

**Profiling Institutional Estrangement:  
Contours and Consequences of Gendered Mistreatment in College.**

by

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation integrates intersectionality with person-centered methods to explore how multidimensional gendered mistreatment in college is associated with students' institutional estrangement. Here, gendered mistreatment includes: incivility (i.e., identity-ambiguous rudeness); heterosexist and gender harassment (i.e., identity-specific derogation); and sexually advancing harassment (i.e., coercive invitations, inappropriate touch). Survey data were collected in two waves ( $n = 4,023$ ) from undergraduate (81.9%) and graduate students (18.1%) at a small public university in the rural Northwest, with 11% sexual minorities. Here, institutional relations encompass students' attitudes (i.e., satisfaction, trust, safety) and academic engagement. I hypothesized that strained institutional relations would be associated with gender, sexuality, and mistreatment. I identified four mistreatment groups using k-means cluster analysis. Most reported Minimal ( $n = 2,397$ ) mistreatment. The Hetero/Sexist group ( $n = 716$ ) experienced predominantly identity-specific mistreatment. The Uncivil group ( $n = 660$ ) recounted predominantly identity-ambiguous mistreatment. The minority ( $n = 250$ ) reported globally High Victimization. Chi-square analyses determined that gender-sexuality subgroups were unevenly distributed among mistreatment groups,  $\chi^2(9) = 113.14, p < .001$ . Sexual minority men (12.30%) and women (12.71%) were over twice as likely to report High Victimization compared to heterosexual men (4.97%) and women (6.04%). Finally, multiple ANOVAs revealed sociodemographic and mistreatment associations with institutional relations. College satisfaction was lower among sexual minorities ( $M = 5.34, SD = 1.51$ ) compared to heterosexuals ( $M = 5.64,$

$SD = 1.33$ ),  $F(1, 3947) = 15.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .004$ ; Uncivil and High Victimization were similarly deleterious,  $F(3, 3947) = 20.82, p < .001, \eta^2 = .016$ . Only High Victimization eroded trust in harassment reporting mechanisms,  $F(3, 3278) = 3.31, p = .019, \eta^2 = .003$ . These students reported the least safety on campus ( $M = 5.13, SD = 1.56$ ),  $F(3, 3941) = 26.41, p < .001, \eta^2 = .020$ , and lowest academic engagement ( $M = 5.47, SD = 1.13$ ),  $F(3, 3937) = 30.61, p < .001, \eta^2 = .023$ . The Uncivil group ( $M = 5.40, SD = 1.46$ ) felt less safety than the Hetero/Sexist group ( $M = 5.73, SD = 1.37$ ). Women ( $M = 5.03, SD = 1.45$ ) felt less safe than men ( $M = 6.32, SD = 0.85$ ),  $F(1, 2941) = 339.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .080$ . Sexual minorities ( $M = 5.32, SD = 1.52$ ) felt less safe than heterosexuals ( $M = 5.71, SD = 1.33$ ) overall,  $F(1, 2941) = 25.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .006$ , and within mistreatment groups,  $F(3, 2941) = 6.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .005$ . Sexual minorities ( $M = 5.83, SD = 0.90$ ),  $F(1, 3937) = 14.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .004$ , and men ( $M = 5.96, SD = 0.86$ ),  $F(1, 3937) = 19.47, p < .001, \eta^2 = .005$ , were less engaged compared to heterosexuals ( $M = 6.04, SD = 0.82$ ) and women ( $M = 6.07, SD = 0.80$ ). Highly victimized women ( $M = 5.62, SD = 1.01$ ) had resilient engagement compared to similarly targeted men ( $M = 5.29, M = 1.23$ ),  $F(3, 3937) = 4.10, p = .007, \eta^2 = .003$ . While victimized and marginalized students' diminished institutional relations could be characterized by disconnection (Tinto, 1975), they may simultaneously rely on this university to live, learn, work, and socialize (Smith & Freyd, 2014). College students' strained attitudes and disengagement alongside gendered mistreatment might be best characterized as institutional estrangement, whereby they navigate simultaneous alienation and dependency.

*Keywords:* betrayal, campus climate, college students, discrimination, diversity, gender, incivility, intersectionality, organizational climate, organizational behavior, rudeness, satisfaction, school environment, sexual harassment, sexual orientation, student engagement.

## **Chapter I.**

### **Introduction**

In this dissertation, I explore how gendered mistreatment in college disproportionately affects the lives of women and sexual minorities, resulting in strained relations with their university. I theorize that mistreatment from members of the campus community (i.e., faculty, students, staff) contributes to students' academic and institutional alienation at their university in the form of academic disengagement and lower institutional attitudes. This dissertation will use measures of generally rude, explicitly discriminatory, and sexualized gendered mistreatment experiences, and student outcomes that have been informed by organizational and feminist psychological interrogations of how social institutions (e.g., universities, workplaces, the military, etc.) operate under larger cultural contexts of social inequality. The gendered mistreatment experiences assessed in this dissertation are conceptualized as: identity-ambiguous (i.e., incivility), identity-specific (i.e., gender harassment, heterosexist harassment), and sexualized (i.e., sexually advancing harassment) hostilities. The institutional relations assessed include: general satisfaction with the university, institutional trust (i.e., in the university's harassment response systems), campus safety perceptions, and self-reported academic disengagement.

While these marginalized and targeted students' attitudes towards and functioning within their academic institution could be characterized by alienation (Tinto, 1975), I argue that these students are also in a highly dependent relationship with their university (Smith & Freyd, 2014). Students victimized by gendered mistreatment rely on their school to provide adequate resources

for harassment remediation, they must continue to engage with their academic responsibilities to academically persist, and often invest significant time and monetary resources into their enrollment and integration into the campus community. This dependency on the academic institution they rely on to live, learn, work, and socialize, may be a particularly salient institutional feature for traditional students in a rural college town. Further, I argue that in such a rural college town, particularly in a politically and socially conservative state, sexual minorities' and women's institutional relations and mistreatment experiences in college may be unique compared to heterosexuals and men. Alongside the effects of region of the United States, research has demonstrated that living in a rural community is one of the most strongly consistent ecological predictors of negative school climate for LGBTQ youth (Kosciw, Greytak, Diaz, 2009). With attention to these power dynamics, I offer that students' diminished institutional relations in the wake of gendered mistreatment in college might be best characterized as estrangement, where students experience simultaneous alienation from and dependency upon their academic institution. Particularly when students have little else but the university to find community or seek support in the aftermath of mistreatment, the centrality of experiencing gendered victimization on campus might facilitate such conditions. I theorize that this estrangement manifests as strained attitudes towards the institution and disengagement.

This research will test empirically how patterns of identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized hostilities function differently in the lives of men and women, with emphasis on how these students are also otherwise privileged or disadvantaged relative to their intersecting sexual orientation, and whether different mistreatment patterns are associated with institutional attitudes and academic engagement. Overall, I argue that these hostilities constitute overt and covert manifestations of *sexist and heterosexist prejudice* in this institutional context, affecting

the lives of sexual minority women, in particular. Whereby sexual minorities and women are more likely to be frequently targeted with multiple forms of gendered mistreatment, I suggest that these marginalized groups and collective experiences will be associated with institutional attitudes such as college dissatisfaction, distrust of the university's harassment reporting systems, safety concerns on campus, and academic disengagement.

This dissertation will first explore how feminist epistemological and critical intersectional approaches relate to research on gendered mistreatment and students' experiences in educational institutions. I document how integrating intersectional theoretical and analytic approaches in organizational research allows for a more contextualized understanding of gender-salient phenomena, such as campus-based mistreatment. In section two, I review the literature on identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized mistreatment experiences. Section three reviews research on institutional attitudes and academic disengagement. In section four, I give an overview of the dissertation and research questions, and I report the methods in section five. Additionally, I provide a brief background on person-centered versus variable-centered approaches to statistical analysis. Results from this analysis are provided in section six and discussed in section seven, where I offer implications for practice and future research.

### **Theoretical and Analytic Framing**

**Feminist reflexivity.** Feminist approaches to scholarship emphasize that the researcher must be critically reflexive of their own assumptions and claims in the process of knowledge production, from theoretical framing and methodology to the interpretation and implications of the results. In terms of my social location, I situate my experience as being a sexual minority and multiracial man of color. My intersectional feminist and critical psychological education helped

bring political and structural awareness to my own experiences of racial and sexual marginalization, but it also guided my attention to the privileges I experience as a cisgender man.

This intersectional theoretical lens and coalitional politic around gender, race, and sexual inequality was how I first entered this dissertation research, hoping to account for gender and racial/ethnic differences in the gendered mistreatment and institutional relations of sexual minority and heterosexual students. While there are notable parallels between these systems of inequality, there are also important distinctions in how they function, proliferate, and reinforce one another. For example, gender is often implicitly salient when heterosexist harassment is deployed because of a perceived mismatch between a person's assumed sex with their perceived gender expression and/or their perceived sexuality. There are also limits to what a researcher can effectively account for in one quantitative study, and these decisions can sometimes carry practical and political weight. I had to be mindful of this as I decided what constructs to include, what theoretical and empirical scholarship to highlight, the analytical approach to sociodemographic considerations with the sample, and how I interpreted associations of gendered mistreatment patterns with sociodemographics and institutional relations.

Mindful of the specific scope of my own social location, I reflexively engaged in dialogue with people throughout the research process with a diverse range of gendered and cultural experiences. This helped me move beyond empirical findings to better grasp the complexity of how sexism operates in tandem with heterosexist mistreatment for sexual minority women. Working with undergraduates, listening to women and feminine people, and observing prototypically masculine men in my group interactions taught me about how many men's (and sometimes my own) communication patterns can explicitly and implicitly denote disrespect and bias towards women through dominating and generally rude behaviors that are

disproportionately directed towards them (i.e., selective incivility; Cortina, 2008). Listening to my women and more prototypically feminine students illuminated how preoccupied many felt with safety concerns when navigating the college campus (i.e., often exacerbated by fears of sexualized and violent victimization from men; Currie, 1994). I heard heightened concerns around gendered mistreatment and intimate violence (e.g., sexual assault) among undergraduate and graduate student survivors when their perpetrator was part of the same campus community and/or part of the same marginalized group (e.g., the LGBTQ community), as they were more likely to have continued contact or mutual connections with their perpetrator in the predominantly white college town located in a rural, conservative area. I also had to listen to the data to make informed decisions beyond theory in my analytic approach, which ultimately de-centered race in my analyses (see research question two in the results) with this sample.

**Feminist epistemology.** In reviewing trends in psychological literatures related to gender (as sex differences, gendered phenomena, and as an analytic lens), Stewart and McDermott (2004) argued that a research framework which “integrates social structural and individual approaches to understanding gender can provide powerful accounts of particular psychological phenomena” (p. 522). For example, a researcher studying heteropatriarchy and campus experiences might statistically account the unique variance of gender and sexual orientation in the sample, while analyzing how sexual harassment is associated with students’ campus safety concerns. Thus, when studying gender and sexual orientation group differences in gendered phenomena feminist researchers are encouraged to exercise their capacity to interrogate how social inequality and privilege might be involved.

Case, Iuzzini, and Hopkins (2012) explain that, “privilege is defined in relational terms and in reference to social groups, and involves unearned benefits afforded to powerful social

groups within systems of oppression ... such as individuals perceived to be male, White, heterosexual, or middle class” (p. 3). When accounting for group differences based on politicized social identities, such as gender, research can sometimes ignore important contextualizing factors and rely on essentialist reasoning. In further exploring research trends, Cole and Stewart (2001) note that social science research seeking to explain empirical differences between identity groups (e.g., gender differences in experiences, perceptions, and abilities) often uses one of two essentialist strategies: traditional “essentialists” document differences to reinforce and “naturalize” differences between groups (e.g., male vs. female task specializations), whereas “strategist essentialists” seek to “romanticize” group differences as inherent in order to legitimize a marginalized experience and perhaps create solidarity within that group (e.g., searching for a “gay gene”). Cole, Avery, Dodson, and Goodman (2012) discuss power of the “symbolism of the natural,” (p. 49) as a rhetorical strategy used in discourse to reinforce (and sometimes to challenge) existing power structures around gender and sexuality. Thus, both traditional and strategic essentialist strategies rely on discourse that reinforces naturalized hierarchies between privileged and devalued groups (Cole & Stewart, 2001). By empirically examining gender differences without interrogating how the meaning of these politicized social categories are being (re)constructed in specific social contexts, research highlighting gender differences can sometimes draw misleading and invidious distinctions (Cole & Stewart, 2001).

In trying to further understand and remedy the effects of inequality, psychological research tends to not focus on studying those specifically benefiting from privilege within these systems. Importantly though, Case, Iuzinni, and Hopkins (2012) point to the unique position that psychologists have in researching mental processes and experiences associated with privileged social group(s): “Although discrimination and privilege are divergent outcomes created by each



form of systematic, institutionalized oppression, the two are inseparable as codependent structural forces” (p. 2). Because it is important to understand better how gender-salient hostilities are experienced by the “dominant” group (Waldo, et al., 1998; Holland, et al. 2015), studying the experiences of men in addition to women’s experiences of incivility and sex-based hostilities in institutional contexts is a significant topic. Pratto and Stewart (2012) note that members of dominant groups (e.g., men, heterosexuals) are also privileged psychologically, making their experiences appear “normal.” Specifically, dominant group members may comprehend, but not recognize their groups’ unearned advantages as privilege. Rather than viewing their own experiences as a privilege, dominant group members tend to focus on discussing the “difference” and disadvantages of marginalized groups. Similarly, research tends to focus on disadvantage of marginalized groups, without explicitly accounting for privilege.

Importantly, individuals can have dominant group membership related to one identity category, while also experiencing inequality relative to other salient subordinate social group memberships. Research tends to focus on one aspect of identity marginalization at a time. However, a growing body of research examines multiple systems of inequality in tandem.

**Intersectionality as a theoretical approach.** Intersectionality as a theoretical approach was originally promoted in academic scholarship by women of color to critique dominant conceptualizations of race, gender, and class that erased their experiences with multiple forms of inequality. In later years, other forms of identity and related structural inequality (e.g., ability status, sexual orientation) have been increasingly included in research (Bowleg, 2008). The research framework of intersectionality, with its roots in critical race and feminist studies (Crenshaw, 1989), views systems of oppression based on politically and culturally significant

social categories (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation) as intersecting rather than being experienced separately (Cole, 2009).

Speaking to the duality of privilege and marginalization in men's experiences, Coston and Kimmel (2012) found that men who experience stigma and marginality (e.g., based on disability, sexual orientation) tended to align themselves and their experiences consistent with their own subordinate identity rather than through their gender-privilege. Privilege is not a "zero-sum quality" (Coston & Kimmel, 2012, p. 97) experienced only by an elite few. We all, in varying degrees, experience unearned privilege while also living with structural oppression. Yet, within social science research documenting experiences and outcomes of multiple forms of social inequality, "the politics of research on the intersection of social identities based on race, gender... and sexuality can at times resemble a score-keeping contest" of who is more oppressed (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 377).

Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) discuss how researchers have adapted the intersectional concept of compounding and mutually constitutive oppressions (i.e., "double jeopardy") to understand the experiences of multiply marginalized individuals (e.g., racial minority women) using a variety of theoretical assumptions and methodological approaches. However, scholars reviewing intersectional approaches to quantitative research in psychology note that simultaneously quantifying multiple demographic variables of participants does not inherently constitute research grounded in intersectionality (Cole, 2009): "...rather, it is the goal of the researcher to evaluate the processes involved in intersecting identities, especially as related to central issues on which intersectionality is based, such as social power and inequity" (Warner, 2008, p. 461; cf. Bowleg, 2008). Stewart and McDermott (2004) argue psychological phenomena that are most "strongly influenced by social structures and taking place in the context of social

relations” are good candidates to study from an intersectional perspective (p. 534); for example, experiencing generally rude, (hetero)sexist, and sexualized mistreatment in organizations.

Given the overlap of gender and sexual orientation in structuring experiences of heterosexism, sexism, and social inequality in organizations, Konik and Cortina (2008) offer an integrated model of “sex-based” harassment. Using an intersectional perspective highlighting intersections of gender and sexual orientation in workplace mistreatment, Konik & Cortina (2008) discovered that an integrative three-part model – consisting of gender-based, heterosexist, and sexually advancing harassment subtypes – was the most useful way to conceptualize the intersection of gender-based and sexual orientation harassment. Their results suggest that sexual minority (i.e., LGBTQ) men and women may experience some forms of sex-based harassment qualitatively differently than their heterosexual counterparts. Indeed, sexual orientation of the target was found to have significant effects on factor modeling the subtypes of “sex-based harassment” (an umbrella term, described further in section two), while the model was otherwise invariable across targets’ gender. The authors conclude that while the three-factor model had an adequate fit, “stronger interfactor correlations” for sexual minorities suggest that these sex-based mistreatment subtypes might co-occur more frequently for this group (Konik & Cortina, 2008, p. 332). As evidenced by the work of Konik and Cortina (2008) and others (e.g., Rabelo & Cortina, 2014), when looking at patterns of gendered mistreatment in an institutional setting using an intersectional perspective, the researcher becomes better able to see commonalities in how inequality is socially regulated both across and within politicized categories of supposed difference (Warner, 2008, Cole, 2009), such as gender and sexual orientation.

**Campus mistreatment as gendered phenomena.** Various literatures within psychology have noted that while overtly prejudicial attitudes in society are in steady decline, implicit and

covert prejudice continues to have strong effects on explicit intergroup behavior and beliefs (Dovidio, Kawakami, Smoak, & Gaertner, 2008; see also Cortina, 2008). Referring to those navigating a stigmatized identity, Goffman (1963) discussed the toll of negotiating potential exposure to stigma and possible threats of interpersonal hostility: the discreditable are constantly scanning environments. Theoretically grounded in a “minority stress framework” (Meyer, 2003), hostile and discriminatory stressors are argued to give students from devalued groups unique perceptions of the campus climate (Yost & Gilmore, 2011). Thus, marginalized groups (e.g., women, sexual and racial minorities across gender) tend to experience heightened safety concerns and less favorable attitudes about the campus context overall. These attitudes could be due to increased personally directed and indirect group threats and experiences of discriminatory violence, prejudice, and mistreatment experienced by these groups (Kelly & Torres, 2006; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Waldo, 1998). Yet, the study of intergroup relations in psychology has long focused on prejudice parsimoniously operationalized by only one type of identity category at a time. To address these limitations, this dissertation will specifically consider the intersectionality of gender and sexual orientation (as identity categories and social structures) to examine the impact of identity-ambiguous, identity-specific (i.e., gender, sexual orientation), and sexualized hostilities in academic institutions.

Marshaling decades of empirical evidence from disparate feminist and organizational literatures, Lim and Cortina (2005) articulated the intertwined relationships of sexualized harassment, incivility and gender-based mistreatment for women in organizational settings, through the lens of gender-based dominance: “... empirical findings support feminist arguments that sexual intention is not the sole motivation behind this collection of behaviors (MacKinnon, 1979). Dominance and power also seem to be a driving force behind ... [sex-based harassment],

and they could motivate workplace incivility as well” (p. 484). More recent research has linked heterosexist harassment with gender-based hostility for sexual minorities (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014) and has linked incivility with heterosexist harassment among college students across sexual orientation (Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, & Matney, 2014). Because “gender is critically linked with social status,” feminist-informed research can benefit from examining “gender as a set of power relations” (Stewart & McDermott, 2004, p. 528), especially when looking at social phenomena within institutions (e.g., universities, the military). While these constructs have been conceptually linked, understanding how they operate in tandem to impact individual outcomes is underexplored.

