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A Meta-Analysis of Sex and Race Differences in Perceived Workplace Mistreatment

Mallory A. McCord
University of Minnesota Duluth

Dana L. Joseph
University of Central Florida

Lindsay Y. Dhanani
Ohio University

Jeremy M. Beus
Louisiana State University

Despite the growing number of meta-analyses published on the subject of workplace mistreatment and the expectation that women and racial minorities are mistreated more frequently than men and Whites, the degree of subgroup differences in perceived workplace mistreatment is unknown. To address this gap in the literature, we meta-analyzed the magnitude of sex and race differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment (e.g., harassment, discrimination, bullying, incivility). Results indicate that women perceive more sex-based mistreatment (i.e., mistreatment that explicitly targets a person's sex) in the workplace than men ($\delta = .46$; $k = 43$), whereas women and men report comparable perceptions of all other forms of mistreatment ($\delta = .02$; $k = 300$). Similarly, although racial minorities perceive more race-based mistreatment (i.e., mistreatment that explicitly targets a person's race) in the workplace than Whites ($\delta = .71$; $k = 18$), results indicate smaller race differences in all other forms of workplace mistreatment ($\delta = .10$; $k = 61$). Results also indicate that sex and race differences have mostly decreased over time, although for some forms of mistreatment, subgroup differences have increased over time. We conclude by offering explanations for the observed subgroup differences in workplace mistreatment and outline directions for future research.

Keywords: workplace mistreatment, subgroup differences, meta-analysis, discrimination

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An employee's experience of workplace mistreatment can take many forms, including perceptions of harassment, discrimination, bullying, abusive supervision, incivility, ostracism, interpersonal conflict, and aggression. Although these types of mistreatment vary in severity, source, and motive, all forms of workplace mistreatment negatively impact employees and organizations (e.g., Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Nielsen & Einarsen, 2012; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). For example, in 2011 over 11,000 sexual harassment cases were filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 2013) at a cost of over $52 million in settlements; this estimate does not include additional costs related to employee work withdrawal, increased health care costs, and decreased productivity (Willness et al., 2007). Research indicates similar deleterious outcomes for other forms of mistreatment such as discrimination (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009), bullying (Hoel, Sheehan, Cooper, & Einarsen, 2011; Høgh, Mikkelsen, & Hansen, 2011), and abusive supervision (Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006) with some estimates indicating startlingly high prevalence rates of mistreatment (EEOC, 2013; Nielsen, Matthiesen, & Einarsen, 2010; Tepper, 2007) as well as legal costs exceeding $20 billion annually (EEOC, 2013; Tepper et al., 2006). Even with the passage of federal measures to curtail these behaviors (e.g., Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; Equal Pay Act of 1963) it is clear that workplace mistreatment remains a pervasive and costly occurrence in organizations.

Interestingly, despite well-established literature on the negative outcomes of mistreatment in general (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan, Chow, Lam, & Cheung, 2008; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Jones et al., 2016; Nielsen & Einarsen, 2012; Willness et al., 2007), we know comparatively little about the *degree* to which certain groups perceive mistreatment relative to others. The prevailing expectation is that women and racial minorities perceive the highest levels of workplace mistreatment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Jones, 2014; Magley, Gallus, & Bunk, 2010; Wilkins, 2015). If this expectation is correct, subgroup differences in workplace mistreatment that disadvantage women and minori-

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Mallory A. McCord, Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota Duluth; Dana L. Joseph, Department of Management, University of Central Florida; Lindsay Y. Dhanani, Department of Psychology, Ohio University; Jeremy M. Beus, Rucks Department of Management, Louisiana State University.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Mallory A. McCord, Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota Duluth, 320 Bohannon Hall, 1207 Ordean Court, Duluth, MN 55812. E-mail: mccordm@d.umn.edu

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ties likely (a) accentuate the aforementioned negative outcomes of mistreatment for traditionally underpowered subgroups (i.e., women and racial minorities); (b) reduce perceptions of justice for recipients of group-based mistreatment (Colquitt, 2004; Cropanzano, Bowen, & Gilliland, 2007); and (c) weaken workgroup and organizational climates by splintering employees into non-work-related subgroups (e.g., mistreatment may ostracize minorities into outgroups, creating faultlines; Lau & Murnighan, 1998). Although we expect to confirm these assumed subgroup differences for theoretical reasons we discuss in detail later (e.g., historical stereotypes, social dominance hierarchies), we note that it is necessary to estimate the magnitude of these differences (in addition to confirming the direction) to inform researchers and practitioners of the extent to which subpopulations of employees may be the recipients of disproportionately negative treatment at work. Clarifying the magnitude of subgroup differences in perceived mistreatment—whether the mistreatment is intentionally based on group membership (i.e., race/sex) or not—is important for the identification, understanding, and potential reversal of societal trends in the workplace that disadvantage certain employee subpopulations.

From a practical perspective, having such knowledge could improve the development of group-based mistreatment measures (e.g., a measure of race-based bullying) and the subsequent design of targeted organizational interventions. From a research perspective, knowledge of the magnitude of subgroup differences informs future theory building by improving our understanding of the forms of workplace mistreatment to which minorities and/or women may be more or less susceptible. Furthermore, the examination of subgroup differences in perceived workplace mistreatment is important for the identification of subgroups that are at greater risk of experiencing the adverse effects of workplace mistreatment (e.g., reduced job satisfaction, lower job performance) compared with others.

Consequently, the purpose of this study is to meta-analytically estimate the degree to which women and minorities perceive more workplace mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively. Although a host of individual studies have reported information that could be used to help draw conclusions regarding subgroup differences in mistreatment, such information generally exists in the form of control variable analyses that rarely, if ever, earn discussion space in the text. Of the research that has aimed to clarify subgroup differences in mistreatment, much remains unclear. For instance, although scholars have found evidence that women and racial minorities report higher levels of incivility in comparison to men and majority group members—demonstrating that mistreatment that is not targeted toward a specific group may still exhibit sex and race differences (Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Lonsway, & Magley, 2004)—other findings have been less clear. In fact, meta-analyses of sex differences in harassment (a composite of several forms of mistreatment; $\rho = -.05$; $k = 11$, Bowling & Beehr, 2006) and abusive supervision ($\rho = -.06$; $k = 83$; Mackey, Frieder, Brees, & Martinko, 2017) indicate that men perceive slightly more harassment (converted $\delta = -.10$) and abusive supervision (converted $\delta = -.12$) than women. Inconsistencies such as these highlight the importance of a more comprehensive meta-analytic summary to estimate the degree to which women versus men and racial minorities versus majority members perceive differential mistreatment in the workplace.

Further, we extend existing meta-analyses in several ways. First, we estimate race differences in mistreatment in addition to sex differences (existing meta-analytic work reports on sex differences in harassment and abusive supervision only; Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Mackey et al., 2017). Second, we expand on the scope of previous meta-analyses by including additional forms of mistreatment, such as discrimination, ostracism, verbal aggression, and physical aggression, which allows for a more comprehensive examination of the workplace mistreatment construct. We also examine (a) the extent to which sex differences are greater for sex-based mistreatment (i.e., demeaning or humiliating behavior motivated by one's sex, including sex discrimination and sexual harassment) relative to non-sex-based mistreatment; and (b) the extent to which race differences are greater for race-based mistreatment (i.e., demeaning or humiliating behavior motivated by one's race, including race discrimination and racial harassment) relative to non-race-based mistreatment. Although we expect sex and race differences to exist for all forms of mistreatment, these differences should be most pronounced for sex-based and race-based mistreatment, respectively. Third, the current meta-analytic database for sex differences ($k = 329$) represents a substantial increase over previous estimates (Bowling & Beehr's, 2006 estimate included 11 samples and Mackey et al.'s, 2017 estimate included 83 samples). Finally, we estimate moderators of subgroup differences in mistreatment that have yet to be tested, including the date of data collection, various measurement-related moderators (e.g., response scale, assurances of confidentiality), and demographic moderators (e.g., geographic region of the sample).[1]

Perceived Workplace Mistreatment

Workplace mistreatment is defined as a "specific, antisocial variety of organizational deviance, involving a situation in which at least one [individual] takes counternormative negative actions, or terminates normative positive actions, against another member" (Cortina & Magley, 2003, p. 247). This includes a broad spectrum of constructs that are interpersonal in nature and can range from subtle exclusion to overt harassment and physical violence. In the current article, we consider workplace mistreatment to include the following constructs: abusive supervision, bullying, discrimination, harassment, incivility, interpersonal conflict, ostracism, physical aggression, and verbal aggression (see Table 1 for definitions of these forms of mistreatment). Although the workplace mistreatment literature typically examines a single form of mistreatment in isolation (e.g., sexual harassment) instead of a mistreatment construct that consists of many forms of workplace mistreatment, we argue that all forms of workplace mistreatment represent counternormative interpersonal actions and as such, there is value in estimating sex and race differences across all forms of mistreatment because they represent a single, latent construct (Hershcovis,

[1] We note that three prior meta-analyses estimated sex differences in the extent to which individuals identify behaviors as sexual harassment (e.g., "indicate whether or not you consider this behavior to be sexual harassment;" Blumenthal, 1998; O'Connor, 1998; Rotundo, Nguyen, & Sackett, 2001). However, these meta-analyses involved hypothetical behaviors only and did not examine the extent to which sex differences exist in perceptions of personally experienced sexual harassment. Thus, no prior meta-analyses have estimated both sex and race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment.

