The who and when of internal gender discrimination claims: An interactional model ☆

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Abstract

Although gender discrimination has been illegal in organizations since the passage of the Civil Right Act of 1964, individuals remain hesitant to claim internally by making members of their employing organization aware of gender discrimination. Yet surprisingly little research has examined the individual difference and contextual antecedents to internal discrimination claims. We advance an interactional model and hypothesize that gender identity (GI) and climate for diversity (CFD) will interact to predict internal claims of gender discrimination. Consistent with theory, laboratory and field studies demonstrate that strong GI individuals are more likely to make internal claims in organizations that value inclusion (i.e., positive CFD) than in organizations where discrimination is pervasive (i.e., negative CFD). In contrast to strong GI individuals, however, weak GI individuals are more likely to claim in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD. Implications for both individuals and organizations are discussed.
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Why does gender discrimination prompt discrimination claims among some women but not others? Discrimination should motivate individuals to take action, for example by confronting the perpetrator or filing a grievance, in order to redress injustice and prevent the perpetuation of discriminatory practices. Furthermore, employees should feel entitled to make gender discrimination claims given that it has been illegal for organizations to discriminate on the basis of sex for more than 40 years (Title VII, Civil Rights Act of 1964).

Nevertheless, research conducted in both laboratory and field settings indicates that women are in fact hesitant to make claims of gender discrimination (Lanier & Tanner, 1999; Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Stangor, Swim, Van Allen, & Sechrist, 2002; Swim & Hyers, 1999). For example, in a sample of academics Lanier and Tanner (1999) found that although more than 50% of women reported being the victim of discrimination, 54% of those who perceived discrimination took no corrective action. Similarly, laboratory research found that when exposed to sexist comments, 75% of female participants rated the male perpetrator as sexist but less than 50% confronted him (Swim & Hyers, 1999).

One reason for low base rates of discrimination claiming is the belief that claims are both costly and ineffective (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2004; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Laboratory research suggests that claiming results in perceptions of the claimant as a troublemaker, a complainer,

or not accepting responsibility for outcomes (Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff, & Branscombe, 2005; Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003; Shelton & Stewart, 2004). In organizational contexts, claiming similarly incurs retaliation, including social exclusion, undeserved negative performance ratings, and increased workload (Cortina & Magley, 2003; Goltz, 2005; Klaas & DeNisi, 1989). Furthermore, claiming seldom results in corrective action or improves the relationship between the perpetrator and the claimant (Goltz, 2005; Harlos, 2001; Haslett & Lipman, 1997). The high probability of incurring social costs (e.g., negative perceptions, retaliation) and low probability of effecting change result in low base rates of discrimination claiming (Crosby, 1993; Kowalski, 1996; Kaiser & Miller, 2003; Shelton & Stewart, 2004).

Hesitancy to claim discrimination, and particularly hesitancy to claim discrimination *internally* by bringing an instance perceived discrimination to the attention of organizational members (e.g., confronting the perpetrator, telling a supervisor, filing a grievance), has negative implications for both organizations and individuals. First, individuals who are uncomfortable claiming internally may instead claim *externally* (i.e., bring discrimination to the attention of those outside the organization), for example by filing a legal claim. Legal claims are extremely costly in terms of both time and money, even if the organization is not found liable (Lind, Greenberg, Scott, & Welchans, 2000). Furthermore, those in the upper echelons of an organization cannot effectively manage discrimination if they are unaware of its occurrence, leading to further discrimination. In turn, continued discrimination negatively impacts the psychological and physical well-being of employees (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Din-Dzietham, Nembhard, & Collins, 2004; Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001; Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002) as well as a number of work-related outcomes, including organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and organizational citizenship behaviors (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001; Foley, Hang-Yue, & Wong, 2005).

Despite the theoretical and practical importance of understanding internal gender discrimination claims, current knowledge is limited in several ways. First, research on discrimination in organizations has primarily focused on external claims, and particularly wrongful termination suits filed against former employers (e.g., Dunford & Devine, 1998; Goldman, 2001, 2003; Lind et al., 2000; Wanberg, Bunce, & Gavin, 1999). Yet antecedents of internal claiming among current employees may differ from antecedents of external claiming among former employees. For example, many of the costs of claiming (e.g., poor performance ratings, increased workload) are likely to deter current employees from filing an internal claim, but unlikely to affect former employees considering external claims. Second, research has primarily focused on main effect models that do not

consider the interaction of individual differences with elements of the organizational context (see Goldman, 2003; Groth, Goldman, Gilliland, & Bies, 2002; Wanberg et al., 1999 for notable exceptions). The long history of interactionism in psychology (Bowers, 1973; Mischel, 1968; Pervin & Lewis, 1978) and its utility for understanding human behavior suggest that main effect models provide an overly simplistic view of the factors that drive internal claiming.

We aim to begin filling these voids by using both experimental and field data to show that individual differences in gender identity interact with elements of the organizational context, and specifically climate for diversity, to predict internal gender discrimination claims. We build support for the interactional model by first arguing that focusing on gender identity, instead of gender, is critical for understanding internal claims. We then theorize that the effect of gender identity on claiming will vary across contexts that place different value on diversity.

An interactional model of internal gender discrimination claims

Several researchers have hypothesized that base rates of claiming will be higher among women than among men (e.g., Goldman, 2001; Lind et al., 2000) because women are frequent targets of discrimination (cf. Crocker & Major, 1989; Schmitt et al., 2002). Empirical evidence, however, suggests that gender is unrelated to discrimination claims (Goldman, 2001; Groth et al., 2002; Lind et al., 2000). At first glance, the lack of an effect of gender on claiming is surprising, yet nominal demographic categories are atheoretical constructs that fail to account for individual differences in the psychological meaning derived from membership in a social group (cf. Bentacourt & López, 1993; Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Phinney, 1996). Given the limited utility of gender as a psychological construct, scholars in developmental and social psychology have moved beyond categorical representations of gender by instead focusing on *gender identity* (e.g., Bargad & Hyde, 1991; Gurin & Townsend, 1986; O'Neil, Egan, Owen, & Murry, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Within the organizational sciences, however, research on gender identity remains rare. Thus, we extend the gender identity paradigm to the organizational domain by theorizing that internal claiming will be contingent upon individual differences in gender identity, as well as features of the organizational context.

Gender identity and internal claims

We define gender identity (GI) as the integration of gender group membership into the self-view (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, for strong GI women, being female is a central component of the self. As a result,

strong GI women view gender as a source of positive self-regard and are highly concerned about the treatment of women as a group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Alternatively, weak GI women perceive the self as largely detached from gender group membership.

Due to the centrality of gender in the self-view, strong GI women are sensitive to and threatened by gender-based discrimination. Strong GI women are aware that their gender is the target of pervasive discrimination and are more likely than weak GI women to notice gender discrimination (cf. Branscombe et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Schmitt et al., 2002). Moreover, perceptions that the self is the victim of discrimination pose a grave threat to the identity of strong GI women. Specifically, gender-based discrimination has a detrimental effect on the psychological well-being of strong GI women because being female is a central aspect of the self (Major & O'Brien, 2005; McCoy & Major, 2003). For example, gender discrimination results in a larger decrease in self-esteem and increase in depression among strong GI women than among weak GI women (McCoy & Major, 2003). Thus, for strong GI women, gender discrimination has severe negative consequences for psychological health.

Although discrimination threatens the identity of strong GI women, the question of interest in the present research is whether or not strong GI women will make internal claims across all contexts. The detrimental effect of discrimination on psychological well-being motivates strong GI women to redress the injustice, for example by claiming internally, and therefore restore gender as a valued identity (cf. Stangor, Sechrist, & Swim, 1999; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Yet internal claiming is not necessarily an effective means for combating discrimination. Internal claims may be ignored or incur social costs (e.g., negative perceptions, retaliation; Garcia et al., 2005; Goltz, 2005) and therefore exacerbate, rather than ameliorate, the psychological consequences of the initial discrimination (e.g., Cortina & Magley, 2003). Thus, we theorize that internal claiming is contingent upon not only individual differences in GI, but also variation in the extent to which the organizational context provides a supportive claiming environment (i.e., climate for diversity). Ironically, we predict that strong GI women *will not claim* when it is most needed, that is, in organizations characterized by pervasive discrimination. In what follows, we build support for the interactional model by discussing the relationship between climate for diversity and internal claiming among both strong and weak GI women.