The institutional settings typically studied in organizational research on incivility and sex-based mistreatment have been primarily workplace related, however “professional and academic organizations have common characteristics in terms of power structures, social norms, and performance expectations” (Marchiondo, Marchiondo, & Lasiter, 2010, p. 609). Despite differences in average age of members and function, workplaces for employees and university contexts for students are both, “two types of organizations where there are many daily interactions” and both institutional settings provide ample opportunities for experiencing gender-salient mistreatment (cf. Miner, Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Brady, 2012, p. 346). Thus, research on employees’ experiences of mistreatment in the workplace may also be applicable to students’ experiences in university settings (and vice versa).

This dissertation research will primarily investigate whether students’ identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized hostile mistreatment by university peers, staff, and faculty are associated with strained relations with their academic institution. Using intersectionality as an analytic lens (Warner, 2008), I hypothesized that more frequent

mistreatment experiences and negative institutional outcomes will arise for students who are women and members of other devalued social groups (e.g., LGBTQ people, racial-ethnic minorities), as compared to members of privileged social groups (e.g., men who are heterosexual and White). I also hypothesized that experiencing disproportionate gender-salient hostile experiences perpetrated by other members of the academic institution may foster students' estrangement from their university, manifesting as disaffected institutional attitudes (e.g., campus safety concerns, institutional mistrust, and university dissatisfaction) and self-reported academic disengagement.

To tease out the relationships of mistreatment experiences with institutional attitudes and engagement, section two will synthesize previous research exploring the prevalence and impact of gendered mistreatment, such as incivility and sex-based harassment, in organizations.

### **Gendered Mistreatment**

The staggering estimates of sexual assault for college students have led to increased legislative, media, and university administration attention to the impact of policies, programming, and procedures around intimate violence. Left off the headlines, however, are the more pervasive forms of sex-based harassment (alternatively, “sexual” or “gender-based”) and identity-ambiguous mistreatment that persist on university campuses. See Table 11 in the appendix, for a summary of gendered mistreatment constructs analyzed in this dissertation and their definitions (and various labels used in the literature).

In both contemporary legal precedent (Shultz, 1998, 2006; see Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011) and empirical research trends (cf. Berdahl, 2007a), sex-based harassment is often thought of as being limited to unwelcome or coercive sexual come-ons (i.e., sexually advancing harassment). Researchers (e.g., Konik & Cortina, 2008; Leskinen & Cortina, 2014) have

broadened this concept to include demeaning and crude insults about one's gender group (i.e., gender harassment), remarks that denigrate non-heterosexual sexualities (i.e., heterosexist harassment), and prescriptive critiques of one's gender performances that violate stereotypical norms (i.e., gender-policing harassment). Cortina (2008) further demonstrates that modern forms of sex-based discrimination often manifest as covert bias towards devalued group members through identity-ambiguous, rude interpersonal mistreatment (e.g., incivility).

Gendered mistreatment is an umbrella term that encompasses various forms of subtly discourteous interactions (e.g., microaggressions, incivility) and overt harassment (e.g., sex-based harassment) relating to the target's "sex" and gender (i.e., assumed/assigned sex group, gender and presentation, sexual orientation and identity, and sexuality). These behaviors range from subtly discriminatory, and possibly unconsciously rude interactions (e.g., microinsults, incivility), to overtly discriminatory sex-based harassment (e.g., gender harassment, microassaults), and more sexualized forms of sex-based harassment (i.e., sexually advancing harassment, sexual assault). The related term "gendered harassment" (Meyer, 2008ab) has been used similarly to encompass behavior "that polices the boundaries of traditional heterosexual gender norms and includes (hetero)sexual harassment, homophobic harassment, and harassment for gender non-conformity" (Meyer, 2008b, p. 555) between peers at school. However, Meyer (2008b) ignores the multidimensionality of "sexual harassment," to focus on unwanted "sexual" behaviors that go unchecked and create a hostile environment in schools; she does not distinguish between gender derogating, gender-policing, heterosexist, and sexually advancing harassment. Further, Meyer (2008a) excludes quid-pro-quo harassment from her analysis. Additionally, "gendered harassment" appears mostly in the literature on bullying and harassment

in school-aged students (Meyer, 2008a; Meyer, 2008b; Rinehart & Espelage, 2015), rather than with working adults or college students.

In this dissertation, I use the term gendered mistreatment to refer to identity-ambiguous subtly rude interactions (i.e., incivility), identity-specific discriminatory harassment (i.e., gender harassment and heterosexist harassment), and sexualized harassment (i.e., sexually advancing harassment). The mistreatment experiences assessed in this study relate to gender, either directly or indirectly. Heterosexist and gender harassment consists of insults with demeaning content that explicitly relates to sexual orientation and gender, respectively. Sexualized (i.e., sexually advancing) harassment often occurs in gender-salient contexts (see Cortina & Berdahl, 2008), such that women are disproportionately targeted (O’Connell & Korabik, 2000) and men are disproportionately more likely to perpetrate sexually advancing harassment (Ménard, Hall, Phung, Ghebrial, & Martin, 2003). Conversely, general incivility – demeaning interpersonal behavior that is identity-ambiguous on its surface, but often prejudicial in prevalence and impact – may be perpetrated in institutions selectively towards individuals with membership in one or more devalued social locations: “incivility, in some cases, is not ‘general’ at all but instead represents contemporary manifestations of gender and racial bias” within institutional settings (Cortina, 2008, p. 55).

These abuses often arise in tandem in institutional settings. Among targeted women, gender harassment in workplace settings frequently co-occurs with sexually advancing harassment and incivility experiences (Lim & Cortina, 2005), and with gender-policing and heterosexist harassment among sexual minorities (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014). It is likely that incivility overlaps with both gender and heterosexist harassment, and to a lesser extent with sexually advancing harassment. Indeed, gender harassment seems to “bridge” the relationship



between incivility and sexually advancing harassment of working women (Lim & Cortina, 2005). However, Lim and Cortina (2005) posit that incivility may be more closely tied to gender harassment because they both convey disparagement that is also devoid of eliciting sexual cooperation, as compared to sexually advancing harassment. Konik and Cortina (2008) made similar arguments about the closer relationship between heterosexist harassment and gender-based harassment (assessed as both gender-derogation and gender-policing harassment), as compared to sexually advancing harassment.

While previous research on workplace organizations has examined gender harassment (and its subtypes) in relation to experiences of incivility for women (Lim & Cortina, 2005) and to heterosexist harassment across gender (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Rabelo & Cortina, 2014), no research to date has synthesized nor empirically extended these overlapping findings to non-workplace institutional settings, such as with college student samples. And while promising research on college students' experiences of heterosexist harassment and incivility is emerging (Woodford, et al., 2014), this LGBTQ-focused research often overlooks other well-researched harassment constructs (e.g., gender harassment and sexually advancing harassment) that have been found to be especially salient to women's organizational experiences, across sexual orientation (see Konik & Cortina, 2008).

Examining multiple identity forms of discrimination allows for an understanding of power and oppression in a more holistic way that better captures the experiences of multiply marginalized individuals (e.g., sexual minorities of color, lesbians and bisexual women) rather than findings that reflect a prototypical group experience of gendered mistreatment (e.g., heterosexual women, gay men). However, it is unclear whether experiencing multiple forms of mistreatment habituates individuals by increasing coping mechanisms (e.g., sexual minority

women growing up with sexism and then having more resources in adolescence to cope with negative experiences with their marginalized sexuality) or exacerbates harm (e.g., the double jeopardy of black women experiencing racism and sexism at work) (see Raver & Nishii, 2010). It is likely that claims for habituation or exacerbation theories of multiple mistreatment depends on: (a) what kinds of mistreatment are measured and how (e.g., multiple forms of discrimination based on different identities, discrimination based on specific identity intersections), (b) the setting and perpetrators of mistreatment (e.g., in the community context or specific to an organizational setting, peer perpetration or faculty/staff superiors), and the outcomes being used to determine impact (e.g., health outcomes, institutional functioning).

In this dissertation, I argue that intersectionality frameworks and person-centered statistical methods can be used in tandem to broaden our understandings of how patterns of gendered mistreatment are collectively experienced in organizations, particularly among those multiply marginalized in terms of their gender and sexual orientation. Research tends to focus on the covariance or theoretical overlap of various forms of gendered mistreatment, emphasizing how these different “faces” of sex-based harassment and incivility are conceptually and statistically related. What is unclear is the collective impact of experiencing different patterns of gendered mistreatment. One notable exception is a recent article by Rabelo and Cortina (2014) that employed k-means cluster analysis (a type of person-centered method) to explore patterns of (identity-specific) gender and heterosexist harassment among sexual minority employees. In terms of the present study, I hypothesized that being targeted in college with multiple forms of mistreatment in tandem (e.g., sexualized harassment alongside identity-specific harassment and identity-ambiguous mistreatment) would result in lower engagement in school and more strained attitudes towards the academic institutional setting in which they co-occur.

Before further introducing empirical research on the incidence and impact of sex-based harassment (i.e., gender harassment, heterosexist harassment, sexually advancing harassment) in organizations, I will next explore the growing literature on general incivility, and its selectively discriminatory impact on women and other devalued social groups, in workplace and academic institutions.

**Incivility.** Incivility is defined as low-level, rude behavior with ambiguous intent to harm (Anderson & Person, 1999). In an organizational setting, incivility is a subtle form of non-violent, aggressive action (e.g. gossiping and spreading rumors, ignoring someone when they are speaking). Although it is unclear whether the perpetrator intended discrimination or harm, it has negative effects on those who are targeted with this mistreatment (Cortina, et al., 2011).

Incivility has been theorized as being selectively targeted towards women and racial minorities (Cortina, 2008) as a covert form of modern discrimination that worsens psychosocial (Cole, Grubb, Sauter, Swanson, & Lawless, 1997) and organizational wellbeing (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001). Initial research has documented incivility as a modern manifestation of discrimination for women and racial minorities (and women of color, in particular), sampling from multiple workplace settings (Cortina, et al., 2011). Today incivility is primarily researched and theorized as racialized and gendered phenomena in the workplace (Cortina, 2008), with notable exceptions examining college students' experiences of incivility (e.g., Caza & Cortina, 2007; Miner, et al., 2012; Woodford, et al., 2014).

Research on the effects of incivility for students on college campuses is sparse. Caza and Cortina (2007) demonstrated that experiencing incivility perpetrated by members of the university is associated with feeling socially ostracized by peers and academically mistreated by instructors, with negative relationships for students' psychological health, academic engagement,

and college experience satisfaction. Incivility, when perpetrated by university staff and faculty in particular, exacerbated negative consequences for students' wellbeing (Caza & Cortina, 2007). Researchers have also specifically explored nursing students' experiences of faculty-perpetrated incivility, finding that it leads to lower program retention, satisfaction, fears of retaliation for reporting, and exacerbated academic pressures (Lasiter, Marchiondo, Marchiondo, 2012; Marchiondo, et al., 2010). Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, and Matney (2014) found that personal and ambient experiences of peer-perpetrated incivility among college students was associated with greater levels of anxiety and moderate/severe depression, especially among sexual minorities. Woodford and colleagues (2014) also found that sexual minorities were at increased odds of witnessing incivility in their environment and being personally targeted with incivility (along with heterosexist harassment). These hostilities mediated the relationship of sexual minority status with anxiety and depression. Taken together, these findings further speak to the selective impact of incivility towards undervalued groups within an institution (e.g., women, racial minorities; see Cortina, 2008), including sexual minority (i.e., LGBTQ) and transgender college students (Woodford, et al., 2014; Woodford, Pacey, Kulick, & Hong, 2015). This body of research demonstrates the relevance of studying this generally uncivil mistreatment in academic institutional settings (see also Miner, et al., 2012).

Next, incivility has been noted to have important relationships with constructs relevant to this dissertation. Incivility is often experienced contemporaneously with gender harassment, and to a lesser extent sexually advancing harassment (e.g., Lim & Cortina, 2005) in workplace samples, and also with heterosexist harassment among college students (Woodford, et al., 2014). Incivility has also been tied to institutional attitudes. Gallus (2010) found that lower institutional trust in the workplace was positively correlated with personally experiencing incivility. Notably,

research has yet to link experiences of incivility in higher education to campus safety concerns. Additionally, incivility has been tied to other harmful gendered phenomena in institutions, such as sex-based harassment, a topic I turn to next.

**Sex-based harassment.** I use the term sex-based harassment as an umbrella term to describe and integrate interpersonal mistreatment that is explicitly linked to one's sex: gender and presentation, perceived or actual sexual orientation, and/or to one's sexuality. For example, heterosexist harassment includes discriminatory remarks about sexual minorities, which is also indirectly tied to the target's gender / perceived biological sex. The relationship of sex in heterosexist harassment was illuminated by Rabelo and Cortina (2014), using the "but for" legal standard:

“when colleagues hurl antigay epithets at a male coworker..., they attack him for intimacy (real, assumed, or insinuated) with men. Rarely would they vilify a female colleague for being intimate with men, because that conduct is expected of women. “But for” the victim's maleness, he would not have suffered the abuse. In this way, heterosexist harassment discriminates “because of” a victim's biological sex...” (p. 386).

In terms of content and intent, heterosexist harassment operates like gender harassment (i.e., both are identity-specific, rejection-based, and explicitly discriminatory). It is a subtype of sex-based harassment. Thus, sex-based harassment includes three conceptually distinct, but phenomenologically related constructs: gender harassment (including both gender-derogation and gender-policing subtypes), heterosexist harassment, and sexually advancing harassment (see Konik & Cortina, 2008).

Berdahl (2007a) argues that sex-based harassment is animated by “the basic desire [...] to protect or enhance one’s social status against threat” (Berdahl, 2007a, p. 644). Considering this, she contends that sex-based harassment occurs because social status is hierarchically gendered, relegating women, femininity, and non-heterosexuality to a lower stratum. Those who threaten the relegation of women or who defy traditional gender norms that reinforce this relegation are, consequentially, targeted. Research demonstrates higher levels of sex-based harassment of feminist, dominant, and gender equality-focused women (Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003) and gender-nonconforming (i.e., masculine, androgynous) women (Berdahl, 2007b) compared to other women, in theory because they embody a threat to heteropatriarchal gender norms. Thus, sex-based harassment can be understood as an instrument of misogyny and homophobia to uphold gendered, asymmetrical power dynamics that privilege – primarily cisgender, heterosexual-identified, masculine of center – men.

In the rest of this section on sex-based harassment, I will further delineate three forms of this harassment, their conceptual and empirical divergences, and negative impact in organizations. First, I begin with gender harassment – an often overlooked, but common manifestation of sex-based harassment within organizations – including its subtype, gender-policing. The remaining two sections will cover heterosexist harassment and sexually advancing harassment, respectively.

***Gender harassment.*** Gender “derogation” harassment denotes discriminatory verbal, behavioral, and symbolic mistreatment that conveys explicit antipathy toward members of one’s gender group (Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011). This sexist harassment can take the form of crude sexual jokes that demean women or targeted comments that explicitly denigrate all men or

all women (e.g., men are sloppy, women are bad at math); it is theorized to be always devoid of conveying sexual interest (Leskinen, Cortina, Kabat, 2011).

Although the U.S. legal system centers sexually advancing forms of sex-based harassment as constituting prototypical sexual harassment (Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011), research has consistently demonstrated that gender harassment is also a significant aspect of sex-based harassment, independently associated with negative outcomes. For instance, in a sample of sexual-minority, non-student university employees, those who experienced medium to high levels of gender derogation harassment (which co-occurred with heterosexist harassment and gender-policing) had significantly higher levels of work disengagement and job stress and lower levels of job satisfaction compared to those who experienced no victimization (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014).

Experiences of gender harassment are associated with a host of negative health outcomes, such as post-traumatic stress in adult women (Berg, 2006), and increased anger, depression, anxiety, and lower self-esteem in college women (Swim et al., 2001). Also, women in the U.S. military who experienced gender harassment perpetrated by fellow persons in uniform were more likely to report lower levels of work satisfaction, coworker satisfaction, and psychological wellbeing than were those who had not experienced it (Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011). Further, in a sample of women working in the U.S. federal courts, experiences of gender harassment were inversely associated with work-related variables (work satisfaction, coworker satisfaction, supervisor satisfaction, and promotion satisfaction) and positively associated with job withdrawal, job stress, and psychological distress (Lim & Cortina, 2005).

Relatedly, *gender-policing* harassment has been emphasized in recent scholarship as one form or face of sex-based harassment that is closely tied to gender harassment (Konik & Cortina,

2008; Leskinen & Cortina, 2014), although it has been present in the sexual-harassment literature since the 1990s (see Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998). Gender-policing harassment encompasses the mistreatment directed at those who deviate from traditional performances of gender (e.g., comments that someone should “man-up” or “act like a lady”). Burgess and Borgida (1999) note that this type of harassment is “prescriptive” in that it targets people who deviate from how their gender “should” adhere to conventional notions of masculinity and femininity.

Deleterious outcomes have been reported for gender-policing as well. In an experiment with college men, exposure to a gender-policing hostility prime reduced cognitive ability and attentional self-regulation, as well as increased compensatory physical behavior (Funk & Werhun, 2011). Gender-policing harassment was positively associated with threat stress, exhaustion, and disengagement while inversely associating with job satisfaction among sexual-minority, non-student university employees (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014).

These gender-based hostilities are also conceptually related to another relevant discriminatory harassment: heterosexist harassment, a construct I review next. Both gender-policing and heterosexist harassment serve to “penalize individuals for violating traditional gender norms, which mandate heterosexuality” (Konik & Cortina, 2008, p. 319). Whereas gender harassment demeans one’s gender group in disparaging content, heterosexist harassment demeans LGBTQ identities – and actual or perceived LGBTQ identification – in disparaging content.

***Heterosexist harassment.*** Herek (1990) established the definition of heterosexism as, “an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship or community” (p. 316), noting both cultural and interpersonal



manifestations. Like research on sexist interpersonal behaviors in institutional settings, heterosexist harassment is operationalized as "insensitive verbal and symbolic behaviors that convey animosity towards nonheterosexuality" (Silverschanz, et al., p. 180). Heterosexist harassment encompasses both subtle and overt denigrating interpersonal incidents, including crude and offensive remarks or jokes about LGBT people and homophobic name-calling (e.g., "dyke" or "fag") (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014). These remarks can either be targeted directly or experienced indirectly in one's environment, with both forms being associated with negative outcomes (Silverschanz, 2008; Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, & Matney, 2014). Because sexual orientation is often not a visible identity and because of heterosexist harassment's role in "maintaining and reinforcing our society's hierarchical gender structure" (King, 1998, p.8), these slights can also be (mistakenly or not) targeted towards and negatively experienced by heterosexuals (Kitzinger, 2001; Konik & Cortina, 2008).

The literature has traditionally studied more violent and egregious forms of anti-LGBTQ hostility (D'Augelli, Pilkington, & Hershberger, 2002; Herek 1993; Meyer, Ouellette, Haile, & McFarlane, 2011; Norris 1992; Rankin 2003), including interpersonal crimes (e.g., theft, physical and sexual assault) and property damage (Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, Magley, 2008). However, recent research on contemporary heterosexism on college campuses has examined a broader range of behaviors (Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013), from overt and aggressive to subtle and ambiguous anti-LGBTQ incidents. These heterosexist experiences contribute to beliefs about an unwelcome university campus for LGBTQ and gender non-conforming faculty, students, and staff (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Yost & Gilmore, 2011). For sexual and gender minorities, these incidents may remind them of

their “out-group status” on campus and “convey a sense of incongruence between the individual and the larger social environment” (Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, Matney, 2014, p. 157).