Table 1
Definitions of Forms of Workplace Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	Definition	Source
Abusive supervision	"Subordinates' perceptions of the extent to which supervisors engage in the sustained display of hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors, excluding physical contact."	Tepper, 2000, p. 178
Bullying	"Repeated and enduring aggressive behaviors that are intended to be hostile and/or perceived as hostile by the recipient."	Einarsen, 1999, p. 18
Discrimination	"When persons in a 'social category' . . . are put at a disadvantage in the workplace relative to other groups with comparable potential or proven success."	Dipboye & Halverson, 2004, p. 131
Harassment	"Negative workplace interactions that affect the terms, conditions, or employment decisions related to an individual's job, or create a hostile, intimidating, or offensive working environment."	Rospenda, Richman, Ehmke, & Zlatoper, 2005, p. 96
Incivility	"Low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect."	Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 457
Interpersonal conflict	"Minor disagreements between coworkers to physical assaults on others. The conflict may be overt (e.g., being rude to a coworker) or may be covert (e.g., spreading rumors about a coworker)."	Spector & Jex, 1998, pp. 357–358
Ostracism	"The extent to which an individual perceives that he or she is ignored or excluded by others."	Ferris, Brown, Berry, & Lian, 2008, p. 1348
Physical aggression	"Any aggressive physical contact, regardless of whether an injury was sustained, e.g. hitting, biting, scratching [and] threatening behavior; statements indicating intention to harm or threatening by virtue of overt behavior, e.g. punching the wall or overturning furniture."	Winstanley & Whittington, 2002 p. 305
Verbal aggression	"Overt, hostile verbal . . . behaviors, such as yelling."	Grandey, Kern, & Frone, 2007, p. 64

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2011). However, because scholars have additionally argued that meaningful theoretical differences underlie mistreatment constructs (Tepper & Henle, 2011), we also examine subgroup differences in discrete forms of mistreatment, including forms of mistreatment that are motivated by a group bias (e.g., sex discrimination) and forms of mistreatment that are not necessarily motivated by a group bias (e.g., bullying). We also emphasize that our focus is on *perceived* workplace mistreatment as this coincides with the tendency for mistreatment scholarship to focus on employee perceptions of mistreatment. We acknowledge that this approach may be limited in that objective experiences of mistreatment (e.g., pay discrepancies between men and women gathered from organizational records) may differ from perceptions of mistreatment. For example, it is possible for an employee to experience mistreatment but choose not to report it on a perceptions-focused scale because of concerns regarding organizational retaliation. The degree to which researchers assure confidentiality and the extent to which the organization encourages employee participation in the survey may both affect respondent accuracy. As discussed in the Method section, we attempt to account for these possibilities by exploring organizational sponsorship of the research and participant anonymity as potential moderators.

Sex and Race Differences in Perceived Workplace Mistreatment

Women and racial minorities are expected to perceive more workplace mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Jones, 2014; Magley et al., 2010). This sentiment was reflected, in part, by a recent Gallup poll of the American public: When asked to identify the most important issues facing women in the United States, the three most frequent answers were equal pay (i.e., sex discrimination), equal opportunity for advancement and promotion (i.e., sex discrimination), and sexual harassment or a lack of respect at work (Jones, 2014). Similarly, a 2013 poll indicated that three out of five Black Americans believe Whites have a better chance at a job than they do (Jones, 2013), reflecting the assumption that Blacks are mistreated more than Whites in the workplace. Others have echoed this by noting that "there is a prevalent unconscious bias that Black males are expected to fail while White males are expected to succeed" in organizations (Wilkins, 2015). Taken together, the prevailing view is that women and minorities perceive disproportionate workplace mistreatment relative to men and Whites, respectively.

We next outline three explanations for race and sex differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment by highlighting a large body of theoretical and empirical work that indicates: (a) prejudices against women and minorities are driven by historical stereotypes, social categorization, and social dominance hierarchies; (b) race and sex are highly visible characteristics that enable group membership to be easily identified by others, allowing for mistreatment of women and minorities as "token" members of a numerical minority in the workplace; and (c) women and minorities may be more likely to *perceive* mistreatment due to lower thresholds for attending to counternormative interpersonal behavior. Because the explanations for sex and race differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment share the same theoretical bases, we discuss sex and race differences in concert.

Theoretical explanations for the greater mistreatment of women and minorities typically center on prejudiced behavior that is driven by stereotypes, ingroup favoritism, and social dominance hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Racism and sexism have played a dominant role in American history, leading to the pervasive existence of negatively valenced and largely internalized stereotypes of women and racial minori-

ties (Cortina, 2008; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1982). Evidence shows that women tend to be viewed as incompetent and most racial minority groups are viewed as either incompetent, unfriendly, or both (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986). These stereotypes and associated negative attitudes can be triggered by social categorization, or automatic, unconscious processes that involve mentally placing people into social categories based on relevant information, such as race and sex (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Bachman, 2001). Thus, when evaluating others, individuals typically rely on stereotypic information associated with these social categories rather than individuating information (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). Given that stereotypes of women and racial minorities tend to be negative, social categorization processes are likely to result in negative attributions made to these groups, which may translate into negative interpersonal behaviors.

Moreover, social dominance theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) posits that social hierarchies afford men and majority group members higher power and status while serving to subordinate women and minorities in society. It is further theorized that majority groups are motivated to maintain their elevated status and therefore engage in negative treatment of minority groups in order to preserve the power differential. Taken together, the historic roots of racism and sexism coupled with categorization processes (i.e., individuals rely on stereotypes to categorize individuals, which may translate to negative interpersonal behavior) and status differences between demographic groups (i.e., men and Whites may be motivated to maintain their status by mistreating women and minorities) suggest that women and minorities may be viewed, and ultimately treated, more negatively than majority group members.

A second theoretical explanation centers on the highly visible nature of sex and race (Burton, Bruce, & Dench, 1993; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Remedios, Chasteen, Rule, & Plaks, 2011). As is often the case for women and minorities, the visibility of sex and race increases when female/racial minorities are the numerical minority in a group (i.e., *the tokenism hypothesis*; Kanter, 1977). Visibility is likewise increased under circumstances where the minority group poses a threat to the majority group such as when minority members are competing with majority members for labor market resources such as jobs (i.e., *the visibility-discrimination hypothesis*; Blalock, 1956). Thus, easy categorization of individuals into sex and racial groups based on outwardly visible biological differences, combined with increased visibility of sex and race due to tokenism and competition (frequent conditions for women and minorities in the workplace), likely translates into heightened stereotype activation, exaggerated perceptions of differences between in-groups and out-groups, and greater motivation to maintain existing hierarchies. Such division may, in turn, promote increased mistreatment of minority out-group members due to the perceived threat of losing valued resources to a lower-status group. In sum, we propose that sex and race visibility strengthens social categorization, in-group favoritism, and social dominance processes, which may lead to greater mistreatment of women and minorities than men and Whites, respectively.

Although the preceding explanations for sex and race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment suggest that women and minorities are more frequent victims of mistreatment, a third explanation stems from sex and race differences in *perceptions* of mistreatment rather than differences in actual mistreatment behaviors. Specifically, stigma consciousness, metastereotypes, and vigilance perspectives suggest that women and racial minorities may have heightened sensitivity to mistreatment in the workplace and thus *perceive* more mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively (Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998; Pinel, 1999; Voyles, Finkelstein, & King, 2014). Stigma consciousness suggests that, as chronically stigmatized groups of lower power (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006), women and minorities are more likely than men and Whites to perceive environmental cues as signs of mistreatment because they are aware of the stigma associated with their group (i.e., higher stigma consciousness; Pinel, 1999) and therefore have higher sensitivity to these cues (Allport, 1954/1979; Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998). Literature on metastereotypes, or beliefs about how others view one's group, suggest women and minorities have negative beliefs about how others view them (Owuamalam & Zagefka, 2014; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997; Vorauer & Ross, 1993; Voyles et al., 2014). These negative metastereotypes may cause attribution errors wherein negative interpersonal behaviors (i.e., mistreatment) are not only more likely to be noticed, but are also more likely to be attributed to one's membership in the stereotyped group (i.e., sex or race). Similarly, the vigilance perspective maintains that because the base rate for past experiences of mistreatment is higher for women and minorities, the decision threshold for categorizing future encounters as mistreatment is lower. As such, women and minorities are more likely to use a "zero-miss" signal detection strategy to detect environmental cues of mistreatment and therefore, may have increased perceptions of mistreatment (Feldman-Barrett & Swim, 1998).

Taken together, these perspectives suggest that, aside from the actual mistreatment behaviors that are directed toward women and minorities in organizations, women and minorities' expectations about mistreatment, beliefs about how others view them, and thresholds for labeling behaviors as mistreatment lead to greater *perceptions* of mistreatment in the workplace for these groups. Thus, we hypothesize that women and racial minorities will report more workplace mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively.

Hypothesis 1: Women report more perceived workplace mistreatment than men.

Hypothesis 2: Racial minorities report more perceived workplace mistreatment than Whites.

Although we posit that women are more likely to report mistreatment than men and minorities are more likely to report mistreatment than Whites, it is important to note that the type of mistreatment likely impacts the magnitude of these group differences. Specifically, sex differences in perceived mistreatment should intuitively be largest for workplace mistreatment that is targeted at one's sex (e.g., sexual harassment). Similarly, race differences in perceived mistreatment should be larger for workplace mistreatment that is targeted at one's race (e.g., racial discrimination) than for workplace mistreatment that is not explicitly race-based. Thus, we hypothesize that perceived *group-based mistreatment* (i.e., mistreatment that is perceived as a sex or race bias) will exhibit larger sex and race differences than perceptions of *non-group-based mistreatment* (i.e., perceptions of mistreatment that do not specify a group bias). Although one might assume that

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perceived non-group-based mistreatment would exhibit null sex and race differences, we note that modern theories of discrimination emphasize that sex and race differences may be present in these forms of mistreatment as well (i.e., forms of mistreatment that are not explicitly based on sex and race, such as incivility). In fact, modern perspectives on discrimination posit that social reforms have shifted the nature of discrimination away from overt, blatant discriminatory actions (i.e., actions that would be perceived as race or sex-based) toward more subtle behaviors (Cortina, 2008; Deitch et al., 2003; Dipboye & Halverson, 2004). Cortina (2008) argues that general negative interpersonal workplace behaviors such as incivility, bullying, and aggression may serve as potential outlets for expressing subtle sexism and racism. We note that sex/race differences in perceptions of more general forms of mistreatment may or may not reflect sex/race *discrimination*, but we believe that estimating subgroup differences in general forms of mistreatment offers insight into these modern perspectives on mistreatment.