Climate for diversity, gender identity, and internal claims

A positive climate for diversity (CFD) provides a supportive context in which strong GI women will make internal gender discrimination claims. CFD reflects the extent to which an organization values diversity, and therefore seeks to create and maintain diverse organizational membership (Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000; Kossek & Zonia, 1993). In a positive CFD, management fosters diversity and minimizes discrimination by including members of all social groups in formal and informal organizational networks (Cox, 1993; Gelfand, Nishii, Raver, & Schneider, 2005; Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000). Although discrimination is rare, internal claims are taken seriously and the social costs of claiming (e.g., negative perceptions, retaliation) are minimized because the organization values efforts to combat discrimination. Thus, a positive CFD provides a safe and supportive context for internal claiming (cf. Stangor et al., 2002). Strong GI women are motivated to redress gender discrimination and restore gender as a valued identity, due to the negative effects of discrimination on psychological well-being. Therefore, we predict that strong GI women will claim internally in a positive CFD.

By contrast, a negative CFD provides an inhospitable environment that constrains strong GI women from making internal claims. An organization with a negative CFD does not value diversity and excludes members of certain groups from formal and informal networks. Thus, by definition, discrimination is a stable and pervasive problem (Cox, 1993; Gelfand et al., 2005). In a negative CFD, claims are not taken seriously and incur social costs (e.g., negative perceptions, retaliation) because exclusion is a standard organizational practice. Therefore, although strong GI women are motivated to combat gender discrimination, in contexts where attempts to redress discrimination are devalued and even punished claiming exacerbates the negative impact of the initial mistreatment on psychological well-being (Cortina & Magley, 2003). The possibility of further damaging a valued identity as the result of an unsuccessful attempt to redress gender-based injustice is highly threatening for strong GI women because gender is an integral part of the self-view. Thus, in spite of the pervasive discrimination, we predict that strong GI women will not claim internally in a negative CFD.

Consistent with the prediction that CFD affects internal claims among strong GI women, we similarly theorize that CFD has implications for claiming among weak GI women; however, we expect CFD to have the opposite effect on claiming among weak GI women. Weak GI women are less attentive to and bothered by gender-based injustice, as compared to strong GI women, because gender is peripheral to the self-view (McCoy & Major, 2003; Schmitt et al., 2002). As a result, we theorize that weak GI women will claim less frequently than strong GI women in contexts where discrimination is rare, such as a positive CFD. In a negative CFD, however, discrimination is a stable and salient feature of the organization (Cox, 1993; Gelfand et al., 2005). Contexts in which injustice stems from stable causes heighten attentiveness to injustice and motivate individuals to take corrective action, for example by claiming internally (cf. Gundlach, Douglas, &

Martinko, 2003; Kidd & Utne, 1978). Strong GI women are constrained from claiming in a negative CFD because the context provides an unsupportive environment in which internal claims are likely to be met with resistance, and therefore exacerbate, rather than ameliorate, psychological distress. Weak GI women, however, are comparatively less vulnerable to the detrimental psychological consequences associate with claiming in a negative CFD because psychological well-being is largely detached from gender (cf. McCoy & Major, 2003). Thus, in direct contrast to strong GI women, we theorize that weak GI women will claim in an organization characterized by pervasive discrimination (i.e., a negative CFD), but not in an organization in which inclusion is valued (i.e., a positive CFD).

In summary, past research provides little insight into the combined effects of individual differences and organizational contexts on internal gender discrimination claims. Researchers have hypothesized that women will claim more frequently than men, but have failed to find empirical support (e.g., Goldman, 2001; Lind et al., 2000). We aim to advance the literature by focusing on GI instead of gender, and theorizing that the relationship between GI and internal claiming is contingent upon CFD. Specifically, we predict than strong GI women will claim more frequently in a positive CFD than in a negative CFD; but, weak GI women will claim more frequently in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD.

Overview of studies

We employed a multimethod approach to test the interactional model of internal discrimination claims. In Study 1, we used an extensive laboratory simulation (modeled after Major et al., 2002), and sought support for the internal validity of the interactional model. Specifically, we measured GI, manipulated CFD, exposed female undergraduates to a discriminatory event, and then observed their claiming behavior. In Study 2, we conducted a constructive replication in which we tested the ecological validity of our predictions and extended the interactional model to both working adults and men. We asked male and female members of an organization to report on GI and CFD, and to recall behavioral responses to perceptions of discrimination at work. Our use of multiple methods provides a stringent test of the interactional model of internal claiming.

Study 1

Method

Sample

We recruited 115 female undergraduate psychology students from a large mid-Atlantic University to partic-ipate in a laboratory study. All participants were enrolled in an introductory psychology course and received course extra credit for their participation. The sample was 84% White, 6% Biracial, 5% Latino, 1% Native American, and 4% participants who reported their ethnicity as Other. The mean age of the sample was 18.78 years ($SD = 1.95$). The sample was 75% freshmen, 16% sophomores, 6% juniors, and 4% seniors.

Procedure

We developed an extensive organizational simulation to test the interactional model in a laboratory setting. The procedure was based in part on Study 2 of Major and colleagues (2002). Female participants were brought into the laboratory and asked to assume the role of an associate at a consulting firm, RLK Consulting. They were given a packet of background information about the company and told that although the company name was fictitious, all information was based on a real consulting firm. The information packet portrayed RLK Consulting as having either a positive or negative CFD (discussed below). The participants were given the chance to compete with a male student (actually a fictitious participant) for a promotion to the role of co-manager. The promotion decision was ostensibly made by a second male student who had been randomly assigned to the role of manager (actually a confederate).

After filling out an application for the promotion, participants were informed that the manager gave the promotion to the male student (see below for details on the feedback from the manager). During the remainder of the experiment, participants were asked to fill out a series of organizational forms, including a form that participants could use to file an organizational grievance. For participants who chose to file a grievance, the form provided space to describe the nature of the complaint. Furthermore, while filling out the forms the manager stopped by to check on each participant and therefore afforded participants the opportunity to claim discrimination by confronting the manager. To increase the psychological fidelity of the simulation, participants were told that the co-manager, but not the associate, would be entered in a lottery with the chance of winning $100. All participants were actually entered in the lottery.[1]

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[1] We conducted a pilot study to assess the psychological fidelity of the organizational simulation. We ran 10 female undergraduates at the same large mid-Atlantic University through the organizational simulation. Post-pilot interviews indicated that the participants felt engaged in the simulation, motivated to work for the promotion, and disappointed when they were not promoted. The interviews further revealed that none of the participants suspected that the purpose of the study was to investigate discrimination claims. Thus, the pilot test increased our confidence that the organizational simulation was realistic and that the purpose of the study was not obvious to participants.

Materials

Gender identity. We assessed GI several weeks before running the organizational simulation. Participants completed the GI measure as part of a large packet of questionnaires and were given no indication that the GI measure was connected to the organizational simulation.

GI is a multidimensional construct, and a number of measures of GI exist (e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; O'Neil et al., 1993; Pinel, 1999; Stangor et al., 1999). We wanted to capture salience of gender group membership as well as awareness of and aversion to negative gender-based treatment from others. Accordingly, we used the sensitivity to sexism scale (Stangor et al., 1999), which reflects the extent to which individuals believe they are discriminated against because of their gender and are bothered by gender-based discrimination. The measure included three items ("How often do people discriminate against you on the basis of your gender?", "How much does the gender discrimination you experience bother you?," "How often do you think about being the victim of gender-based discrimination?"), and was scored on a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 = Not at all to 7 = Very much). An exploratory principal axis factor analysis supported extraction of a single factor that explained 58% of the variance after extraction (initial $\lambda_1 = 2.14$, $\lambda_2 < 1.00$). Factor loadings ranged from .65 to .86 ($\alpha = .78$).

Climate for diversity manipulation. The CFD manipulation was based on previous research that has successfully manipulated organizational climate in a laboratory setting (e.g., Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1988; Mannix, Neale, & Northcraft, 1995). We embedded the manipulation within a packet that provided extensive information about RLK Consulting. The information about RLK Consulting ostensibly came from a website that provides information about companies to individuals seeking jobs. Therefore, the information appeared to come from a source motivated to portray the consulting firm objectively.

The packets included six items, two of which manipulated CFD. In the positive CFD condition, participants received a roster of the upper management at RLK Consulting which indicated that women held half of the top positions in the company. Also, a list of comments from employees in the firm included a quote indicating that the firm valued female and male employees equally: "The most powerful people in the company are accessible to everyone. They give just as much extra help and advice to female employees as they do to male employees." In the negative CFD condition the upper management roster indicated that men held all of the top positions in the company. Also, the following quote indicated that male and female employees were not equally valued: "The most powerful people in the

company have formed a boys' club. They only give extra help and advice to male employees." The critical quote in each condition was embedded in a list of three other neutral quotes, not related to CFD (e.g., "RLK Consulting has great facilities. The lobbies of our buildings look like they could be in a luxury hotel.").