Across multiple studies, incidents of subtle heterosexist harassment (e.g., demeaning remarks about bisexual people) are more common than overt, physical anti-LGBTQ violence (Rankin, Weber, Blumenfeld, & Frazer, 2010; Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, Matney, 2014), mirroring research on other modern manifestations of prejudice (Gomez & Trierweiler, 1999; Swim, Pearson, & Johnston, 2007). Researchers have postulated that these more common and subtle forms of anti-LGBTQ hostilities are also more likely to be socially permissible in everyday social settings, though sexual minorities tend to experience both overt and covert anti-LGBTQ hostilities (Nadal, et al., 2011). Indeed, individuals who do not explicitly endorse anti-LGBTQ attitudes can also perpetrate heterosexist harassment (Woodford, Howell, Kulick, & Silverschanz, 2013).

Regardless of a perpetrator's intention or ideology, the cumulative stress experienced in reaction to heterosexist harassment (Meyer, 2003; Meyer, et al., 2011) has been tied to a host of lowered achievement and health outcomes for students, across sexual orientation (Silverschanz, et al., 2008). These stigmatized experiences are theorized to have “deep cultural meaning” for sexual minority students (Meyer, 1995, p. 41). In reminding them of their “marginal status in society” (i.e., “minority stress”), these experiences likely contribute to rumination and chronic stress that has been cumulatively linked to health disparities with heterosexual peers (Woodford, Kulick, & Attenberry, 2014). Diminished self-esteem, psychological wellbeing, physical health, achievement and academic engagement, and increased illicit substance use among sexual minority students have all been tied to experiences of heterosexist harassment (Silverschanz et al., 2008; Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, & Matney, 2014; Woodford, Krentzman, & Gattis, 2012).

Woodford, Han, Craig, Lim, and Matney (2014) theorize how discrimination, regardless of severity, can significantly influence students' lives through both chronic and acute stress responses that collectively lead to poorer mental health outcomes:

"The stress response for direct threats and violence is likely fairly intense and immediate; whereas, subtle discrimination... may engender a more subdued response... given that mundane mistreatment is a common-place experience, it is possible that these concomitant responses cumulate over time, and in addition to the other stresses associated with minority sexual orientation, they eventually take their toll on the individual" (2014, p. 157).

Thus, heterosexist harassment, along with other subtle and overt discriminatory experiences, contributes to a hostile learning context for all students. However, its effects may be particularly pernicious for sexual minority students due to associated effects of minority stress.

While gender and heterosexist derogation both involve sex-based harassment that is demeaning and rejection-based, sex-based harassment in organizations can also involve "sexually advancing harassment," which includes romantic and sexual "come-ons" that are unwanted and/or coercive. This final section of Hostile Mistreatment Experiences reviews empirical findings on the measurement, impact, and incidence of sexually advancing harassment in organizations.

***Sexually advancing harassment.*** "Sexually advancing harassment" refers to unsolicited, inappropriate behaviors intended "to gain sexual access to a target" (Lim & Cortina, 2005, p. 484), often seen as "prototypical" sexual harassment. Sexually advancing harassment as a construct comprises two subtypes with legal distinctions, but considerable conceptual overlap: unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Unwanted sexual attention includes experiencing

sexualized remarks, unwanted touching, or stares that make one feel uncomfortable. Whereas coercive sexual harassment involves perceived quid pro quo sexual attention, such as making one feel like they are being subtly bribed to engage in sexual behavior for some form of special treatment (e.g., an instructor offering to write their student a favorable recommendation letter in exchange for a date).

Sexually advancing harassment differs from gender harassment in that the latter “communicates hostility that is devoid of sexual interest” (Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011). Both subcategories of sexually advancing harassing behaviors are unwelcome and intended to gain sexual access to the target, as opposed to the more heterosexist and sexist remarks and behaviors (i.e., heterosexist and gender harassment) intended to denigrate and distance the target. Theoretical arguments for this distinction affirm that while both sexually advancing harassment and gender harassment involve power, the former is interested in gaining something sexual from the target while the latter is motivated by demeaning the target’s gender (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Stockdale et al., 2004). Further, empirical applications demonstrate that the prevalence and correlates of these sex-based harassment subtypes differ. For instance, Kabat-Farr and Cortina (2014) found that asymmetrical gender demographics (i.e., underrepresentation of women) across workplace settings (i.e., academia, the military, court systems) was associated with women experiencing increased gender harassment, but not sexually advancing harassment, while men who were underrepresented in workplace settings did not experience increased risk for either form of sex-based harassment.

This distinction between sexually advancing harassment and gender harassment approximates the "approach-rejection" typology of sexual harassment, in which approach-based sexual harassment includes unsolicited sexual attention or advances, and rejection-based sexual

harassment encompasses behaviors that demean or humiliate the target (Stockdale et al., 2004). Further, beyond theoretical distinctions and differences in correlates, Lim and Cortina (2005) used confirmatory factor analysis to demonstrate that sexually advancing harassment is separate from but related to gender harassment and, thus, should not be conflated with it. Approach-based harassment (i.e., sexually advancing harassment) has been shown to correlate with gender harassment of men in the military (Holland et al., 2015) and with both gender harassment and incivility among working women (Lim & Cortina, 2005). Additionally, gender non-conforming women are more likely to be targeted with sex-based harassment (assessed as gender harassment and sexually advancing harassment; Berdahl, 2007).

Importantly, while rape and assault are increasingly researched in college student populations, less contemporary scholarship focuses on broader forms of sexually advancing harassment (Hill & Silva, 2005). Many existing studies that estimate its prevalence in universities are dated. More recent research estimates that an average of 62% of the general college student population is directly targeted with sexually advancing harassment (Hill & Silva, 2005), with study estimates differing depending on the gender of the target, the harassing behaviors assessed, characteristics of the university setting, and characteristics of the perpetrator (e.g., whether the study distinguished between harassment perpetrated by student peers or institutional authority figures, such as faculty). One estimate of sexually advancing harassment experienced by college men was 30 percent (Kaloff, et al., 2001). Overall, rates for college women are higher: with estimates ranging from around 40-50% (Shepla & Levesque, 1998). A recent AAU survey (2015) of over 150,000 students at 27 colleges and universities found that 47.7% of students had experienced some form of sexual harassment (the most commonly cited harassing behavior was making inappropriate comments about their body, among 37.7% of

targets), with over 70% of gender non-conforming / transgender students, over 77% of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students, and over half of women-identified students (61.9%) reporting victimization. A common finding from this body of research is that there is a disjuncture between experiences of sexually harassing behaviors and labeling these experiences as “sexual harassment” (Cortina et al., 1998; Shepela & Levesque, 1998). This type of victimization is rarely reported, with over 78.6% of harassment targets in the 2015 AAU survey saying they did not report the incident because they did not think it was serious enough to warrant formal reporting. This is part of a larger pattern of discounting sexual victimization as not being “serious enough” to report; this same survey found that over 58% of students who experienced penetrative sexual assault through physical force also gave this reason for not reporting.

The previous research demonstrates that sexually advancing harassment, along with other forms of identity-ambiguous and identity-specific hostilities, is a relatively common and negative experience for students in higher education. Collectively, these identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized hostilities may strain how students academically engage with and relate to their experience at the university. However, despite researchers understanding that these forms of mistreatment are often experienced simultaneously, most research looks at these forms of mistreatment in isolation (Raver & Nishii, 2010).

In section three, I discuss research on students’ institutional attitudes and engagement, exploring how experiencing campus mistreatment may lead to students becoming estranged from their university context. After discussing the theoretical framework of Institutional Betrayal (Smith & Freyd, 2014), I next outline research findings on students’ institutional satisfaction, campus safety, institutional trust in harassment response systems, and academic disengagement.

## **Institutional Attitudes and Engagement**

As decades of research on the toxic effects of gendered mistreatment suggest (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008), being targeted with sex-based harassment and generally uncivil mistreatment by fellow members of the university denies many students – across sexual orientation and gender – access to a fully inclusive and accessible learning environment.

Research has examined several institutional attitudes that constitute the “climate” for harassment in organizations, such as workplace and academic settings. Waldo (1998) explains how an organization’s climate – in both workplace and campus contexts – is not monolithic within the setting. Collectively assessing individuals’ subjective attitudes taps into a “measurable manifestation of organizational culture,” which is defined as “group norms, shared attitudes, and common beliefs” (Waldo, 1998, p. 748; see also Shein, 1990). Woodford and Kulick (2015) explain how the campus climate is both experiential – with specific hostile and inclusive experiences on campus – and psychological: “cognitive perceptions of attitudes held by others on campus; behaviors and practices on campus; and standards and practices of the university” (p. 14).

Students’ institutional attitudes assessed in this dissertation are related to students’ wellbeing, as they assess the degree to which students feel satisfied, trusting, safe, and engaged within their academic setting. In exploring the relationship of students’ mistreatment experiences and institutional attitudes, this dissertation will aim to broaden the theoretical framework of Institutional Betrayal, which examines the role of an institution (e.g., churches, military, schools) in the traumatic experience of those who depend upon it (Smith & Freyd, 2014). Researchers define institutional betrayal as “individual experiences of violations of trust and dependency perpetrated against any member of an institution in a way that does not necessarily arise from an

individual's less-privileged identity" (Smith & Freyd, 2014, p. 577). This "betrayal" by the institution's (in)action is thought to exacerbate the impact of a previous traumatic experience in the institution.

Smith and Freyd (2014) theorized that "betrayal" by an institution is categorized across two orthogonal dimensions: the nature of the institution's response to its members' trauma (i.e., omission of an appropriate response versus commission of an inappropriate response with added injury) and the scope of the problematic institutional response (i.e., an apparently isolated incident versus apparently widespread incidents and systemic failures). The researchers provide compelling empirical and anecdotal evidence of institutional betrayal of sexual assault survivors in university settings (see Smith & Freyd, 2013) in both isolated and systemic ways, with ample evidence provided for the more shocking and acute betrayals of commission (e.g., universities deliberately covering up evidence), as well as omission (e.g., universities not investigating harassment after a complaint is made) on the part of academic institutions.

Smith and Freyd (2013; 2014) note that universities are prime settings for students to experience institutional betrayal, because: (a) students rely on their university to proactively and responsively protect students from experiencing discriminatory hostilities and sexualized harassment; (b) Universities require that their students engage in institutional adjudication processes when seeking to remedy this mistreatment; and (c) this dependency creates conditions necessary for institutional betrayal to occur. A broadening focus on the role of trauma within institutions has led researchers to engage with questions such as: "What effect does experiencing chronic fear, stress, or mistreatment have on psychological well-being? What does it mean to find danger in a place where one instead expected to find safety?" (Smith & Freyd, 2014, p. 577).



Experiencing high levels of identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and/or sexualized hostilities are linked to negative outcomes. Existing research on institutional betrayal focuses on both psychological and health outcomes resulting from the most acutely traumatic experiences (i.e., sexual assault experiences being reported and later covered up by universities). However, I seek to expand this framework to explore how everyday experiences of non-violent interpersonal mistreatment on campus contribute to a hostile institutional context, wherein the most frequently and severely targeted students become estranged from their university. A campus context with high levels of discriminatory and sexualized mistreatment might suggest that the university is systematically failing to address the hostile learning environment, indicating an institutional betrayal of systemic omissions. This dissertation assesses the frequency of students' gendered mistreatment experiences at one university to ask: *how might conditions in which harassment proliferates and is perpetrated by members of the campus community contribute to students developing strained ties with their academic institution?* To contextualize students' interpersonal mistreatment experiences in this university setting, I will explore four key outcomes that tap into how individuals relate to and perceive their academic institution: college experience satisfaction, trust in the university's harassment response systems, campus safety concerns, and academic disengagement.

**Satisfaction with college experience.** College experience satisfaction has been referred to as “academic satisfaction” (Huerta et al., 2006) or “global evaluations of the university setting” (Cortina et al., 1998). Universities with higher student satisfaction tend to make their students feeling safer on campus (see Levitz, 2016), and have higher alumni donation rates (Bryant, Bodfish, & Stever, 2015), and have better student enrollment retention over time (Schreiner, 2009). Organizational communication scholars, Myers, Davis, Schreuder, Seibold

(2016) found that more satisfied students also felt more value congruent and personally defined by their organizational identity (i.e., organizational identification). In fact, multidimensional measures of student satisfaction with their college experience have been explicitly tied to a global assessments of student loyalty to the institution. Schreiner (2009) hailed it as “an ultimate indicator of student satisfaction” (p.6): whether a student would likely re-enroll at the institution if they could redo their college careers (Levitz, 2016). Student satisfaction should be a strong priority of universities because it translates to institutional reputation and long term success. If students “have positive feelings about their experiences and would make the same decisions again, then an institution’s word-of-mouth reputation remains strong”, and this reputation will likely affect recruiting and retaining students in the future (Schreiner, 2009, p. 6).

Among both undergraduate and graduate women, those who experienced no or low rates of sex-based harassment were more likely to report higher satisfaction (Cortina et al., 1998). In a national survey of college students, Hill and Silva (2005) found that 18% of women and 11% of men indicated that their sex-based harassment experiences (assessed as gender harassment and sexually advancing harassment) were directly related to having lowered satisfaction with their college experience. Elsewhere, exposure to sex-based harassment within a setting is associated with institutional dissatisfaction, including within high schools (Gruber & Fineran, 2015), job satisfaction in the workplace (Bingham & Scherer, 1993; Holland, Rabelo, Gustafson, Seabrook, Cortina, 2015; Laband & Lentz, 1998), and the military (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2006). Further, in two studies of senior undergraduate nursing students, student satisfaction with their school was inversely associated with experiencing faculty incivility (Lasiter, Marchiondo, & Marchiondo, 2012; Marchiondo, Marchiondo, & Lasiter, 2010).

While institutional satisfaction tends to assess more global attitudes about students' academic institution experience, it is likely that campus mistreatment also relates to more domain-specific attitudes about their academic institution. In the next section, I discuss how experiencing hostile mistreatment may also impact how institutional members trust their organization's formal policy and procedures around harassment.

**Trust in harassment response systems.** When discriminatory, sexualized, and generally uncivil hostilities are not being prevented within a university context, or where it is suspected that harassment complaints are not treated with careful consideration on an organizational level, this might foster mistrust of the institution among individuals most affected by this hostile context (see Smith & Freyd, 2014). An institution's responsiveness to harassment is often measured through individuals' subjective appraisal of whether they trust their organization's policies and practices around harassment reporting and remediation. Institutional trust (in the organization's harassment response systems) has been previously termed "organizational tolerance" (Fitzgerald et al., 1997), "organizational unresponsiveness" (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), or "organizational trust" (Miner-Rubino & Reed, 2010) in various studies. There are two main survey measures tapping into members' institutional trust in harassment response systems – the Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (OT-SHI; Hulin, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1996), typically used in workplace settings, and the Department of Defense (Hay & Elig, 1999) scale, used in military personnel samples.

Hulin, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1999) highlight three aspects of an organization's harassment response system, of particular importance to harassment targets: (1) perceived risks (i.e., retribution) and potential burdens involved with reporting harassment, (2) inadequate sanctions against offenders, (3) and concerns that one's experiences and complaints of

harassment will not be taken seriously. While institutional trust is measured on an individual level, this construct has been mostly theorized to have effects at a more collective level – in specific departments or workgroups, and entire organizations. However, the measurement allows for this construct to also be conceptualized as an individual-level attitudinal outcome. Willness, Steel, and Lee's (2007) meta-analytic review of sexual harassment research in the workplace found that institutional trust was one of the strongest correlates of sexual harassment in the workplace (p. 134), above and beyond gendered contexts of the work, including gender ratio of the workgroup, sex of the supervisor, and how masculine or feminine the line of work is traditionally considered.

Social contexts that demonstrate or imply a permissiveness of harassment (e.g., limited corrective measures for harassment complaints; authority figures modeling harassing behaviors) may reduce harassment targets' trust in how the organization will address harassment complaints. Gutek (1985) noted that 60% of non-reporting targets of sexually advancing harassment in their workplace sample believed they would be blamed for the incident if they made a formal complaint, and 60% of all targets believed nothing would be done. This perception that formal complaint processes are ineffective or harmful is a barrier for harassment targets receiving the support that they need. Using large scale data on harassment prevalence across multiple workplace organizations, Fitzgerald and colleagues (1988) found that the least frequent response and strategically often the "last resort" of targets of sex-based harassment is to seek institutional relief, through formal complaint processes in the organization or by talking informally to supervisors. This is due to perceived barriers to organizational support for harassment targets (Fitzgerald, et al., 1995). When perpetrators are not reported, or held responsible, this fuels the disenfranchisement and silencing of targets.

Among working men targeted with harassment, Holland, Rabelo, Seabrook, and Cortina (2015) found that lower institutional trust in harassment responsiveness was significantly correlated with increased risk for experiences of gender derogating and sexually advancing harassment, and decreased institutional satisfaction and psychological wellbeing. In other workplace samples of men and women, legal and university employees' institutional trust in harassment response systems was correlated with job burnout, withdrawal, and dissatisfaction, and lower psychological wellbeing (Gallus, 2015).

While some research has considered college students' normative assessments of harassment responsiveness (i.e., women have more stringent standards of how universities *should* respond to harassment complaints; see Kenig & Ryan, 1986), trust in their university's harassment response systems has not been widely explored in student samples. Perhaps students who experience elevated hostile mistreatment and who report lower institutional trust in harassment responsive systems could be a responding to perceived threats of the university committing institutional betrayal (Smith & Freyd, 2013). I argue that institutional trust is perhaps one indication of students' strained ties with their university context. When students tend to believe that harassment perpetrators will not be adequately held accountable at their university, and that complainants themselves might face retaliation after formally reporting, this could be related to concerns over systemic failures of the university to protect its most vulnerable students. This could also be conceptualized as experiencing a kind of anticipatory institutional negligence, since these students feel that they cannot rely on the university's formal harassment reporting processes and procedures to adequately address their harassment. Alternatively, students who maintain a "blind" trust in institutional harassment response systems despite elevated levels of campus mistreatment could be failing to hold the institution properly

accountable. Targets of abuse frequently avoid holding institutions and hierarchies in organizational structure accountable after experiencing sex-based harassment (Gutek, 1985, p. 163), instead focusing on interpersonal rather than organizational attributions. This potential inattention to institutional betrayal is especially likely in the university context, as students continue to be dependent on the institution for their wellbeing (see Smith & Freyd, 2013; 2014).

While students may have subjective notions around the efficacy of a university's harassment response systems, they also may have subjective concerns about their own personal wellbeing on campus. One specific concern about wellbeing with notable gender differences is the degree to which students feel safe navigating the physical campus environment, a topic I turn to next.