> *Hypothesis 3:* The magnitude of sex differences in perceptions of sex-based mistreatment is larger than sex differences in perceptions of non-sex-based mistreatment.

> *Hypothesis 4:* The magnitude of race differences in perceptions of race-based mistreatment is larger than race differences in perceptions of non-race-based mistreatment.

Time Trends in Subgroup Differences in Perceived Workplace Mistreatment

To determine whether subgroup differences have changed over time, we investigated the impact of data collection year on the magnitude of sex and race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment. There are competing rationales regarding the magnitude of subgroup differences in mistreatment over time. First, in recent years, organizations have adopted policies prohibiting mistreatment of women and racial minorities due to legal amendments such as the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and court decisions such as *Burlington Northern & Santa Fe (BNSF) Railway Co. v. White* (548 U.S. 53 [2006]). (Notably, although the aforementioned legal advancements represent recent changes in U.S. laws, these changes are not necessarily unique to the U.S.; similar changes to protect women and minorities in other countries could have been mentioned; e.g., The Equality Act, 2010 [United Kingdom], The Racial Discrimination Act, 1975 [Australia]). This has also been coupled with an increasing movement toward promoting positive diversity climates that value all employees equally, regardless of group membership (Barak, 2014; Gilbert, Stead, & Ivancevich, 1999; Pless & Maak, 2004). As a result of these events and general societal trends that aim to decrease tolerance for race- or sex-based mistreatment at work, it is possible that subgroup differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment have diminished over time. Additionally, workforces have undergone substantial demographic changes, with female and minority employees becoming increasingly represented at all levels of organizations (United States Department of Labor, 2015; Jackson & Alvarez, 1992). As women and racial minorities comprise a larger proportion of the workforce, these groups may become less visible and less likely to be targeted by negative treatment.

Conversely, it is also possible that subgroup differences in perceived mistreatment have increased over time. Despite the positive changes discussed above, recent years have also seen a shift toward more subtle forms of mistreatment. Scholars have argued that in the face of legal and social restrictions on conveying blatant discrimination, prejudiced individuals have come to rely on subtle discrimination to express bias (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Further, women and racial minorities are increasingly more likely to identify and report more subtle forms of discrimination in the workplace (Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013; Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016). For example, women and employees of color may be more aware of microaggressions and more likely to view and report these behaviors as mistreatment. As Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, and Stibal (2003) note, public awareness about mistreatment has increased over time, leading employees to expand their definitions of mistreatment to include more behaviors. This evidence argues that women and minorities may be more likely to report mistreatment, leading to larger subgroup differences in mistreatment across time. Given these countervailing arguments, we examine the impact of time on subgroup differences in perceived mistreatment on an exploratory basis.

> *Research Question 1:* Has the magnitude of subgroup differences in perceived workplace mistreatment changed over time?

Method

Literature Search

A search was conducted for empirical studies that reported data on workplace mistreatment and sex or race. Searches were conducted in PsycINFO, ABI/INFORM, Dissertation Abstracts International, and ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global through May, 2016 using the following keywords: *harassment*, *discrimination*, *racial discrimination, gender discrimination, racial harassment, sexual harassment, aggression*, *hostility*, *violence*, *deviance*, *deviant behavior*, *bullying*, *incivility*, *mistreatment*, *ostracism*, *assault*, *abuse*, *victimization, diversity,* and *inclusion*. The conference proceedings for the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Academy of Management, and Society for Personality and Social Psychology were also searched (2008–2016). Finally, the references of meta-analyses on workplace mistreatment[2] were examined for applicable samples.

Inclusion Criteria

Studies were eligible for inclusion if they examined employee experiences of workplace mistreatment and reported effect size information that could be converted to Cohen's *d*. However, studies were excluded if they (a) used a laboratory experiment or

[2] Blumenthal, 1998; Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan, Chow, Lam, & Cheung, 2008; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016; Lapierre, Spector, & Leck, 2005; Nielsen & Einarsen, 2012; Nielsen, Matthiesen, & Einarsen, 2010; O'Connor, 1998; Rotundo, Nguyen, & Sackett, 2001; Schyns & Schilling, 2013; Topa Cantisano, Dominguez, & Depolo, 2008; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007.

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vignette to manipulate mistreatment; (b) reported an effect size that was not at the individual level (e.g., group-level harassment); or (c) measured instigated mistreatment (i.e., perceptions of mistreatment from the perpetrator's perspective). Both published and unpublished data were included. This yielded 329 samples (N = 245,126) that reported sex differences and 70 samples (N = 217,133) that reported race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment. When multiple effect sizes existed within one sample for a type of mistreatment, a composite effect size was calculated (Nunnally, 1978). Composite alpha reliabilities were calculated using the formula for linear combinations provided by Nunnally (1978; i.e., if a composite across two dimensions of harassment was created, the dimension-level reliabilities were input in this formula to calculate an overall reliability for the composite effect size). In cases where two separate papers presented effects sizes on the same data, the effect size with the largest N was recorded.

Data Coding

The first and third authors independently coded all included studies. The two raters initially agreed on 86% of coding decisions and all discrepancies were then resolved through discussion and review of the relevant study. Each study was coded for sample size, effect size, and type of mistreatment studied (i.e., abusive supervision, bullying, discrimination, harassment, incivility, interpersonal conflict, ostracism, physical aggression, and verbal aggression). Type of mistreatment was coded based on the measure's label (i.e., measures that had an explicit label for the type of mistreatment [Abusive Supervision Scale; Tepper, 2000] or the common use of the measure [Negative Acts Questionnaire for bullying; Einarsen & Raknes, 1997]). For measures that could not be coded based on these criteria, items were compared to the definitions of types of mistreatment to determine the code (see Table 1).

Any measure that referenced sex as the reason for the mistreatment (e.g., "Put you down or was condescending to you because of your sex"; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, & Magley, 1999) was coded as sex-based mistreatment and these measures were compared to all other forms of mistreatment (i.e., non-sex-based mistreatment). Any measure which referenced race as the reason for mistreatment was coded as race-based mistreatment (e.g., "Do you feel in any way discriminated against on your job because of your race or national origin?"; Volpone & Avery, 2013) and these measures were compared with all other forms of mistreatment (i.e., non-race-based mistreatment). Although sex-based and race-based mistreatment were largely composed of sexual harassment/sex discrimination and racial harassment/race discrimination effect sizes, respectively, it is worth noting that these categories also included effect sizes from other forms of perceived group-based mistreatment (e.g., sex-based mistreatment includes sex-targeted bullying; Morris, 1996). Lastly, to examine whether sex and race differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment have changed over time, the year in which data were collected was also recorded. Drawing on previous work (Judge, Piccolo, Podsakoff, Shaw, & Rich, 2010), if studies did not directly report this information, the year of data collection was estimated to be two years prior to the study publication date.

All data were coded so that a positive d indicates women and minorities perceive more mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively. Given the dearth of reported comparisons for specific racial groups, most analyses of race differences were conducted comparing all racial minorities to Whites. However, where possible, race differences were also reported for specific races (e.g., Black/White comparisons). We note that although it is indeed possible to conduct a meta-analysis with a k as small as 2, we recommend that readers interpret small k analyses with caution due to low statistical power. Coding for the primary studies can be found in Table 1 of the online supplementary materials.

Additional Moderator Analyses

In an effort to provide a comprehensive understanding of what factors may impact the magnitude of sex and race differences, we coded and analyzed several moderators in addition to the aforementioned comparisons of perceived group-based versus non-group-based mistreatment and data collection date. First, *item type* was coded as either a behavioral checklist or direct question. A behavioral checklist asked participants about their experience with specific mistreatment behaviors (e.g., "Having insulting or offensive remarks made about your person, attitudes, or your private life;" Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers, 2009). Conversely, studies were coded as direct questions if they required participants to self-label as a victim of mistreatment (e.g., "Do you feel in any way discriminated against on your job because of your age?;" Volpone & Avery, 2013). Second, *response scale* was coded as a frequency (how often the behavior was experienced), intensity (how severe the behavior was perceived to be), or yes/no response. *Item perspective* was coded to indicate if the scale assessed being a direct target of mistreatment (e.g., "My supervisor makes negative comments about me to others;" Tepper, 2000) or perceptions of ambient mistreatment (e.g., "There is discrimination against [ethnic group] in hiring practices;" Hughes & Dodge, 1997). We coded each effect size for the *scale used* to assess mistreatment to examine whether mistreatment differs across popular mistreatment scales. We assessed the potential impact that fear of retaliation may have on participant responses by coding *assurances of confidentiality* in accordance with Berry, Carpenter, and Barratt (2012) in which a study was coded for the number of assurances provided to the participants. An assurance of confidentiality included instances such as completing the survey online, the use of secret codes, or the return of surveys directly to the researcher. We also assessed whether there was company sponsorship of the research by comparing samples from *single organizations* (a proxy for organization-sponsored research) or *multiple organizations* (i.e., samples recruited from multiple organizations' employees, such as those collected through online survey tools or employed student samples). Demographic moderators included *race* of the sample (for sex difference effect sizes; e.g., Black only, Hispanic only), *sex* of the sample (for race difference effect sizes; e.g., female only, male only), study setting (i.e., *military* vs. *civilian* sample), and *geographic region* of the sample (e.g., North America, Asia). Finally, *source* of mistreatment was coded as organizational insiders (coworkers and supervisors) or organizational outsiders (customers, clients, patients, family members of patients, and the public). We found no systematic, significant effects for these moderators, with only a few exceptions, which are discussed

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in the Results section. The rest of these moderator results are not discussed in detail, although we present the results of these analyses in the online supplementary materials.