The remaining four items in the packet did not manipulate CFD, but provided additional neutral information about RLK Consulting. These items included a list of the average salary earned in each job within the company, a short history of the company, a summary of company earnings over the last 10 years, and a list of the size of each department within the company. The purpose of including additional information about RLK Consulting was to reduce suspicion that the purpose of the experiment was to study discrimination claims.[2]

Application for promotion to co-manager. After spending 10 minutes reading about RLK Consulting, participants

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[2] We conducted a second pilot study to ensure that we successfully manipulated CFD, instead of a related construct. We were particularly interested in differentiating CFD from organizational justice. CFD is related to organizational justice because it reflects the extent to which members of all social groups are treated fairly (Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000). However, CFD goes beyond fair treatment by capturing the extent to which organizations value efforts to foster diverse organizational membership. We recruited 30 female undergraduates to participate in the second pilot study. We gave each participant one of the two versions of the CFD manipulation and then asked them report on their perceptions of the organization by completing a questionnaire packet. The questionnaire packet included a five-item CFD measure (Nishii & Raver, 2003; $\alpha = .96$) scored on a six-point scale (1 = Always False to 6 = Always True). Sample items include: "This organization values diversity" and "Upper management is committed to promoting diversity." The questionnaire packet also included a 20-item, four-dimensional organizational justice measure (Colquitt, 2001; distributive justice $\alpha = .75$, procedural justice $\alpha = .84$, informational justice $\alpha = .78$, interpersonal justice $\alpha = .88$). The justice items were worded at the organizational level (e.g., "At RLK Consulting, to what extent do rewards reflect the effort employees put into their work?"). The information packet successfully manipulated perceptions of CFD. The organization was rated as placing greater value on diversity in the positive ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.09$) than in the negative ($M = 2.08$, $SD = .54$) CFD condition ($r(28) = .79$, $t(28) = 6.70$, $p = .00$). As expected, the manipulation also affected perceptions of organizational justice. As compared to the negative CFD condition, participants in the positive CFD condition perceived significantly greater procedural ($r(28) = .68$, $t(28) = 4.83$, $p = .00$), informational ($r(28) = .45$, $t(28) = 2.66$, $p = .01$), and interpersonal ($r(28) = .59$, $t(28) = 3.83$, $p = .00$) justice, and marginally greater distributive justice ($r(28) = .35$, $t(28) = 1.96$, $p = .06$). Controlling for justice perceptions (all four-dimensions), the partial correlation between the CFD manipulation and CFD perceptions remained significant ($r(24) = .52$, $p = .01$). Controlling for CFD perceptions, however, the partial correlation between the CFD manipulation and each justice dimension was no longer significant (distributive: $r(27) = .18$, $p = .34$; procedural: $r(27) = .16$, $p = .42$; informational: $r(27) = .01$, $p = .96$; interpersonal: $r(27) = .22$, $p = .24$). Thus, pilot results provide evidence that our CFD manipulation goes beyond justice by affecting perceptions of the extent to which the organization values diversity.

received an application packet. The application materials consisted of a background information sheet, a personal statement, and a series of scenarios asking the participant to make organizational decisions. The information sheet assessed basic demographic information, and the personal statement required participants to write a few paragraphs on why they would make a good co-manager. The organizational scenarios, adapted from Bailey and Alexander (1993), asked participants to decide where to open a new office, to select the most appropriate hiring strategy, and to select the most effective business development strategy. The personal statement and organizational decision scenarios were included in the application packet to increase the amount of effort participants put into applying for the role of co-manager and to increase the face validity of the application. The experimenter gave the participants 10 minutes to complete the application, and then collected the application and indicated that the materials would be brought to the manager for evaluation.

Discriminatory event. After five minutes, the experimenter returned with the promotion decision made by the manager. The experimenter handed the participant a sheet of paper, ostensibly filled out by the manager, which listed the name of the participant and two common white male names. Next to one of the male names (Kevin Bannister), "manager" was handwritten. Next to the other male name (Brian MacDonald), "co-manager" was handwritten. Next to the name of the participant, "associate" was handwritten. Also, handwritten comments appeared on the bottom of the sheet indicating the manager felt that, "The girl did not come across well on the application. I chose the guy for the role of co-manager because I don't think I would work well with her" (cf. Major et al., 2002). Each participant received the same feedback. The experimenter gave the participants several minutes to read the feedback.

Claiming discrimination. The organizational simulation included two means of claiming discrimination: filing an organizational grievance and confronting the manager. We used the paradigm for studying organizational grievances developed by Olson-Buchanan (1996) to design the organizational grievance form. After being assigned to continue in the role of associate, participants received a packet of organizational forms to complete. One of the forms gave the participants the option of filing a formal grievance with the company. The participants had the choice of either filing or not filing the grievance form. If a participant filed an organizational grievance and indicated that they felt the promotion decision constituted discrimination or was gender rather than merit based, the participant's response was coded as a "1." Otherwise the participant's response was coded as a "0." The other organizational forms, included to

minimize suspicion, assessed the participants' opinions concerning whether or not RLK Consulting should adopt a company wide charity and asked participants to indicate which of several changes to the company's benefits plan they would prefer.

As a second measure of claiming, the manager (actually a male confederate) knocked on the door to check on each participant while she was completing the organizational forms. The manager asked the participant if she had any questions or comments, and thus gave the participant an opportunity to claim discrimination by confronting the manager. The manager recorded the response of each participant. If a participant confronted the manager by indicating that she felt the promotion decision was discriminatory, that participant's response was coded as a "1." Otherwise the participant's response was coded as a "0."

Manipulation and suspicion checks. We included a number of checks throughout the organizational simulation. While waiting for feedback from the manager, participants filled out a questionnaire that assessed role preference (1 = Strongly prefer associate to 5 = Strongly prefer co-manager) and perceived performance on the application (1 = Very poorly to 5 = Very well). After receiving the promotion decision, we assessed whether or not participants perceived the promotion decision as discriminatory ("Do you believe the decision made by the manager to assign you to your current role was due to sexism?") on a five-point scale (1 = Not at all to 5 = Definitely). After completing all other study measures, participants received a final questionnaire that included two CFD manipulation checks: "Generally speaking, what type of environment does this company provide for women?" (1 = Negative, 2 = Neutral, 3 = Positive) and "How many women are there in the top management of RLK Consulting?" (1 = 0%, 2 = 50%, 3 = 100%). We also asked participants to recall both the position they were assigned to and the gender of the other participants in the study. Finally, we probed participants for suspicion concerning the study's purpose. After the study, participants were fully debriefed.

Results

A review of the suspicion check questionnaire revealed that five participants did not believe that they were competing with another participant for the role of co-manager, that they ever had a chance of being promoted, or that the manager was a participant in the study instead of a confederate. Because it is doubtful that these participants were engaged in the organizational simulation, they were excluded from the analyses, thus reducing the sample from 115 to 110. (The results do not change if these participants are included.)

Although all study participants were present during the session in which the GI measure was administered, four participants did not complete the GI measure. Thus, the final sample size was 106 for analyses including GI. We centered GI in all regression analyses (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

Manipulation checks

All study participants correctly recalled being assigned to the associate position, that the manager was male, and that they competed with another male for the co-manager role. We used hierarchical regression to determine if GI (entered in step 1), CFD (entered in step 1), and their interaction (entered in step 2) impacted perceived performance on the application and preference for the position of co-manager. There was no effect of GI ($\beta = -.12$, $t(102) = -1.20$, $p = .23$), CFD ($\beta = -.01$, $t(102) = -.05$, $p = .96$), or the interaction ($\beta = .11$, $t(101) = .76$, $p = .45$) on perceived performance on the organizational decision scenarios ($R^2_{\text{step 1}} = .02$, $p = .47$; $R^2_{\text{step 2}} = .02$, $p = .55$; $\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}} = .01$, $p = .45$). Similarly, there was no effect of GI ($\beta = -.07$, $t(102) = -.67$, $p = .51$), CFD ($\beta = .09$, $t(102) = .94$, $p = .35$), or the interaction ($\beta = .00$, $t(101) = -.02$, $p = .99$) on perceived performance on the personal statement ($R^2_{\text{step 1}} = .01$, $p = .57$; $R^2_{\text{step 2}} = .01$, $p = .78$; $\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}} = .00$, $p = .99$). Furthermore, participants considered their performance above average, as measured on a five-point scale, on both the decision scenarios ($M = 4.06$, $SD = .65$) and the personal statement ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.01$). Finally, there was no effect of GI ($\beta = .00$, $t(102) = -.03$, $p = .97$), CFD ($\beta = -.02$, $t(102) = -.16$, $p = .88$), or the interaction ($\beta = -.19$, $t(101) = -1.27$, $p = .21$) on preference for the co-manager role ($R^2_{\text{step 1}} = .00$, $p = .99$; $R^2_{\text{step 2}} = .02$, $p = .65$; $\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}} = .02$, $p = .21$), and participants preferred the co-manager role to the associate role ($M = 4.39$, $SD = .83$, where 1 = Strongly prefer associate and 5 = Strongly prefer co-manager).