**Safety concerns on campus.** One key aspect of students' psychological assessment of the campus context is the degree of concern for one's own safety on campus, which has been found to be related to a host of social, behavioral/performance, and health outcomes for students (as well as faculty and staff). Broadly defined, campus safety concerns refer to beliefs regarding "personal risk of victimization when traveling around campus" (Currie, 1994, p. 29). In surveys given to university students, faculty, and staff, campus safety measures are often operationalized as one's own perceived risk and fear of crime and personal harm. Researchers have increasingly distinguished between one's "perceived vulnerability" to crime (i.e., an individual's cognitive assessment of their own likelihood to be targeted) and one's ability to protect against a perpetrator (Gordon, Riger LeBailly, & Heath, 1980), in addition to the chronic affective/emotional responses to "fear" of crime in specific settings and contexts (Ferraro, 1995).

Studying safety concerns in the context of a college campus is particularly important. Students' personal safety is fundamental to an accessible learning environment for various

reasons. Firstly, safety concerns have been associated with avoidance behaviors (May, Rader, & Goodrum, 2010). For students, this may mean inhibited participation, learning engagement, and social integration on campus (Currie, 1994). Jennings and colleagues (2009) argue that students and faculty must contend with “a dual victimization risk,” because their location on campus grounds makes them vulnerable to perpetrators of crime from both outsiders and insiders within the university community context. Further, “the fear of crime can be as debilitating as victimization itself...” (Dobbs, Waid, Shelly, 2009, p. 108), and this emotional reaction to threats of crime elicits behaviors of avoidance and protective measures similar to those who directly experience criminal victimization (Clemente & Kleiman, 1977; Ferraro, 1995, 2006; War, 1984, 2000).

Research on students’ safety attitudes on campus has often been focused on women’s specific concerns. The research on campus safety has largely focused on the concerns and subjective assessments of college students as it relates to potential interpersonal assault and property crimes, with a large portion of the literature also focused on gender-salient concerns around sexual assault, stalking, indecent exposure, and other forms of intimate violence and abuse (e.g. Wilcox, Jordan, & Pritchard, 2007). This body of literature has demonstrated a generally “chilly” context for women on college campuses, particularly for women who are multiply marginalized along lines of race and sexuality (Cortina, et al, 1998).

Women tend to have higher concerns for personal safety, relative to men, across multiple studies of institutional contexts and public spaces. However, Jennings, Gover and Pudryznska (2007) note that research has demonstrated that objective risk and fear are often distinct. While men tend to have more “objective” risk for being a target of all forms of interpersonal crime (other than sexual assault), women consistently report more fear. Yet, some feminist scholars

have argued that men – operating under hegemonic masculinist prescriptions of social desirability (e.g., strong, unafraid, invincible) – may also be underreporting their fears in survey research (Smith & Tortensson, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005). Disentangling these possibilities is a methodological limitation of self-report survey research.

A particularly innovative study by Dobbs, Waid, Shelley (2009) demonstrated that women's fear of crime is fueled by their fear of rape and perceived vulnerability. While women had higher fear of all forms of face-to-face crimes on campus, once controlling for fear of rape, women's rates of fears were either significantly lower than men's fears or statistically non-significant. Additionally, these researchers found that women's fear of rape was consistently the strongest statistical predictor for fear of crime, above and beyond participants' own experiences of personal and ambient victimization.

The persistent concern around sexual assault in public spaces for women has been termed a “specter” or “shadow” offense by various scholars as this threat is often feared to co-occur with other crime threats (Pryor & Hughes, 2013). Echoing the feminist adage of “the personal is political,” Turner and Torres (2006) note that many women participants explicitly link their hostile experiences to the shared victimization of all women. Participants felt that “being a woman meant thinking about personal safety on a daily basis” (p. 26). War (1984) provocatively stated that for women, “fear of crime is fear of rape” (p. 700), because women are readily aware that most personally threatening crimes – especially those committed by men – could also lead to rape (Dobbs, et al., 2009; Ferraro, 1995, 1996; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Lane & Meeker, 2003; War, 1985).

Though students' safety concerns do not always mirror actual or estimated (and statistical) crime risks, these concerns powerfully inform how individuals physically navigate,



interact, and engage on campus and in the surrounding community. For example, individuals may choose to engage in "constrained behaviors" as precautionary routines (see Jennings, Gover, & Pdrzynska, 2007). Constrained behaviors are defined as "certain behavioral changes or actions that individuals purposefully make in hopes of reducing their victimization risk" (e.g., not walking alone, keys in hand as protection, walking specific routes, etc.). Women disproportionately engage in these constrained behaviors (Jennings, Gover, & Pdrzynska, 2007). Curie (1994) argues that these safety concerns and related constrained behavioral strategies limit women's full participation in campus activities (e.g., using the student center and libraries to study at night). Currie (1994) asserts that, in some circumstances, safety concerns may effectively confine some women without a travel companion to their own homes (Currie, 1994).

Attitudes about one's personal safety in a given setting are related to fears and experiences of general crime, and among women in particular, sexual assault. Thus, safety concerns may also be related to experiencing sexually advancing harassment. Due to wariness of one's limited self-defense from crime and concerns around street harassment, stalking, and the threat of "stranger rape" for women, the particular impact of being targeted with sexually advancing harassment by members of the university may fuel personal concerns about campus safety. Moreover, campus safety literature has not yet explored how derogating and discriminatory sex-based hostilities (i.e., gender and heterosexist harassment) also relate to safety concerns. Thus, to better understand attitudes about the campus as they relate to personal safety concerns, it is important to consider students' experiences of different varieties of victimization: subtle versus overt, personal-directed versus ambient-witnessed, generalized versus identity-specific, and differentiating sexual advancing harassment from heterosexist and gender

harassment. The relationship between these sexualizing, overtly and covertly discriminatory hostile experiences with safety concerns is unclear, and possibly indirect.

While notable gender differences in campus safety deserve further attention, other forms of marginalization (e.g., sexual orientation) have also been found to have important relationships to disparities in personal concerns around campus safety. Despite their marginalized status in a sexist and heterosexist academic environment, only recently have LGBTQ students and their campus safety concerns in universities been studied. Research has documented extensive physical violence, vandalism, and other harassing behaviors experienced by sexual minority students (e.g., Rankin et al, 2010; Sanlo, 2004, 2005; Silverschanz et al, 2006), which generally leads them to feel physically unsafe. Reed, Prado, Matsumoto, and Amaro (2009) have found that concerns around campus safety were associated with increased alcohol and illicit drug use for sexual minorities, possibly as a coping mechanism for chronic discriminatory and safety stressors. In another study, campus safety concerns for LGBTQ students (excluding transgender participants) were associated with perceiving the campus community as being less welcoming of sexual minorities and feeling less comfortable “being open” about one’s own sexuality on campus (Woodford & Kulick, 2015). However, this research has largely neglected the intersection of sexual orientation and gender (see Rabelo & Cortina, 2014).

It is unclear from the research how gender differences in safety concerns emerge among gender-sexual minorities; for example, LGBTQ gender minority (i.e., trans / gender non-binary) students versus their cisgender, sexual minority LGBTQ counterparts. In research on gender differences in safety concerns the measurement foci and statistical differences are often driven by the cisgender and heterosexual majorities in the sample. In particular, how might sexual minority women and their men counterparts experience safety concerns differently? However, to

offer such meaningful within sexuality-group gender comparisons, researchers must ensure adequate numbers of LGBTQ participants, which often requires unique and sometimes cumbersome sampling and measurement strategies (see Brooke de Heer & Jones, 2017).

While the above sections have explored subjective, psychological attitudes toward the institution in the form of satisfaction, trust, and safety, in the next section I explore literature on students' self-reported disengagement from their academic pursuits.

**Disengagement from academic pursuits.** Academic disengagement refers to behaviors that “disengage students from the academic enterprise” (Huerta et al., 2006). Elsewhere, this concept has been called “school avoidance” (Silverschanz, 2006; Silverschanz et al., 2008). This construct includes behaviors such as not attending class or not completing assignments on time, if at all (Ramos, 2000). In discussing theories of student alienation from their learning contexts, Barnhardt and Ginns (2014) note: “Alienated learning behaviours are behaviours by which students avoid engagement in the task of meaningful learning due to a sense of disconnection” (p. 793). This sense of disconnection and institutional disengagement can manifest as behaviors and attitudes that avoid academic responsibilities, such as not attending class or considering dropping out.

Students' academic engagement in the classroom is associated with preventing attrition and promoting learning gains. When students become disengaged from their academic responsibilities, and they are more likely to eventually withdraw from enrollment. This is theorized to arise from a lack of integration into their social and academic lives at the university (Tinto, 1975). Dropout and poor academic and social integration are real concerns for universities. For instance, universities are motivated to report positive graduation outcomes to prospective students. When students sense that they do not belong and that the university is an

unwelcoming space, this may manifest in academic disengagement. Students' successful social and academic engagement are crucial to prevent student attrition, which can result in financial costs to the student and the University. Still, institutions can take actions to promote students' success or neglect vulnerable populations to set them up for failure.

More recent research on student alienation and attrition has focused on institutional level factors that promote students' successful engagement. For example, demonstrated institutional commitment towards student success, especially towards underrepresented and marginalized students, is thought to be crucial. As Tinto and Pusser (2006) argue, "institutional commitment is more than just words, more than just mission statements issued in elaborate brochures; it is the willingness of the institution to invest resources and provide the incentives and rewards needed to enhance student success" (p. 6). This institutional commitment is thought to set the tone for the expectation of a "climate for success that students encounter in their everyday interactions with the institution, its policies and practices, and its faculty, staff, administrators, and other students" (Tinto & Pusser, 2006, p. 10).

Perceptions of discriminatory environments can fuel institutional disengagement. If socially marginalized (e.g., racial and sexual minority) students "are interpreting their environments as hostile, it is quite likely that the psychological and emotional energy needed to address such negative perceptions will distract from their participation in the learning community thereby potentially hindering their academic and personal development" (Cress, 2008, p. 100). In samples of college students, academic disengagement has been significantly associated with experiencing incivility (Caza & Cortina, 2007), heterosexist harassment (Silverschanz, 2006; Woodford & Kulick, 2015), and sex-based harassment (assessed as gender harassment and sexually advancing harassment), especially when perpetrated by university employees (Huerta et

al., 2006). Further, college students' beliefs about the university being a generally unwelcome campus for students of marginalized backgrounds have been associated with academic disengagement (Cress, 2008; Cress & Ikeda, 2003). Similarly, interpersonal mistreatment in middle- and high-school settings has been associated with academic disengagement (Hutzell & Payne, 2012). Academic disengagement is associated with a host of negative outcomes for students, such as lower GPAs and increased anxiety and depression (Caza & Cortina, 2007; Silverschanz, 2006).

More broadly, interpersonal mistreatment in other contexts has been associated with institutional disengagement. For instance, a similar concept of "job withdrawal" (Cortina et al., 2001; Lim & Cortina, 2005) or "work withdrawal" (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Holland & Cortina, 2013) has been studied in working adult samples. Across workplace contexts, these institutional disengagement outcomes have been tied to women employees experiencing gender harassment and sexually advancing harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Holland & Cortina, 2013), sexual minority employees experiencing gender harassment and heterosexist harassment (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014), and incivility experienced by employees who are women (Lim & Cortina, 2005) and/or racial minorities (Cortina et al., 2011).

After reviewing empirical research on students' campus mistreatment experiences in section two and students' institutional attitudes and academic disengagement in section three, section four provides an overview of the dissertation project, including research questions and hypotheses. Section five details the methods for data collection and reviews person-centered analytic approaches.

## **Project Overview**

**Goals of dissertation.** The goals of this dissertation are to investigate how patterns of multidimensional gendered mistreatment in college differ by sociodemographics and relate to institutional attitudes, including students': general satisfaction with their university experience, trust in the institution's harassment response systems, and safety concerns on campus (e.g., feeling comfortable walking on campus alone at night). Further, this research will explore how such mistreatment experiences relate to students' academic disengagement. While these institutional relations have been tied to concerns around and experiences of more overt and violent forms of victimization, such as sexual assault, less research has focused on how sex-based harassment and covertly discriminatory mistreatment (e.g., general incivility) cumulatively contribute to institutional relations where women (across sexual orientation) and sexual minorities (across gender) disproportionately feel dissatisfied, untrusting, unsafe, and academically disengaged.

**Research questions and hypotheses.** The following overarching research questions and hypotheses motivate this dissertation project:

*Research question one. How do students' patterns of identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized hostile campus experiences cluster into mistreatment profiles?*

I planned to use a type of person-centered method (discussed in more depth at the end of the methods section), *k*-means cluster analysis, to identify mistreatment profile groups based on different patterns of experiences. This statistical method sorts participants into *k* cluster profile

groups, and does so by minimizing within-group variance and maximizing between-group variance across a set of variables (Hartigan, 1975). Included in these analyses were the four mistreatment variables in the full sample (i.e., incivility and the three subtypes of sex-based harassment). I requested three-, four-, five- and six-cluster solutions, ultimately choosing a cluster solution with adequate profile groups that were theoretically interesting and large enough for statistical analysis.

The novelty of this research question makes it difficult to derive specific hypotheses. In addition to a group reporting little to no mistreatment that would make up most of the sample, I generally expected the largest profile to entail predominantly identity-ambiguous mistreatment (i.e., incivility) and the smallest profile to involve sexualized mistreatment (i.e., sexually advancing harassment).

***Research question two.** How do students' mistreatment profiles vary by student status (i.e., graduate, undergraduate), age, gender, sexual orientation, and racial/ethnic membership?*

Some, but not all, gendered mistreatment constructs explicitly target others based on perceived and actual gender and sexual orientation. Thus, I wanted to know whether sociodemographic groups were evenly distributed among mistreatment groups. Because of the exploratory nature of this research, directional hypotheses for the gender and sexuality intersectional subgroups were difficult to determine a priori. However, the following general hypotheses regarding the composition of mistreatment profiles informed my analysis:

- 1a. Those with the marginalized identities (e.g., sexual minorities, women) will be disproportionately represented in mistreatment profiles characterized by higher frequencies of more directly targeted forms of mistreatment.

2a. Conversely, those with more privileged social location (e.g., heterosexual men) will be disproportionately represented in profiles with less mistreatment.

***Research question three.*** *How are mistreatment profiles associated with students' institutional attitudes (i.e., satisfaction, safety, trust) and engagement?*

I predicted that the main effect of mistreatment profile membership and sociodemographic groups would be significantly related to all dependent variables in the study. Specifically, I hypothesized that:

- 1b. More negative attitudes towards campus safety, institutional trust, and college experience satisfaction will be associated with mistreatment profile groups characterized by direct and/or higher victimization (i.e., profiles with above average incivility and sexually advancing harassment, and/or overall high levels of mistreatment) as opposed to profiles characterized by little to no victimization.
- 2b. Higher academic disengagement will also be associated with mistreatment profile groups characterized by direct and/or higher victimization compared to profiles with little to no victimization. No sociodemographic predictions were made for this outcome.
- 3b. Being a sexual minority will be associated with lower institutional trust. Previous research found that sexual harassment targets identifying as sexual minorities more often felt that the university's harassment response systems were inadequate and discriminatory (Smith & Freyd, 2014).
- 4b. Being a woman would be similarly associated with a significantly lower sense of university satisfaction and campus safety, due to the overlap of these two constructs (Levitz, 2016) and women's higher risk for sexual assault in college.



5b. I predicted two-way interactive effects of Mistreatment Profile, by gender and by sexuality: that sexual minority men and all women, across sexuality – in profiles characterized by more-direct, high victimization – would report the least favorable outcomes (e.g., mistrust of harassment response systems, increased academic disengagement) compared to their heterosexual, male profile peers.

Because of the low numbers of sexual minority women and men in the sample, and because of the limited research on gender and sexual orientation in college mistreatment, I made no predictions about the interactions of sexuality with gender in the models.

## **Chapter II.**

### **Methods**

#### **Participant Sample**

Survey data were collected in two waves from students at a small public university in the rural Northwest. Participants in the first wave of this survey included 3,347 undergraduate and graduate students. The criteria to be invited to participate in the survey were: (1) degree-seeking status, (2) an age of 18 or older, and (3) at least part-time enrollment. Two years later, all the original participants who were still enrolled in the university ( $n = 1,415$ ) and an additional group of randomly sampled students ( $n = 2,585$ ) were invited to participate in the second wave of data collection. Of the first-wave participants, 707 responded, and of the 2,585 additional recruited students, 1,054 responded.

Data from both waves were pooled, removing duplicate cases, to have a sample with adequate statistical power. The following details this exclusion process. First, second-wave responses of students who indicated that they had taken the first-wave survey ( $n = 551$ ) were excluded. Next, the unique response IDs of the students who did not answer the question about wave-one participation were compared to the wave-one sample; the second-wave responses of the students whose unique ID was present in the wave-one sample ( $n = 9$ ) were then excluded. Finally, the unique IDs of those who indicated that they had not participated in the first-wave survey were compared to the unique IDs of those in wave one; the second-wave responses of the students whose IDs were present in both ( $n = 198$ ) were excluded. After removing participants from both waves with significant missing data on mistreatment experiences ( $n = 80$ ), the final

cross-sectional sample contained 4,023 students, 77.93% of whom hailed from the first wave (n = 3135) and 22.07% from the second wave (n = 888).

As shown in Table 1 in the results, participants were evenly split between female- and male-identified (two participants did not indicate their sex), which closely matched the demographics of the student body. Further, 88.6% of the sample identified as completely heterosexual, 7.6% mostly heterosexual, 1.4% bisexual, 0.5% mostly homosexual, and 1.0% completely homosexual. The average age of respondents was over 23 years old, although ages ranged from 17 to 74 years; 81.3% were undergraduate students, and 17.92% were graduate students. Finally, 89.8% percent of the sample identified themselves as White/European American; 4.7% identified as Asian American or Pacific Islander; 2.2% identified as Hispanic American; 0.9% identified as Native American or Alaskan Native; 0.7% identified as Black/African American; and 1.3% identified as other. Racial/ethnic group and sexual orientation were both dichotomized into white (89.8%) or person of color (10.0%), and heterosexual (88.6%) or sexual minority (10.51), in order to have adequate numbers for statistical comparisons.

### **Sampling Procedure**

Both waves of data collection adhered to similar procedures. As suggested by Dillman's (2000) Tailored Design Method, all students received advance-notice about the survey via email from the university president, followed five days later by a letter urging participation. Non-responding students received up to two reminders, which also came from the president. Because all students had access to the Internet through the university, they were offered a web-based version of the survey. All invitation and reminder materials contained instructions about how to participate in the survey by entering the restricted-access web site. As an incentive for

participation, all participants had an opportunity to win a gift certificate for a local department store. The only difference in the second round of data collection was that all non-responding students received a paper-and-pencil version of the survey via postal mail approximately one month after the first survey announcement to increase response rates.

To access the survey website, students identified themselves with a code based on their name and student ID number, so that their status as a current student could be verified and duplicate entries could be prevented. Introductory materials explained that respondents' identities would be kept confidential, that identifying information would not be stored with survey responses, and that university officials would never have access to any of the data. Institutional Review Boards at three research universities approved the survey and all procedures used.

## **Measures**

Both administration periods used a similar questionnaire, which contained questions pertaining to mistreatment experiences perpetrated by members of campus (student, faculty, or staff), institutional attitudes, academic engagement, and demographics. Participants were asked to self-identify in terms of numerical age, their "sex" (i.e., male or female) gender group, and to choose one "ethnic heritage" racial/ethnic group they "most closely identify with." Later in the survey, they identified their sexual orientation on a 5-point scale from "completely heterosexual" (5), to bisexual (3), to "completely homosexual, lesbian, or gay" (1), or an "other" orientation. Importantly, questions about general academic and institutional functioning appeared prior to questions about incivility and harassment, which allowed for a less biased assessment of student functioning. All items were scored such that higher values reflect higher levels of the underlying

construct. Table 2 displays correlations and coefficient alphas for the entire sample. Correlations for men and women are presented separately in Tables 3 and 4, respectively.