Meta-Analytic Procedures

Meta-analyses were conducted using the procedures presented by Hunter and Schmidt (2014). If the primary study effect size was reported as a correlation, it was transformed to a Cohen's *d* using Hunter and Schmidt's (2014) conversion formula that accounts for unequal subgroup sample sizes. All effect sizes were weighted using the inverse sampling error weight that accounts for unequal subgroup sample sizes (Hedges & Olkin, 1985, p. 86; see also Laczo, Sackett, Bobko, & Cortina, 2005). To identify potential outliers, the sample-adjusted meta-analytic deviance (SAMD) value was calculated for each primary study effect size (Huffcutt & Arthur, 1995). This approach identified three potential outliers for sex differences in mistreatment and one potential outlier for race differences in mistreatment. Regarding the potential sex differences outliers, there appeared to be no substantive reason to exclude these effect sizes from the meta-analysis (i.e., there appeared to be no unusual study feature, no reporting errors, and meta-analytic effects only changed by .05 at most, when these samples were excluded) and we therefore retained them in the current article (Cortina, 2003). However, the outlier identified via the SAMD value for the race differences meta-analytic database involved a large sample ($N = 134{,}591$; King, Dawson, Kravitz, & Gulick, 2012) that substantially affected the meta-analytic effect size (i.e., race differences increased by .35 with the sample included). Therefore, this sample was excluded from the meta-analysis of race differences in mistreatment.

Meta-analytic effect sizes were corrected for unreliability in the mistreatment measure using artifact distributions (Bobko, Roth, & Bobko, 2001; Table 2). To determine accuracy and generalizability, 95% confidence intervals and 80% credibility intervals for each meta-analytic effect size were calculated. A confidence interval that does not include zero indicates that the effect size is significantly different from zero (Hunter & Schmidt, 2014). A credibility interval, on the other hand, gives information about whether or not the included studies represent one population or subpopulations. Wide credibility intervals suggest subpopulations and thus warrant a search for moderators (Hunter & Schmidt, 2014; Whitener, 1990). Continuous and categorical moderators were examined through use of Wilson's meta-analytic regression macro for SPSS using inverse sampling error weights in which the effect size is regressed onto the moderator (Lipsey & Wilson, 2000; Wilson, 2005). A moderator was deemed significant if its regression coefficient was significant ($p < .05$).

Table 2
Mean Reliability Estimates Used for Artifact Distributions

Construct	Mean reliability estimate	*k*	*N*	*SD*
Workplace mistreatment	.89	293	207,063	.07
Sex-based mistreatment	.86	34	67,330	.08
Non-sex-based mistreatment	.89	270	149,278	.07
Race-based mistreatment	.88	28	15,626	.05
Non-race-based mistreatment	.89	273	198,948	.07
Abusive supervision	.92	98	27,573	.05
Bullying	.88	33	16,434	.07
Discrimination	.86	51	30,738	.07
Harassment	.85	37	102,256	.10
Incivility	.88	37	17,865	.04
Interpersonal conflict	.82	11	2,773	.07
Ostracism	.91	25	6,059	.07
Physical aggression	.82	10	6,152	.09
Verbal aggression	.83	13	5,070	.09

Note. Artifact distributions were calculated using primary studies from the present meta-analysis. k = number of samples included in the distribution; N = sample size of the distribution; SD = standard deviation of the distribution.

Results

Sex and Race Differences in Perceived Mistreatment

Meta-analytic estimates of sex and race differences were calculated first using a composite variable consisting of all forms of workplace mistreatment, then for perceived group-based or non-group-based mistreatment, separately, and finally, for each discrete form of mistreatment in isolation. The results are displayed in Tables 3, 4, and 5. Hypothesis 1 proposed that women perceive more workplace mistreatment than men. This hypothesis was supported: Women perceived more workplace mistreatment across all forms of mistreatment ($\delta = .13$; Table 3). The confidence interval does not include zero, which suggests that the difference between women and men is significantly different from zero. Hypothesis 2, which posited that racial minorities perceive more mistreatment than Whites, was supported ($\delta = .14$; Table 4). We next considered race differences between specific minority groups and White employees. Results showed that Blacks perceive significantly more workplace mistreatment than Whites ($\delta = .17$). The Hispanic/White ($\delta = .16$) and Asian/White effect sizes are in the same direction ($\delta = .75$) and are also significantly different from zero.

To comment on the practical significance of these effect sizes, we first estimated the percent of minorities (or women) who would be above the mean level of mistreatment reported by Whites (or men) by calculating Cohen's U_3 (Cohen, 1988). Cohen's U_3 is calculated with the formula $U_3 = \Phi(\delta)$ where Φ is the cumulative distribution function of the standard normal distribution, and δ is the population Cohen's *d*. Second, we determined the likelihood that minorities or women would be in the top 10% of individuals who perceive mistreatment by using properties of the normal curve. Thus, given $\delta = .13$ for sex differences, these two indices suggest 55% of women perceive more workplace mistreatment than the average male employee and women are 1.26 times more likely than men to be in the 10% of individuals who report the strongest perceptions of mistreatment. In addition, given $\delta = .14$ for Minority/White differences, 56% of minorities perceive more workplace mistreatment than the average White employee and minorities are 1.28 times more likely than Whites to be in the 10% of individuals who report the strongest perceptions of mistreatment.

Subgroup differences for perceived group-based and non-group-based forms of mistreatment are presented in Table 5. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, sex differences were significantly larger for sex-based mistreatment ($\delta = .46$) than non-sex-based mistreatment ($\delta = .02$; $\beta = -.62$, $R^2 = .38$, $p < .05$). Notably, sex differences

Table 3
Sex Differences in the Perception of Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	k	N	d	δ	SD_δ	95% CI	80% CR	% Var
Workplace mistreatment	329	245,098	.13	.13	.30	[.10, .17]	−.25, .52	7.55
Abusive supervision	99	28,592	−.09	−.10	.23	[−.15, −.05]	−.39, .19	24.23
Bullying	41	36,071	.03	.04	.12	[−.01, .08]	−.12, .19	33.37
Incivility	36	17,326	.06	.06	.16	[.00, .13]	−.14, .27	30.29
Interpersonal conflict	12	3,050	−.24	−.26	.20	[−.40, −.12]	−.52, .00	34.59
Ostracism	24	5,949	−.05	−.05	.13	[−.13, .02]	−.22, .11	54.79
Physical aggression	21	16,798	−.04	−.05	.16	[−.13, .03]	−.25, .16	24.63
Verbal aggression	21	12,991	.09	.10	.25	[−.02, .22]	−.22, .43	14.49
Discrimination	62	47,514	.07	.08	.20	[.02, .13]	−.17, .33	15.42
Sex discrimination	14	11,703	.27	.29	.44	[.05, .52]	−.27, .84	3.07
Race discrimination	26	21,517	−.02	−.02	.12	[−.08, .04]	−.18, .14	31.73
Age discrimination	12	10,229	.00	.00	.00	[−.04, .04]	.00, .00	100.00
Other discrimination	19	24,720	.02	.02	.15	[−.06, .09]	−.17, .21	15.74
Harassment	43	95,346	.32	.35	.31	[.26, .45]	−.05, .75	2.90
Sexual harassment	28	48,595	.34	.37	.24	[.28, .46]	.06, .68	6.36
Racial harassment	3	1,149	.00	.00	.11	[−.18, .17]	−.14, .13	54.28
General harassment	13	35,541	.09	.10	.14	[.02, .17]	−.08, .27	8.98
Other harassment	3	2,083	.08	.09	.05	[−.02, .20]	.02, .16	72.27

Note. k = number of effect sizes in the meta-analysis; N = total sample size in the meta-analysis; d = mean d value weighted by the inverse of the sampling error variance; δ: d value corrected for attenuation; SD_δ = standard deviation of corrected d value; 95% CI = lower/upper bound of confidence interval; 80% CR = lower/upper bound of credibility interval; % Var = percent of variance accounted for by artifacts. A positive d indicates women perceive more mistreatment than men.

in the perception of non-sex-based mistreatment were nearly zero. Thus, it appears that there are minimal sex differences in mistreatment not targeted at one's sex but significant differences for mistreatment that is based on one's sex. Further, these results indicate that 68% of women perceive more sex-based mistreatment than the average man and women are 2.09 times more likely than men to be in the 10% of individuals who report the strongest perceptions of sex-based mistreatment.

In support of Hypothesis 4, Minority/White differences were seven times larger for race-based mistreatment (δ = .71) in comparison with non-race-based mistreatment (δ = .10; β = −.58, R^2 = .33, $p < .05$). This indicates that race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment are significantly stronger when the mistreatment focuses on a person's race. Tests of practical significance further substantiate this finding by estimating that 77% of racial minorities perceive more race-based mistreatment than the average White employee and minorities are 2.72 times more likely than Whites to be in the 10% of individuals who report the strongest perceptions of race-based mistreatment. Further, race differences in non-race-based mistreatment were significantly different from zero, (δ = .10), indicating that that 54% of minorities perceive more workplace mistreatment than the average White employee and minorities are 1.18 times more likely than Whites to be in the 10% of individuals who report the strongest perceptions of workplace mistreatment.