We also made sure that perceptions of CFD were affected by the CFD manipulation, but were not affected by GI or the GI by CFD interaction. We used the general CFD manipulation check as the dependent variable and found that the CFD manipulation impacted CFD perceptions ($\beta = .78$, $t(103) = 12.09$, $p = .00$), such that CFD was perceived more positively in the positive CFD condition ($M = 2.14$, $SD = .48$) than in the negative CFD condition ($M = 1.13$, $SD = .34$). As expected, neither GI ($\beta = -.02$, $t(103) = -.36$, $p = .72$) nor the interaction ($\beta = .04$, $t(102) = .40$, $p = .69$) was significant ($R^2_{\text{step 1}} = .60$, $p = .00$; $R^2_{\text{step 2}} = .60$, $p = .00$; $\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}} = .00$, $p = .69$). We reran the analysis using perceptions of the percentage of women in top management as the dependent variable. As expected, there was an effect of CFD ($\beta = .92$, $t(102) = 24.15$, $p = .00$), such that participants perceived a greater number of women in top management in the positive CFD condition ($M = 1.95$, $SD = .30$) than in the negative CFD condition ($M = 1.00$, $SD = .00$), but neither GI ($\beta = .01$, $t(102) = .25$, $p = .80$) nor the interaction ($\beta = -.02$, $t(101) = -.28$, $p = .78$) was significant ($R^2_{\text{step 1}} = .86$, $p = .00$; $R^2_{\text{step 2}} = .86$, $p = .00$; $\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}} = .00$, $p = .78$).

Analyses

Because discrimination may occur on the basis of membership in other social groups, in addition to gender, we controlled for ethnicity and age. Ethnicity was entered as a series of three dummy variables that reflected Latino versus White, Biracial versus White, and Other versus White. (We collapsed the Native American category into the Other category because there was only one Native American in the sample.)

Three participants (3%) asked the manager for more information regarding how the promotion decision was made, yet none of the participants told the manager that she believed the promotion decision was discriminatory. Because none of the participants claimed discrimination by confronting the manager we do not further discuss this variable. Alternatively, 32 participants (29%) claimed discrimination by filing an organizational grievance. Table 1 reports the mean, standard deviation, N, reliability, and correlations for each study variable.

We used hierarchical logistic regression to test the interactional model because the dependent variable was dichotomous (i.e., filing versus not filing a grievance). We entered control variables in step 1, GI and

Table 1
Correlation matrix (Study 1)

	M	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Ethnicity (Latino)	.05	.23	110	—						
2. Ethnicity (Biracial)	.06	.25	110	−.06	—					
3. Ethnicity (Other)	.05	.23	110	−.06	−.06	—				
4. Age	18.80	1.99	110	.00	−.05	−.02	—			
5. Gender identity	2.81	1.12	106	−.02	.09	−.15	.05	.78		
6. Climate for diversity	.51	.0	110	−.08	−.19*	.00	.08	.22*	—	
7. Claiming (Grievance)	.29	.46	110	−.07	.08	−.07	.07	.09	−.13	—

Note. Values below the diagonal are bivariate correlations and values on the diagonal are Cronbach's α coefficients. For the ethnicity dummy variables, Whites are the reference group. Gender identity was operationalized as sensitivity to sexism.

* $p < .05$.

Table 2
Logistic regression analyses predicting internal discrimination claims (Study 1)

	Model I			Model II		
	B	Exp(B)	$\Delta\chi^2$	B	Exp(B)	$\Delta\chi^2$
Step1						
Ethnicity (Latino)	−.79	.45	.51			
Ethnicity (Biracial)	.87	2.38	.56			
Ethnicity (Other)	−.78	.46	.49			
Age	.07	1.07	.47	.01	1.01	.01
Ethnicity (Non-white)				1.14	3.11	1.11
Step2						
Gender Identity (GI)	.19	1.21	.91	.22	1.25	.61
Climate for diversity (CFD)	−.64	.53	1.92	1.22	3.37	2.51
Step3						
GI × CFD	1.00	2.72	4.91*	2.35	10.52	4.91*
$\Delta\chi_{step\ 1}$		2.71			1.11	
$\Delta\chi^2_{step\ 1-2}$		2.34			4.10	
$\Delta\chi^2_{step\ 2-3}$		5.41*			4.91*	
χ^2 model		10.47			10.12†	
Cox and Snell R^2_{model}		.09			.21	

Note. Model I was run using the full sample ($N = 106$). Model II was run using the partial sample, which included only those who indicated that the promotion decision "Probably" or "Definitely" constituted gender discrimination ($N = 44$). For the ethnicity dummy variables, Whites are the reference group. In Model II, all ethnic minorities were collapsed into a single dummy variable due to the low number of non-Whites in the partial sample ($N = 5$). Statistical significance for each predictor is based on the $\Delta\chi^2$ associated with adding that individual predictor to the step, controlling for all other predictors entered in the same step. Gender identity was operationalized as sensitivity to sexism.
† $p < .10$.
* $p < .05$.

CFD in step 2, and the GI by CFD interaction in step 3 (see Table 2, Model I; $N = 106$). None of the variables entered in steps 1 and 2 was significant.[3] As hypothesized, a significant GI by CFD interaction emerged ($B = 1.00$, Exp(B) = 2.72, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 5.41$, $p = .02$). We graphed the interaction at one standard deviation above and below the mean of GI in each CFD condition (Aiken & West, 1991) and transformed the predicted values from logit units to probabilities. As predicted, strong GI women were more likely to claim in a positive CFD than in a negative CFD, but weak GI women were more likely to claim in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD (see Fig. 1).

We designed the organizational simulation so that it was unclear whether or not the promotion decision was motivated by gender discrimination. The ambiguity surrounding the promotion decision was intended to both increase variance in responses to the incident and be consistent with current norms against blatant discrimination. The possibility remains that some participants did not claim discrimination because they did not perceive the promotion decision as discriminatory.[4] To address this alternative explanation, we limited the
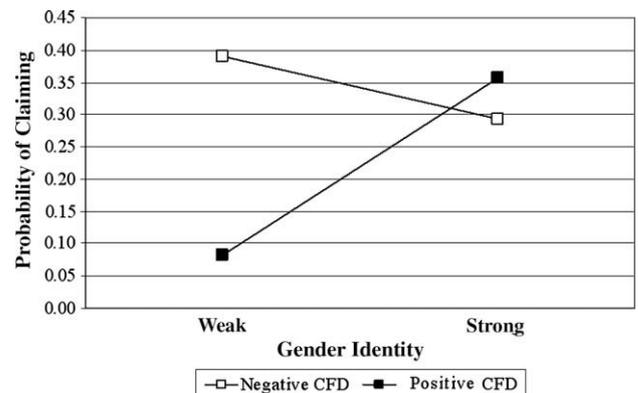

Fig. 1. The effect of gender identity and climate for diversity on the probability of claiming discrimination by filing an organizational grievance (Study 1, full sample).

sample to only those who indicated that the promotion decision "Probably" ($N = 30$, 28% of sample) or "Definitely" ($N = 14$, 13% of sample) constituted sexism and reran the analysis (see Table 2, Model II; $N = 44$). As in the full sample analysis, the only significant effect was the GI by CFD interaction ($B = 2.35$, Exp(B) = 10.52, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 4.91$, $p = .03$). Moreover, the shape of the interaction in the partial sample matched the shape of the interaction in the full sample (see Fig. 2).

Discussion

Study 1 supports our prediction that the relationship between GI and internal gender discrimination claims is

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[3] Throughout the manuscript, demographic control variables included for theoretical reasons (e.g., age, ethnicity) are frequently non-significant. Excluding non-significant control variables changes neither the significance nor the direction of any reported effect.