**Mistreatment experiences.** The five scales assessing mistreatment experiences were all administered in the same section of the survey. They all had the same response stem which read, "During the past year, has any university faculty, staff, administrator, or student...", followed by a list of potentially uncivil or sex-based harassing behaviors. Response options were "never," "once or twice," and "more than once or twice."

All eleven items from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) that were consistent across both waves of data collection were adapted to measure two dimensions of sex-based harassment in this study (Fitzgerald, et al., 1988). The first dimension was gender harassment (e.g., "Made sexist remarks about people of your gender"). The second dimension of sex-based harassment, *sexually advancing harassment*, includes both coercive sexual harassment (e.g., "Made you feel like you were being subtly bribed with some reward or special treatment to engage in sexual behavior") and unwanted sexual attention (e.g., "Stared at or leered at you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable"). The psychometric soundness of the SEQ has been widely reported; it is one of the most frequently used sexual harassment scales in the psychological research literature (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Similar to the work of Berdahl and colleagues (1996), the original version of this scale was revised to be inclusive of both women and men.

To assess the third dimension of sex-based harassment, *heterosexist harassment*, four items were adapted from Waldo's (1999) Workplace Heterosexist Experiences Questionnaire (WHEQ). A sample item read, "During the past year, has any university faculty, staff, administrator, or student told offensive jokes about lesbians, gay men, or bisexual people (for

example, "fag" jokes)?" An omitted fifth item, referring to concerns about being open about one's sexual orientation on campus, was not applicable to participants identifying as "completely heterosexual." To make the scale be applicable to student participants, questions from Waldo's original measure exclusive to sexual minorities in workplace settings (e.g., "Ignored you in the office or in a meeting because you are gay/lesbian/bisexual") were not included in this study.

Items from an expanded version of the Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS; Cortina et al., 2001; Cortina et al., 2011), along with additional items created for this survey, measured the frequency of students' personal experiences of *incivility* (e.g., disrespect, rudeness, condescension) within the last year. Examples from this ten-item scale include "put you down or been condescending to you," and "accused you of stupidity or incompetence."

**Students' institutional attitudes and engagement.** This study examined several aspects of students' individual functioning: attitudes about their academic institution and academic disengagement.

*University satisfaction* was assessed with a two-item subscale: "I would recommend attending [this university] to others" and "If I had it to do over again, I would still attend [this university]" (Cortina et al., 1998). Participants responded on a 7-point response scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree."

*Campus safety* was assessed using a three-item scale. These items were, "I feel safe walking at night on this campus," "I am afraid of being sexually or physically assaulted on this campus" (reverse-coded), and "I hesitate to attend evening school activities (e.g. classes, working in the lab, office, or library) due to concerns for my safety" (reverse-coded). Participants responded using a seven-point response scale ("strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"). Items were reverse scored so that higher scores indicated feeling more safe on campus.

*Institutional trust* was measured using a six-item scale adopted from Langhout et al. (2000). The question stem was, “To your knowledge, does this university take any of the following actions to address harassment directed at students?” Follow-up items included, “Investigates harassment complaints no matter who does the harassment” and “Punishes people who harass, no matter who they are.” Participants responded on a three-point ordinal scale: No (0), Don’t Know (1), Yes (2), with higher scores indicating more institutional trust.

*Academic disengagement* was assessed using an instrument developed by Ramos (2000). Patterned after measures of organizational withdrawal, this scale uses eight items to assess behaviors that effectively disengage students from educational activities. Respondents described how frequently in the previous semester they had engaged in behaviors such as arriving to class tardy, sleeping in class, making excuses to get out of class, and thinking about quitting school altogether. They responded on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (“almost never”) to 7 (“almost always”).

In the next section, I distinguish between traditional variable-centered analytic approaches and methodological trends in person-centered statistical analyses (e.g., cluster analysis). After exploring five general considerations when using person-centered analyses, I return to the overarching research questions guiding this dissertation, integrating person-centered and variable-centered approaches.

### **Person-Centered and Variable-Centered Analytic Approaches**

Lauren and Hoff (2006) note that the history of distinguishing "variable" from "person" statistical nomenclature, in the field of psychology, can be traced to the work of Jack Block (p. 378):

"Variable-centered analyses are useful for understanding the differences between people and what characteristics go with what characteristics in a group of individuals. But as well, and ultimately, psychology will need to seek understanding of the configuration and systematic connection of personality variables as these dynamically operate within a particular person" (Block, 1971, p. 13).

The goal of person-centered statistical approaches is to sort individuals into groups with others "who are similar to each other and different from those in other groups" (Marsh, Lüdtke, Trautwein, & Morin, 2009, p. 193). Thus, "description is a special strength" of this technique (Laursen & Hoff, 2006, p. 384). Variable-centered statistical approaches on the other hand, "describe associations between variables. They are well suited for addressing issues that concern the relative contributions that [input] variables make to an outcome" (Laursen & Hoff, 2006, p. 377). More recently, Wang, Sinclair, Zhou, and Sears (2013) distinguished person-centered from variable-centered approaches by suggesting that a variable-centered approach often asks whether a model (e.g., a regression model) significantly differs for an observed category of population heterogeneity, typically quantified by a categorical variable (e.g., demographics). Alternatively, person-centered analysis allows for unobserved, profile variables to represent population heterogeneity, which aids researchers to question assumptions of "population heterogeneity/homogeneity" in the relationships among input variables in the model (p. 351).

In this dissertation, I attempt to integrate both person-centered and variable-centered approaches. Laursen and Hoff (2006) argue that both "strategies represent complementary rather than competing approaches" (p. 383). Variable-centered approaches help to understand general, universal relationships among measured variables, while person-centered approaches allow



researchers to contextualize such findings with the richness of intra-individual variance. Person-centered approaches to research, such as cluster analysis, tend to follow a similar formula: "select input variables, create profiles, and examine profile differences on other variables" (Wang, et al., 2013, p. 367). By using cluster analysis to uncover patterns of reported experiences of gendered mistreatment – across gender and sexuality subgroups – I employ person-centered statistical approaches to examine mistreatment experiences around heteropatriarchy, rather than relying solely on the gender and sexuality demographics that the heteropatriarchy regulates (cf. Else-Quest and Hyde, 2016). Thus, person-centered approaches can help feminist researchers move beyond observable demographic categories (i.e., “anticategorical” approaches to intersectionality research; McCall, 2005) to explore commonalities across demographic intersections in shared patterns of experiences, such as gendered mistreatment.

In the results that follow, I integrate a person-centered statistical method (i.e., k-means cluster analysis) with a variable-centered approach. After analyzing and describing patterns of students’ gendered mistreatment at their university, I then explore the heterogeneity of observed demographic groups in mistreatment profile cluster groups. Finally, I integrate demographic subgroups and profile groups to explore the relationships of gender, sexuality, and mistreatment patterns on students’ institutional attitudes and academic engagement.

## **Chapter III.**

### **Results**

#### **Data Analysis**

I used SPSS (Version 24) for all data analysis. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations were calculated for all study variables. After examining reported frequencies of mistreatment experienced (i.e., heterosexist, sexually advancing, and gender harassment, and incivility), k-means cluster analysis was used to identify types of mistreatment profiles yielded by students in this sample. With an interest in how these mistreatment profiles would associate with student demographics, I next conducted Chi-Square Analysis to determine cluster group associations with students' gender, sexual orientation, and racial minority status, using dichotomous categorical variables. Additionally, I conducted a loglinear regression to determine how to best fit the data using the main effects and two-way interaction terms of gender, sexual orientation, and racial/ethnic membership with profile group. I was specifically interested in which demographic groups (race, gender, sexual orientation) were significantly associated with the cluster mistreatment profiles. After this analysis, I ran MANOVAs to determine how intersectional subgroups (e.g., gender by sexual orientation) were distributed throughout the mistreatment profile cluster groups. Finally, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to test the association of mistreatment cluster profiles and students' gender and sexuality group demographics, and their two-way interactions, with the student outcome variables (institutional attitudes and engagement). When ANOVA results suggested significant differences, I conducted Tukey HSD post-hoc analyses to test for differences among the groups.

No concerns were identified in terms of multicollinearity.

### **Descriptive and Correlational Results**

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for students' demographic variables. The sample ( $N = 4023$ ) primarily consisted of white, heterosexual, undergraduate students, with around 10% of the sample identifying as either racial-ethnic minorities or sexual minorities. The average age of students in the sample was 23.58 years ( $SD = 6.79$ ).

Table 1.

*Characteristics of demographic groups for the full analytic sample (N = 4023).*

Group	n (%)
Undergraduates	3271 (81.31)
Graduate students	721 (17.92)
Men	1987 (49.39)
Women	2034 (50.56)
White	3613 (88.64)
Person of color	403 (10.02)
Heterosexual	3566 (88.64)
Sexual minority	423 (10.51)
White men	1773 (44.07)
Men of color	210 (5.22)
White women	1838 (45.69)
Women of color	193 (4.80)
Heterosexual men	1791 (44.52)
Sexual minority men	179 (4.45)
Heterosexual women	1773 (44.07)
Sexual minority women	244 (6.07)

*Note.* Two participants did not select report graduate standing or gender. Seven participants did not indicate their race/ethnicity. 34 participants did not disclose their sexual orientation.

The intercorrelations and reliabilities of all variables used in this study are presented in Table 2. Of note, most scale reliabilities fell the moderate to high ranges (0.70 – 0.91). Further, intercorrelations broken down by gender and sexuality subgroups are available in Table 3 (sexual minority versus heterosexual men) and in Table 4 (sexual minority versus heterosexual women). Some unique differences by gender emerged between heterosexuals and sexual minorities, when comparing the bivariate relationships of mistreatment experiences and institutional outcomes.

Table 2.

*Intercorrelations and scale reliabilities of Mistreatment Experiences, and Institutional Attitudes and Engagement for the full sample*

(*N* = 4023).

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Heterosexist harassment	(0.70)							
2. Sexually advancing harassment	0.40**	(0.72)						
3. Gender harassment	0.63**	0.58**	(0.79)					
4. Incivility	0.46**	0.44**	0.55**	(0.87)				
5. Campus Safety	-0.01	-0.13**	-0.05**	-0.07**	(0.82)			
6. Institutional Trust	-0.05**	-0.05**	-0.04*	-0.09**	0.06**	(0.91)		
7. University Satisfaction	-0.09**	-0.08**	-0.09**	-0.21**	0.11**	0.18**	(0.83)	
8. Academic Engagement	0.19**	0.19**	0.19**	0.23**	0.00	-0.07**	-0.15**	(0.77)

*Note.* \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$

Despite many consistencies in correlational results, there were notable differences between heterosexual men and sexual minority men. Among heterosexual men ( $n = 1791$ ): heterosexist harassment was negatively associated with Academic Engagement, sexually advancing harassment and incivility were negatively associated with Institutional Trust, and gender harassment was negatively associated with university Satisfaction; these relationships were not significant among sexual minority men ( $n = 179$ ). Among sexual minority men ( $n = 179$ ), heterosexist harassment was negatively associated with Campus Safety, while this relationship was not significant for heterosexual men (see Table 3).

Table 3.

*Intercorrelations of Campus Experiences, Institutional Attitudes and Engagement for all male-identified students (n = 1987), as a function of sexual orientation.*

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Heterosexist harassment	1	.41**	.64**	.49**	-.06*	-.03	-.03	-.18**
2. Sexually advancing harassment	.29**	1	.52**	.48**	-.08**	-.09**	-.07**	-.20**
3. Gender harassment	.62**	.58**	1	.56**	-.07**	-.05	-.04	-.18**
4. Incivility	.51**	.52**	.67**	1	-.19**	-.13**	-.13**	-.22**
5. University Satisfaction	-.18*	-.26**	-.12	-.28**	1	.19**	.21**	.12**
6. Institutional Trust	-.15	-.02	.00	-.07	.18*	1	.08**	.08**
7. Campus Safety	-.21**	-.30**	-.10	-.33**	.46**	.11	1	.04**
8. Academic Engagement	-.12	-.33**	-.18*	-.36**	.24*	.07	.26**	1

*Note.* Intercorrelations for heterosexual male participants are presented above the diagonal, and intercorrelations for sexual minority male participants are presented below the diagonal. \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$



There were also notable differences in correlational results between heterosexual women and sexual minority women, despite many consistencies. Among heterosexual women ( $n = 1773$ ), heterosexist harassment was negatively associated with university Satisfaction and Academic Engagement, sexually advancing harassment was also negatively associated with University Satisfaction, and incivility was negatively associated with Institutional Trust; these relationships were not significant among sexual minority women. Among sexual minority women ( $n = 244$ ), heterosexist harassment was negatively associated with Institutional Trust, while this relationship was not significant for heterosexual women (see Table 4).

Table 4.

*Intercorrelations of Campus Experiences, Institutional Attitudes and Engagement for all female-identified (n = 2034) students, as a function of sexual orientation.*

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Heterosexist harassment	1	.44**	.58**	.36**	-.09**	-.03	-.10**	-.18**
2. Sexually advancing harassment	.51**	1	.66**	.41**	-.05*	-.04	-.11**	-.17**
3. Gender harassment	.74**	.66**	1	.50**	-.09**	-.03	-.14**	-.18**
4. Incivility	.46**	.50**	.51**	1	-.18**	-.06*	-.12**	-.19**
5. University Satisfaction	-.09	-.12	-.13*	-.27**	1	.17**	.18**	.13**
6. Institutional Trust	-.17*	-.04	-.06	-.10	.30**	1	.12**	.06*
7. Campus Safety	-.16*	-.16*	-.19**	-.34**	.22**	0.22**	1	.07**
8. Academic Engagement	-.12	-.17**	-.16*	-.20**	.22**	.07	.19**	1

*Note.* Intercorrelations for heterosexual female participants are presented above the diagonal, and intercorrelations for sexual minority female participants are presented below the diagonal. \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$

## Inferential Results

**Research question one (RQ1).** *How do students' patterns of identity-ambiguous, identity-specific, and sexualized mistreatment in the campus community cluster into profiles?*

First, frequencies of all mistreatment variables in the study were assessed. On average, students reported higher levels of gender harassment ( $M = 0.32$ ,  $SD = 0.46$ ) and incivility ( $M = 0.31$ ,  $SD = 0.39$ ) compared to heterosexist harassment ( $M = 0.26$ ,  $SD = 0.41$ ), while sexually advancing harassment ( $M = 0.10$ ,  $SD = 0.23$ ) was the lowest reported mistreatment experienced in the sample. Next, mistreatment variables were centered using z-scores to conduct k-means cluster analyses of reported mistreatment experiences; sufficient scale data were available for 4023 participants.

I requested three-, four-, five- and six-cluster solutions. After running these separate cluster analyses, I chose a cluster solution with adequate groups that were of theoretical interest and large enough for statistical analysis. Results of cluster analysis suggested that sorting students into a four-cluster solution of Mistreatment Profile groups was most appropriate for the data in this sample (see Figure 1), to have profiles groups with sufficient numbers of participants (i.e., gender-sexuality subgroups cell sizes of at least 20 participants) for intersectional identity comparisons.

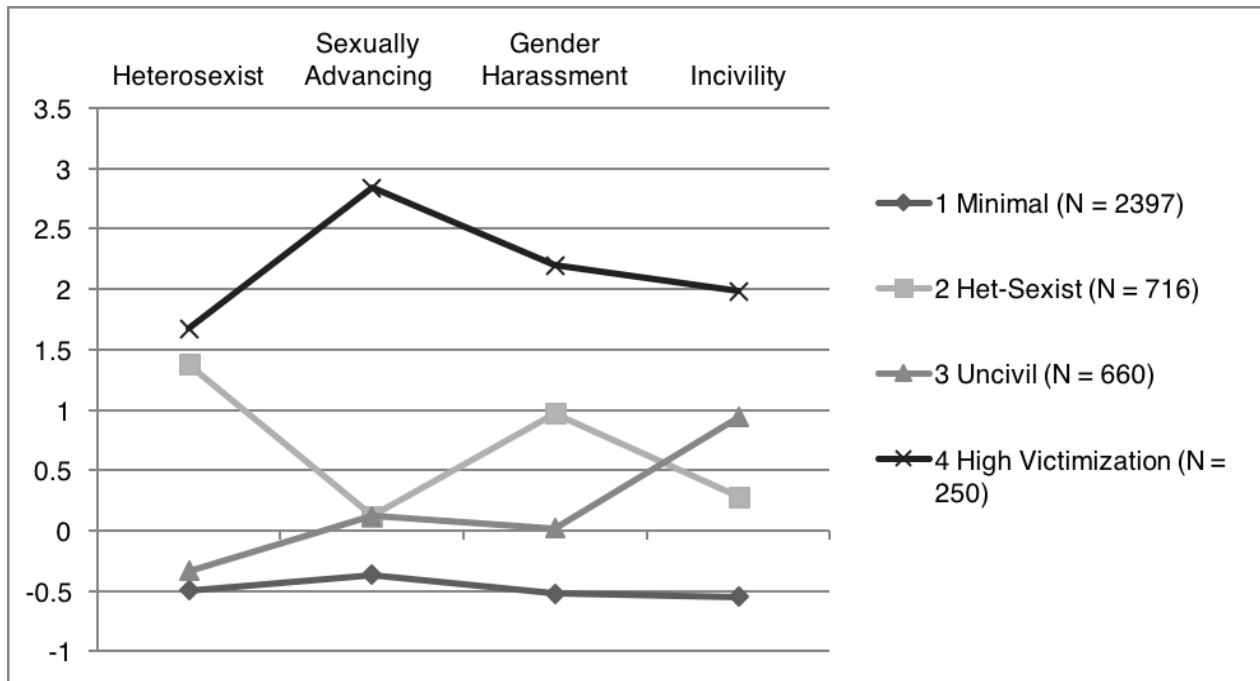


Figure 1. Results of the k-means cluster analysis with four mistreatment profiles, including number of participants per profile. All mistreatment variables are z-scored, such that a zero on the y-axis denotes average mistreatment levels in the sample.

The four-cluster solution yielded mistreatment profile groups that were identified as:

1. Minimal profile – low or no reported mistreatment.
2. Hetero/Sexist dominant profile – higher than average heterosexist and gender harassment, with otherwise moderate levels of incivility and sexually advancing harassment.
3. Uncivil dominant profile – higher than average levels of general incivility, lower than average heterosexist harassment, and average gender and sexually advancing harassment.
4. High Victimization profile – across incivility and all sex-based harassment subtypes, with particularly frequent sexually advancing harassment.

**Research question two (RQ2).** *How do students' mistreatment profiles vary by students' undergraduate/graduate status, age, gender, sexual orientation, and racial/ethnic membership?*

Next, I explored how student demographics were distributed across mistreatment profiles, using Chi-Square Analysis of sociodemographic groups (see Table 5), and ANOVA for continuous data (i.e., for students' numerical age). The four profile groups significantly differed from one another on all tested demographics. For example, the Hetero/Sexist and High Victimization profiles had the youngest students; similarly, undergraduates and sexual minorities were disproportionately clustered into Hetero/Sexist and High Victimization profiles relative to graduate students and heterosexuals in the sample. Men and whites were also overrepresented in the Hetero/Sexist profile and women and race/ethnic minorities were overrepresented in the Uncivil profile, relative to their proportions in the sample and their counterparts in the mistreatment group.

