confronting prejudice include physical backlash from others who might be upset they were confronted or exclusionary behaviors such as being excluded from groups or work functions.

### 1.2. The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model

Ashburn-Nardo et al. (2008) examined similarities between occurrences of discrimination and physical emergencies. This led to their development of The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model. The CPR Model includes factors that might influence the likelihood of confronting prejudice (See Figure 1).

The CPR model is designed around a five-step sequence: Detecting a discriminatory incident, labeling it an emergency, taking responsibility for addressing the incident, deciding how to respond, and overcoming perceived costs and actually responding. Observers do not need to advance through the model's decision process steps in the specific order outlined in the model.

Step 1 in the CPR Model is Perceiving Prejudice. Identifying and labeling prejudice is a hard task. People may not recognize prejudice when victims and perpetrators do not fit the typical prejudice prototypes (Inman & Baron, 1996). People may not recognize prejudice, especially when it is subtle or benevolent (Rudman,

Ashmore & Gary, 2001). If people do not recognize a behavior as discrimination, they may see nothing that needs confronting.

Step 2 in the CPR Model is Deeming Prejudice an Emergency. Observers may not view an incident of prejudice as harmful or intentional enough to intervene. For example, if women are not present when a sexist joke is told at lunch, then people may not view the situation as a prejudice emergency. Also, prejudice may sometimes be viewed as unintentional due to, for example, stress on the job, and therefore others may not view it as a serious incident or as an emergency (Critchlow, 1985).

The third step in the model is Taking Responsibility to Confront Prejudice. In this step individuals decide whether it their responsibility to say and do something in response to the social bias emergency. For example, many non-target group members may feel it is not their responsibility to confront prejudice (Morris, Ashburn-Nardo, & Goodwin, 2009). In addition, observers may feel they do not have proper authority or power to speak up and take responsibility and therefore do not confront.

Step 4 in the CPR Model is Deciding How to Confront Prejudice. If a person does not have the right knowledge, confidence, or past experience to hold a difficult conversation and confront prejudice then they may not confront due to their lack of resources. Many people may not know how to confront prejudice and therefore do not confront (Patterson, Grenny, McMillan, & Switzler, 2002; Stone, Patton, & Heen, 1999).

The last step in the model is Taking Action to Confront Prejudice. Observers of a prejudice emergency may perceive that the costs of confronting are too great and outweigh the benefits. In the workplace, an observer of prejudice might feel that confronting their supervisor is too risky (e.g., possibility of losing their job) and therefore

not confront even if they think they should. An observer may not want to jeopardize the relationship they have with their superior even if the observer feels that their supervisor made a prejudiced comment and should be confronted. If there is a risk a superior might retaliate then the observer may choose not to confront due to multiple costs involved such as loss of funding, decrease in pay, losing their job, or not being promoted (Stevens & Fiske, 1995)

Taking the necessary actions to confront prejudice can be complicated and difficult. There are many obstacles related to each step in the model. Throughout the CPR Model and process people may drop out at each step for various reasons. The CPR Model discusses many factors that influence whether confrontation of prejudice is likely to occur. The present research focuses on three factors that should be relevant in the decision to confront prejudice: type of discrimination observed, observer prejudice level, and perpetrator status.

### 1.3. Hypotheses

#### Discrimination Type

Research suggests that racial discrimination and gender discrimination are perceived differently in terms of seriousness and people's tolerance of them. Czopp and Monteith (2003) compared reactions of people who imagined being confronted about gender discrimination versus racial discrimination. Participants indicated that they felt more feelings of guilt and felt more uncomfortable when they imagined being confronted about a discriminatory response against Blacks rather than confronted about the same

discrimination targeting women. In addition, participants felt more upset and concerned about offending another regarding a racially biased response compared to a gender biased response.

Furthermore, discrimination type relates to step two in the CPR model because research suggests that racism is taken more seriously than sexism thus if the participant has a racial condition in their scenarios they should score higher on interpreting the racial prejudice as an emergency compared to a sexism condition. Discrimination type relates to step three of the CPR model because research has shown that racial bias is taken more seriously than gender bias and therefore a participant with a racial condition should score higher in assuming responsibility to confront racial bias compared to gender bias.

Discrimination type relates to step four in the model because people in general take racism more seriously than sexism and therefore may have a response more readily available to confront racism versus sexism since racism is taken more seriously.

Discrimination type relates to direct confront and dependent variables because the type of bias plays a role in whether one will actually take action to confront. As discussed earlier, racism is taken more seriously than sexism thus; taking action to confront might have a higher probability with those participants who have a racial condition compared to a gender bias condition.

Czopp and Monteith's (2003) findings as well as the CPR model research help support reasons why discrimination type is being examined in the present study, and why participants should be more inclined to report that they would confront racism over sexism.

### Observer Prejudice Level

Individuals differ in the degree they are motivated to prevent the occurrence of prejudiced responding (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). Low-prejudice people are more likely to be bothered and offended by prejudice as well as more likely to try to control and reduce prejudice through actions than others. For example, evidence suggests that many non-targets (Whites) endorse egalitarian ideals (Voils, Ashburn-Nardo, & Monteith, 2002) and thus may be offended by prejudice and motivated to stop others from doing it. People who are low in prejudice and who are motivated to reduce prejudice are more likely to be aware of their social environment and better able to notice instances of discrimination and possibly interpret prejudice as an emergency. Likewise, a low-prejudice person may be more likely to assume responsibility to confront prejudice. Observer prejudice level relates to step two in the CPR model because a low-prejudice individual is more likely to be aware of their social surroundings and thus more able to perceive prejudice and interpret prejudice as an emergency. Therefore, a participant who is low in prejudice is more likely to score higher on interpreting prejudice as an emergency versus a high prejudice participant. Observer prejudice level relates to step three in the model because a low prejudice person is more likely to take responsibility to confront prejudice compared to a high prejudice person who does not care about prejudice. Observer prejudice level relates to step four in the model because a low prejudice person is more likely to have a response available to confront prejudice since they are more aware of their social surroundings and feel strongly about confronting prejudice versus a high prejudice person. Observer prejudice level, low or high, relates to

perceived risk because observer prejudice level affects the likelihood an observer will take responsibility or action to confront prejudice. Low prejudice people are more likely to take the risk of confronting the perpetrator regardless of their status because they care about confronting prejudice. Observer prejudice level relates directly confront or tell authority because a low prejudice person is more likely to take action to confront prejudice than high prejudice person because low prejudice individuals care about confronting prejudice.

Previous research and discussion support speculation that high-prejudice individuals are less likely to decide to take action or confront prejudice because they do not feel as strongly about it as low-prejudice individuals.

#### Perpetrator Status

The power and status one holds in an organization will likely affect whether an observer of discrimination will confront a perpetrator of prejudice in the workplace. Research on conflict in general suggests that conflict with a supervisor may result in a different outcome than when conflict involves a coworker (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). Specifically, research from focus groups that used a working sample found that employees fear the consequences of reacting negatively toward their supervisors when a supervisor is the source of a problem or conflict. One reason this might be is that workers are aware that supervisors possess a power over their employment. People are more reluctant to engage in conflict with a supervisor because they have control over valued resources (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). The perpetrator's status in the organization likely

will have an impact on whether an observer of discrimination decides to confront the action or not.

Furthermore, perpetrator status relates to step two of the CPR model because a participant who has a condition of a supervisor as the perpetrator of prejudice may score higher on interpreting the prejudice as an emergency because the supervisor is making inappropriate comments and holds higher organizational authority compared to a participant who has a condition of a subordinate perpetrator. Perpetrator status relates to step three in the model as participants with a supervisor perpetrator condition compared to a peer or subordinate condition would be less likely to take responsibility confronting a supervisor as they hold greater organizational power. Perpetrator status relates to step four in the model because a participant may have different responses available to confront the perpetrator based on their status. For instance, a participant may not confront a supervisor the same way they would confront a subordinate because there are more costs and risks involved when confronting a supervisor.

Perpetrator status relates to perceived risk because depending on the status of the perpetrator an observer will weigh the costs and benefits associated with confronting the perpetrator. For instance, there are more risks involved in confronting a supervisor compared to a subordinate, as they hold more authority and could affect future promotions, funding, or even loss of one's job. Perpetrator status relates to the confront dependent variables because depending on the status of the perpetrator that affects how one decides whether to actually take action to confront or not. If the perpetrator is the observer's supervisor there is a lower likelihood that the observer will take action to confront due to the status of the perpetrator.

Discussion from the CPR model suggests observers of discrimination may be less likely to take responsibility and make the decision to confront a perpetrator who is a supervisor as there are potentially more risks involved. The present study examines whether an employee is more likely to confront another who is a peer, supervisor, or subordinate.

### Overview

To date there is no research that has put all three of these factors together to predict prejudice confrontation. The independent variables of bias type (racial or gender bias), perpetrator status (supervisor, peer, subordinate), and observer prejudiced level (low-prejudice or high-prejudice) will be tested to determine the independent variables effect on the dependent variables, steps of the CPR Model including; interpret, emergency, responsibility, decide, perceived risk, directly confront, and tell authority (See Figure 1).

Step one of the CPR model, perceiving prejudice, is controlled for in the present study. The scenarios in the present study are designed to control for step one. Therefore, there is no need for prejudice to be recognized since the scenarios provide blatant acts of prejudice. Thus, there is no expected significant relationship between the IV's and step one of the CPR model as the scenarios are designed to control for step one.

In the present research, participants who varied in prejudice (racism or sexism) were asked to imagine that they witnessed racism or sexism from a subordinate, peer, or supervisor. They were then asked to respond to items that assessed key components of the CPR Model, the dependent variables, interpret, emergency, responsible, decide,

perceived risk, directly confront, and tell authority. This includes determining whether the incident is perceived as prejudice and as an emergency, feelings of personal responsibility, perceived ability to decide what to do, perceived costs of confronting, and likelihood of actually confronting. A 3-way interaction is expected between the independent variables but not expected to occur for each step. Participants who are low in prejudice should be more likely to confront than those who are high in prejudice, except when the perpetrator is a supervisor. Under those circumstances, fear of backlash should make even low-prejudice individuals reluctant to confront. This interaction should be attenuated in the sexism condition, given that sexism is perceived to be a less serious offense compared to racism.