[4] We are grateful to an anonymous reviewer for highlighting the need to address this issue.
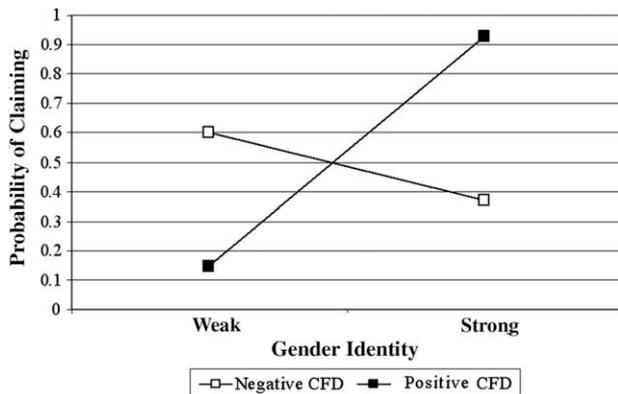
Fig. 2. The effect of gender identity and climate for diversity on the probability of claiming discrimination by filing an organizational grievance (Study 1, partial sample).

contingent upon the organizational context, and specifically CFD. As expected, we found that strong GI women make internal claims in contexts in which women are valued and supported (i.e., positive CFD), but not in contexts in which women are marginalized and excluded (i.e., negative CFD). Alternatively, we found that weak GI women claim in contexts where discrimination is pervasive, but not in contexts where inclusion is valued. The significant GI by CFD interaction substantiates the importance of the interactional approach for understanding internal claims. Moreover, limiting the Study 1 sample to those who perceived the promotion decision as discriminatory did not change the results. Thus, individual differences in the tendency to label negative events as discriminatory do not easily account for our findings.

The laboratory methodology we used to test the interactional model in Study 1 is both a strength and a limitation. Most past research on discrimination claims in organizational contexts has been conducted in field settings (e.g., Bies & Tyler, 1993; Ensher et al., 2001; Goldman, 2001; Goldman, 2003; Goltz, 2005; Groth et al., 2002; Lanier & Tanner, 1999; Lind et al., 2000; Wanberg et al., 1999). Use of experimental data, instead of field data, increases confidence that the causal structure of our model is accurate. Specifically, reverse causality and single source bias do not provide alternative explanations for our findings because we measured GI several weeks before conducting the organizational simulation and manipulated CFD. Furthermore, the laboratory methodology enabled us to observe claiming behavior, instead of relying on self-reports. Although some past discrimination claiming research has used an experimental design (e.g., Shelton & Stewart, 2004; Stangor et al., 2002; Swim & Hyers, 1999), these studies do not incorporate organizational context variables such as CFD. Thus, Study 1 contributes to the literature by providing a causal test of organizational antecedents to internal claims.

Using an experimental design to study an organizational phenomenon also has limitations. One potential criticism of Study 1 is that the CFD manipulation may have created a strong situation, especially in the negative CFD condition. To ensure the realism of the CFD manipulation we conducted extensive pilot testing, embedded the CFD manipulation within other information about the organization, and excluded participants who were suspicious of the study's purpose. Furthermore, the presence of an interaction between GI and CFD provides evidence that the CFD manipulation did not create demand characteristics. An unrealistically strong experimental manipulation will result in a main effect of the manipulation on the dependent variable, but little variation within each experimental condition. Contrary to this expectation we found that GI explained variation in claiming behavior within each CFD condition.

Finally, it remains unclear if the Study 1 findings will apply to adults working in real world organizations. The pilot test and suspicion and motivation checks included in Study 1 support the conclusion that participants found the organizational simulation both engaging and motivating. We have no reason to believe that participants' responses were affected by factors unique to the organizational simulation, but we cannot rule out the possibility that the motivation underlying claiming behavior varies across laboratory and field settings. Thus, in Study 2 we seek further support for the interactional model using a field sample of employed adults.

Study 2

In Study 2, we provide a constructive replication of Study 1 and test whether or not the interactional model of internal claims generalizes to a real world organizational setting. To this end, we use a survey methodology, and ask working adults to recall behavioral responses to discrimination. As in Study 1, we hypothesize that GI and CFD will interact to predict internal discrimination claims, and theorize that strong GI individuals will claim more frequently in a positive CFD than in a negative CFD, but weak GI individuals claim more frequently in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD.

A second purpose of Study 2 is to broaden the interactional model by including both men and women in the sample. The inclusion of both genders allows us to test the assertion that GI is a better predictor of internal claims than gender is. Specifically, we expect that GI, but not gender, will interact with CFD to predict internal claiming. It remains unclear, however, if the interactional model will apply equally to members of both genders, especially given evidence that men and women process discriminatory events in different ways (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2002; Stangor et al., 2002). Therefore, we also explore whether or not the predicted relation-

ship among GI, CFD, and internal discrimination claims holds across both genders.

Method

Sample

We administered a survey to 209 employees (71% of the organization) of a University library system, located in the mid-Atlantic United States. The sample contained more females (64%) than males (27%; 9% did not report gender), and was 62% White, 9% Black, 7% Asian, 6% International, 2% Latino, 1% Biracial, and 5% Other (9% did not report ethnicity). The mean age of the sample was 45.69 years ($SD = 11.66$), and participants had long organizational tenure; 43% reported tenure of more than 10 years, 24% reported tenure of 5–10 years, 23% reported tenure of 1–4 years, and 4% reported tenure of less than 1 year (7% did not report tenure).

Procedure

All measures were included as part of an organizational climate and culture assessment. Employees completed a questionnaire during specified sessions that took place during the work day. Employees were not required to complete the questionnaire, but participation in the climate and culture assessment was encouraged by management of the organization. Advertisement for and administration of the survey was conducted by a research team that included the first author.

Gender identity. We used the gender-based version of the collective self-esteem scale to assess GI among both males and females (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Collective self-esteem reflects the extent to which individuals view their gender as a positive and valued aspect of identity. Measuring GI as collective self-esteem is consistent with the predicted effect of GI on claiming because negative gender-based outcomes, such as discrimination, are especially threatening for individuals who view gender as a positive source of self-regard (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The collective self-esteem scale contained 16 items (e.g., "In general, belonging to my gender is an important part of my self image," "I feel good about the gender I belong to") and was scored on a seven-point scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree).

Principal axis factoring supported the extraction of a single factor (initial $\lambda_1 = 5.11$, $\lambda_2 = 1.96$, $\lambda_3 = 1.43$, $\lambda_4 = 1.25$, λ_5–$\lambda_{16} < 1.00$) that accounted for 28% of the variance after extraction. Three items, which were all reverse scored, had factor loadings lower than .35 ("Overall, my gender has very little to do with how I feel about myself," "Most people consider my gender, on the average, to be more ineffective than other genders," "My gender is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am"). Dropping these items improved the variance explained from 28% to 34% and improved the reliability of the scale from $\alpha = .81$ to $\alpha = .86$, which is comparable with the reliability found in other samples (e.g., $\alpha = .85$–.88; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

We measured GI as collective self-esteem, instead of as sensitivity to sexism (as in Study 1), for several reasons. First, the collective self-esteem scale was developed and validated in a sample that contained both men and women (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), whereas the sensitivity sexism scale was developed for use in a sample of women only (Stangor et al., 1999). Second, strongly identified members of both gender groups view group membership as a positive source of self-esteem (cf. Phinney, 1996). Although strong identification increases awareness that the ingroup is discriminated against among women (Branscombe et al., 1999; Major & O'Brien, 2005), strong gender identity is unrelated to the belief that the ingroup experiences pervasive discrimination among men (Schmitt et al., 2002). Thus, some of the sensitivity to sexism items (e.g., "How often do people discriminate against you on the basis of your gender?") may have questionable validity in a sample that includes both genders.

Climate for diversity. Similarly, we assessed CFD in general, as opposed to the climate for the treatment of women (Study 1), because the Study 2 sample contained both males and females. The general CFD measure allowed participants to rate CFD negatively if either men or women were devalued by the organization. Also, we assessed variation in individual-level psychological CFD, instead of shared perceptions of organizational CFD at the unit-level (James, 1982), because our sample was drawn from a single organization. We used the same five-item measure of CFD that was used in Study 1 pilot testing (Nishii & Raver, 2003; see Footnote 2). Exploratory principal axis factor analysis supported extraction of a single factor that explained 59% of the variance after extraction (initial $\lambda_1 = 3.27$, λ_2–$\lambda_4 < 1$), and the reliability of the CFD scale was $\alpha = .87$. Moreover, the Study 1 pilot testing provided strong evidence for the similarity of the two CFD operationalizations; the correlation between the Study 1 CFD manipulation and the Study 2 CFD measure was $r(28) = .79$ ($t(28) = 6.70$, $p = .00$).[5]

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[5] We included the same organizational justice measure (Colquitt, 2001) used in pilot testing for Study 1 (see Footnote 2) to provide evidence of discriminate validity between CFD and organizational justice in Study 2. We ran a principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation in which we entered all CFD and justice items. The eigen values supported extraction of five factors (initial λ_1–$\lambda_5 > 1.00$, initial λ_6–$\lambda_{25} < 1.00$) that explained 70% of the variance after extraction. All seven procedural justice items loaded cleanly on the first factor, all four interpersonal justice items loaded cleanly on the second factor, all five informational justice items loaded cleanly on the third factor, all five CFD items loaded cleanly on the fourth factor, and all four distributive justice items loaded cleanly on the fifth factor. Furthermore, each of the justice scales demonstrated adequate reliability (distributive: $\alpha = .93$; procedural: $\alpha = .88$; interpersonal: $\alpha = .92$; informational: $\alpha = .94$).