Table 5.

*Distribution of demographic characteristics, for the full sample, and comparing the four mistreatment profiles using chi-square analyses.*

	Minimal	Hetero/Sexist	Uncivil	High Victimization	
<b>Demographic Variable</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b><math>\chi^2</math> (df)</b>
Undergraduate	1875 (57.32)	645 (19.72)	519 (15.87)	232 (7.09)	
Graduate	505 (70.04)	62 (8.60)	136 (18.86)	18 (2.50)	80.44*** (3)
Men	1151 (57.90)	433 (21.80)	291 (14.60)	112 (5.60)	
Women	1245 (61.20)	283 (13.90)	368 (18.10)	138 (6.80)	46.27*** (3)
White	2147 (59.40)	665 (18.40)	582 (16.10)	219 (6.10)	
Person of color	247 (61.30)	48 (11.90)	77 (19.10)	31 (7.70)	12.36** (3)
Heterosexual	2184 (61.20)	604 (16.90)	582 (16.30)	196 (5.50)	
Sexual minority	190 (44.90)	107 (25.30)	73 (17.30)	53 (12.50)	61.93*** (3)
Full Sample	2397 (59.50)	716 (17.80)	660 (16.40)	250 (6.20)	

*Note.* Participant numbers and percentages are presented horizontally. \*\* =  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < .001$

However, because the interactive effects of race, gender, and sexuality (e.g., experiences of women of color, sexual minority men, etc.) were of main interest, I estimated a sequence of loglinear models to determine how to best fit the data with the mistreatment profiles, and students' gender, racial/ethnic, and sexual orientation group identity. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) describe how the  $G^2$  statistic is used to determine the most parsimonious model:

“Model setting is accomplished by finding  $G^2$  for a particular incomplete model and evaluating its significance. Because  $G^2$  is a test of fit between observed and expected frequencies, a good model is one with a *nonsignificant*  $G^2$ ... For hierarchical models, the optimal model is one that is not significantly worse than the next most complex one. Therefore, the choice among hierarchical models is made with reference to statistical criteria... To obtain  $G^2$  for a model, the  $G^2$  for each of the effects is subtracted from the total  $G^2$  to yield the test of residual frequency that is not accounted for by the effects in the model. If the residual frequencies are not significant, there is a good fit between obtained and expected frequencies from reduced model” (p. 872-873).

Sequential deletion steps were used in the hierarchical Loglinear Regression analyses to determine which main effects and interaction terms of Mistreatment Profile, race, gender, and sexual orientation were needed to most parsimoniously fit the data (see Table 6).

Table 6.

*Summary of hierarchical deletion steps to final Loglinear Regression model*

Steps	Model	<i>df</i>	$G^2$	<i>p</i>	Term Deleted	$\Delta df$	$\Delta G^2$	$\Delta p$
2-way Model	(MP x G)(MP x S)(MP x R)(G x S) (G x R)(S x R)	13	8.73	.79	(S x R)	1	5.02	n.s.
Predicted Model	(MP x G)(MP x S)(MP x R)(G x S) (G x R)	14	13.71	.47	(G x R)	1	2.1	n.s.
Final Model	(MP x G)(MP x S)(MP x R)(G x S)	15	15.81	.40				

*Note.* Where two-way interaction terms are noted, each main effect is also present in the model. MP = Mistreatment Profile; G = Gender; S = Sexual Orientation; R = Race/Ethnicity.



First, I fitted the main effects and all possible two-way interaction terms in the model. Four-way and all lower order interactions constituted the saturated model ( $df = 0$ ), and the insertion of only main effects constituted the null model ( $df = 25$ ), by which all other models were compared. For the purpose of this analysis, I assumed that all three-way interactions (e.g., gender by race by mistreatment profile) and the four-way interaction were statistically non-existent in the sample population. Because of the very low numbers of sexual minorities who were also racial minorities, I predicted that all but one two-way interaction term (i.e., race by sexuality) would be needed to sufficiently fit the data. Ultimately, two interaction terms with race (i.e., race by sexuality and race by gender) were removed from the final model since removing them did not increase the  $G^2$  significantly.

These analyses suggest that the main effects of race and mistreatment profile, the main effects and two-way interaction of students' gender and sexuality, and the two-way interactions of gender, race, and sexuality by mistreatment profile were significantly associated with the distribution of the data. Further, demographic interactions of gender or sexuality with race were not needed to explain the frequency distribution in the data. Due to this analysis, as well as theoretical considerations around the predominantly gender- and sexual orientation-specific nature of many of the mistreatment measures, students' race was dropped from all further analysis. Table 7 displays the distribution of gender by sexuality subgroups (e.g., sexual minority women) in the sample and across the four mistreatment profiles.

Table 7.

*Gender-Sexuality distributions in the sample, and across mistreatment profiles.*

	Full Sample	Minimal	Hetero/Sexist	Uncivil	High Victimization	
Gender-sexuality Subgroup	N	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	$\chi^2$ (df)
Heterosexual Men	1791	1070 (59.97)	374 (20.90)	258 (14.41)	89 ( 4.97)	
Sexual Minority Men	179	72 (40.22)	57 (31.84)	28 (15.64)	22 (12.30)	
Heterosexual Women	1773	1113 (62.80)	230 (12.97)	323 (18.20)	107 ( 6.04)	
Sexual Minority Women	244	118 (48.40)	50 (20.50)	45 (18.44)	31 (12.71)	113.14*** (9)
Total	4023	2397 (59.50)	716 (17.80)	660 (16.40)	250 (6.20)	

*Note. Percentages are presented horizontally. \*\* = p < .01; \*\*\* = p < .001*

***RQ2 hypothesis one.*** Hypothesis 1a was supported partially. As seen in Table 7, sexual minority women (i.e., multiply marginalized) and men (gender privileged, sexuality marginalized) were disproportionately more likely to be in the High Victimization profile compared to their heterosexual peers. Heterosexual and sexual minority women were about equally likely to fall into the Uncivil profile, and there were generally more women than men in this profile. Sexual minority men and women were both more likely to be in the Hetero/Sexist profile than their heterosexual and men counterparts.

***RQ2 hypothesis two.*** Hypothesis 1b was also supported partially. While heterosexual men were not more likely than heterosexual women to fall into the Minimal profile, heterosexuals as a group were disproportionately represented in this low victimization profile compared to their sexual minority counterparts. The Minimal profile made up the largest proportion of students for all gender-sexuality subgroups.

**Research question three (RQ3).** *How are mistreatment profiles and student demographics associated with students' institutional attitudes (i.e., university experience satisfaction, institutional trust in harassment responsiveness, campus safety) and engagement (i.e., academic disengagement)?*

Next, a series of multivariate ANOVA's and Tukey HSD post-hoc analyses were run to assess how the main effects and interactions of mistreatment profile (e.g., Minimal, Hetero/Sexist, Uncivil, or High Victimization), gender, and sexual orientation were associated with students' institutional attitudes (i.e., *satisfaction* with college experience at the university, *trust* in institutional harassment responsiveness, and *safety* on campus) and *engagement* (i.e., less academic disengagement). All analyses controlled for the main effect of undergraduate/graduate student status.

The undergraduate/graduate status control variable used in all four models was significantly associated with all outcomes except Institutional Trust. Further, the predicted main effect of Mistreatment Profile was consistently associated with each outcome variable. My hypotheses were partially confirmed in that mistreatment profiles predominantly characterized by frequent generally rude interactions and/or global victimization (i.e., the Uncivil and High Victimization profiles), female and/or sexual minority identity, and the two-way interactive effects of mistreatment profile by these two demographic categories were associated with lower institutional attitudes and engagement. Below, I detail the results for each ANOVA model by institutional outcomes. See Table 8 for a summary of these ANOVA results. Means and standard deviations of institutional attitudes and engagement are presented comparing heterosexuals and sexual minorities (see Table 9), and comparing men and women (see Table 10).

Table 8.

Means and standard deviations of institutional attitudes (Satisfaction, Trust, Safety) and Engagement for the full sample as a function of the four mistreatment profiles (MP), a summary of significant independent variables (IVs) in the ANOVA model (i.e., graduate, mistreatment profile, gender, sexuality) and interaction terms, and post-hoc comparisons of mistreatment profiles.

DV	Significant IVs	Minimal	Hetero/Sexist	Uncivil	High	Post-Hoc Comparisons
		(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	
		M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	
Satisfaction	Graduate, MP, sexuality.	5.76 (1.23)	5.51 (1.36)	5.30 (1.58)	5.16 (1.58)	A > B > C, D
Trust	MP.	2.15 (0.57)	2.12 (0.49)	2.10 (0.55)	1.99 (0.59)	A, B, C > D
Safety	Graduate, MP, gender, sexuality, MP*sexuality.	5.77 (1.27)	5.73 (1.37)	5.40 (1.46)	5.13 (1.56)	A, B, > C > D
Engagement	Graduate, MP, gender, sexuality, MP*gender.	6.15 (0.75)	5.85 (0.84)	5.91 (0.83)	5.47 (1.13)	A > C, B > D

*Note.* Means and Standard Deviations are presented by DV in rows. Significant independent variables (IVs) and interaction terms in the model ( $p < .05$ ). Graduate = undergraduate/graduate student.

Table 9.

*Means and standard deviations of institutional attitudes (Satisfaction, Trust, Safety) and Engagement by sexuality, as a function of the four mistreatment profiles.*

		Minimal	Hetero/Sexist	Uncivil	High
DV	Sexuality	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Satisfaction	Heterosexual	5.77 (1.22)	5.54 (1.33)	5.35 (1.59)	5.28 (1.48)
	Sexual Minority	5.68 (1.32)	5.33 (1.54)	4.93 (1.47)	4.72 (1.84)
Trust	Heterosexual	2.15 (0.57)	2.13 (0.49)	2.09 (0.55)	2.00 (0.60)
	Sexual Minority	2.09 (0.58)	2.01 (0.49)	2.18 (0.57)	1.97 (0.52)
Safety	Heterosexual	5.78 (1.27)	5.79 (1.35)	5.48 (1.44)	5.25 (1.48)
	Sexual Minority	5.69 (1.35)	5.38 (1.44)	4.75 (1.54)	4.67 (1.76)
Engagement	Heterosexual	6.16 (0.75)	5.86 (0.83)	5.94 (0.81)	5.50 (1.13)
	Sexual Minority	6.02 (0.77)	5.79 (0.89)	5.70 (0.94)	5.38 (1.11)

*Note.* Higher scores indicate more favorable outcomes. Post-hoc results are presented in the following section.

Table 10.

*Means and standard deviations of institutional attitudes (Satisfaction, Trust, Safety) and Engagement by gender, as a function of the four mistreatment profiles.*

		Minimal	Hetero/Sexist	Uncivil	High
DV	Gender	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Satisfaction	Men	5.70 (1.25)	5.50 (1.37)	5.18 (1.57)	5.09 (1.73)
	Women	5.82 (1.21)	5.52 (1.35)	5.40 (1.59)	5.22 (1.44)
Trust	Men	2.16 (0.57)	2.12 (0.49)	2.08 (0.55)	2.00 (0.62)
	Women	2.14 (0.57)	2.11 (0.50)	2.12 (0.55)	1.98 (0.56)
Safety	Men	6.39 (0.77)	6.33 (0.82)	6.14 (0.96)	5.98 (1.25)
	Women	5.21 (1.38)	4.79 (1.51)	4.83 (1.53)	4.44 (1.43)
Engagement	Men	6.10 (0.78)	5.85 (0.85)	5.83 (0.84)	5.29 (1.23)
	Women	6.20 (0.72)	5.85 (0.83)	5.98 (0.82)	5.62 (1.01)

*Note.* Higher scores indicate more favorable outcomes. Post-hoc results are presented in the following section.

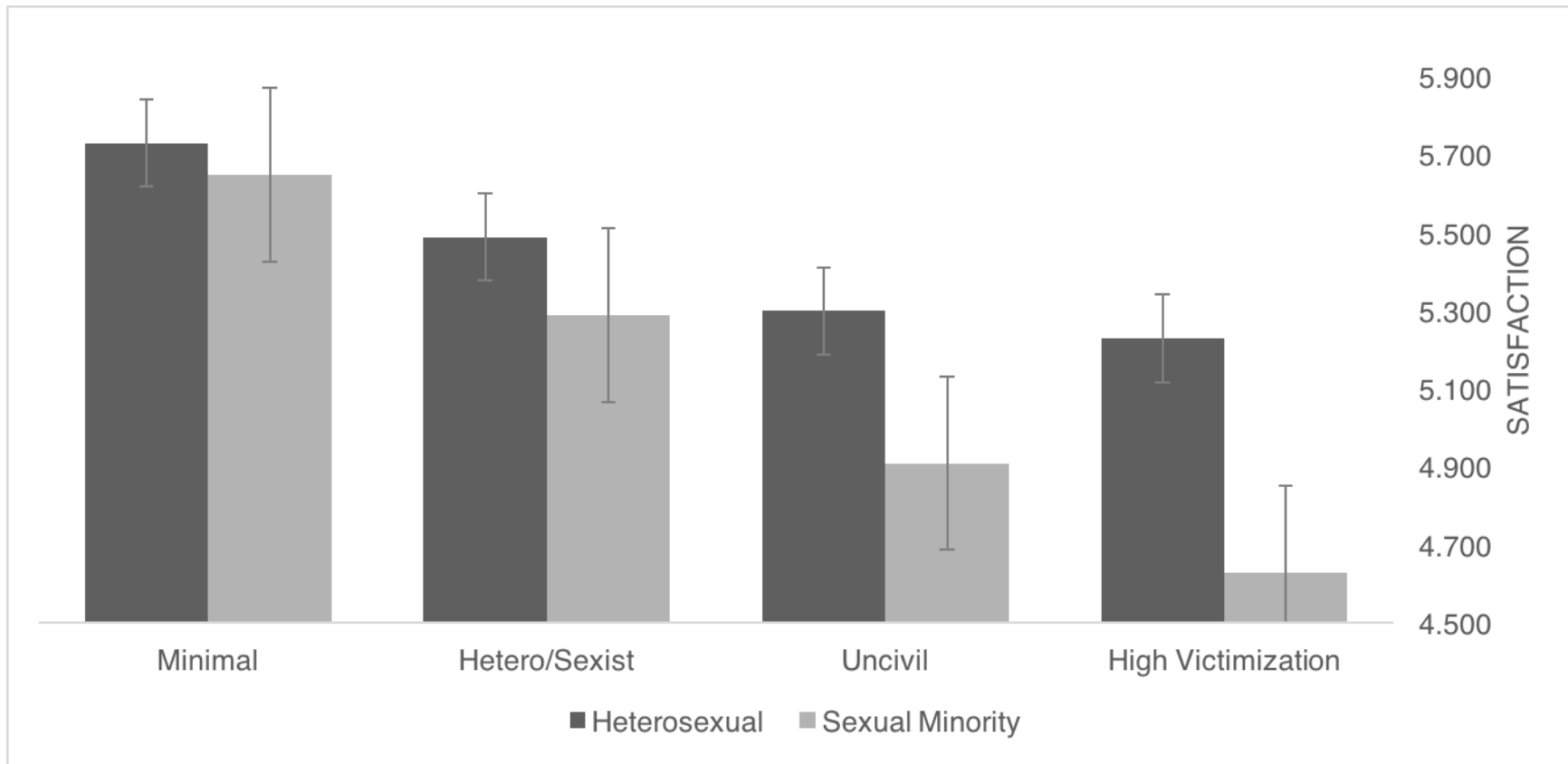
*Satisfaction with university experience.* Overall, the model predicted 2.80% of the variance in students' satisfaction with their university experience (Adjusted R-Squared = .028). The main effects of Mistreatment Profile,  $F(3, 3947) = 20.82, p < .001, \eta^2 = .016$ , and sexuality,  $F(1, 3947) = 15.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .004$ , were the only significant variables related to students' satisfaction with their university experience in the model (see Figure 2). Consistent with my predictions, sexual minorities ( $M = 5.34, SD = 1.51$ ) reported significantly lower satisfaction than heterosexual students ( $M = 5.64, SD = 1.33$ ). However, contrary to predictions, being a woman, and the interactive effects of being a sexual minority or a woman by profile were not significantly associated with the satisfaction outcome.

Students' satisfaction with their college experience was associated with the main effect of Mistreatment Profile. Post Hoc Tukey HSD analysis of profile groups revealed that the Minimal profile had higher satisfaction than all other groups ( $M = 5.76, SD = 1.23$ ), while the Hetero/Sexist profile ( $M = 5.51, SD = 1.36$ ) had higher satisfaction than both the Uncivil ( $M = 5.30, SD = 1.58$ ) and High Victimization groups ( $M = 5.16, SD = 1.58$ ). The Uncivil and High Victimization profiles did not significantly differ. Consistent with my hypothesis, students reporting above average incivility experiences (i.e., in the Uncivil profile) and students in the High Victimization profiles both had significantly lower satisfaction than the other two groups. I found no interactions between profile and demographic group variables. I offer possible explanations for this in the discussion that follows the results.

In sum, as predicted, university satisfaction is highest among the Minimal profile and increasingly eroded by above average levels of uncivil and high overall mistreatment. Contrary to hypotheses, lower satisfaction was also associated with above average identity-specific sexist



and heterosexist mistreatment (i.e., the Hetero/Sexist profile), and gender was unrelated to university satisfaction.



*Figure 2.* Estimated marginal means of the mistreatment profile by sexuality on University Satisfaction. Error bars represent standard errors.

*Trust in harassment response systems.* A multivariate ANOVA was also run to assess the relationships of gender, sexual orientation, and Mistreatment Profile on students' trust in harassment response systems at their university (see Figure 3). This model accounted for 0.40% of the variance in Institutional Trust attitudes (Adjusted R-Squared = .004). The only significant variable in the model was students' Mistreatment Profile membership,  $F(3, 3278) = 3.31, p = .019, \eta^2 = .003$ . Post-hoc Tukey HSD analysis were run to compare the mean differences in Institutional Trust for the four profile groups. Students in the High Victimization profile ( $M = 1.99, SD = 0.56$ ) had significantly lower trust than all other groups: Uncivil ( $M = 2.10, SD = 0.55$ ), Hetero/Sexist ( $M = 2.12, SD = 0.49$ ), and Minimal ( $M = 2.15, SD = 0.57$ ).

In sum, consistent with my hypotheses, students in the High Victimization profile – characterized by high levels of incivility, identity-specific and sexualized harassment – reported significantly lower Institutional Trust than all other profiles. However, there were no significant differences in trust among the other three Mistreatment Profile groups. Figure 3 displays the main effect of profile on Institutional Trust and presents descriptive profile group differences by sexuality group membership (discussed further below).