Type of Mistreatment

Results comparing the magnitude of sex and race differences across specific types of mistreatment are reported in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. Estimates of sex differences in specific types of mistreatment demonstrate an interesting pattern of results wherein sex differences are largest for sexual harassment (δ = .37), overall harassment (δ = .35), and sex discrimination (δ = .29). We note that of the 43 samples that addressed sex differences in overall harassment, 28 of these specifically examined sexual harassment (δ = .37) which may explain why the overall harassment effect size was similar to that of sexual harassment. Results suggest that women also perceive significantly more general harassment (δ = .10), discrimination (δ = .08), and incivility (δ = .06) than men, although the magnitude of these differences is smaller. Notably, contrary to expectations, results indicate that *men* perceive significantly more abusive supervision (δ = −.10) and interpersonal conflict (δ = −.26) than women. Results further indicate that men and women experience similar levels of bullying, ostracism, physical aggression, verbal aggression, race discrimination, age discrimination, other discrimination, racial harassment, and other harassment.

As can be seen in Table 4, the largest differences between minority and White employees in perceived mistreatment are found for race discrimination (δ = .83), bullying (δ = .33), overall discrimination (δ = .30), and incivility (δ = .28). However, we note that half of the samples included in the overall discrimination estimate focused specifically on race discrimination. Counter to expectations, race differences in racial harassment are not significantly different from zero (δ = .19), although we note that this effect size is based on a limited number of primary studies (k = 4). In examining the remaining types of workplace mistreatment, results show that race differences are significant and in the expected direction for age discrimination (δ = .13), general harassment (δ = .12), and other forms of discrimination (δ = .09). Interestingly, results suggest that Whites perceive significantly more interpersonal conflict (δ = −.07) in comparison with minorities; however, these are based on a limited number of primary studies and should be interpreted with caution. When comparing White employees with specific racial groups, results similarly showed significant race differences for overall discrimination

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Table 4
Race Differences in the Perception of Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	*k*	*N*	*d*	δ	SD_δ	95% CI	80% CR	% Var
Minority/White								
Workplace mistreatment	69	82,542	.13	.14	.23	[.08, .19]	−.16, .43	9.01
Abusive supervision	3	2,285	.10	.11	.11	[−.05, .26]	−.03, .25	36.43
Bullying	4	1,355	.31	.33	.18	[.12, .55]	.11, .56	34.41
Incivility	6	3,179	.27	.28	.06	[.18, .39]	.21, .35	82.80
Interpersonal conflict	2	478	−.06	−.07	.00	[−.10, −.04]	−.07, −.07	100.00
Physical aggression	2	1,134	−.13	−.14	.18	[−.46, .18]	−.38, .09	35.33
Verbal aggression	5	3,744	.08	.08	.22	[−.12, .29]	−.19, .36	16.39
Discrimination	29	20,565	.27	.30	.36	[.16, .43]	−.17, .76	7.84
Sex discrimination	7	4,726	.21	.23	.31	[−.01, .47]	−.17, .62	9.28
Race discrimination	14	6,925	.76	.83	.43	[.59, 1.06]	.27, 1.38	8.21
Age discrimination	2	5,341	.12	.13	.00	[.06, .19]	.13, .13	100.00
Other discrimination	11	12,909	.08	.09	.08	[.02, .16]	−.01, .19	52.91
Harassment	26	56,283	.07	.08	.14	[.02, .14]	−.11, .26	11.73
Sexual harassment	16	16,677	−.04	−.05	.19	[−.14, .05]	−.28, .19	14.81
Racial harassment	4	1,259	.18	.19	.32	[−.15, .54]	−.22, .61	16.00
General harassment	8	39,811	.11	.12	.10	[.04, .19]	−.01, .24	10.78
Other harassment	3	2,076	.08	.09	.06	[−.04, .21]	.00, .17	64.27
Black/White								
Workplace mistreatment	22	39,442	.16	.17	.23	[.07, .28]	−.12, .47	6.68
Discrimination	11	14,831	.31	.34	.37	[.11, .56]	−.14, .81	5.99
Sex discrimination	3	4,099	.19	.20	.25	[−.10, .51]	−.12, .53	8.70
Race discrimination	7	5,495	.83	.90	.36	[.62, 1.18]	.44, 1.36	9.69
Age discrimination	2	5,341	.13	.14	.09	[−.02, .30]	.03, .26	39.67
Other discrimination	4	9,336	.05	.05	.00	[−.01, .12]	.05, .05	100.00
Harassment	7	22,376	.12	.13	.16	[.01, .26]	−.08, .34	6.35
Sexual harassment	3	8,080	−.02	−.02	.13	[−.18, .13]	−.19, .14	11.62
General harassment	3	14,108	.21	.23	.07	[.14, .32]	.14, .32	22.81
Incivility	2	869	.41	.44	.01	[.27, .61]	.42, .46	98.77
Hispanic/White								
Workplace mistreatment	8	11,240	.15	.16	.12	[.06, .26]	.01, .31	38.91
Discrimination	5	10,749	.12	.13	.05	[.05, .21]	.07, .19	73.59
Sex discrimination	2	3,527	.03	.03	.00	[−.09, .16]	.03, .03	100.00
Race discrimination	3	4,357	.31	.33	.00	[.27, .39]	.33, .33	100.00
Age discrimination	2	5,341	.06	.06	.00	[.02, .10]	.06, .06	100.00
Other discrimination	2	6,392	.05	.06	.00	[−.02, .14]	.06, .06	100.00
Harassment	2	340	.39	.42	.30	[−.07, .91]	.05, .80	29.99
Asian/White								
Workplace mistreatment	6	7,945	.71	.75	.56	[.28, 1.22]	.03, 1.48	6.68
Discrimination	3	6,125	.79	.85	.62	[.13, 1.57]	.05, 1.65	3.76
Sex discrimination	2	3,634	.80	.86	.46	[.21, 1.51]	.28, 1.44	5.89
Race discrimination	3	4,464	1.00	1.08	.71	[.26, 1.90]	.17, 1.99	3.22
Age discrimination	2	5,341	.04	.04	.00	[.02, .06]	.04, .04	100.00

Note. *k* = number of effect sizes in the meta-analysis; *N* = total sample size in the meta-analysis; *d* = mean *d* value weighted by the inverse of the sampling error variance; δ = *d* value corrected for attenuation; SD_δ= standard deviation of corrected *d* value; 95% CI = lower/upper bound of confidence interval; 80% CR = lower/upper bound of credibility interval; % Var = percent of variance accounted for by artifacts. A positive *d* indicates minorities perceive more mistreatment than Whites.

(Black/White: δ = .34; Hispanic/White: δ = .13) and overall harassment (Black/White: δ = .13).

Taken together, results show significant sex and race differences in perceptions of workplace mistreatment, but these differences are much stronger for group-based forms of mistreatment. However, contrary to expectations, sex differences in abusive supervision and interpersonal conflict indicated that men are more likely to report these forms of mistreatment than women. White employees were also more likely to report interpersonal conflict than racial minorities.

Time Trends in Subgroup Differences

To address Research Question 1, we examined the year in which data were collected as a predictor of sex and race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment. Results, displayed in Tables 6 and 7, showed that the date of data collection was significantly associated with sex differences in workplace mistreatment (β = −.30, R^2 = .09), non-sex-based mistreatment (β = −.18, R^2 = .03), abusive supervision (β = .40, R^2 = .16), harassment (β = −.23, R^2 = .05), interpersonal conflict (β = −.52, R^2 = .28), and physical aggression (β = −.37, R^2 = .14). Figure 1 provides a visual presentation of how sex differences in workplace mistreatment have changed over time. This chart indicates that although sex differences in some forms of mistreatment appear to be trending toward zero (e.g., non-sex-based mistreatment, harassment, ostracism) some forms of mistreatment appear to have changed over time such that these behaviors now favor women (e.g., physical aggression, interpersonal conflict). It is also worth

Table 5
Sex and Race Differences in Group Based Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	*k*	*N*	*d*	δ	SD_δ	95% CI	80% CR	% Var
Sex differences								
Sex-based mistreatment	43	70,818	.43	.46	.33	[.36, .56]	.04, .89	3.41
Non-sex-based mistreatment	300	188,431	.02	.02	.18	[.00, .04]	−.21, .25	21.50
Race differences								
Race-based mistreatment	18	8,184	.66	.71	.48	[.48, .94]	.10, 1.32	6.64
Non-race-based mistreatment	61	83,748	.09	.10	.17	[.05, .14]	−.12, .32	12.87

Note. *k* = number of effect sizes in the meta-analysis; *N* = total sample size in the meta-analysis; *d* = mean *d* value weighted by the inverse of the sampling error variance; δ = *d* value corrected for attenuation; SD_δ = standard deviation of corrected *d* value; 95% CI = lower/upper bound of confidence interval; 80% CR = lower/upper bound of credibility interval; % Var = percent of variance accounted for by artifacts. A positive *d* indicates women and minorities perceive more mistreatment than men and Whites, respectively.

noting that sex-based mistreatment, although not significant, appears to remain the strongest sex difference that may even be increasing in magnitude over time. Further, several trend lines appear to have not changed over time, including bullying, discrimination, incivility, and verbal aggression.

The date of data collection also significantly predicted race differences in all forms of mistreatment for which we were able to conduct regression analyses, including workplace mistreatment ($\beta = -.14$, $R^2 = .02$), race-based mistreatment ($\beta = -.15$, $R^2 = .02$), non-race-based mistreatment ($\beta = -.17$, $R^2 = .03$), discrimination ($\beta = -.32$, $R^2 = .10$), and harassment ($\beta = -.39$, $R^2 = .15$). Figure 2 provides a visual representation of how race differences in workplace mistreatment have changed over time, with some race differences trending toward zero (e.g., workplace mistreatment, non-race-based mistreatment, harassment), and others remaining nonzero in recent years despite negative time trends (e.g., race-based mistreatment, discrimination).