## CHAPTER 2. METHOD

### 2.1. Participants

Participants included 340 (75 males, 262 females, 3 not recorded) students from a large urban university in the Midwest who completed the study in return for research credit toward a psychology course requirement. Participants were predominantly White (69%). The mean age of participants was 21 years old. 52% of the participants were currently part time employed. 11% of the participants were currently full time employed.

### 2.2. Design

A 2 (discrimination type: racial or gender)  $\times$  2 (observer prejudice: low to high)  $\times$  3 (perpetrator status: supervisor, peer, or subordinate) between-subjects design was used.

### 2.3. Procedure

Participants completed a web survey via Survey Monkey. In the web survey the first screen included important information regarding the study purpose, procedure, instructions and contact information. Instructions emphasized the confidentiality of participants' responses. The participants were instructed to read three different scenarios. Participants were asked to respond to items after each of the three scenarios were read. Participants were encouraged to try and place themselves mentally in each of the

situations provided and consider how they would respond. The first and last scenarios were filler scenarios. The first scenario was about cyber loafing and the last scenario was about taking extended breaks at work. The filler scenarios were incorporated so participant's scores on the CPR Model and other measures would not be skewed if they knew the study was purely focused on prejudice.

The second scenario included the experimental manipulations. Depending on the experimental condition, the participants imagined observing a racist versus sexist incident, perpetrated by a subordinate, co-worker, or supervisor (See Appendix A for scenarios). Participants then completed 18 items designed to capture important aspects of the CPR Model, including the degree to which participants perceived the incident as prejudice (e.g., My co-worker's behavior was motivated by hostility toward people from a different group), deemed it an emergency (e.g., The situation feels like an emergency to me), assumed personal responsibility for responding (e.g., It would not be my place to intervene in this situation), could decide how to respond (e.g., I am unsure how I would respond to this situation), perceived risks of responding (e.g., I would be worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about the behavior), and took action (e.g., I would talk to my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor] about the behavior, I would tell an authority about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior). (See Appendix B for items).

Depending on the discrimination condition (racism or sexism) participants completed either the Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale (ATB; Brigham, 1993) or the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1995). The ATB has 20 items; participants respond on a seven point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

A sample question is: “Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.” (See Appendix C). Responses were reverse coded where appropriate so that greater ATB scores correspond with more racist attitudes. Reverse coded items for the ATB included items 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20.

On the ASI, participants responded to 22 items on a six-point scale (0 = disagree strongly, 6 = agree strongly). The ASI has two subscales, the Benevolent Sexism subscale and the Hostile Sexism subscale. A sample question from the Benevolent Sexism subscale includes: “No matter how accomplished he is a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.” A sample question from the Hostile Sexism subscale measure is: “When women lose to men in fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.” (See Appendix D). The Hostile Sexism subscale was the focus of the present study as previous research has focused on Hostile Sexism attitudes. Hostile Sexism subscale items include 1, 3, 6, 13, 8, 9, 12, 17, 19, 20, and 22. Responses were reverse-coded when necessary so that greater Hostile Sexism (HS) scores correspond with more sexist attitudes. Reverse coded Hostile Sexism items included 3, 6, and 13.

After participants completed one of the two prejudice scales, they were asked to complete demographic information including age, sex, ethnicity, year in school and work history (See Appendix E). Participants were debriefed about the purpose of the study and given instructions regarding awarding of their research credit.

## CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

### 3.1. Preliminary Results

Seven sub-scales were created from the 18 items in the CPR Model (See Appendix D). Items two, seven, eight, ten and seventeen were reverse-scored. Items one through three comprised the Interpret variable (i.e., was the incident interpreted as prejudice), items four through six comprised the Emergency variable (i.e., was the incident deemed an emergency), and items seven through nine related to the Responsibility variable (i.e., would observers feel personally responsible for addressing the incident). Items ten, eleven, and twelve comprised the Decision variable (i.e., could observers decide how to respond), items thirteen through fifteen comprised the Perceived Risk variable (i.e., did observers perceive great risk in addressing the incident) and items sixteen and seventeen comprised the Direct Confront variable (i.e., would observers confront the perpetrator directly). Item eighteen was the Tell Authority variable (i.e., would observers tell an authority about the incident, thereby confronting indirectly). After the subscales were created, reliability analyses were run for all variables except for the single item Tell Authority variable. As shown in Table 1, the subscale reliabilities were all within acceptable range, except for the Interpret subscale ( $\alpha = .29$ ), which was not surprising given that the scenarios intentionally involved overt displays of prejudice, yet the items were kept intentionally vague (i.e., they did not specifically reference

prejudice) in order to make them more meaningful across the scenarios. Participants answered the 18 items from the CPR Model scale after each of the three scenarios. The reliabilities for low versus high prejudice for the interpret variable were not measured. Means and standard deviations for each of the subscales are presented in Table 1.

For the ATB scale and ASI Hostile Sexism subscale responses were reverse-coded as appropriate such that higher scores indicated greater racism and sexism, respectively. Correlations among all measured variables are shown in Table 1. The correlations were in expected directions. For instance, the higher the perceived risk of confronting, the less likely participants were to report confronting the perpetrator directly.

### 3.2. Test of Key Hypotheses

Hierarchical regression was used to assess the independent and interactive effects of observer prejudice, discrimination type, and perpetrator status on each dependent variable of the CPR Model (Interpret, Emergency, Responsible, Decide, Perceived Risks, Direct Confront, Tell Authority). The analyses involved a continuous participant variable, observer prejudice level scores, and two categorical independent variables, perpetrator status (subordinate, peer, supervisor), and discrimination type (racism or sexism). ATB scores were standardized within their distribution and ASI Hostile Sexism scores were standardized within their distribution. The resulting z-scores were then used to create a prejudice index. The categorical variables were dummy-coded. For discrimination type, a single vector represented the two conditions (dummy coded, 0 = racial, 1 = gender), and

for perpetrator status, two vectors represented the three conditions, such that the peer condition was the referent group (DC1: 1 = supervisor, 0 = peer, 0 = subordinate; DC2: 1 = subordinate, 0 = peer, 0 = supervisor). Thus, when the two vectors are considered simultaneously in the regression equation, DC1 represents the contrast of the supervisor versus peer conditions, while DC2 represents the contrast of the subordinate versus peer conditions. Main effects of observer prejudice level, dummy-coded discrimination type, and dummy-coded perpetrator status were entered in Step 1. Two-way interactions were entered in Step 2, and 3-way interactions were entered at Step 3.

#### Is the Incident Interpreted as Prejudice?

The results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis for the Interpret variable are presented in Table 2. They suggested that only the first step (i.e., involving main effects) captured a significant amount of variance in the Interpret variable; Steps 2 and 3 were not significant, suggesting that there were no significant interactions. Specifically, two of the three predictor variables had a main effect on the Interpret variable. A main effect was found for observer prejudice level, where the lower participants were in prejudice the more likely they were to interpret the incident as prejudice. In addition, participants in the racism condition were more likely than those in the sexism condition to interpret the incident as prejudice. These findings are consistent with previous research (Czopp & Monteith, 2003), but given the low reliability of the Interpret variable, one should interpret these findings with caution.

### Is the Incident an Emergency?

Similarly, discrimination type and observer prejudice predicted whether participants considered the incident an emergency. As shown in Table 2, the lower participants were in prejudice, the more likely they were to deem the incident an emergency. Additionally, consistent with previous research (Fiske & Stevens, 1993), participants were more likely to consider an incident of racism an emergency than an incident of sexism. No other effects reached statistical significance.

### Do Participants Feel Responsible?

For the Responsible variable, analyses yielded two significant main effects and a two-way interaction, as shown in Table 2. Compared with participants who imagined a supervisor as perpetrator, those who imagined a peer as perpetrator reported feeling more responsible for addressing the incident. In addition, the lower participants were in prejudice, the greater their feelings of responsibility for addressing the incident. However, the main effect of observer prejudice was qualified by a two-way interaction between observer prejudice and discrimination type. As shown in Figure 3, the effect of prejudice on perceived responsibility was present only in the racism condition,  $\beta = -.38$ ,  $t(334) = 5.15$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the sexism condition, there was no significant relationship between observer prejudice and perceived responsibility,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $t(334) = 1.18$ ,  $p = .24$ .

### Can Participants Decide What to Do?

Analyses for the Decide variable yielded two significant main effects and a significant two-way interaction. The lower participants were in prejudice the more likely they were to report being able to decide what to do. Additionally, participants who imagined a peer as the perpetrator reported being more prepared to decide on a type of response compared to participants with a supervisor as the perpetrator. The effect of observer prejudice on the Decide variable was qualified by a two-way interaction between observer prejudice and prejudice type. As shown in Figure 4, the effect of observer prejudice was present only in the racism condition,  $\beta = -.42$ ,  $t(334) = 5.73$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the sexism condition, there was no significant relationship between observer prejudice and self-reported ability to decide what to do,  $\beta = -.11$ ,  $t(334) = 1.49$ ,  $p > .13$ .

### When and for Whom are There Perceived Risks of Confronting?

Analyses for the Perceived Risk variable are presented in Table 2. Results revealed two significant main effects and a marginally significant two-way interaction. Observer prejudice level and perpetrator status predicted participants' perceived risk of confronting. The lower participants were in prejudice the less risk they reportedly perceived. Furthermore, participants who imagined a peer as the perpetrator reported less risk compared to participants who imagined a supervisor perpetrator. As shown in Figure 5, a marginally significant two-way interaction was found between observer prejudice level and discrimination type. Specifically, the relationship between observer prejudice

and perceived risk was significant in the racism condition,  $\beta = .27$ ,  $t(334) = 3.51$ ,  $p < .01$ , but not in the sexism condition,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $t(334) = .70$ ,  $p = .49$ .