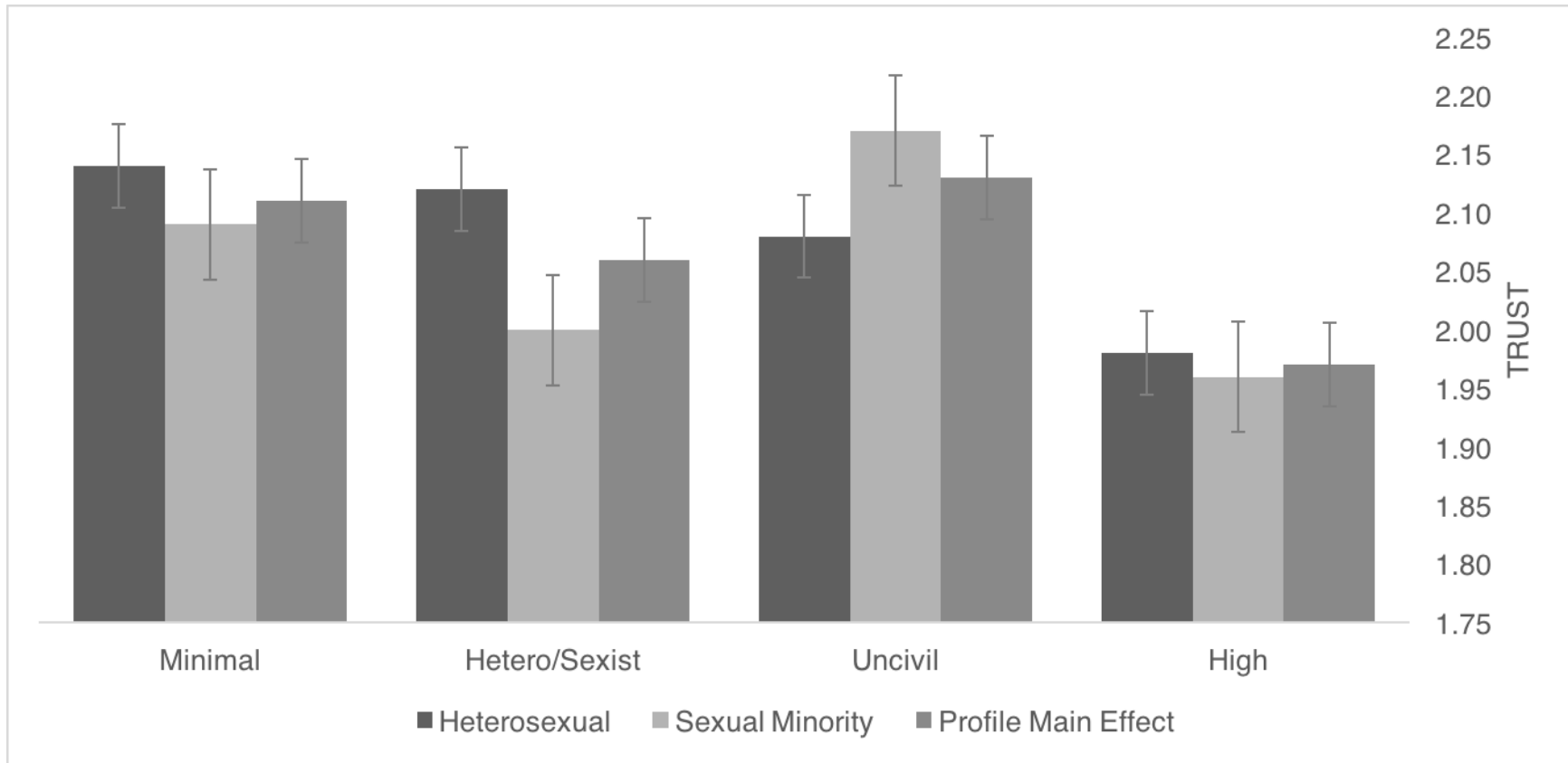
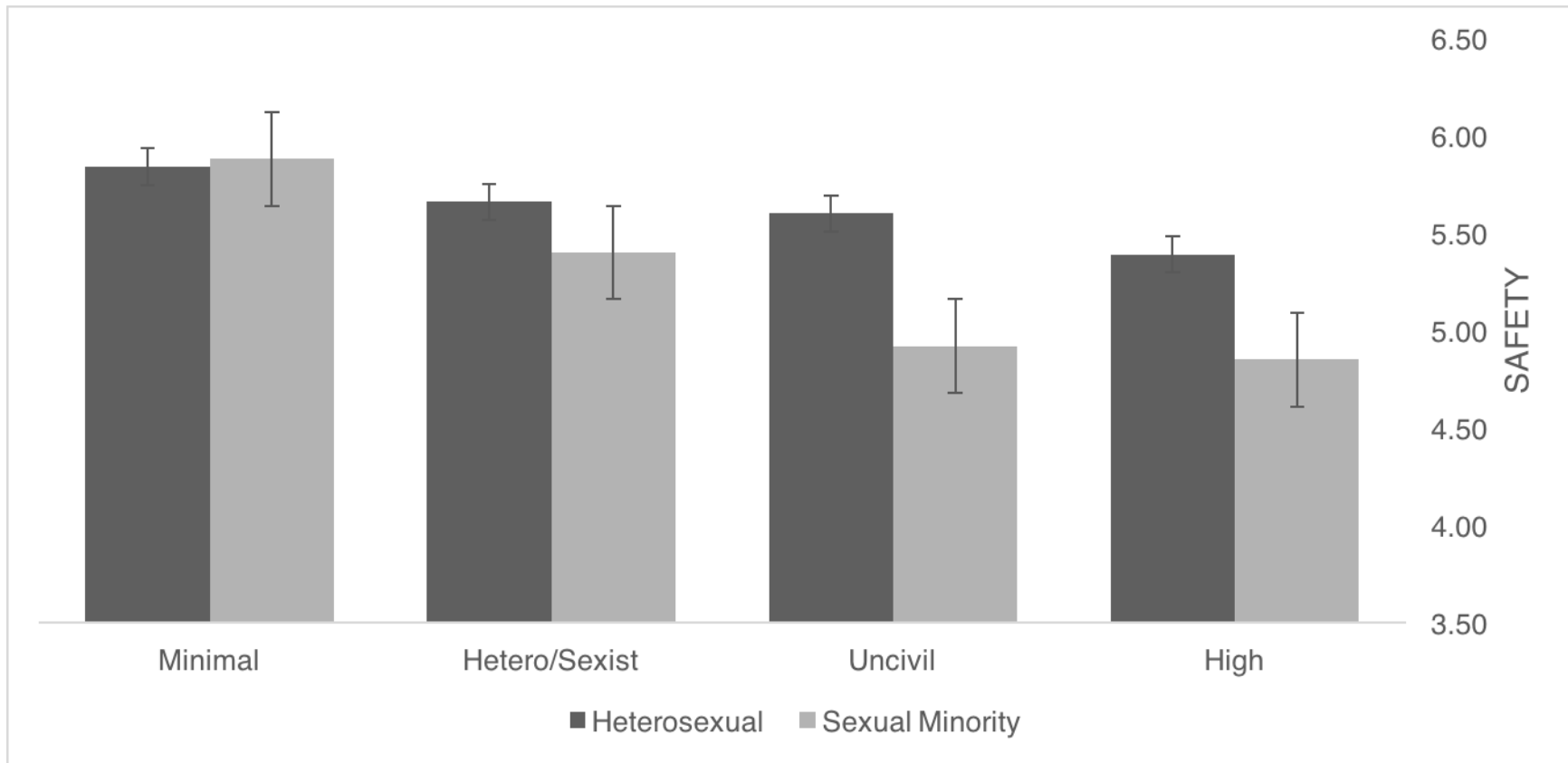


Figure 3. Estimated marginal means of the main effect of mistreatment profile, and the estimated marginal means by sexuality, on Trust in Harassment Response Systems. Error bars represent standard errors.

*Safety on campus.* Next, the multivariate ANOVA model predicting students' Campus Safety accounted for over 25% of the variance (Adjusted R-Squared = .25). The Campus Safety measure was reverse scored such that higher scores indicate less concerns for one's own safety. The ANOVA for campus safety found that the main effects of mistreatment profile,  $F(3, 3941) = 26.41, p < .001, \eta^2 = .020$ , gender,  $F(1, 2941) = 339.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .080$ , and sexual orientation,  $F(1, 2941) = 25.66, p < .001, \eta^2 = .006$ , were significant in the model. Additionally, the two-way interaction of Mistreatment Profile by sexual orientation,  $F(3, 2941) = 6.78, p < .001, \eta^2 = .005$ , was significantly associated with Campus Safety (see Figure 4). Overall, as predicted, sexual minorities ( $M = 5.32, SD = 1.52$ ) felt significantly less safe than heterosexuals ( $M = 5.71, SD = 1.33$ ), and women ( $M = 5.03, SD = 1.45$ ) felt much less safe than men ( $M = 6.32, SD = 0.85$ ) on campus. Next, as predicted, post-hoc analysis determined that the minimally victimized students ( $M = 5.77, SD = 1.27$ ) felt significantly safer than those in the Uncivil ( $M = 5.40, SD = 1.46$ ) and High Victimization profiles ( $M = 5.13, SD = 1.56$ ); students overall in the Hetero/Sexist profile ( $M = 5.73, SD = 1.37$ ) also felt significantly safer than those in these two mistreatment profile groups. The Hetero/Sexist and Minimal did not significantly differ from each other. Finally, the Uncivil profile had significantly less safety concerns students in the High Victimization group.

Contrary to my hypotheses, no significant differences emerged for mistreatment profile by gender. Women consistently reported lower safety than men, regardless of MP membership. Consistent with hypotheses, sexual minorities differed from heterosexuals within these Profiles (see Figure 4). Sexual minority men and women who experienced identity-ambiguous direct victimization (i.e., Uncivil) had lower campus safety attitudes compared to their heterosexual peers, as hypothesized; this same relationship was observed for sexual minorities reporting above

average identity-specific mistreatment (i.e., Hetero/Sexist), which was not predicted. Of note, only heterosexuals in the High Victimization profile reported significantly less safety than their average in the sample; while sexual minorities in both the High and Uncivil profiles were below their group's average. Despite the significant interaction of sexuality and profile group, campus safety was still overwhelmingly gendered, with men in the High Victimization group ( $M = 5.98$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) reporting higher safety outcomes on average than women in the Minimal profile ( $M = 5.21$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ).



*Figure 4.* Estimated marginal means of the interaction of mistreatment profile and sexuality on Campus Safety. Error bars represent standard errors.

**Academic engagement.** The institutional engagement variable was reverse scored for all analyses, such that higher scores correspond to higher engagement (or *less* academic disengagement). Overall, the model accounted for over 10% of the variance in students' academic engagement scores (Adjusted R-Squared = .10). The results of the ANOVA on academic engagement found significant effects of sexual orientation,  $F(1, 3937) = 14.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .004$ , Mistreatment Profile,  $F(3, 3937) = 30.61, p < .001, \eta^2 = .023$ , gender,  $F(1, 3937) = 19.47, p < .001, \eta^2 = .005$ , and a significant interaction of profile by gender,  $F(3, 3937) = 4.10, p = .007, \eta^2 = .003$ . Overall, sexual minorities ( $M = 5.83, SD = 0.90$ ) were less engaged than heterosexuals ( $M = 6.04, SD = 0.82$ ), and men ( $M = 5.96, SD = 0.86$ ) were less academically engaged than women ( $M = 6.07, SD = 0.80$ ).

As predicted, post hoc analysis determined that the Minimal profile students ( $M = 6.15, SD = 0.75$ ) had higher academic engagement than all other groups, and the High Victimization students ( $M = 5.47, SD = 1.13$ ) were significantly less engaged than all other groups. No significant differences in academic engagement between the Hetero/Sexist ( $M = 5.80, SD = 0.84$ ) and Uncivil ( $M = 5.91, SD = 0.83$ ) profiles were found.

Levels of academic engagement also differed significantly by gender within MP groups (see Figure 5). For example, men in the High Victimization group had engagement scores well below the men's overall average in the sample, and had much less disengagement than women in any mistreatment profile. Unexpectedly, women in the Uncivil group were slightly above women's average engagement levels overall; they had higher academic engagement than their peers in both the Hetero/Sexist and High Victimization profile groups.



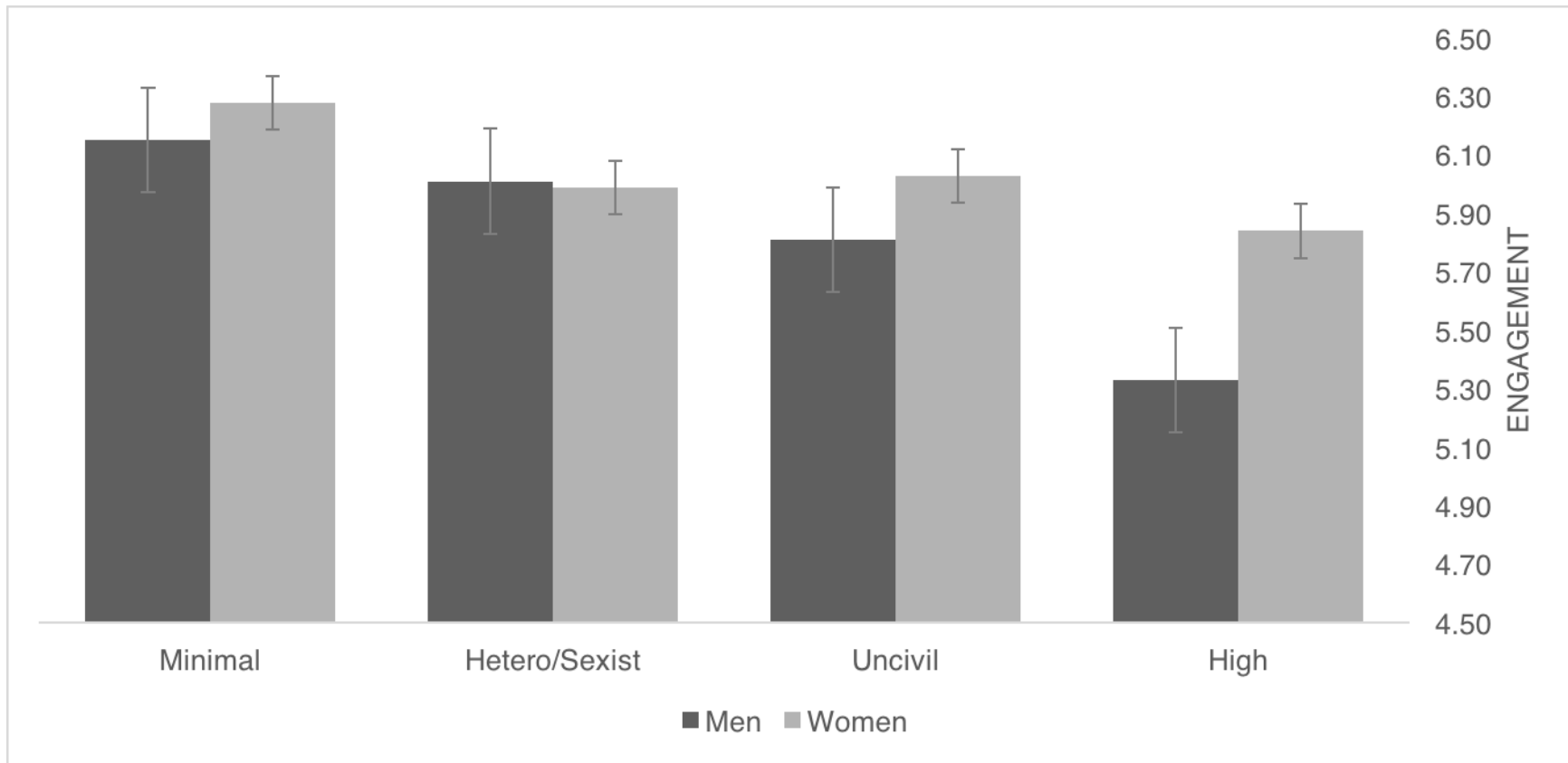


Figure 5. Estimated marginal means of the interaction of mistreatment profile and gender on Academic Engagement. Error bars represent standard errors.

## **Chapter IV.**

### **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to explore whether and how experiences of gendered mistreatment (e.g., generally rude interactions, identity-specific and sexualized harassment) perpetrated by members of the campus community accrue to be associated with students' strained attitudes towards their academic institution and disengagement from their academic pursuits. Students rely on their university to provide a learning environment that supports their academic needs, regardless of whether they are a sexual minority and/or a woman. I found that commonplace experiences of gendered mistreatment (e.g., heterosexist and gender harassment) perpetrated by members of the campus community can negatively affect students' relationship with their academic institution, across gender and sexual orientation. See Table 11 for an ANOVA summary of how sociodemographics and mistreatment profile group were associated with satisfaction, trust, safety, and academic engagement outcomes.

Table 11.

A summary of significant main effects and two-way interactions, and Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons of mistreatment profiles (MP), in multivariate ANOVAs on university satisfaction, trust, safety, and academic engagement.

IV's	Satisfaction	Trust	Safety	Engagement
	Post-Hoc	Post-Hoc	Post-Hoc	Post-Hoc
Graduate	X		X	X
MP	X	X	X	X
	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum	Minimum
	>	&	&	>
	Hetero/Sexist	Hetero/Sexist	Hetero/Sexist	Hetero/Sexist
	>	&	>	&
	Uncivil	Uncivil	Uncivil	Uncivil
	&	>	>	>
	High	High	High	High
Gender			X	X
			Men	Men
			>	<
			Women	Women
Sexuality	X		X	X
	Hetero-		Hetero-	Hetero-
	>		>	>
	S. Minority		S. Minority	S. Minority
Gender*MP				X
Sexuality*MP			X	
Gender*Sexuality				

*Note.* All significant ( $p < .05$ ) independent variables (IV's) are marked with an X. Graduate = undergraduate / graduate student, Hetero = heterosexual, S. Minority = sexual minority.

Both sexual minority women and men experienced disproportionately higher rates of gendered mistreatment from members of the campus community compared to their heterosexual peers. And while students were equivalently distributed by gender in the High Victimization profile, sexual minority students outnumbered their heterosexual counterparts by two to one. Relatedly, supporting the exacerbating effects of polyvictimization (Raver & Nishii, 2010), students who experienced the highest rates of all forms of gendered mistreatment (i.e., including predominantly high sexually advancing harassment) had more self-reported academic disengagement and consistently reported the most deleterious attitudes about their academic institution. For example, regardless of students' demographic groups, being highly victimized was associated with having less trust in the university's responsiveness to formal harassment claims. However, being a sexual minority or experiencing even moderate rates of campus mistreatment were both associated with decreased college experience satisfaction.

The dual main effects of gender and sexuality on students' campus safety perceptions suggests support for the *double jeopardy hypothesis*. Sexual minority women were at an increased risk for campus safety concerns, particularly those frequently targeted with generally rude interactions or reporting sexualized and globally high victimization. However, even women who reported little to no mistreatment still reported feeling less safe on campus than the most highly victimized men. Thus, while sexuality was significant, campus safety is still overwhelmingly gendered. And despite feeling unsafe navigating campus, the most severely mistreated women were resilient in their engagement with academic pursuits. Sexual minorities overall, and men who were highly victimized, reported the lowest levels of academic engagement in the sample, compared to their heterosexual and highly victimized women counterparts. It is possible that men are not socialized to academically persist in the face of

frequent gendered mistreatment. Women have been found to link their hostile experiences to the shared victimization of all women (Kelly & Torres, 2006). Women may have been prepared early in life to overcome sexualized and discriminatory harassment in academic settings, while men may have fewer resources to cope with such victimization.