For both sex and race differences in mistreatment, we note that there was limited variance in the year of data collection across the primary studies. For example, the database of effect sizes involving sex differences had a mean year of data collection of 2007 and a standard deviation of 6.35 years, and for race differences the mean year was 2003 and the standard deviation was 7.33 years, indicating that most of the primary data were collected in a somewhat limited time frame.

Table 6
Moderation Effect of Data Collection Date on Sex Differences in Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	*k*	β	R^2
Workplace mistreatment	329	−.30*	.09
Sex-based mistreatment	43	.07	.00
Non-sex-based mistreatment	300	−.18*	.03
Abusive supervision	99	.40*	.16
Bullying	41	.05	.00
Discrimination	62	−.08	.01
Harassment	43	−.23*	.05
Incivility	36	.04	.00
Interpersonal conflict	12	−.52*	.28
Ostracism	24	−.17	.03
Physical aggression	21	−.37*	.14
Verbal aggression	21	−.02	.00

Note. *k* = number of effect sizes in the analysis; β = standardized regression coefficient; R^2 = variance explained in the effect size.
* $p < .05$.

Additional Moderators

As previously mentioned, we examined whether sex/race differences vary across item type, response scale, item perspective, scale used, assurances of confidentiality given to participants, single versus multiorganizational samples, race of the sample (for sex difference effect sizes) and sex of the sample (for race difference effect sizes), military versus civilian samples, geographic region of the sample, and source of mistreatment. These results are presented in online supplementary materials and did not yield any significant systematic effects, with the exception of the following: (a) sex differences were larger for behavioral checklist scales than direct question scales, but only for sex-based mistreatment (non-sex-based mistreatment showed similar sex differences across both measures); (b) intensity scales exhibited stronger race differences than frequency or yes/no scales; (c) race differences were strongest for ambient mistreatment items rather than direct target items; (d) sex differences were smaller in minority-only samples than in mixed-race samples; (e) race differences were larger in female samples than mixed-sex samples, but only for race-based mistreatment (sex of the sample did not affect non-race-based mistreatment); and (f) sex differences tended to be larger in military samples than civilian samples.

Discussion

The purpose of this meta-analysis was to test the extent to which women and racial minorities perceive more workplace mistreat-

Table 7
Moderation Effect of Data Collection Date on Race Differences in Mistreatment

Type of mistreatment	*k*	β	R^2
Workplace mistreatment	69	−.14*	.02
Race-based mistreatment	18	−.15*	.02
Non-race-based mistreatment	61	−.17*	.03
Discrimination	29	−.32*	.10
Harassment	26	−.39*	.15

Note. *k* = number of effect sizes in the analysis; β = standardized regression coefficient; R^2 = variance explained in the effect size.
* $p < .05$.

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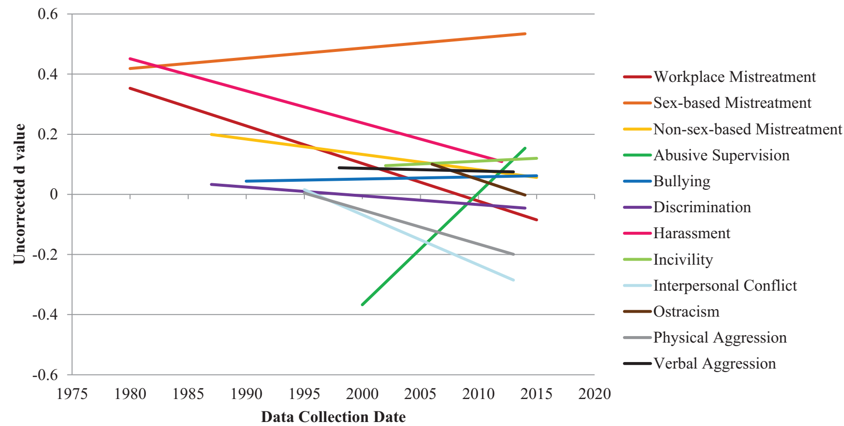

Figure 1. Regression slopes predicting the year the sample was collected from the uncorrected *d* value of sex differences in each form of mistreatment. A positive *d* indicates women perceive more mistreatment than men. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

ment than men and Whites, respectively. Results showed significantly larger sex differences in perceived workplace mistreatment when the mistreatment was sex-based (δ = .46), whereas non-sex-based mistreatment exhibited near-zero sex differences (δ = .02). Interestingly, all forms of mistreatment exhibited sex differences that indicated equal or more favorable treatment of men with two exceptions: abusive supervision and interpersonal conflict results indicated that men reported experiencing *more* abusive supervision (δ = −.10) and interpersonal conflict (δ = −.26) than women. Regarding race differences, results indicated significantly larger race differences in perceived workplace mistreatment when the mistreatment was race-based (δ = .71) in comparison with race differences in non-race-based mistreatment (δ = .10). Moreover, all forms of mistreatment indicated equal or more favorable treatment of Whites, with the exception of interpersonal conflict (δ = −.07). However, we note that this estimate was based on a limited number of studies ($k = 2$) and we caution against over-interpreting this finding.

Moderator analyses also suggest that many sex and race differences have changed over time and in some cases, they are trending toward zero. This is most true of race differences, which appear to have decreased across all forms of mistreatment. In contrast, although some sex differences appear to be improving (the trend line is nearing zero), some sex differences have not changed much over time (e.g., bullying), and others appear to have changed from favoring men in early years to now favoring women (e.g., interpersonal conflict).

Results also suggest that measurement is an important consideration when examining subgroup differences in mistreatment. Women appear reluctant to report sex-based mistreatment when responding to items that require labeling oneself as a victim. Minorities similarly appear to be less willing to report mistreatment when responding to direct report (first-person) scales rather than ambient (third-person) scales. Moreover, results indicate that although minorities experience greater frequency of mistreatment in the workplace than Whites, the true extent of these race differ-

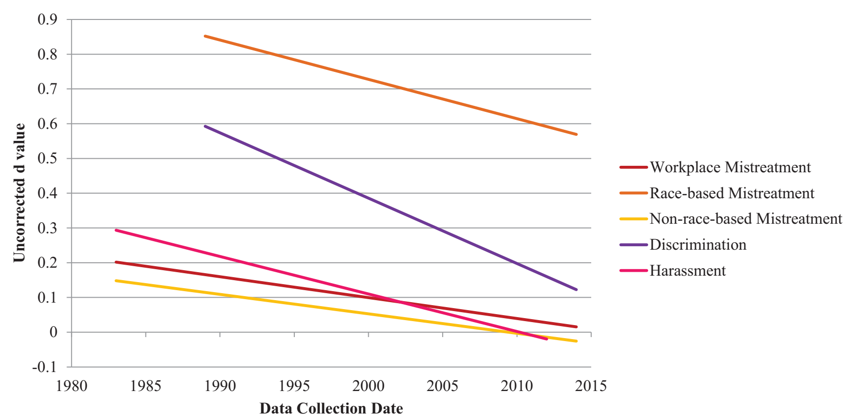

Figure 2. Regression slopes predicting the year the sample was collected from the uncorrected *d* value of race differences in each form of mistreatment. A positive *d* indicates racial minorities perceive more mistreatment than Whites. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

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ences is not captured unless one uses a response scale of intensity, which indicates larger race differences than frequency scales. Finally, our findings suggest that the demographics of the sample are important (e.g., sex and race of the sample and the military or civilian source of the sample affected group differences). Below, we expand on these findings and discuss their implications for practice and theory.

Practical Implications

Despite our findings suggesting that sex and race differences in workplace mistreatment are modest (δ = .13; δ = .14, respectively), we emphasize that even small subgroup differences are meaningful and may result in high organizational costs for litigation, employee assistance programs, and so forth. We also note that sex and race differences in perceived group-based mistreatment were more substantial (i.e., sex differences: δ = .46; race differences: δ = .71), and have subsequent practical implications.

First, based on the benchmarks provided by Bosco, Aguinis, Singh, Field, and Pierce (2015), the magnitude of sex and race differences in sex- and race-based mistreatment, respectively, are quite sizable. Although the authors do not report a benchmark that directly corresponds to our variables (i.e., objective person characteristics related to behavior), their findings suggest that our results (especially those pertaining to perceived group-based mistreatment) are on par with, or larger than average relationships between demographic variables (which Bosco et al., refer to as "objective person characteristics," p. 4) and other criteria (i.e., the average correlation between objective person characteristics and all criteria in Bosco et al., is .06, or d = .12). In other words, these group differences in perceptions of mistreatment appear to be as strong as, and in the case of perceived group-based mistreatment, substantially stronger than typical effects found in the field (i.e., the effect sizes for sex differences in sex-based mistreatment and race differences in race-based mistreatment are above the 75th percentile of effect sizes in the field of organizational sciences using the Bosco et al., benchmarks).

Second, Table 8 displays meta-analytic estimates of the relationships between workplace mistreatment and commonly studied antecedents. A comparison of our findings with these previous meta-analytic results shows that our estimates of sex differences in sex-targeted mistreatment (δ = .46) and race differences in race-targeted mistreatment (δ = .71) are larger than the effect sizes for individual difference predictors of mistreatment reported in previous meta-analyses (e.g., sex, race, tenure, personality; δ_{avg} = .19). Conversely, contextual variables (e.g., role stressors, climate, job gender context; δ_{avg} = .75) appear to be stronger predictors of workplace mistreatment when compared with sex and race.