### Will Participants Directly Confront?

The results of the hierarchical multiple regression analysis for Direct Confront are presented in Table 2. A main effect of perpetrator status was found, where participants who imagined a peer as the perpetrator were more likely to report that they would directly confront compared to participants who imagined a supervisor perpetrator. Additionally, the lower participants were in prejudice, the more inclined they were to report directly confronting prejudice. Finally, there was a marginally significant main effect of discrimination type such that participants in the racism condition were somewhat more likely to report directly confronting the perpetrator than participants in the sexism condition.

There was also a significant two-way interaction between perpetrator status and discrimination type, as shown in Figure 6. Specifically, in the racism condition, participants were significantly more likely to directly confront a subordinate than a peer,  $\beta = -.402$ ,  $t(334) = 5.45$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the sexism condition, whether the perpetrator was a peer vs. a subordinate made no difference in the likelihood of direct confrontation,  $\beta = -.073$ ,  $t(334) = .983$ ,  $p = .33$ .

### Will Participants Tell an Authority?

Discrimination type and observer prejudice level predicted whether participants would tell an authority about the incident. As shown in Table 2, participants were more likely to report that they would tell an authority about racism than about sexism. Supporting research from Czopp and Monteith (2003) has shown racism is taken more seriously and is less tolerated than sexism. Furthermore, participants lower in prejudice were more inclined to report that they would directly tell an authority of the incident. Finally, a marginally significant main effect of perpetrator status emerged, such that participants were somewhat more likely to report that they would tell an authority when the perpetrator was a supervisor rather than a peer. No other effects reached statistical significance.

## CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

### 4.1. Contributions

The current study provides theoretical contributions to prejudice reduction literature as well as practical implications in the workplace. Overall, there were consistent findings with prejudice and confrontation research. For instance, the current study found that participants were more likely to report they would confront racism versus sexism especially if they had low-prejudice attitudes (see Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Fiske & Stevens, 1993). In regards to confrontation, participants were less likely to report directly confronting a supervisor than a peer or subordinate. This is a new finding and an extension of current confrontation research specifically focusing on perpetrator status and how power in the workplace may affect the likelihood of confrontation. However, this is also concerning as people who are in positions of power are more inclined to make prejudiced responses (Fiske, Barreto, & Ellemers, 2010). People may be too scared or hesitant to confront as that individual is in a position of power, which contributes to a vicious cycle of prejudice continuing to occur in the workplace.

Furthermore, the findings of the present research may have influence on women and minorities in the organization, specifically focusing on work situations such as hiring or promotion discussions that could be influenced by prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behaviors. For instance, situations at work such as a hiring or promotion

discussions could potentially impact a minority or woman's career if a supervisor makes a prejudiced comment specific to the person to be hired or promoted. Based on our findings an observer of prejudice, even one with low-prejudice attitudes, is less likely to confront a supervisor on the incident. Therefore that attitude or behavior may impact the decision and negatively impact women or minorities.

Another work situation that relates to our findings includes salary discussions. For example, a supervisor displays discriminatory behavior during a salary discussion and decides a woman subordinate should receive a smaller salary increase compared to her peer who is male. This decision by the supervisor has negatively impacted a woman who has a similar skill set and experience level. The woman was given an unequal salary increase compared to a peer that was male. This could impact the woman's future compensation and future overall earnings because she was not treated fairly.

Furthermore, one consideration of this research includes group dynamics. Specifically, the perceived risk of confronting may be higher when confronting a supervisor or upward in the organization. However, one other consideration related to perpetrator status is whether there would be an instance when confronting a peer or subordinate would be different or more difficult. For instance, there may be more perceived risks involved to confront a supervisor; however, there could also be perceived risks confronting a subordinate as a manager one could lose credibility or respect if the conversation is not handled appropriately or not confronted at all.

There are potential practical solutions organizations could implement that may reduce the prejudice cycle specific to work situations mentioned above. As discussed, we know there are many benefits to organizations that have a prejudice free work

environment. However, in order to create a prejudice free workplace, organizations need to develop a strategy or process to stop prejudice. The CPR Model is one model organizations could implement and use in their workforce to reduce and eliminate prejudice. Specifically, the CPR Model along with current research could be implemented by the Human Resources department as part of a diversity and Human Resource strategy and initiative.

Human Resource teams should be part of salary, hiring, and promotion discussions to make sure those in supervisory roles are not displaying prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behavior. In addition, Human Resource teams should be attuned to discriminatory trends or behaviors supervisors may display. Discriminatory behavior should be addressed through training as well as continued coaching.

Specific to Human Resource training and reduction of prejudice, organizations should provide training on the CPR Model which could be utilized during new hire orientation to communicate the organization's Human Resource strategy. Utilizing current research, benefits of a prejudice free workplace, and implementation of the CPR Model as part of an overall strategy could potentially make a huge impact on worker morale and increase productivity in the organization. Specific strategies to use the CPR Model are described in Ashburn-Nardo et al., (2008).

Furthermore, in the current research participants were marginally more likely to report an incident of prejudice to an authority when the perpetrator was in a supervisory role. A recommendation for organizations to address this issue could include Human Resources as part of all hiring, promotion and salary discussions. In addition, Human Resources should report to a Human Resource leader if supervisors are displaying

inappropriate discriminatory behaviors. Lastly, including a compliance phone line where employees or managers could submit a complaint or concern while still being anonymous and assured that the complaint will remain confidential can help encourage individuals to express their concerns. A simple and secure resource for employees to report a complaint will help employees feel that their concern has been heard, without fearing retaliation from those in a supervisory position.

There are many theoretical and practical implications of this research. Providing resources for employees to express concerns confidentially, as well as making sure Human Resource teams are part of hiring, promotion, and salary discussions may help reduce the number of prejudicial or discriminatory behaviors that may occur during these decision processes. Furthermore, implementing a strategy that encourages and supports a prejudice free workplace through training may potentially improve overall worker morale and organization productivity.

#### 4.2. Limitations

As discussed, the predicted three way interaction between observer prejudice, prejudice type, and perpetrator power was not obtained. There are a few potential reasons why a three way interaction was not found. Seventy-three percent of the sample were women; this caused less variability on the measure of hostile sexism in the sexism condition. Given this restriction of range, a three way interaction was asking a lot of the current data.

A limitation of this study includes the scenarios used. The scenario technique is used to manipulate the variables of discrimination type and perpetrator status, and the technique offered greater experimental control than would a survey of real-life situations. Some may criticize the scenarios as lacking external validity, but other researchers have found correspondence between scenario and lab simulations involving prejudice confrontation. Specifically, Czopp, Monteith, and Mark (2006) generally found consistent findings with the research of Czopp and Monteith (2003); The Czopp et al., (2006) research was a lab experiment that placed participants in actual situations, the Czopp and Monteith (2003) research employed only scenarios.

In addition, the student sample may be a limitation, as students may have limited work experience. However, 52% of the participants were currently part time employed and 11% of the participants were currently full time employed. It is true that some students may not have had any professional versus non-professional work experience. Being unable to relate to a professional work environment could be a limitation in interpreting and responding to the scenarios, which required students to imagine a professional situation.

#### 4.3. Future Directions

While a significant three way interaction was not found between the three predictors of discrimination type, observer prejudice level, and perpetrator status, there were findings showing promise for future research. Specifically, using a professional work sample instead of a student sample may overcome a limitation of this current study.

By using a professional work sample, especially with a better balance of male and female participants, future research may find a significant three way interaction between discrimination type, observer prejudice level, and perpetrators status or other interesting data that the present sample did not provide.

In addition, future research could include actual implementation of the CPR Model in an organization. Specifically, measuring the effectiveness of the model and productivity levels of the organization may provide additional research on benefits of a prejudice free workplace. It is imperative prejudice reduction strategies continue to be studied in order to help create organizations and work environments free of prejudice. Creating a prejudice free work environment may assist in increasing overall organization effectiveness, productivity and employee morale.

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\*Denotes Reference from Appendix F

## APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Scenarios

### Participant Instructions:

Please respond to these items as if you just witnessed this incident. Really try to place yourself in the situation and consider how you would respond.

#### Gender Bias, Supervisor Perpetrator Condition

1. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your supervisor (who is male) turns to the only female in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t women supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being maids and stuff?”

#### Racial Bias, Supervisor Perpetrator Condition

2. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your supervisor (who is White) turns to the only African American in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t Blacks supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being servants and stuff?”

#### Gender Bias, Peer Perpetrator Condition

3. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your co-worker (who is male) turns to the only female in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t women supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being maids and stuff?”

#### Racial Bias, Peer Perpetrator Condition

4. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your co-worker (who is White) turns to the only African American in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t Blacks supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being servants and stuff?”

#### Gender Bias, Subordinate Perpetrator Condition

5. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your subordinate (who is male) turns to the only female in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t women supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being maids and stuff?”

### Racial Bias, Subordinate Perpetrator Condition

6. Imagine that you work for a software company. You are attending a lunch meeting regarding budget goals for the upcoming year. After the meeting concludes, your subordinate (who is White) turns to the only African American in the meeting and says, “Hey, how about taking care of this lunch mess? Aren’t Blacks supposed to be good at this sort of thing? You know, being servants and stuff?”

### 1<sup>st</sup> Filler Scenario

Imagine that you work for an insurance company. You walk into a co-worker’s office to discuss a memo everyone received from management. You see that your co-worker is “cyberloafing” (shopping online during work hours). This is not the first time you have seen your co-worker doing this. You know that cyberloafing at work is not allowed.

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Filler Scenario

Imagine that you are a senior partner in a law firm. You are at work one day and start noticing that one of your employees (a junior member of the firm who you supervise) keeps taking two hour lunch breaks instead of the allowed one hour lunch break. This is not the first time this behavior has occurred with your employee. Your subordinate is not following the organization’s lunch break rules.

Appendix B: CPR Model Response Scale

Please respond to these items as if you were part of the scenario you just read.

- 1 – Strongly Disagree
- 2 – Disagree
- 3 – Somewhat Disagree
- 4 – Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 5 – Somewhat Agree
- 6 – Agree
- 7 – Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. My [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior was motivated by hostility toward people from a different group.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. My [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior was socially acceptable.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I am offended by my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. My [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior requires an immediate response.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. My [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior hurt other people.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Something should be done right away to stop the behavior of my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor].
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. It would not be my place to say or do something about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. I would expect someone else to take responsibility for doing something about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. I would personally feel responsible for doing something about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. I am unsure how I would respond to this situation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. I would know what to do in this situation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. I could think of something appropriate to say to my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor].

- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. I would be worried that my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor] might be angry if I said something about the behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. I would be worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Saying something to my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor] would be pointless.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. I would talk to my [subordinate, co-worker, supervisor] about the behavior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. I would do nothing in this situation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. I would tell an authority about my [subordinate's, co-worker's, supervisor's] behavior.

Appendix C: Attitudes Toward Blacks Scale

Please indicate your level of agreement with the items below using the following scale. Your responses will remain completely anonymous. Please be open and honest when responding to the items.

1 – Strongly Disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7 – Strongly Agree

\_\_\_\_\_ 1. Racial integration (of schools, businesses, residences, etc.) has benefited both Whites and Blacks.

\_\_\_\_\_ 2. If I had a chance to introduce Black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.

\_\_\_\_\_ 3. It would not bother me if my new roommate was Black.

\_\_\_\_\_ 4. I think that Black people look more similar to each other than White people do.

\_\_\_\_\_ 5. Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.

\_\_\_\_\_ 6. I would not mind it at all if a Black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door.

\_\_\_\_\_ 7. Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the "who-am-I" confusion which the children feel.

\_\_\_\_\_ 8. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.

\_\_\_\_\_ 9. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Black person in a public place.

\_\_\_\_\_ 10. I get very upset when I hear a White person make a prejudicial remark about Blacks.

\_\_\_\_\_ 11. I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices Blacks suffer at the hands of local authorities.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Black and White people are inherently equal.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. It is likely that Blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. I would rather not have Blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. Whites should support Blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. Generally, Blacks are not as smart as Whites.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. Some Blacks are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. If a Black person were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.

Appendix D: Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Scale

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale:

- 0 – Disagree Strongly
- 1 – Disagree Somewhat
- 2 – Disagree Slightly
- 3 – Agree Slightly
- 4 – Agree Somewhat
- 5 – Agree Strongly

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Women are too easily offended.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Men are complete without women.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.



Appendix F: Thesis Proposal Document 2007

Confrontation of Prejudice in the Workplace:  
The Role of Observer Prejudice, Discrimination Type, and Perpetrator Status

Great steps have been taken to reduce prejudice and discrimination in society. Yet, people today still experience the daily hassles of prejudiced remarks or discrimination based on, for example, their race or gender. Daily instances of prejudice suggest that people do not always curb their discriminations and therefore may need to be confronted about them. The present research examines variables that may influence the likelihood of prejudice confrontation in the workplace. Specifically, I examine the role of prejudice type (i.e., whether the perpetrator expressed racism vs. sexism), perpetrator status (i.e., subordinate, peer, or supervisor of the observer), and observer prejudice level, that may predict the likelihood of confrontation of prejudice in the workplace.

Evidence of Prejudice and Discrimination Toward African Americans and Women

Prejudice is defined as an “attitude toward members of specific groups that directly or indirectly suggest they deserve an inferior social status” (Glick & Hilt, 2000, p. 243). The term discrimination is used interchangeably for the term prejudice throughout the literature. Discrimination is a “negative and/or patronizing action toward members of a specific social group” (Brewer & Brown, 1998, p. 554). Discrimination also is defined as differential treatment of another as a function of group membership (Goodwin, Ashburn-Nardo & Morris, 2007). Prejudice and discrimination along with bias type will be used interchangeably throughout this research. Prejudice and discrimination can apply to many different social groups; however the two most studied forms of prejudice are racism and sexism. Thus, the present research will focus on these discriminations.

*Racism*

In surveys, approximately 98% of African Americans report some type of encounter with discrimination in their lifetime (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999; Krieger & Sidney, 1996). African Americans face instances of racist jokes, being stared at, being avoided by others in public places, and receiving poor customer service (Feagin, 1991).

African Americans face differential treatment when searching for a job, which can play a role in why they may perform so poorly in the labor market or may not be recruited as strongly as others. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) performed a field study examining racial differences in hiring within organizations. In the study they sent résumés to help wanted ads in Chicago and Boston newspapers and then measured the callbacks received for an interview for each résumé sent. Researchers randomly assigned employers to Black versus White applicant conditions. Thus, 50% of the résumés were from applicants with very White-sounding names such as Emily Walsh or Greg Baker, and the other 50% were from applicants with very African American sounding names such as Lakisha Washington and Jamal Jones. Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) found résumés from applicants with White sounding names were called back 50 percent more compared to African Americans. Their results demonstrate that there is a substantial and unfortunate gap in callback rates between Blacks and Whites based solely on the applicant's name. These findings suggest that discrimination occurs in the recruitment and hiring process.

According to a Department of Labor study (1991) there is a “glass ceiling” effect for minorities. A glass ceiling is defined as “artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational discrimination that prevents qualified individuals from advancing

within their organization and reaching their full potential” (p. 1). The Department of Labor study indicated that the glass ceiling tends to occur at lower levels of management and that minorities are put in management positions not targeted for advancement within the organization.

Similarly, Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) found that Blacks may be excluded from opportunities for power as well as integration within an organization. There are also issues of wage discrepancies in the workplace. Research has shown that African Americans compared to Whites earn approximately 25% less when they are employed (Council of Economic Advisers, 1998). Thus, African Americans are discriminated against in almost every aspect of employment.

### *Sexism*

Sexist occurrences and hassles are a common occurrence today for women, who experience sexist incidents with a personal impact an average of once or twice per week (Swim, Hyers, Chen, & Ferguson, 2001). The prejudice experiences women face include gender-stereotypic comments, sexualized comments and behaviors, as well as derogatory name-calling (Swim et al., 2001). Research has shown that from 1975 to 1989 that the five most frequent sex-based complaints to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have either changed very little or have risen sharply, which indicates that women are still facing difficulties on the job.

In terms of promotion and advancement in career opportunities for women there are still many issues that affect promotion rates. The Department of Labor (1991) found a “glass ceiling” is occurring for women in management. Similarly to African Americans, women in management positions tend not to be in the type of position which is targeted

for advancement within the organization to the executive level. This suggests that women are being excluded from advancing to specific positions based on sex instead of based on performance and thus are not able to fully participate in middle level or higher level management.

Less than 5% of executive positions in the nation's largest 1000 corporations are held by women (Wickwire & Kruper, 1996). In addition, only 6.6% of managers at the assistant vice president level or higher are women (Wickwire & Kruper, 1996).

Issues regarding work group ratings and measures of performance also occur. Sackett, Dubois and Noe (1991) found that when females made up less than 20% of a work group they were rated lower than males on a number of different measures of work performance.

An additional area of the employment process that greatly affects women is the salary they are paid compared to others in similar positions. Research suggests that women still continue to earn less than men for comparable positions (Wickwire & Kruper, 1996). Because of wage discrepancies, it has been suggested that gender rather than other factors such as education or experience contributes significantly more to the amount of salary paid (Cochran, 1993).

#### Why Employers Should Care About Prejudice and Discrimination

It is clear that discrimination occurs in employment settings and it also negatively impacts the work environment. It is critical that employers care that acts of prejudice still exist in the workplace because it can create work situations that disadvantage minorities and cause challenges for future organizations where employees are diverse (Ensari & Miller, 2006). Employers should care about acts of prejudice in the workplace for

multiple reasons. There are legal ramifications to acts of prejudice in the workplace, decline in employee performance and job satisfaction, as well as decline in worker's health and well-being.

Employers should care about prejudice because the act of prejudice is illegal in hiring and selection procedures. If organizations do not follow rules and regulations set by the government then issues such as adverse impact can occur. Adverse impact is a legal issue many organizations must address and follow. Adverse Impact: "Occurs when a decision, practice, or policy has a disproportionately negative effect on a protected group" (Equal Opportunity Service, [www.dhhs.state.nc.us](http://www.dhhs.state.nc.us)...). The U.S. Supreme Court in 1971 ruled that it does not matter whether an employer intends to discriminate – the law forbade employers from actions that had the effect of discrimination.

Adverse impact is often and usually assessed through the use of the *4/5ths rule* (from the *Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures* [Equal Opportunity Employment Commission et al., 1978]), "in which the group with the highest selection ratio (often thought of as the "majority") is compared to groups with lower selection ratios (i.e., Blacks, Hispanics, women)" (Roth, Bobko, & Switzer, 2006 p. 507). Adverse impact is then indicated if the selection ratio of the other group is less than  $4/5^{\text{th}}$  or 80% of the selection rate of the comparing group with the highest selection ratio (Roth, Bobko, & Switzer, 2006).

In addition, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. §§ 2000e and following) "prohibits employers from discriminating against applicants and employees on the basis of race or color, religion, sex, and national origin (including membership in a Native American tribe). It also prohibits employers from retaliating against an applicant

or employee who asserts his or her rights under the law.” Title VII also “prohibits discrimination in all terms, conditions, and privileges of employment, including hiring, firing, compensation, benefits, job assignments, promotions, and discipline.”

Most importantly, Title VII “makes it illegal to harass someone on the basis of a protected characteristic (race, sex, and so on)” (Federal Antidiscrimination Laws). If organizations do not make major changes for those targeted by prejudice there are legal ramifications, and organizations are missing out on the benefits of incorporating diverse work groups.

Employers should to care about acts of prejudice in the workplace because prejudice affects employee performance and satisfaction with their job, which can cause loss of money and productivity for the organization. Research has shown that experiences of discrimination at work can be “associated with more negative relations with coworkers and supervisors, as well as with lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment” (Murrell, Olson, & Hanson-Frieze, 1995, p. 590).

The issue of treatment discrimination is relevant to employees and employers because it can be harmful to employee growth and productivity, and ultimately affect organization productivity. Treatment discrimination occurs when subgroup or minority members receive fewer opportunities, rewards, and resources on the job than they might rightfully deserve on the basis of job related criteria. Treatment discrimination can affect training opportunities, job position assignments, salary increases, promotions, layoffs, or termination. It can also affect issues such as acceptance into a work group as well as future career advancement advice and support from supervisors or other supportive staff (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975). Treatment discrimination minority member’s face in the

workplace may have consequences and a negative effect on career success (Terborg & Ilgen, 1975).