Claiming discrimination. We constructed a four-item scale to assess internal claims of discrimination. The items assessed how frequently participants had taken the following actions in response to perceiving discrimination in the workplace within the past 12 months: "confronting the individual(s) responsible for the negative outcome," "reporting the incident to an immediate supervisor," "reporting the incident to someone at a higher level than an immediate supervisor," and "filing a formal grievance about the incident to the organization." Participants who had not perceived discrimination were instructed to leave the claiming scale blank. The response scale ranged from "1 = Never" to "5 = Always." We assigned a score of "1 = Never" to participants who had not perceived discrimination within the past 12 months and therefore had not taken any of the listed actions (i.e., participants who left this questionnaire blank but responded to the rest of the survey). Exploratory principal axis factor analysis supported extraction of a single factor that explained 65% of the variance after extraction (initial $\lambda_1 = 2.92$, λ_2-$\lambda_5 < 1.00$). The scale demonstrated good internal reliability ($\alpha = .87$).

Control variables. We included a number of control variables in our analyses. We controlled for gender (Male = 0, Female = 1) because women are more frequent targets of discrimination than men are. As in Study 1, we controlled for demographic variables that may serve as the basis for discrimination (i.e., ethnicity and age). We controlled for ethnicity using a series of four dummy variables (i.e., Black versus White, Asian versus White, International versus White, Other versus White). Due to low base rates in the sample, we combined those that self-identified as Latino ($N = 4$, 2% of sample) and Biracial ($N = 1$, 1% of sample) into the Other category. We also

controlled for organizational tenure because previous research suggests a positive relationship between tenure and discrimination claims (e.g., Goldman, 2001).

Results

Consistent with evidence that base rates of claiming are low (e.g., Lanier & Tanner, 1999; Swim & Hyers, 1999), only 16% of participants had a score greater than one (i.e., "Never") on the discrimination claiming measure. Claiming occurred among both men and women; the percentage of participants with a score greater than one on the internal claiming measure was 14% for men and 16% for women.

Given the low base rates of internal claiming, the dependent variable was positively skewed (skew = 3.13, $t(206) = 18.50$, $p = .00$) and leptokurtic (kurtosis = 9.81, $t(206) = 29.10$, $p = .00$). Accordingly, our dataset included a limited range dependent variable (Harrison, 2001). When dealing with limited range outcomes, use of linear analyses such as ordinary least squares (OLS) regression can result in biased estimates, nonsensical predicted values, and violation of the assumption of heteroscedasticity of errors (Harrison, 2001). Therefore, we dichotomized the discrimination claiming scale and used logistic regression. We scored responses of "1 = Never" on the claiming discrimination scale as "0 = Did not claim." All other responses were scored as "1 = Did claim." The reliability of the dichotomous scale was $\alpha = .89$. Table 3 presents the mean, standard deviation, N, reliability and correlations for all study variables. Analyses were conducted on the 158 participants (76% of sample) who provided data for all variables. We centered GI and CFD in all analyses (Cohen et al., 2003).

We regressed internal claiming on the control variables in step 1, GI and CFD in step 2, and the GI

Table 3
Correlation matrix (Study 2)

	M	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Gender	.71	.46	190	–										
2. Ethnicity (Black)	.10	.30	191	.03	–									
3. Ethnicity (Asian)	.08	.27	191	.02	−.10	–								
4. Ethnicity (International)	.07	.25	191	−.02	−.09	−.08	–							
5. Ethnicity (Other)	.08	.27	191	.04	−.10	−.09	−.08	–						
6. Age	45.69	11.66	168	.02	.02	.07	.04	−.03	–					
7. Tenure	3.13	.92	195	−.04	.04	.04	−.11	−.07	.56**	–				
8. Gender identity	5.61	.88	191	.19**	.01	.0	−.02	.06	.10	.04	.86			
9. Climate for diversity	4.18	.92	204	−.06	−.28**	−.04	−.16*	−.25**	−.07	−.02	.14	.87		
10. Dichotomous Claiming	.16	.37	207	.03	.24**	.89	.17*	.04	.16*	−.02	−.03	−.32**	.89	
11. Continuous claiming	2.16	1.02	43	.28	.11	.07	−.09	.05	.08	−.14	.13	−.20	.59**	.77

Note. Values below the diagonal are bivariate correlations and values on the diagonal are Cronbach's α coefficients. For the ethnicity dummy variables, Whites are the reference group. Gender identity was operationalized as gender-based collective self-esteem.
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$.

by CFD interaction in step 3 (see Table 4, Model I; $N = 158$). Three of the ethnicity dummy variables were significant indicating that Blacks ($B = 2.73$, $\text{Exp}(B) = 15.27$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 15.71$, $p = .00$), Asians ($B = 1.78$, $\text{Exp}(B) = 5.91$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 5.20$, $p = .02$) and International individuals ($B = 2.10$, $\text{Exp}(B) = 8.19$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 6.54$, $p = .01$) were more likely to claim than Whites. The main effects of GI and CFD were not significant, but the GI by CFD interaction was ($B = 1.09$, $\text{Exp}(B) = 2.99$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 5.94$, $p = .02$). We graphed the interaction at one standard deviation above and below the mean of each predictor (Aiken & West, 1991) and transformed the predicted values from logit units to probabilities. As predicted, strong GI individuals were more likely to claim in a positive CFD than in a negative CFD, but weak GI individuals were more likely
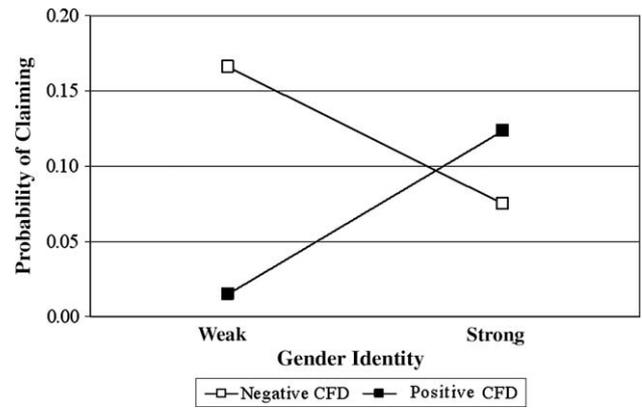

Fig. 3. The effect of gender identity and climate for diversity on the probability of making an internal discrimination claim (Study 2, full sample).

Table 4
Regression Analyses Predicting Internal Discrimination Claims (Study 2)

	Model I			Model II			Model III	
	B	$\text{Exp}(B)$	$\Delta\chi^2$	B	$\text{Exp}(B)$	$\Delta\chi^2$	β	t
Step 1								
Gender	−.13	.88	.06	−.13	.88	.06	.21	1.15
Ethnicity (Black)	2.73	15.27	15.71**	2.73	15.27	15.71**	.12	.62
Ethnicity (Asian)	1.78	5.91	5.20*	1.78	5.91	5.20*	.13	.66
Ethnicity (International)	2.10	8.19	6.54*	2.10	8.19	6.54*	−.07	−.35
Ethnicity (Other)	.32	1.38	.07	.32	1.38	.07	.05	.28
Age	.04	1.04	2.49	.04	1.04	2.49		
Tenure	−.02	.98	.00	−.02	.98	.00		
Step 2								
Gender identity (GI)	.05	1.05	.03	.05	1.05	.03	.31	1.58
Climate for diversity (CFD)	−.48	.62	1.97	−.48	.62	1.97	−.29	−1.30
Step 3								
GI × CFD	1.09	2.99	5.94*	1.02	2.76	4.61*	.45	2.83**
Gender × CFD				−.25	.78	.16		
GI × Gender				−.26	.77	.14		
Step 4								
GI × CFD × Gender				1.71	5.53	3.13†		
$\chi^2_{\text{step 1}}$		25.75**			25.75**			
$\Delta\chi^2_{\text{step 1–2}}$		1.97			1.97			
$\Delta\chi^2_{\text{step 2–3}}$		5.94*			6.40†			
$\Delta\chi^2_{\text{step 3–4}}$					3.13†			
χ^2_{model}		33.66**			37.25**			
Cox and Snell R^2_{model}		.19			.21			
$R^2_{\text{step 1}}$							.09	
$\Delta R^2_{\text{step 1–2}}$							.09	
$\Delta R^2_{\text{step 2–3}}$							.19**	
R^2_{model}							.37†	

Note. Models I and II are logistic regression models ($N = 158$); Model III is an OLS regression model ($N = 36$). For the ethnicity dummy variables, Whites are the reference group. Statistical significance for each predictor is based on the $\Delta\chi^2$ associated with adding that predictor to the step, controlling for all other predictors entered in the same step. Gender identity was operationalized as gender-based collective self-esteem.