Third, an examination of the subgroup differences indicates that 68% of women perceive more sex-based mistreatment than the average man and 77% of racial minorities perceive more race-

Table 8
Predictors of Workplace Mistreatment

Predictor	Mistreatment construct	ρ	δ	Source
Individual differences				
Positive affectivity	Workplace harassment	−.09	−.18	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Negative affectivity	Workplace harassment	.25	.52	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Sex	Workplace harassment	−.05	−.10	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Age	Workplace harassment	−.04	−.08	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Tenure	Workplace harassment	.02	.04	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Agreeableness	Abusive supervision	−.14	−.28	Mackey et al. (2017)
Conscientiousness	Abusive supervision	−.14	−.28	Mackey et al. (2017)
Extraversion	Abusive supervision	−.03	−.12	Mackey et al. (2017)
Neuroticism	Abusive supervision	.12	.24	Mackey et al. (2017)
Openness	Abusive supervision	−.05	−.10	Mackey et al. (2017)
Negative affectivity	Abusive supervision	.37	.80	Mackey et al. (2017)
Positive affectivity	Abusive supervision	−.18	−.37	Mackey et al. (2017)
Age	Abusive supervision	−.03	−.06	Mackey et al. (2017)
Education	Abusive supervision	−.02	−.04	Mackey et al. (2017)
Sex	Abusive supervision	−.06	−.12	Mackey et al. (2017)
Organizational tenure	Abusive supervision	.02	.04	Mackey et al. (2017)
Position in organization	Abusive supervision	.05	.10	Mackey et al. (2017)
Tenure with supervisor	Abusive supervision	.01	.02	Mackey et al. (2017)
Contextual variables				
Role conflict	Workplace harassment	.44	.98	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Role ambiguity	Workplace harassment	.30	.63	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Role overload	Workplace harassment	.28	.58	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Work constraints	Workplace harassment	.53	1.25	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Autonomy	Workplace harassment	−.25	−.52	Bowling & Beehr (2006)
Mistreatment climate	Workplace mistreatment	−.42	−.93	Yang, Caughlin, Gazica, Truxillo, & Spector (2014)
Diversity climate	Racial discrimination	−.32	−.68	Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper (2015)
Organizational climate	Sexual harassment	.36	.77	Willness et al. (2007)
Job gender context	Sexual harassment	−.19	−.39	Willness et al. (2007)

Note. ρ = average weighted correlation coefficient corrected for unreliability in both the predictor and criterion. δ = ρ converted to Cohen's d corrected for unreliability in both the predictor and criterion.

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based mistreatment than the average White employee. Additionally, women are 2.09 times more likely than men to be in the 10% of employees who receive the most sex-based mistreatment, and minorities are 2.72 times more likely than Whites to be in the 10% of employees who receive the most race-based mistreatment. Thus, women and minorities are approximately two to three times as likely to experience extreme workplace mistreatment that involves a perceived group bias than their male/White counterparts. In sum, although the magnitude of our estimates of sex and race differences may be smaller than expected, we maintain that subgroup differences in workplace mistreatment, particularly sex- and race-targeted forms of mistreatment, likely have substantial practical implications for those who experience mistreatment and should not be considered trivial. For example, our findings coupled with the large body of evidence linking perceptions of mistreatment in general, and group-based mistreatment specifically, to a broad array of negative outcomes (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Jones et al., 2016; Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper, 2015; Willness et al., 2007) suggest that women and minorities may disproportionately face these consequences.

We additionally note that we may have failed to detect *larger* subgroup differences because of attrition, concerns regarding confidentiality, or organizational self-selection. First, employees who are mistreated may be more likely to leave the organization than stay as evidenced by meta-analytic examinations of the positive relationship between mistreatment and turnover intentions (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Nielsen & Einarsen, 2012). This would leave behind an organizational sample that has experienced comparatively less mistreatment, reducing differences between men and women and between Whites and minorities. Second, organizations that have agreed to participate in mistreatment studies may be exemplars with low incidences of mistreatment to begin with, which could artificially restrict true subgroup differences. We addressed this possibility by comparing samples from single organizations to samples from multiple organizations. Samples from single organizations act as a proxy indicator for organizational sponsorship because these organizations likely were approached by the researcher and agreed to have employees participate (and thus, may exhibit lower subgroup differences because low-mistreatment organizations are more likely to agree to participate more often than high-mistreatment organizations). Samples from multiple organizations are most often recruited through online survey tools or employed student populations rather than from a specific organization, and as such, do not involve an organizational leader who agreed to participate in the research. Contrary to expectation, we found that sex differences were *higher* in single-organization samples than multiorganization samples and we found no differences in race differences across these types of samples. A third plausible explanation for not finding larger subgroup differences is that, even when participants are assured of the confidentiality of their responses, they may still hesitate to disclose experiences of workplace mistreatment in an effort to ensure job security. We addressed this issue by examining assurances of confidentiality as a moderator of subgroup differences. Although it is natural to expect that individuals feel more comfortable reporting mistreatment when they are more confident that their responses are anonymous or confidential, we found no systematic effects for this moderator. Therefore, confidentiality may still be a concern in respondents' minds when reporting mistreatment, even when they are offered assurances of its presence, a concern which may be muting true subgroup differences.

Other moderation analyses we conducted may also have practical implications for organizations. The observed change in sex and race differences over time suggests that legal and organizational efforts aimed at fostering equal treatment have likely made improvements and should be sustained and enforced. It is also possible that sex differences have decreased as a result of more women entering the workforce (United States Department of Labor, 2015; Jackson & Alvarez, 1992), causing organizational environments to become less male-dominated over time. However, as previously noted, date of data collection for both sex and race differences exhibited somewhat reduced variance (i.e., most were published in a 15-year time span), hindering our ability to determine whether sex/race differences have changed across longer time frames than those included in the current meta-analytic database. The restricted variance also prohibits us from concluding whether the nonsignificant time trends are an artifact of reduced variance or a true lack of change over time.

Our findings, in combination with evidence showing that mistreatment remains a prevalent and costly organizational issue (EEOC, 2013; Nielsen et al., 2010; Tepper, 2007), suggest that organizations still require a sustained commitment to the reduction and prevention of any and all forms of mistreatment. A reevaluation of current organizational policies may reveal gaps and weaknesses with regard to prohibited conduct and associated penalties, protection from retaliation, and the complaint process (EEOC, 1999) that should be addressed across the board. In addition, the higher perceptions of sex-based mistreatment by women and of race-based mistreatment by racial minorities indicate the need for organizations to adopt diversity training in line with the best practices recommended by King, Gulick, and Avery (2010). These include an emphasis on skills and behavior, demonstration and practice, and structured performance feedback.

Finally, practitioners and researchers may find the results of our measurement-related moderators useful in that the type of measure (i.e., behavioral checklist or direct question), response scale (i.e., frequency or intensity), and item perspective (i.e., ambient or direct target) had some impact on subgroup differences in mistreatment, providing initial evidence that measurement decisions may affect the extent to which one is able to capture sex and race differences in mistreatment. Thus, we urge practitioners and researchers to carefully choose their measure when assessing mistreatment.

Theoretical Implications

Our findings regarding sex and race differences in perceived mistreatment offer several theoretical contributions to the growing body of literature on workplace mistreatment. One notable finding that was contrary to expectations involved men reporting greater perceptions of abusive supervision ($\delta = -.10$) and interpersonal conflict ($\delta = -.26$) than women. We offer two potential explanations for sex differences in abusive supervision, both of which stem from the fact that abusive supervision is instigated by supervisors, the majority of whom tend to be male (Fairchild, 2014; Grant Thornton International Business Report, 2013). First, benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) may explain subgroup differences in that some male supervisors take a protective, paternalistic

approach toward their female subordinates which would most likely reduce female employees' experiences of abusive supervision. Second, the power differential between men and women may also contribute to men reporting more abusive supervision than women. Because women tend to have less power than men in general, and—in the context of women who are reporting abusive supervision—these women have even less power because they are in a subordinate role, fear of retaliation when reporting abuse is perhaps maximized. That is, whereas women in follower positions are subordinated by not only their sex but also their job status, men in follower positions are subordinated by only their job status, leading to sex differences in the extent to which a person feels he or she may be hesitant to report supervisor abuse if it occurs. Thus, men may speak out and report abusive supervision more often than women. This unexpected finding has theoretical implications for future research on workplace mistreatment in that power differences between the perpetrator and the target of mistreatment may influence not only who is most likely to experience mistreatment, but also whether victims will report experienced mistreatment. In addition, although supplemental moderator analyses on the source of mistreatment did not reveal systematic differences, this finding for abusive supervision indicates that mistreatment source may play a role in the mistreatment experience. Drawing on this, future theorizing should explore the impact of perpetrator power on the target, prevalence, and outcomes of workplace mistreatment.

Interestingly, we found an even stronger sex difference favoring females in interpersonal conflict ($\delta = -.26$) and we propose that this may be a reflection of the unique, dyadic quality of interpersonal conflict and the corresponding operationalization of this construct. To elaborate, by definition, interpersonal conflict represents conflict between two or more individuals—a dyadic conflict in which both the perpetrator and the target have engaged in. For example, nine of the 12 studies examining sex differences in interpersonal conflict in the current meta-analysis used the four-item Interpersonal Conflict at Work Scale (ICAWS; Spector & Jex, 1998), which is unique from the other measures of mistreatment in that it reflects content involving the extent to which an individual participates in conflict (i.e., "How often do you get into arguments with others at work?"). This is an important departure from other measures because rather than focusing solely on received mistreatment, it also captures (to some extent) the negative behaviors an employee has engaged in toward others. Conflict and expressions of anger are more consistent with male gender role stereotypes than female gender role stereotypes (Bakan, 1966), arguing that male employees may be more likely to engage in interpersonal conflict, leading to greater sex differences that favor females. Further, men have more power in organizations to disagree with other employees than women. Meta-analytic findings also support this idea, showing that men engage in more broadly defined workplace aggression than women (Hershcovis et al., 2007). Thus, sex differences in interpersonal conflict may have favored women because this construct has been operationalized as involving two forms of conflict: both received and perpetrated, which each may have driven higher male scores.