For instance, treatment discrimination felt by minorities can affect and reduce their job performance and career prospects because they receive fewer opportunities to enhance their work skills and develop meaningful relationships within an organization (Greenhaus et al., 1990). The lost opportunities minorities might face can depress their motivation and desire to work hard and improve their skills which can therefore affect their job performance.

Lastly, employers need to be concerned about prejudice in the workplace because it affects workers' health and well-being. Exclusionary behaviors in the workplace can have serious effects on targets. Exclusionary behaviors in the workplace include acts such as ignoring others, giving another the silent treatment, excluding from events or social outings or being rejected (Hitlan, Clifton, & DeSoto, 2006). Workplace ostracism is an example of exclusionary behavior. Workplace ostracism is defined as "the exclusion, rejection or ignoring of an individual (or group) by another individual (or group) that, hinders one's ability to establish or maintain positive interpersonal relationships, work-related success, or favorable reputation within one's place of work" (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002; Hitlan, Clifton & DeSoto, 2006; Williams, 2003, p. 282). Being ostracized in the workplace is a form of everyday prejudice where employees feel that they are excluded from lunch with others, ignored because of their race or gender, and not invited to social gatherings.

The implications of these exclusionary behaviors are serious. Research shows that exclusion is related to increased social anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990), hurt feelings

(Leary, Springer, Negal, Ansell, & Evans, 1998), feelings of anger (Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Strucke, 2001), as well as depression and overall poorer psychological health. The everyday prejudice behaviors of exclusion and ostracism have a serious psychological impact on employees.

In addition, Swim et al. (2001) found that sexist incidents are likely to affect other aspects of a woman's psychological well-being such as their comfort and anger level. If women are consistently faced with sexist incidents at least once or twice per week then this likely affects their health and well-being. Organizations need to improve and make changes regarding prejudice in the workplace and one way to make a change is reducing prejudice.

#### Prejudice Reduction Strategies

A wide variety of potential prejudice reduction strategies exist to reduce prejudice in today's society and workplace. Most of the prejudice reduction research has been focused on individuals' recognition of their own prejudices and efforts to stop themselves from doing something that would violate their own ideas about themselves. Self-regulation occurs when people notice and feel guilty about their own biases. Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, and Czopp (2002) examined how individuals can recognize their own biases and make a change to reducing stereotypes. For example, if a person at a party tells a racist joke, one might automatically laugh at the joke due to the fun party atmosphere. However, after pausing and recalling what just happened one might realize that it was wrong to laugh at the racist joke. According to Monteith et al. (2002) after reacting to the joke and realizing that it was wrong to laugh one is then taking in cues for control. Thus, you have caught yourself doing something that violates your own personal

standards and you feel guilty. Therefore, the next time you are in a similar situation where a racist joke is told you are reminded of the previous situation and you slow down to think about this time. Now, you are recognizing your own biases and starting to make a change in reducing your stereotypes.

Although Monteith et al. (2002) found that people feel guilty when they recognize that they have been bias, research also suggests that the use of self regulation approaches depends on the awareness as well as motivation of an individual. Individuals must recognize their bias responses as well as have the motivation to correct them. However, individuals do not always recognize their bias tendencies and may not be able to correct them (Bargh, 1999; Devine & Monteith, 1999). To illustrate, Monteith, Voils, and Ashburn-Nardo (2001) found that many people fail to attribute their bias responses to prejudice, which suggests that people often do not recognize when they have been bias.

Relying on people to police their behavior and reduce their bias may not be the best solution of prejudice reduction. Therefore, confronting prejudice after it has happened is an additional solution that might be more effective to reduce prejudice. Prejudice confrontation is “verbally or nonverbally expressing one’s dissatisfaction with prejudicial and discriminatory treatment to the person who is responsible for the remark or behavior” (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Hill, 2006, p. 67).

Studies suggest that the use of confrontation is a very effective way to reduce others’ prejudiced responding. Research has found that confrontation starts the processes that are useful and important for the self-regulation of prejudice (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). Czopp et al. found that participants, regardless of prejudice level, had feelings of guilt after a confrontation occurred. This finding suggests that

confrontation can be effective in eliciting feelings of guilt and self-criticism among people, which is helpful in self-regulatory attempts to reduce future prejudiced responses. Furthermore, Czopp et al (2003) found that participants who were confronted subsequently expressed fewer stereotypes and bias attributes.

In spite of its effectiveness not all individuals confront prejudice or confront as much as they think they should. Swim and Hyers (1999) found in imagined scenarios that 50% of women said they would confront a male who made sexist remarks. However when placed in a real-life situation similar to imagined scenarios no one actually confronted the prejudice. Failing to confront prejudice can have negative physiological, cognitive, and affective consequences (Shelton et al., 2006). Most research has focused on targets versus non-targets and research suggests that there are large costs for targets themselves from prejudice if others fail to confront prejudice. Physiological consequences can occur when individuals do not speak up about the prejudice issues they face. Krieger (1990), and Krieger and Sidney (1996) found that African Americans in the working class who “accepted unfair treatment as a fact of life and kept it to themselves” (Krieger & Sidney, 1996, p. 1373) had health problems of higher systolic blood pressure than other individuals who attempted to do something about poor or unfair treatment and actually talked to others about it. The consequences one faces by not confronting prejudice can potentially cause future psychological and/or physical problems for the individual, thus reinforcing why confronting prejudice is so important.

To date research suggests that confrontation can be effective but there are social costs that might inhibit confrontation. Individuals may not confront because they may feel that it is impolite or risky (Swim & Hyers, 1999). These concerns are understandable

because research has found that when individuals blame negative outcomes on discrimination they are perceived as complainers and disliked (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; 2003). In the workplace, there may be unique social costs that keep employees from confronting others. Confrontation can be considered a form of conflict, and interpersonal conflict has been shown to have detrimental effects on employees (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). Other possible costs of confronting prejudice include physical backlash from others who might be upset they were confronted or exclusionary behaviors such as being excluded from groups or work functions.

#### The Confronting Prejudice Responses (CPR) Model

Goodwin et al. (2007) examined similarities between prejudice occurrences and physical emergencies. That led to their development of The Confronting Prejudiced Responses (CPR) Model. The CPR Model includes factors that might influence or moderate the likelihood of confronting prejudice. (See Figure 1).

The CPR model is designed around a five-step sequence: Detecting a bias incident, labeling it an emergency, taking responsibility, deciding how to respond, and weighing the costs and benefits of actually responding. The first two steps of the model are necessary to lead observers to the latter steps, but observers do not need to advance through the model's latter decision process steps in the specific order outlined in the model. The independent variables of discrimination type (racial or gender discrimination), perpetrator status, and observer prejudiced level (low-prejudice or high-prejudice) relate to steps two through five of the CPR Model, and items four through eighteen of the CPR Model Response Scale.

Step 1 in the CPR Model is Perceiving Prejudice. Identifying and labeling prejudice is a hard task. People may not recognize prejudice when victims and perpetrators do not fit into the typical prejudice prototypes (Inman & Baron, 1996). This step is relevant to the present study because most people can identify a major incident of prejudice such as a Klu Klux Klan incident, yet everyday incidents of prejudice such as a sexist joke at work are harder to recognize as prejudice. If people do not recognize discrimination, they may see nothing that needs confronting.

Step one of the CPR model, perceiving prejudice, is controlled for in the present study. The scenarios in the present study are designed to control for step one, so no need for prejudice to be recognized since the scenarios provide blatant acts of prejudice. Therefore, there is no relationship between the IV's and step one of the CPR model or the first three items in the CPR Model Response scale since the scenarios are designed to control for step one.

Step 2 in the CPR Model is Deeming Prejudice an Emergency. Observers may not view an incident of prejudice as harmful enough to intervene. For example, when women are not present when a sexist joke is told at lunch people may not view the situation as a prejudice emergency. Also, prejudice may sometimes be viewed as unintentional due to stress on the job and therefore others may not view it as a serious incident or as an emergency. Noticing a prejudice incident and deeming it as an emergency are difficult steps. However, an emergency does not have to be a harmful physical act or event to be deemed an emergency. Prejudice can be interpreted as a serious and potentially dangerous situation that could require immediate action.

Step two of the CPR model is interpreting prejudice as an emergency and this step relates to items four through six in the CPR Model Response Scale. The Independent variable of discrimination type relates to step two in the model because research suggests that racism is taken more seriously than sexism thus if the participant has a racial condition in their scenarios they should score higher on interpreting the racial prejudice as an emergency compared to a sexism condition. In addition, the independent variable of observer prejudice level relates to step two in the model because a low-prejudice individual is more likely to be aware of their social surroundings and thus more able to perceive prejudice and interpret prejudice as an emergency. Therefore, a participant who is low in prejudice is more likely to score higher on interpreting prejudice as an emergency versus a high prejudice participant. The third Independent variable, perpetrator status, relates to step two of the model because a participant who has a condition of a supervisor as the perpetrator of prejudice may score higher on interpreting the prejudice as an emergency because the supervisor is making inappropriate comments compared to a participant who has a condition of a subordinate perpetrator making a comment to another peer etc.

The third step in the model is Taking Responsibility to Confront Prejudice. In this step individuals decide whether it their responsibility to say and do something in response to the social discrimination emergency. For example, many non-target group members may feel that it is not their responsibility to confront prejudice. In addition, observers may feel that they do not have proper authority or power to speak up and take responsibility and therefore do not confront.

Step three of the CPR model is observer assumes responsibility to confront and relates to items seven, eight, and nine in the CPR Model Response Scale. The independent variable of discrimination type relates to step three of the model and these items from the scale because research has shown that racial discrimination is taken more seriously than gender discrimination and therefore a participant with a racial condition should score higher in assuming responsibility to confront racial discrimination compared to gender discrimination.