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

to claim in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD (see Fig. 3).[6]

Unlike the Study 1 sample, the Study 2 sample included both men and women. Thus, we tested if GI or gender is a more powerful predictor of discrimination claims, and explored the applicability of the interactional model to internal claiming among men. We ran a hierarchical logistic regression in which we entered control variables (including gender) in step 1, GI and CFD in step 2, all two-way interactions among GI, CFD and gender in step 3, and the three-way GI by CFD by gender interaction in step 4 (see Table 4, Model II, $N = 158$). In step 3, the gender by CFD interaction was not significant, but the GI by CFD interaction was significant ($B = 1.02$, $Exp(B) = 2.76$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 4.61$, $p = .03$). Thus, as expected, accounting for individual differences in GI, instead of gender alone, increased our ability to predict internal claims.

In step 4, the three-way GI by CFD by gender interaction was not significant at $p < .05$ but was significant at $p < .10$ ($B = 1.71$, $Exp(B) = 5.53$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 3.13$, $p = .08$). Given that the sample was only 27% male, we had low power to detect a three-way interaction including gender. Thus, we graphed the GI by CFD by gender interaction even though it did not reach the traditional significance level. As shown in Fig. 4, the hypothesized interaction held for females, but not males. Consistent with the overall findings, strong GI women were more likely to claim in a positive CFD than in a negative CFD; but, weak GI women were more likely to claim in a negative CFD than in a positive CFD. Strong GI men, however, were more likely to claim than weak GI men regardless of CFD.

As noted in Study 1 the possibility that some participants did not perceive discrimination may provide an alternative interpretation of our findings. Thus, we limited our sample to only those who perceived discrimination in the past 12 months and retested the interactional model. Only 43 participants (21% of the sample) reported experiencing discrimination. Of these 43, we had full data on all study variables for 36 participants (84%). Given the small sample size we eliminated the tenure and age control variables, which did not predict
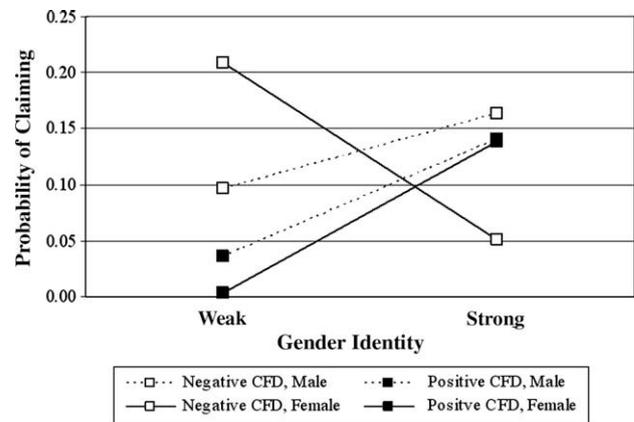

Fig. 4. Three-way interaction of gender identity, climate for diversity, and gender on the probability of making an internal discrimination claim (Study 2, full sample).

claiming in any of the previous analyses, to increase statistical power.[7]

In the partial sample, the claiming dependent variable was no longer skewed (skew = .81, $t(32) = 1.98$, $p = .06$) or leptokurtic (kurtosis = .06, $t(32) = -08$, $p = .94$). Therefore, we used OLS instead of logistic regression. We entered control variables in step 1, CFD and GI in step 2, the GI by CFD interaction in step 3, and the continuous claiming measure as the dependent variable (see Table 4, Model III; $N = 36$). None of the controls was significant, and neither GI nor CFD predicted claiming, but the GI by CFD interaction remained significant ($\beta = .45$, $t(24) = 2.83$, $p = .01$). Moreover, the shape of the interaction matched the full sample results (see Fig. 5).

Discussion

The Study 2 results extend support for the interactional model to working adults and men. Using a field methodology and a sample that included both genders, we found that the relationship between GI and internal discrimination claiming is contingent upon CFD. As in Study 1, strong GI individuals claimed in a positive CFD, but not in a negative CFD, while weak GI individuals claimed in a negative CFD, but not in a positive CFD. Our results also support the prediction that GI is a more powerful predictor of internal claims than gender group membership is. We found a significant GI by

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[6] We also looked at the interaction of GI with organizational justice to provide evidence that the observed interaction is driven by CFD perceptions rather than justice perceptions. We ran a hierarchical regression model in which we entered the control variables in step 1; CFD, GI, and the four justice dimensions in step 2; and the GI by CFD interaction as well as the two-way interaction of GI with each justice dimension in step 3 ($N = 144$). None of the GI by justice interactions was significant, but the GI by CFD interaction remained significant ($B = 1.21$, $Exp(B) = 3.07$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 4.48$, $p = .03$). The full results for this model are available from the first author.

[7] For the purpose of comparison with the partial sample analyses ($N = 36$), we reran the full sample analyses eliminating the age and tenure control variables ($N = 158$). The two-way GI by CFD interaction remained significant ($B = .84$, $Exp(B) = 2.30$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 3.95$, $p < .05$) and the three-way GI by CFD by gender interaction remained non-significant at $p < .05$, but significant at $p < .10$ ($B = 1.74$, $Exp(B) = 5.69$, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 3.67$, $p = .06$).
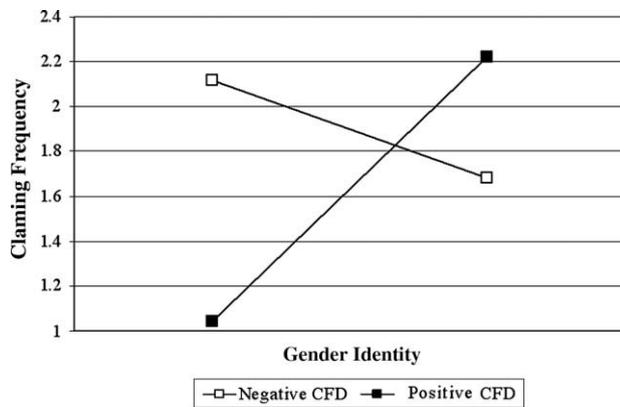
Fig. 5. The effect of gender identity and climate for diversity on the frequency of making internal discrimination claims (Study 2, partial sample).

CFD interaction, controlling for gender. Furthermore, gender neither had a main effect on internal claims nor interacted with CFD to predict internal claims. Thus, our findings substantiate the need to consider individual differences in the psychological meaning attached to gender group membership when exploring the effect of gender on internal claiming. Moreover, our results suggest that the interactional model of internal claims may describe claiming behavior among women, but not among men. Given that the GI by CFD by gender interaction failed to reach a traditional level of statistical significance, however, further evidence is needed before drawing firm conclusions.

Study 2 was a constructive replication of Study 1 (e.g., Lykken, 1968). We included both men and women in the sample and therefore used a broader measure of GI in Study 2 (collective self-esteem) than in Study 1 (sensitivity to sexism). Both measures, however, are consistent with our definition of GI. Specifically, we define GI as the centrality of gender to the self-view (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and provide evidence that strong GI women are both bothered by gender discrimination (sensitivity to sexism; Branscombe et al., 1999) and view gender as a positive source of self-regard (collective self-esteem; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Moreover, scholars have long touted the utility of constructive replications for advancing science (e.g., Eden, 2002; Hendrick, 1990; Lykken, 1968), given that consistent results in spite of methodological variation reduce the possibility that the observed relationship reflects methodological artifact (cf. Brockner et al., 2001; Karpinski, 2004; Treadway et al., 2005). Thus, consistent findings across Studies 1 and 2 build confidence that the interactional model applies to the construct of GI, rather than a specific measure of GI. Due to the inclusion of men in the sample, we also used a broader operationalization of CFD in Study 2 (climate for valuing diversity) than in Study 1 (climate for the inclusion of women). As a

result, perceptions of CFD in Study 2 may have reflected the treatment of other social groups (e.g., ethnic groups), in addition to gender. The broadness of the measure, however, reduces its reliability as an indicator of climate for gender diversity, and therefore worked against finding support for our predictions.