Interpersonal conflict showed unexpected race differences as well, indicating that Whites perceive more interpersonal conflict than minorities. This is perhaps because Whites enter into conflict more often than minorities due to their higher relative power which underscores the notion that interpersonal conflict may operate differently than other forms of workplace mistreatment. Future research would benefit from considering the theoretical and measurement distinctions between interpersonal conflict and other mistreatment constructs.

Findings from the current study can also inform contemporary theories of discrimination. Modern perspectives argue that discrimination has moved away from overt and blatant behaviors targeting minority groups and toward more subtle, ambiguous behaviors (Cortina, 2008; Deitch et al., 2003; Dipboye & Halverson, 2004). It has been argued that seemingly general forms of mistreatment (i.e., forms of mistreatment not theoretically motivated by group membership) provide a means to covertly express bias and may therefore selectively target women and racial minorities (Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2004). Our estimates of sex and race differences in non-group-based mistreatment offer some insight into this proposition. We found limited evidence of sex and race differences in non-group-based mistreatment, which does not support recent claims that sex and race bias is expressed more often via these behaviors in recent years. However, we caution against concluding that the nature of discrimination has not shifted over time. Instead, we conclude that scholars may need to develop measures that specifically assess subtle discrimination instead of using general mistreatment measures.

Lastly, our finding that sex and race differences were largest for sex-based and race-based mistreatment, respectively, highlights the importance of considering this theoretical distinction when conceptualizing workplace mistreatment. There is debate over whether or not the numerous mistreatment constructs represent one latent construct (Hershcovis, 2011) or if these mistreatment constructs have meaningful theoretical differences (Tepper & Henle, 2011). Our findings provide support for considering group-based and non-group-based mistreatment as theoretically distinct constructs because they are differentially motivated and appear to target different groups of employees.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite this study's contributions, our meta-analysis also has limitations. First, the available data limited the extent to which we could examine moderator analyses. For example, mistreatment source was examined in a supplementary analysis (see online supplementary materials) largely because the available data did not allow us to fully examine specific sources within forms of mistreatment. Previous work has shown that there are meaningful differences in the consequences associated with experiencing mistreatment from one's coworkers in comparison to one's supervisor (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010), which suggests that the specific source may moderate subgroup differences. Consistent with this proposition, it may be the case that supervisor behaviors are more constrained by interpersonal organizational norms than coworker behavior, leading to smaller sex and race differences in mistreatment enacted by supervisors. The finding regarding abusive supervision also suggests specific sources of mistreatment may impact the direction of subgroup differences.

Second, although research on double jeopardy (Berdahl & Moore, 2006) suggests minority women may perceive the most mistreatment, the number of studies available to examine how sex and race interact in perceptions of mistreatment was generally small. Nevertheless, we attempted to examine the multiple effects

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of race and sex in the following ways: we first compared sex differences in workplace mistreatment for mixed-race samples versus minority-only samples. These results revealed larger sex differences in mixed-race samples than minority-only samples (see Table 14 in the online supplementary materials). We also examined race differences in workplace mistreatment for mixed-sex samples versus female-only samples. Results indicate that female-only samples exhibited stronger race differences in race-based mistreatment than mixed-sex samples, which offers partial support for double jeopardy in that female minorities generally perceived more workplace mistreatment than males (i.e., when males are included in the samples, race differences decrease; see Table 15 in the online supplementary materials). Future research should seek to further this area of research in order to clarify if individuals belonging to multiple minority groups (e.g., Black female) are differentially targeted by workplace mistreatment.

Third, we were unable to examine subgroup differences in perceived workplace mistreatment for additional demographic groups, such as LGBT populations. One could argue that subgroup differences in mistreatment may be the most pronounced for minority groups that are not legally protected (e.g., LGBT populations, obese employees), suggesting that more substantial subgroup differences may exist that were not explored in the current study. Future work should explore whether employees belonging to these nonprotected populations perceive more mistreatment in comparison to majority group employees.

For the subgroups we could examine in the current study (i.e., sex and race), it is important to acknowledge that the current paper only examines sex and race differences in whether one *perceives* mistreatment, leaving the question of whether there are differential *outcomes* for those who have perceived mistreatment untested. That is, although the current meta-analysis suggests that women and minorities perceive more mistreatment in the workplace, the outcomes (e.g., stress, turnover intentions, performance) of this mistreatment may be more severe for women and minorities than men and Whites, as well, compounding the effects of subgroup differences in mistreatment. For example, not only may a minority employee perceive more racial discrimination at work, but s/he may also feel greater job stress as an outcome of this discrimination because s/he may perceive fewer outside job opportunities, fewer job search resources, and greater chance for future discrimination in the selection process if s/he were to leave. Thus, future work may benefit from meta-analytic examinations of how men/women and majority/minority members experience the entire mistreatment process, including not only differences in mistreatment perceptions, but also differences in mistreatment outcomes.

It is also important to note that we cannot identify the exact reason (or reasons) as to why women and minorities perceive more mistreatment at work. Our theorizing suggests multiple reasons for subgroup differences in mistreatment (i.e., systematic mistreatment of women and minorities due to historically driven stereotypes, increased visibility of minority employees, and heightened sensitivity of minorities), but we were unable to disentangle these potential explanations. Nevertheless, an examination of our findings offers some preliminary insight into these competing rationales. If subgroup differences were driven by minority employees' increased sensitivity to cues of mistreatment, one might expect subgroup differences to be significantly present across all forms of workplace mistreatment. This stands in contrast to the small sex and race differences found in general forms of mistreatment. In addition, prior work suggests that awareness of mistreatment has increased over time, even for more subtle manifestations of mistreatment (Cortina, 2008; Ilies et al., 2003). In line with stigma consciousness theory (Pinel, 1999), this heightened awareness should increase minority expectations for mistreatment, and thus minority sensitivity to mistreatment (and reports of mistreatment) should also increase over time. This work, in combination with our findings that subgroup differences have, in many cases, decreased over time, argues against sensitivity as an explanation for subgroup differences. Thus, although it is impossible in our data to assess whether the observed subgroup differences resulted from stereotypes or visibility, our meta-analytic results seems to be consistent with minority employees having differential experiences and not differential sensitivities to mistreatment.

We note that this explanation is speculative and encourage future work to continue to clarify the reasons for subgroup differences in mistreatment. Measuring objective indicators of workplace mistreatment is one avenue through which we can identify whether women and minorities *experience* more mistreatment (i.e., receive differential treatment) or *perceive* more mistreatment (i.e., have an increased sensitivity to mistreatment). For example, studies can objectively measure workplace discrimination by analyzing emails for racially or sexually derogatory content. Future work simultaneously measuring objective indicators and perceptions of mistreatment would also be informative in understanding the cognitive processes involved in acknowledging mistreatment as well as the dispositional and situational variables that influence employee perceptions. Further, considering the impact of workgroup composition on subgroup differences in mistreatment would enable researchers to assess the impact of visibility. Larger subgroup differences in compositions that are more male and more White would support the role of visibility (i.e., tokenism; Kanter, 1977) in predicting subgroup differences.

Relatedly, it would be interesting for future work to determine if the behaviors that are reported as mistreatment differ across subgroups. As previously stated, men and Whites tend to hold relatively more power than women and minorities, which may affect perceptions of mistreatment in two ways. First, having more power may make men and Whites more comfortable reporting that they have experienced mistreatment because they occupy less vulnerable positions. Second, men and Whites may also be more likely to characterize negative behaviors as mistreatment because their relative power may result in different expectations of interpersonal treatment. Thus, in addition to differences in the amount of mistreatment perceived by subgroups, there may also be substantive differences in the intensity of the behaviors that are considered to be, and reported as, mistreatment across demographic groups.

Further work in the area of power may provide additional insight into the perceptions of discrimination and harassment at work. We already noted the impact of perpetrator power on mistreatment, but target power may also be important. For example, research has demonstrated that high power women experience more sexual harassment in comparison to lower power women (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). The authors argue that sexual harassment serves to inoculate the threat that powerful women pose to men. This is consistent with social dominance perspectives (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), which posit that men and Whites are

motivated to maintain their positions of relative power and engage in mistreatment to reinforce traditional power hierarchies. This suggests that the power standing of women and minorities can affect their vulnerability to mistreatment (i.e., mistreatment of women and minorities may increase as they gain more power within the organization). Future research would benefit from identifying the magnitude of subgroup differences at different levels of target power.

Finally, future work on mistreatment should also explore the extent to which positive diversity climates moderate subgroup differences in perceived mistreatment. Given that positive diversity climates demonstrate that organizations value members of all demographic groups, it follows that subgroup differences in mistreatment should be smallest in the presence of these climates. Conversely, organizations that do not place value on diversity or have climates that do not sufficiently discourage mistreatment are likely to show increased subgroup differences.

Conclusion

The purpose of this meta-analysis was to estimate the degree to which subgroup differences exist in perceptions of workplace mistreatment. At first glance, our results suggest modest sex and race differences in workplace mistreatment. Whereas moderate subgroup differences were identified for perceived sex and race-based mistreatment (e.g., sexual harassment, racial discrimination), there were little to no subgroup differences in general or non-group-based forms of perceived mistreatment. However, closer examination indicates the practical significance of these findings (i.e., even small subgroup differences can be meaningful, and some of these differences appear to have changed substantially over time). Researchers and practitioners would benefit from endeavors such as the identification of organizational policy weaknesses, encouragement of antimistreatment climates that encompass both insiders and outsiders, examination of the impact of diversity climates on the magnitude of subgroup differences, investigation of subgroup differences in nonprotected groups, and the pursuit of more valid mistreatment measures.

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