The independent variable of observer prejudice level relates to step three in the model because a low prejudice person is more likely to take responsibility to confront prejudice compared to a high prejudice person who does not care about prejudice. Therefore, a participant who is low in prejudice should score higher on item nine “I would personally feel responsible for doing something about the behavior” compared to a participant who is high in prejudice. In addition, a low prejudice person should score lower on items seven and eight, “It would not be my place to intervene in this situation,” and “I would expect someone else to take responsibility for doing something about my [subordinate’s, co-workers, supervisor’s] behavior” on the CPR model response scale compared to a high prejudice participant.

The independent variable of perpetrator status also relates to step three in the model. If a participant has a condition where the perpetrator is a subordinate of the observer of prejudice then the participant should score higher in assuming responsibility to confront a subordinate on item nine because assuming responsibility to confront a subordinate is more likely than confront a supervisor because of the costs associated with it. In addition, a participant who has the condition of a supervisor as the perpetrator

should have a higher score on items seven and eight because the observer should be less likely to assume responsibility to confront their supervisor because they may see it as not their place or responsibility to confront.

Step 4 in the CPR Model is Deciding How to Confront Prejudice. If a person does not have the right knowledge, confidence, or past experience to confront prejudice then they may not confront due to their lack of resources. Many people may not know how to confront prejudice and therefore do not confront.

Step four in the CPR model, observer identifies a confrontation response. This step relates to items ten, eleven, and twelve in the CPR Model Response Scale. The independent variable of discrimination type relates to step four in the model because people in general take racism more seriously than sexism and therefore may have a response more readily available to confront racism versus sexism since racism is taken more seriously. For instance, on item ten “I am unsure how I would respond in this situation” should have a lower score from a participant if they have a racial condition versus a gender condition. In addition, item eleven “I would know what to do in this situation” should have a higher score from a participant who has the racial condition because research shows that racism is taken more seriously than sexism so a response should be more readily available to confront racism versus sexism. In addition, item twelve, “I could think of something appropriate to say to my [subordinate’s, co-worker’s, supervisor’s]” a participant in the racial condition should score higher because a racial confrontation response is easier to have available versus a sexism confrontation response since racism is more prevalent and taken more seriously.

The second independent variable of observer prejudice level relates to step four in the model because a low prejudice person is more likely to have a response available to confront prejudice since they are more aware of their social surroundings and feel strongly about confronting prejudice versus a high prejudice person. For item ten, “I am unsure how I would respond in this situation,” a participant who is low in prejudice should score low on this item. For item eleven, “I would know what to do in this situation,” a low prejudice participant should score high because they feel strongly about confronting prejudice compared to a high prejudice level participant.

The third variable of perpetrator status relates to step four in the model because an observer may have different responses available to confront the perpetrator based on their status. For instance, an observer cannot confront a supervisor the same way they would confront their subordinate because there are more costs and risks involved when confronting a supervisor. A participant who has the condition of the perpetrator as the observers subordinate should score highly on item eleven because it should be easier to confront a subordinate versus a supervisor. This also relates to item twelve “I could think of something appropriate to say to my [subordinate’s, co-worker’s, supervisor’s]” because as stated before a confrontation response to a subordinate or co-worker might be more readily available because it is easier to confront them versus a supervisor because one must be more careful since more risks are involved.

The last step in the model is Taking Action to Confront Prejudice. Observers of a prejudice emergency may perceive that the costs of confronting are too great and outweigh the benefits. In the workplace, an observer of prejudice might feel that the costs

are too great to confront their supervisor due to the possible risk of losing their job and therefore not confront even if they think they should.

Step five moderators of the CPR model relate to the three independent variables and to items thirteen through fifteen in the CPR Model Response scale. Discrimination type relates to moderators such as costs and benefits of confronting prejudice because confronting racial and gender discrimination involves benefits and costs regardless of the perpetrators status because people may view you either positively for taking action or negatively for saying something that others may deem as inappropriate. The independent variable observer prejudice level, low or high, relates to moderators in the CPR model because observer prejudice level affects the likelihood an observer will take responsibility or action to confront prejudice. Low prejudice people are more likely to take the risk of confronting the perpetrator regardless of their status because they care about confronting prejudice. Thus for item 13 on the CPR Model Response scale, “I would be worried that my [subordinate’s, co-worker’s, supervisor’s] might be angry if I said something about the behavior,” a low prejudice participant should score lower on this item because a low prejudice person is more likely to take risks and deal with the costs associated with confronting because they care about confronting prejudice. In addition, on items fourteen and fifteen, “I would be worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about the behavior,” and “Saying something to my [subordinate’s, co-worker’s, supervisor’s] would be pointless,” a participant who is low in prejudice should also score low on these items because they would be more likely to confront because they care about confronting prejudice.

The third Independent Variable of perpetrator status relates to step five moderators because depending on the status of the perpetrator an observer will weigh the costs and benefits associated with confronting the perpetrator. For instance, there are more risks involved in confronting a supervisor compared to a subordinate. Item fourteen examines this cost, "I would be worried that I might lose my job if I spoke up about the behavior," this item directly examines how one might feel when they confront. A supervisor has more power and control over their subordinates and if an observer confronts the perpetrator who is their supervisor the observer might worry more about losing their job or not getting a promotion because they are confronting a superior. Therefore, a participant, who has a subordinate perpetrator as their condition should score lower on item fourteen because a subordinate would not have as much power and control as a supervisor would over terminating someone.

Step five in the CPR model, taking action to confront, relates to items sixteen through eighteen, and relates to the three independent variables in this study. Discrimination type relates to step five in the CPR model because the type of discrimination plays a role in whether one will actually take action to confront. As discussed earlier, racism is taken more seriously than sexism thus; taking action to confront might have a higher probability with those participants who have a racial condition compared to a gender discrimination condition. Those participants who have a racial condition should score higher on items sixteen and eighteen on the CPR model response scale because those items relate to talking to the perpetrator about their behavior or telling an authority about the perpetrators behavior. Because racial discrimination is

taken more seriously than sexism participants should score higher on items sixteen and eighteen since race is considered more serious than gender discrimination.

The second independent variable of observer prejudice level relates to the CPR model and items sixteen through eighteen in a few important ways. First, prejudice level relates to step five, taking action to confront, because a low prejudice person is more likely to take action to confront prejudice than a high prejudice person because low prejudice individuals care about confronting prejudice. Second, an observer with a low-prejudice level should score higher on items sixteen and eighteen because low prejudice individuals are more inclined to take action and confront prejudice. A low-prejudice participant should score low on item seventeen, "I would do nothing in this situation" because they care about prejudice so they should disagree with this statement and thus score lower.

The third independent variable of perpetrator status relates to step five in the CPR model because depending on the status of the perpetrator that affects how one decides whether to actually take action to confront or not. If the perpetrator is the observer's supervisor there is a lower likelihood that the observer will take action to confront due to the status of the perpetrator. In addition, a participant who has the condition of the perpetrator being the observer's supervisor, then for items sixteen and eighteen that should score lower on these items because there is more risk involved confronting a supervisor than a co-worker or subordinate. Furthermore, a participant who has the same condition of the perpetrator being the observer's supervisor should score high on item seventeen, "I would do nothing in this situation," because one does not want to take the

risk of losing their job, not being promoted etc. if they confronted their supervisor on a prejudiced comment.

Taking the necessary actions to confront prejudice can be complicated and difficult. The CPR Model discusses many factors that influence whether confrontation of prejudice is likely to occur. Many of these factors such as the costs and benefits of confronting prejudice and perpetrator and victim relationship, are relevant to the present study.

#### Type of Prejudice Observed

Research has suggested that racial discrimination and gender discrimination are perceived differently in terms seriousness and people's tolerance of them. Czopp and Monteith (2003) compared reactions of people who imagined being confronted about gender discrimination versus racial discrimination. Participants indicated that they felt more feelings of guilt and felt more uncomfortable when they imagined being confronted about a bias response against Blacks rather than confronted about the same discrimination targeting women. In addition, participants felt more upset and concerned about offending another regarding a racially bias response compared to a gender bias response.

Czopp and Monteith's (2003) findings and conclusions help support reasons why discrimination type is being examined in the present study. Applying the CPR Model to the present research, employees in the workplace may be more willing to see racial

discrimination as an emergency compared to gender discrimination. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is: Participants will be more likely to confront workplace racism than sexism.

### Observer Prejudice Level

Individuals differ in the degree they are motivated to prevent the occurrence of prejudiced responding (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). Low-prejudice people are more likely to be bothered and offended by prejudice and more likely to try to control and reduce prejudice through actions than others. For example, evidence suggests that many non-targets (Whites) endorse egalitarian ideals (Voils, Ashburn-Nardo, & Monteith, 2002) and thus may be offended by prejudice and motivated to stop others from doing it. People who are low in prejudice and who are motivated to reduce prejudice are more likely than others to be aware of their social environment and better able to notice instances of social discrimination (Step 1) and possibly interpret prejudice as an emergency (Step 2). Likewise, a low-prejudice person may be more likely to assume the responsibility to confront the prejudice (Step 3).

It could also be speculated that high-prejudice individuals are less likely to confront prejudice because they do not feel as strongly about it as low-prejudice individuals do. Hypothesis 2 is: Low-prejudice observers of prejudice are more likely to confront than high-prejudice observers.

### Perpetrator Status

The power and status one holds in an organization will likely affect whether an observer of prejudice will confront a perpetrator of prejudice in the workplace. Research on conflict in general suggests that conflict with a supervisor may result in a different outcome than when conflict involves a coworker (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). Specifically, research from focus groups that used a working sample found that

employees fear the consequences of reacting negatively toward their supervisors when a supervisor is the source of a problem or conflict. One reason this might be is that workers are aware that supervisors possess a power over their employment. People are more reluctant to engage in conflict with a supervisor because they have control over valued resources (Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006).

Applying Step 5 in the CPR Model, an observer may not want to jeopardize their relationship they have with their superior even if the observer feels that their supervisor made a prejudiced comment and should be confronted about it. If there is a risk that a superior might retaliate then the observer may choose not to confront due to the costs involved such as loss of funding, decrease in pay, losing their job, or not being promoted.

Based on previous research, the present study examines whether an employee is more likely to confront another who is a peer, supervisor, or subordinate. Hypothesis three is: An observer is more likely to confront a subordinate or peer who made a prejudiced remark rather than a supervisor who made a prejudiced remark.