Study 2 also has several limitations that stem from use of a self-report survey in which all variables were assessed at a single point in time. First, common method variance (CMV) may have influenced our results. Yet CMV effects, which tend to influence all variables in the same direction, do not easily explain interactions. Furthermore, we cannot make causal statements regarding the relationship among GI, CFD, and internal claiming. Although we find that GI and CFD interact to predict internal claims, it remains possible that claiming interacts with either GI or CFD to predict the other. To explore this possibility we ran additional analyses in which we regressed GI on the CFD by claiming interaction ($\beta = .10$, $t(147) = .98$, $p = .33$) and CFD on the GI by claiming interaction ($\beta = .09$, $t(147) = 1.22$, $p = .23$).[8] The non-significance of the alternative models, coupled with the significance of the predicted interaction, decreases the plausibility of reverse causality as an alternative explanation for our findings. The possibility remains that claiming causes both GI and CFD. An additional variable, however, is needed to explain why claiming results in strong GI and positive CFD perceptions for some, but weak GI and negative CFD perceptions for others.

In spite of limitations, replicating Study 1 in a field setting lends key support to the interactional model. Most notably, the potential consequences of claiming discrimination are more severe in a real world organization than in a laboratory simulation. Thus, replicating the GI by CFD interaction in an ecologically valid sample provides critical evidence for the generalizability of the interactional model.

General discussion

Gender discrimination persists in organizations, yet critical questions remain concerning why base rates of internal claiming are low, and which individual difference and organizational context factors predict claiming behavior. We make progress toward understanding internal claims by finding support for an interactional model using multiple methods. Our findings suggest that internal discrimination claiming is a complex, multi-determined behavior that is contingent upon individual differences in GI as well as contextual variation in the value placed on diversity. Moreover, our results high-

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[8] Full results for these analyses are available from the first author.

light the need to shift discussions of antecedents to internal claims from main effects to interactions and provide yet another example of the relevance of the interactional perspective for understanding behavior in organizations.

In addition to supporting the interactional approach, our findings advance the discrimination claiming literature in a number of ways. First, our results highlight the need to look beyond gender group membership by focusing on gender identity. Evidence that gender identity, but not gender, affects internal claiming sheds light on non-significant gender effects reported in previous research and reinforces the importance of studying gender as a rich psychological construct, rather than an atheoretical categorical variable. Second, we substantiate the critical role of context in understanding claiming in organizations. Employees do not exist in a vacuum, but are embedded within complex organizational contexts that have the power to radically alter behavior. Consistent with the notion that contexts shape behavioral outcomes, we find that although strong GI individuals are threatened by gender discrimination (e.g., McCoy & Major, 2003), they are constrained from claiming in contexts where exclusion is normative (i.e., negative CFD). In contrast, weak GI individuals are less sensitive to gender-based injustice, but are spurred to action in contexts where discrimination is pervasive.

Finally, the interactional model increases knowledge of antecedents to *internal* discrimination claims, whereas as previous research conducted in organizational contexts has examined *external* discrimination claims, and particularly legal suits filed by terminated employees against their former employer (e.g., Dunford & Devine, 1998; Goldman, 2001, 2003; Lind et al., 2000; Wanberg et al., 1999). The focus on external claiming among terminated employees is not surprising given that unlawful termination is the most common type of claim filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Office (Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006). Yet we do not necessarily expect the interactional model to generalize to external claiming among terminated employees. Many factors theorized to deter strong GI individuals from claiming in a negative CFD (e.g., social exclusion, increased workload) are irrelevant to individuals who are no longer employed by the organization in which they perceived discrimination. Thus, our focus on internal claims expands research on discrimination claiming in organizational contexts to include an alternative avenue for redressing gender-based injustice.

Practical implications

In terms of practical implications, our research adds to a growing body of work that documents the benefits of a positive CFD (Cox, 1993; Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000; Kossek & Zonia, 1993). We find that a positive CFD encourages strong GI individuals to claim inter-

nally. Creating an environment in which strong GI individuals claim in response to discrimination is a primary concern for organizations because strong GI individuals are highly sensitive to gender-based injustice (McCoy & Major, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001). Ideally, facilitating a positive CFD would also encourage weak GI individuals to claim internally. The negative psychological consequences of perceiving discrimination, however, are less severe for weak GI individuals than for strong GI individuals. Thus, weak GI individuals are unlikely to take other actions, such as filing a lawsuit against the organization, in response to perceived discrimination.

Moreover, a positive CFD is associated with a number of additional favorable outcomes. Creating a positive CFD improves social justice within organizations by minimizing instances of discrimination (Gelfand et al., 2005). Furthermore, positive CFDs are associated with increased satisfaction and commitment among employees (Cox, 1993; Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000; Kossek & Zonia, 1993) as well as improved retention, motivation, and job performance (Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000). Additionally, a positive CFD will enable organizations to remain competitive as the American workforce, and in turn organizational membership, becomes increasingly diverse (e.g., Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1994). The wide range of perspectives present in diverse organizations has the potential to either positively impact outcomes, for example by increasing creativity (cf. Cox, 1993; Hicks-Clarke & Iles, 2000), or negatively impact outcomes, for example by increasing conflict (e.g., Pelled, 1996). Thus, initiatives aimed at successful diversity management, such as creating a positive CFD, are rapidly becoming a key strategic imperative.

In contrast, negative CFDs have a number of detrimental effects on both individuals and organizations. Weak GI individuals are likely to claim internally in a negative CFD. Yet organizations with a negative CFD are unlikely to take claims seriously and likely to punish claimants, which will negatively impact claimants' attitudes toward the organization. Furthermore, although unlikely to claim internally, strong GI individuals may take other actions in response to discrimination such as filing a lawsuit, withdrawing from work, or leaving the organization. Finally, as noted above, negative CFDs are associated with increased discrimination and negative employee attitudes, and prevent organizations from capitalizing on diversity. Thus, negative CFDs are associated with numerous detrimental consequences.

Future directions

Given the paucity of research on antecedents of internal claiming, there are numerous avenues for expanding the interactional model. First, future researchers should

explore whether or not the model generalizes to claims of other types of mistreatment, such as workplace bullying (e.g., Rayner & Cooper, 2006), incivility (e.g., Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001), social undermining (e.g., Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002) or sexual harassment (e.g., Bergman, Langhout, Palmieri, Cortina, & Fitzgerald, 2002). For example, sexual harassment research has explored the impact of organizational climate on claiming, yet often fails to find a direct effect (e.g., Bergman et al., 2002; Cortina, 2004). The null findings may stem from individual differences, such as GI, that increase claiming in positive organizational climates but decreasing claiming in negative organizational climates.

Future research should also explore other individual differences, in addition to GI, that may impact the decision to file an internal claim. For example, the interactional model of internal claims should apply to a range of social groups, such as ethnic or national groups, as long as those groups are the basis for both meaningful social identities and potential discrimination. Additionally, future research should explore how not only identification with social groups within an organization (e.g., gender or ethnic groups), but also identification with the organization itself, affects reactions to perceptions of injustice and subsequent claiming behavior (cf. Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996). For example, a strong social identity combined with weak or even negative identification with the organization may prompt individuals to leave the organization rather than consider redressing perceived injustice through an internal claim.

Looking beyond identity, other types of individual differences are also likely relevant to internal claiming. Past research has linked a number of individual differences to the tendency to complain about unjust treatment. For example, claiming is positively associated with extraversion (Kowalski, 1996), optimism (Kaiser & Miller, 2004), and trait anger (Goldman, 2003), and negatively associated with self-presentational concerns (Kowalski, 1996) and organizational commitment (Bies & Tyler, 1993). Thus, future research should explore these individual differences as further moderators of the interactional model of internal claiming. Similarly, other elements of the organizational context, besides CFD, may also affect the decision to redress perceived discrimination through internal claiming. For example, even strong GI individuals in a positive CFD may feel constrained from claiming internally in an organization with a strong culture of silence (Morrison & Milliken, 2000).

Finally, future research should seek stronger evidence for the interactional model of internal claims in field settings. In Study 2, we sampled from a single organization and therefore tested the interactional model using individual-level psychological CFD. A key next step is to assess organizational CFD at the unit-level across multiple organizations. Furthermore, future research should seek further evidence for the causal structure specified in the interactional model by using a longitudinal research design in a field setting.

Conclusion

The present research supports the relevance of the person by situation approach for understanding internal discrimination claiming behavior in organizations. Through use of multiple methods we have confidence that our model describes behavior in real world settings and has an appropriately specified casual structure. To date, surprisingly little research has investigated antecedents to internal discrimination claims, given that encouraging individuals who perceive discrimination to file internal discrimination claims is in the interest of both organizations and the individuals they employ. Encouraging internal discrimination claims has the potential to both prevent talented employees from withdrawing from or leaving the organization and reduce the likelihood that those who perceive discrimination will take legal action against the organization. Furthermore, organizations will be better equipped to prevent future discrimination if aware of its occurrence. Given the practical implications of the topic, future research should build upon the interactional model to gain a fuller understanding of the individual difference and contextual factors that affect internal discrimination claims.

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