#### Overview and Hypothesized Interaction

To date there is no research that has put all three of these factors together to predict prejudice confrontation. The independent variables of bias type (racial or gender bias), perpetrator status (supervisor, peer, subordinate), and observer prejudiced level (low-prejudice or high-prejudice) will be tested to determine the independent variables effect on the dependent variables, steps of the CPR Model including; interpret, emergency, responsibility, decide, perceived risk, directly confront, and tell authority (See Figure 2).

For racial discrimination, low-prejudice people should be much more likely than high-prejudice people to confront a subordinate and peer. This effect should be somewhat less when the perpetrator is a supervisor. High-prejudice people should be very unlikely to confront regardless of perpetrator status, subordinate, peer or supervisor.

As research has shown, gender discrimination is taken less seriously and is more tolerable than racial discrimination and therefore there should be a lower overall likelihood of confrontation compared to racial discrimination. For gender discrimination, low-prejudice people should be more likely than high-prejudice people to confront a subordinate or peer. This effect should also be less when the perpetrator is a supervisor. High-prejudice people should be very unlikely to confront regardless of perpetrator status.

## FIGURES

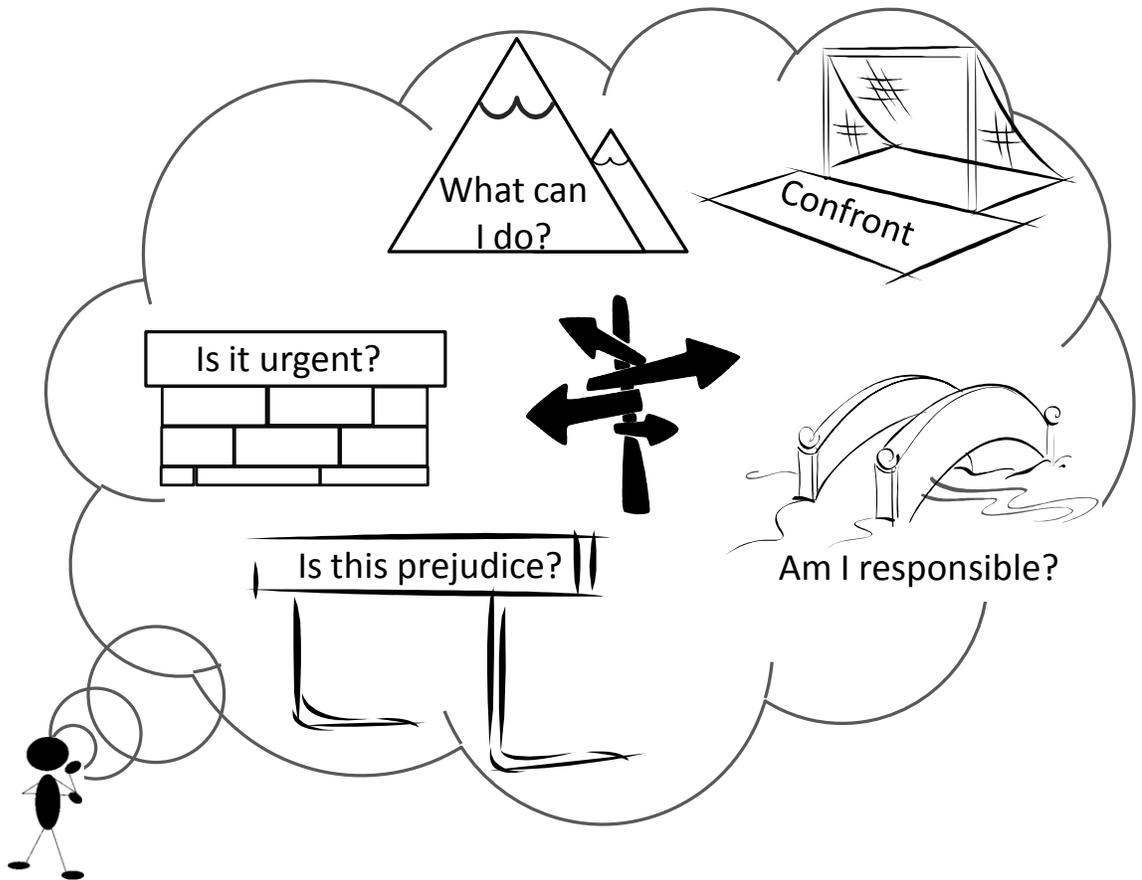


Figure 1 The Confronting Prejudiced Response (CPR) Model : Bystander Intervention in Social Discrimination Emergencies

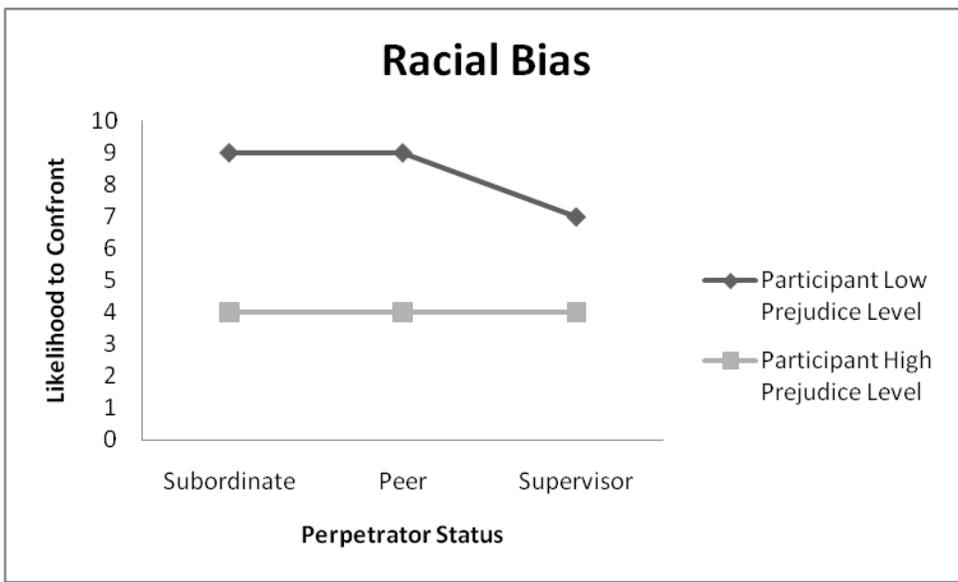
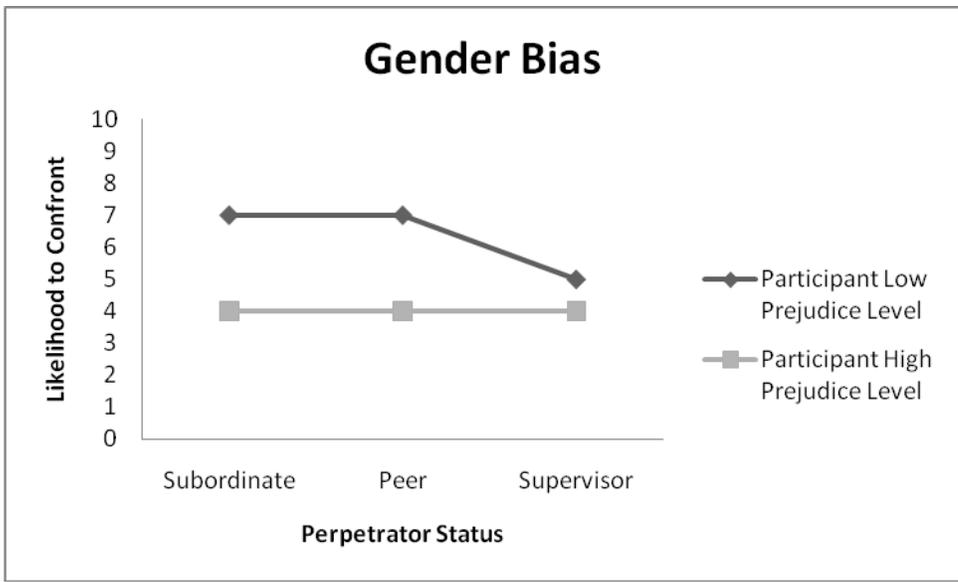


Figure 2 Expected Interactions between Observer Prejudice-Level, Discrimination Type, and Perpetrator Status

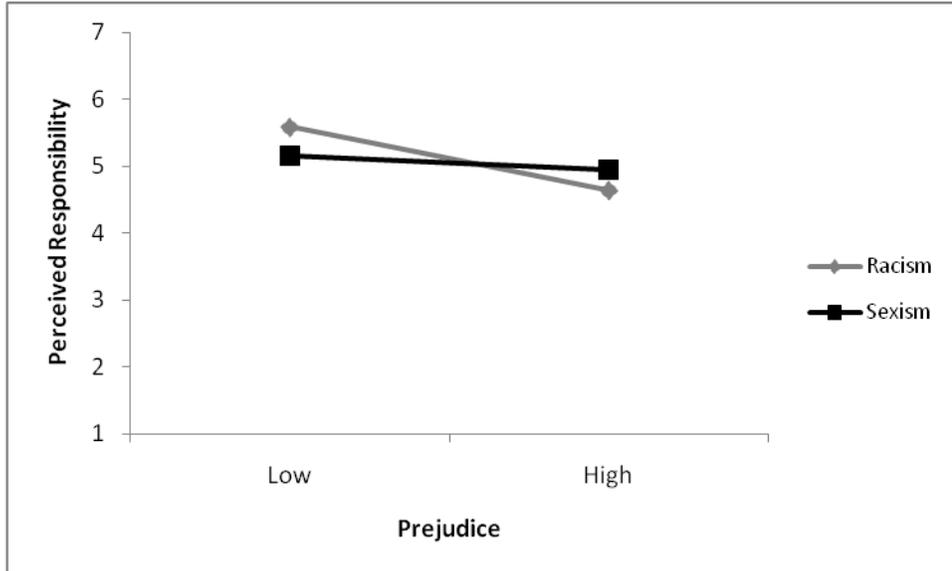


Figure 3 Interaction for Perceived Responsibility

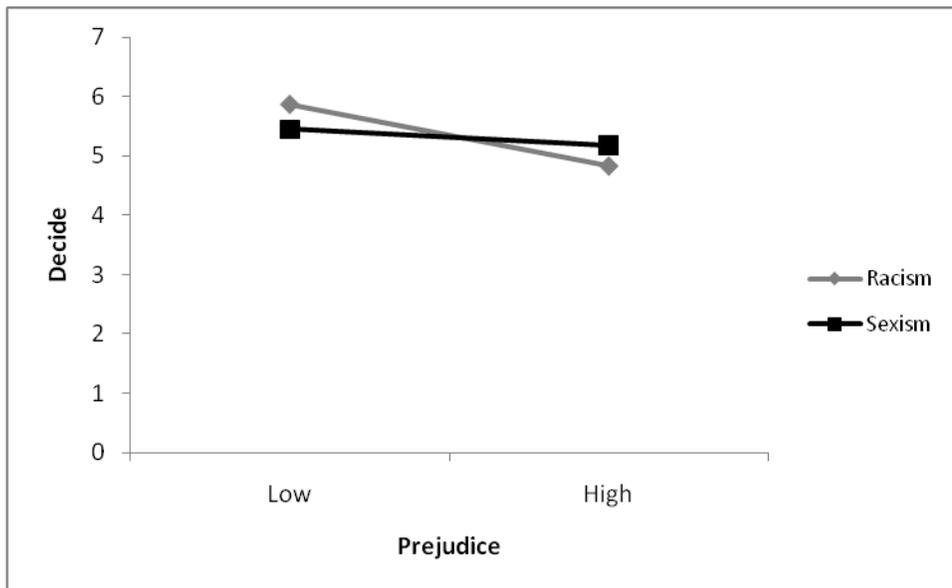


Figure 4 Interaction for Decide

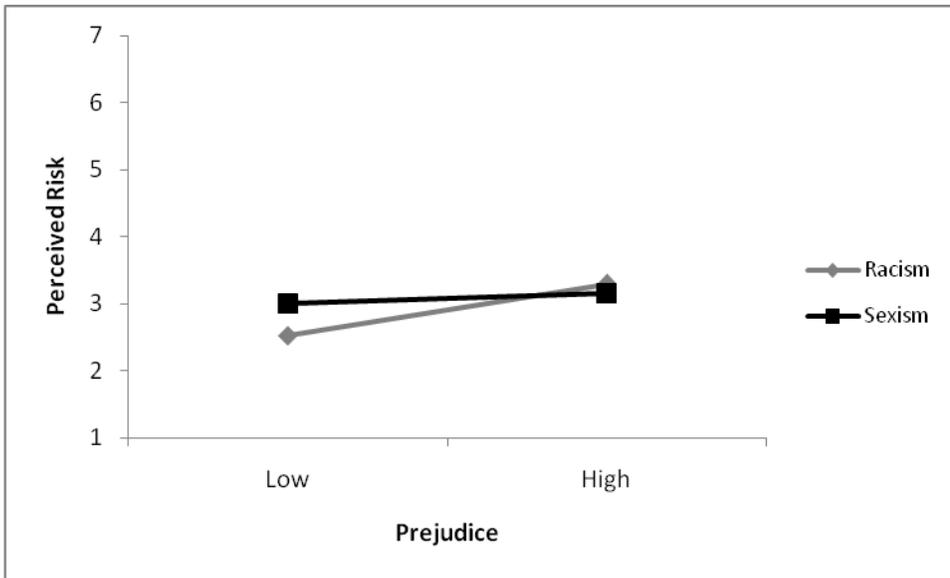


Figure 5 Interaction for Perceived Risk

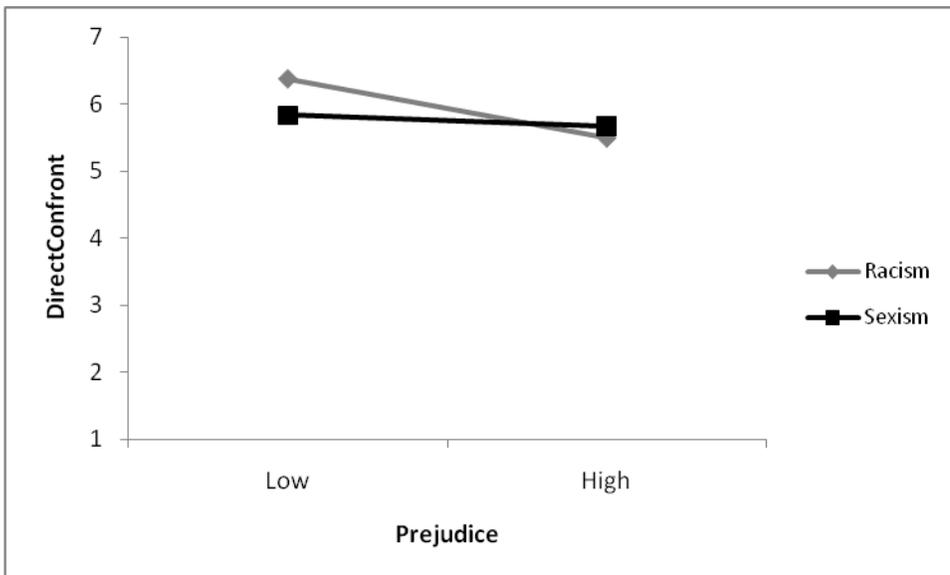


Figure 6 Interaction for Direct Confront

## TABLES

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics, Reliabilities and Correlations Among Variables

*Descriptive Statistics, Reliabilities, and Correlations Among Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. ATB	(.88)								
2. ASI Hostile	-	(.85)							
3. Interpret	-.08	-.15†	(.29)						
4. Emergency	-.01	-.07	.52**	(.90)					
5. Responsibility	.02	-.09	.20**	.29**	(.66)				
6. Decide	-.11	-.12	.11*	.31**	.56**	(.81)			
7. Risk	-.02	.06	.01	-.15**	-.48**	-.48**	(.73)		
8. Direct Confront	-.02	-.07	.19**	.40**	.61**	.72**	-.52**	(.79)	
9. Tell Authority	.02	-.09	.32**	.42**	.23**	.23**	-.13*	.36**	-
Mean	2.42	3.29	5.90	6.41	5.09	5.34	2.99	5.85	5.44
SD	.86	.92	.99	.82	1.24	1.23	1.45	1.10	1.61

NOTE: Cronbach's alphas are presented in parentheses along the diagonal

\*\* $p < .01$ . \* $p < .05$ . † $p < .10$

Table 2 Hierarchical Regression for Variables Predicting CPR Model

*Hierarchical Regressions for Variables Predicting CPR Model Steps*

	<i>Interpret</i>	<i>Emergency</i>	<i>Responsible</i>	<i>Decide</i>	<i>Risks</i>	<i>Direct Confront</i>	<i>Authority</i>
	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$	$\beta$
Step 1							
Observer Prejudice Level	-.20***	-.13*	-.23***	-.26***	.16**	-.24***	-.12*
Bias Type	-.30***	-.35***	-.03	-.02	.07	-.09	-.26***
Perpetrator Status - Supervisor vs. Peer	.07	.01	-.18**	-.15*	.43***	-.17**	.11
Perpetrator Status - Subordinate vs. Peer	.04	.02	.03	.05	.05	.00	.05
Step 2							
Observer Prejudice Level	-.23*	-.15	-.35***	-.50***	.14	-.40***	-.06
Bias Type	-.43***	-.28**	-.03	.10	.03	.02†	-.38***
Perpetrator Status - Supervisor vs. Peer	.03	.07	-.23**	-.15	.44***	-.12	-.02
Perpetrator Status - Subordinate vs. Peer	-.09	.06	.10	.10	-.03	.14	.02
Observer Prej. Level x Bias Type	.10	.09	.20**	.22**	-.14*	.22**	.05
Observer Prej. Level x Supervisor vs. Peer	.01	.05	.00	.11	.08	.00	-.01
Observer Prej. Level x Subordinate vs. Peer	-.06	-.11	-.04	.04	.11	.00	-.13
Bias Type x Supervisor vs. Peer	.06	-.09	.08	.02	-.03	-.05	.21*
Bias Type x Subordinate vs. Peer	.21*	-.06	-.10	-.08	.12	-.19*	.04
Step 3							
Observer Prejudice Level	-.19	-.05	-.23	-.58***	.18	-.49***	-.03
Bias Type	-.42***	-.28**	-.02	.01	.04	.02	-.37***
Perpetrator Status - Supervisor vs. Peer	.03	.07	-.23**	-.15	.43***	-.12	-.02
Perpetrator Status - Subordinate vs. Peer	-.09	.06	.09	.10	-.03	.14	.02
Observer Prej. Level x Bias Type	.04	-.06	.01	.35**	-.19	.38**	.01
Observer Prej. Level x Supervisor vs. Peer	.00	-.03	-.13	.15	.09†	.07	-.01
Observer Prej. Level x Subordinate vs. Peer	-.12	-.21	-.13	.15	.04	.12	-.18
Bias Type x Supervisor vs. Peer	.06	-.10	.08	.02	-.03	-.04	.20*
Bias Type x Subordinate vs. Peer	.21*	-.06	-.10	-.08	.12	-.19*	.04
Observer Prej. Level x Bias Type x Supervisor vs. Peer	.01	.11	.19*	-.07	-.02	-.09	.01
Observer Prej. Level x Bias Type x Subordinate vs. Peer	.09	.16	.14	-.16	.11	-.17	.07

Note. For Interpret  $R^2 = .14$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .00$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ ).

For Emergency  $R^2 = .14$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ )

For Responsible  $R^2 = .09$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ )

For Decide  $R^2 = .10$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .03$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$  ( $ps < .05$ )

For Risks  $R^2 = .19$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .00$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ )

For Direct Confront  $R^2 = .09$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .04$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .01$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ )

For Authority  $R^2 = .09$  for Step 1;  $\Delta R^2 = .02$  for Step 2;  $\Delta R^2 = .00$  for Step 3 ( $ps < .05$ )

†p < .10; \*p < .05; \*\*p < .01; \*\*\*p < .001