This dissertation finds that when members of a university community target students with different forms of commonplace, gendered mistreatment— typically regarded as below the threshold of trauma, and historically researched independently (e.g., incivility and heterosexism) — it is associated with detrimental attitudes about the academic institution and lowered academic engagement. I argue that these strained institutional attitudes and disengaging behaviors — among those most directly targeted and severely victimized — may collectively signify students’ *Institutional Estrangement* from their university. This is deeply troubling, because students must continue to depend on their universities to formally remediate such gendered mistreatment and to succeed academically.

### **Summary of Results**

First, I used k-means cluster analysis to identify four Mistreatment Profile groups, based on students’ self-reported experiences of general incivility, discriminatory heterosexist and gender harassment, and sexually advancing harassment from members of their university (i.e., students, faculty, and staff) in the preceding year. These profile groups were characterized by students who self-reported: (a) little to no experiences of mistreatment in the previous year from members of the university (Minimal profile), (b) moderate (i.e., above average in the sample) rates of discriminatory heterosexist and gender harassment (Hetero/Sexist profile), (c) moderate rates of uncivil mistreatment, absent discriminatory or sexualized harassment (Uncivil profile),

and (d) high rates of all forms of gendered mistreatment (High Victimization profile), including particularly high levels of sexually advancing harassment.

Second, using chi-square analysis and ANOVA, I found that younger students, undergraduates, and sexual minorities disproportionately represented in both the Hetero/Sexist and High Victimization profiles compared to their heterosexual, older, graduate student counterparts. Men and white students were generally overrepresented in the Hetero/Sexist profile compared to women and racial/ethnic minorities in the sample, while sexual minority women were almost twice as likely as heterosexual women to be in this mistreatment profile group. Sexual minority men and women were just as likely to be in the Uncivil profile as their heterosexual gender counterparts, but women were generally overrepresented in this profile compared to men. Next, a loglinear regression determined that gender and sexual orientation had a significant two-way interaction with Mistreatment Profile membership and with one another; they did not interact significantly with students' racial/ethnic minority status, which was subsequently dropped from all further analyses. Finally, these mistreatment profiles were significantly associated with institutional outcomes.

**Minimal and Hetero/Sexist mistreatment profiles.** The low-to-moderate mistreatment profiles were distinct from profiles characterized by uncivil or globally high victimization. As predicted, the students in the Minimal profile had significantly more institutional satisfaction, trust, safety, and academic engagement, compared to the High Victimization students. Minimal group students also felt significantly more satisfied, safe, and engaged than students in the Uncivil profile. Minimally victimized students, in addition, expressed higher satisfaction and academic engagement than those in the Hetero/Sexist group. Students experiencing above average victimization of primarily heterosexist and gender harassment (i.e., Hetero/Sexist

profile) were also more satisfied with their college experience, and felt safer on campus than those experiencing more frequent identity-ambiguous and sexualized victimization (e.g., High Victimization and Uncivil profiles). One exception to this pattern: though engagement was significantly lower in the High Victimization profile, the Hetero/Sexist profile was not significantly more engaged than students in the Uncivil group.

**High Victimization profile.** Overall, as hypothesized, students in the High Victimization group felt less safe and engaged at their university than all other students in the sample. Highly victimized students similarly felt less satisfied with their college experience and less trusting of the harassment response systems at the university than those in the moderate discriminatory (i.e., Hetero/Sexist) and Minimal Victimization groups. However, students in the High Victimization group were not significantly different on satisfaction compared to students in the Uncivil profile. Within these most highly victimized students, sexual minorities felt the least safe, and men in this profile were the most academically disengaged.

**Uncivil mistreatment profile.** Of note, students who experienced moderately high levels of incivility– with only average levels of identity-specific and sexualized harassment in the sample – generally reported significantly more negative institutional attitudes than all but the most highly targeted students. For example, Uncivil group students generally had lower college experience satisfaction and had higher campus safety concerns than students in the Minimal and Hetero/Sexist groups. This pattern held true for all institutional attitudes except for students’ trust in the harassment response systems of the university. Regardless of students’ gender or sexual orientation, those who experienced only minimal to moderate gendered mistreatment in the sample (e.g., Minimal and Hetero/Sexist profiles) endorsed more positive attitudes towards their institutions’ harassment responsiveness. These profile groups did not significantly differ from

one another. In contrast, students reporting high levels of gendered mistreatment (including high levels of sexually advancing harassment) reported significantly lower institutional trust. In fact, sexual minority students in the Uncivil group demonstrated the highest rates of trust in the sample, even when compared to students of all demographic groups in the Minimal group. This may be because institutional trust is related to harassment reporting and response systems designed for identity-specific and sexualized harassment rather than generally rude interactions. While incivility clearly has negative effects for all students, sexual minority students in the Uncivil profile (who otherwise tended to report only average levels of sex-based harassment) may be aware that “it could be worse” when it comes to experiencing harassment in college.

In the section that follows, further discussion is provided for institutional attitudes and engagement. Next, practical implications of the findings from this study are discussed. Then, I offer insights on the utilization of intersectionality in quantitative survey research. Finally, study limitations and future research directions are offered.

### **University Satisfaction**

Students who were sexual minorities, and students predominantly targeted with generally rude mistreatment or global and sexualized victimization (i.e., gendered mistreatment were the least satisfied in the sample. These results corroborate and tie together previous research that found associations of student dissatisfaction with experiences of faculty incivility (Marchiondo et al., 2010) and sex-based harassment (Cortina et al., 1998). In this dissertation, I found that patterns of gendered mistreatment on campus that included above average rates of general incivility or of incivility in tandem with high levels of sex-based harassment both had similar deleterious effects on student satisfaction. However, university satisfaction is likely tied to a host of social and academic experiences above and beyond sociodemographics and mistreatment



experiences (e.g., social integration into campus life). Sexual minorities may hold high hopes for acceptance and inclusion in their college experience (Formby, 2007), thus experiencing campus gendered mistreatment might especially erode their university satisfaction. Because of the close association of student satisfaction with institutional loyalty and retention (Schreiner, 2009), future research in this area might utilize multidimensional assessments of university satisfaction (Levitz, 2016) to provide universities with insight into how different aspects of the student experience are affected by patterns of gendered mistreatment.

### **Institutional Trust**

The sole association of High Victimization profile with less trust in the university's harassment response systems, while also accounting for student demographics, is consistent with the literatures on both Institutional Trust and Institutional Betrayal. A meta-analytic review by Willness and colleagues (2007) found that aggregate Institutional Trust attitudes in an organizational setting (often termed "Organizational Tolerance of Harassment") was the strongest correlate to reported harassment levels in that setting, above and beyond other individual-, group-, and institutional-level factors (e.g., proportion of men; institutional rank of target). Additionally, similar to the findings demonstrating lowered trust among highly victimized students (who experienced particularly frequent sexually advancing harassment), research in military samples has also found that experiencing sexual assault is related to eroded institutional trust; this lowered trust was associated to a host of negative wellbeing and institutional outcomes above and beyond assault victimization (Rabelo, Holland, Cortina, 2017). The findings in the present study confirm that, regardless of a student's gender or sexuality, witnessing and being targeted with high rates of gendered mistreatment from members of the

campus community can erode trust that the university will adequately address or respond to discrimination and harassment claims.

Emerging literature on Institutional Betrayal might illuminate why, at a bivariate level, sexual minority identified students generally had more negative and ambivalent attitudes toward their university's harassment response systems compared to heterosexuals. As in virtually all studies on this topic, very few students in this sample have formally reported harassment or interacted with an investigation, so their attitudes about the university's harassment response systems are likely heavily based on assumptions. However, sexual minorities with bullying and heterosexist harassment in their primary and secondary educational environments have lower sense of school belonging, and this victimization can have negative psychosocial effects into adulthood (Collier, van Beusekom, Bos, Sandford, 2013). Thus, sexual minority and victimized students may enter college with different reasons for distrusting institutional harassment response systems. Targeted sexual minority youth may have experienced further victimization due to their primary and secondary schools' unsupportive policies and practices around anti-LGBTQ hostility, where teachers frequently normalize and ignore everyday heterosexist and gendered harassment (Meyer, 2008b). Research on college students who have experienced sexual assault finds that sexual minorities disproportionately report inadequate resources and institutional responses to their sexual victimization disclosure, a type of organizational-level negligence termed Institutional Betrayal, which is found to exacerbate negative health and academic outcomes after a traumatic experience (Smith & Freyd, 2014). Thus, for college students most vulnerable to victimization, such as sexual minority women, distrust of their university's harassment response systems may represent a form of "anticipatory" Institutional Negligence.

While profile membership was the sole significant predictor in the model, patterns for sexual minorities and women in the Uncivil profile were intriguing. There seemed to be a trend that sexual minorities and women who experienced elevated incivility (with lower levels of identity-specific and sexualized harassment) tended to report more trust than their heterosexual and male peers in the Uncivil group, and their levels of trust were much higher than women and sexual minorities in all other profiles (even when compared to those who were minimally victimized). Further research should sample for more sexual minorities to better ascertain how patterns of mistreatment differently impacts their trust in their institutional harassment response systems.

### **Campus Safety**

The dual main effects of gender and sexuality suggest sexual minority women do face double jeopardy with regards to their safety due to heteropatriarchy, whereby both women and sexual minorities felt less safe. Consistent with past research, even the most minimally victimized women disproportionately felt unsafe compared to the most victimized men. Still, the interactive effects of sexuality and profile in the model demonstrated that sexual minorities in the sample felt significantly less safe than their heterosexual peers who reported similar patterns of mistreatment. This is particularly troubling, as sexual minorities were almost twice as likely as their heterosexual peers to be highly victimized in the sample.

Qualitative education researchers Payne and Smith (2013) argue that bullying is a highly social act that is part of larger heteronormative system of policing gender in schools. Such gendered mistreatment functions to re-inscribe social hierarchies that place LGBTQ and gender non-conforming youth at the margins:

“Overt acts of violence against LGBTQ youth (or those who are perceived to be) are only the surface level, explicit effects of heteronormative school cultures that privilege idealized (hetero) gender performances and create social benefits for peer-to-peer policing of nonnormative sexualities and gender expressions. Those who step outside the hegemonic norm are policed by their peers and denied access to social power and popularity, while those who do conform are ‘celebrated’” (Payne & Smith, 2013, p. 13).

Perhaps this can help explain why even those sexual minorities who experienced above average heterosexist and gender harassment, in the absence of elevated uncivil or sexualized mistreatment, or elevated incivility in the absence of explicitly discriminatory or sexualized harassment, still felt less physically safe than heterosexuals reporting the same mistreatment patterns.

Because of their minority status and past educational experiences, sexual minorities may be all too aware that subtle, verbal and symbolic heterosexist and sexist behaviors are part of a continuum of hostility that could escalate to physical and sexual violence. Given possible parallels in the campus safety concerns of women and sexual minorities (and gender non-conforming / transgender students), future research should continue to bridge research on safety concerns for LGBTQ and women-identified student populations, under the broader framework of gendered mistreatment rather than studying heterosexist (and transphobic), sexist, and sexual mistreatment in isolation.

### **Academic Engagement**

Academic engagement was lowest among men, sexual minorities, and those in the High Victimization groups. Students in the Hetero/Sexist and Uncivil profiles were similarly

disengaged. Women were generally resilient in their academic engagement, particularly when compared to men reporting similar patterns of gendered mistreatment. Men in the Uncivil and High Victimization groups reported much lower levels of engagement than their women peers in the same Mistreatment Profile. This suggests that women may have more resources to manage gendered mistreatment in their academic environments than men, or that men experience such incivility and sex-based harassment in college as being more problematic for their academic functioning. Men who experienced primarily generally rude mistreatment or global and sexualized victimization had difficulty remaining engaged in their academic pursuits. Because of the dual risk of academic disengagement, sexual minority men and highly victimized men should be especially supported around remaining academically engaged.

### **Practical Recommendations**

College counselors, harassment reporting staff, and administrators have much to learn from the findings of this dissertation. Research on institutional harassment often focuses on individual health and wellbeing outcomes, but individuals' attitudes about the institution itself that they rely on to live, learn and work, should also be considered. While psychological and health related outcomes are important to consider in the aftermath of gendered mistreatment, given counselors' and support staff's position within the institution in offering support to targeted students, institutional attitudes of harassment targets and the general student population should also be considered. These alienated attitudes and academic disengagement could prevent students from seeking necessary relief from within the institution.

Next, gendered mistreatment shapes patterns of student outcomes in terms of institutional attitudes and engagement. Men who are highly victimized may express no significant differences from less targeted men around institutional satisfaction, but may exhibit lower academic

engagement. Conversely, women who are highly victimized may express no significant differences from less targeted women around academic disengagement, but may show significant differences around their sense of safety on campus.

Third, while there must be continued attention to overt discrimination and sexual assault in college, campus administrations must also recognize the co-occurrence of more commonplace, explicitly derogatory (e.g., gender and heterosexist harassment) and interpersonally acute (e.g., incivility, sexualized harassment) mistreatment. While general incivility can be subtle, its negative impact on institutional satisfaction and campus safety surpasses the outcomes of students only reporting above average identity-specific harassment. High rates of incivility, even in the absence of frequent sex-based harassment, erodes students sense of campus safety; moreover it is just as harmful as high victimization around decreased college experience satisfaction.

Next, environments that normalize incivility and (hetero-)sexism can provide gateways to more extreme forms of harassment; in fact, experiencing high sexualized harassment was consistently associated with experiencing high levels of all other assessed forms of gendered mistreatment. And experiencing high rates of sexualized harassment along with above average identity-ambiguous and identity-specific mistreatment was associated with particularly negative outcomes. Similarly, campus administration must recognize and jointly address heterosexism, sexism, and sexual harassment in students' lives, as they almost always co-occur. Thus, sexual minority men need specific support and inclusive language around reporting sexual harassment perpetration; sexual minority women should not be presumed heterosexual, and their double jeopardy around gendered mistreatment must be considered.

Finally, safety concerns are highly gendered and related to sexuality, with the most victimized men reporting much less concern than even minimally targeted women, and sexual minorities generally reported lower campus safety than their heterosexual peers who reported similar victimization patterns. Despite the gulf between the safety concerns of men and women, the impact of gendered mistreatment on safety concerns significantly differs by sexuality. As such, all women and sexual minorities – especially those who have been highly victimized by members of the university – need to be especially supported around navigating the physical campus. And because women are generally at greater risk for sex-based harassment (and assault), and sexual minorities are most likely to report high victimization, sexual minority women are particularly at risk for campus safety concerns.

### **Implications for Quantitative Intersectionality Research**

In a classic sociological article on quantitative intersectionality, McCall (2005) offers three categorizations of intersectional scholarship as it relates to social locations of experience: intracategorical scholarship examining differences within a group (e.g., within sexual minority populations), the more common intercategory approaches that attend to group differences, and anti-categorical approaches that specifically reject social categories of difference as starting points of analysis. However, these distinctions can overlap in a single project (e.g., examining gender differences within LGBTQ participants while also comparing heterosexuals and sexual minorities), and there has been much confusion in the field as to how best to apply intersectional frameworks to quantitative methods. In a special issue on *Intersectionality in Quantitative Psychological Research*, Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) discuss best methodological practices in terms of: theory, design, sampling techniques, measurement, data analytic strategies, and the interpretation and framing of findings. Relevant to this dissertation, proposed intersectional

methods for researchers to consider include: determining which intracategorical differences and intersecting identities in participants' social locations are of analytic importance, statistically accounting for multiple main effects and interaction terms of identity groups to determine intercategory differences, and conducting person centered methods to explore commonalities across and beyond politicized identity categories.

In this dissertation, I was focused on intercategory differences by sexual orientation and gender due to the mistreatment experiences (grounded in heterosexism and sexism) that I included in the analysis. Specifically, I was primarily interested in intracategorical gender differences among LBGQ students. Quantitative research with this difficult to sample population often does not account for gender intersections when comparisons are made between sexual minorities and heterosexuals, making this study an important contribution to the literature on LGBTQ experiences around gendered mistreatment (e.g., heterosexist harassment).

In addition to recommendations to use theoretical and phenomenological insights in the literature to determine the social location for analysis (cf. Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016; Warner, 2008), this dissertation is an example of how loglinear regression can also serve as a statistical tool alongside person-centered methods to help determine the most parsimonious set of observed categorical identities and subgroups ("social location") needed to explain the data alongside latent group membership. Using loglinear regression, I determined that sexuality and gender significantly interacted together (but not with race/ethnicity), and each had a significant two-way interaction with mistreatment profile membership; this allowed for a synthesis of intercategory (ANOVA) and anticategorical (e.g., cluster analysis) quantitative intersectionality approaches. Further, the analysis of the gender-sexuality intersection would not have been statistically possible in this dissertation without combining the two cross-sectional datasets to have a



statistically sufficient number of sexual minorities. Thus, examining intracategories of theoretical interest for difficult to reach populations using survey data (e.g., campus climate research on LGBTQ experiences of sexual harassment) may require unique sampling methods (e.g., stratified sampling, sequential data collections) and measurement techniques to have adequate intergroup samples for analytic comparisons (Brooke de Heer & Jones, 2017).

Furthermore, while the inclusion of multiple identity categories in statistical models does not itself constitute intersectionality research (Cole, 2009) I argue for the inclusion of multiple main effects, as well as interaction terms, within intercategory factorial designs in quantitative intersectionality research. The presence of multiple main effects of identity categories (e.g., gender and sexuality) without a significant interaction of the main effects can still imply double jeopardy (e.g., for sexual minority women) (cf. Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Still, Bowleg and Bauer (2016) argue that the inclusion of interaction terms in addition to main effects is essential: “including an interaction term allows effects at each intersection to be estimated independently reflecting fundamental tenets of intersectionality that the experiences of those at a particular intersection cannot be understood as a sum of their parts” (p. 339). For example, despite the non-significance of gender by sexuality interaction term in the campus safety ANOVA, the inclusion of only main effects of gender and sexuality in the model would have obscured the unique variance accounted for by sexual minority women’s campus safety experience in the sample.

Finally, to better focus on structural experiences that shape disadvantage and to uncover similarities across groups, Else-Quest and Hyde (2016) suggest that employing person-centered statistical methods – such as cluster analysis – might be one way of approaching anticategorical intersectional scholarship. Person-centered statistical approaches organize “the population into mutually exclusive and exhaustive classes or subgroups on the basis of behaviors or

characteristics...” to describe heterogeneity in the population; these profile groups can then be “used to discern commonalities across intersectional locations by identifying classes of people with similar experiences of disadvantage or privilege” (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016, p. 331) that span multiple demographic groups.

In this dissertation, I used anticategorical, person-centered methods (McCall, 2005) to complement a variable-centered, intercategorical approach. Instead of ignoring the sexualized harassment experienced by men in the sample, cluster analysis showed that both men and women in the most highly victimized profile (i.e., with especially high rates of sexualized harassment) were disproportionately sexual minorities, and that those highly victimized men (across sexuality) had much lower academic engagement in the sample as compared to highly victimized women. Such findings were only possible through the theoretical and analytic focus on sexuality and gender differences. This required sampling for adequate sexual minorities to allow intracategorical gender comparisons, using anticategorical, person-centered cluster analysis to explore commonalities and differences in experiences across identity categories, and examining intercategorical differences using chi-square analysis, loglinear regression, and ANOVA to explore demographic associations with patterns of mistreatment and student outcomes. Because previous research on sex-based harassment has used person-centered analysis primarily in workplace samples, which did not assess sexually advancing harassment or incivility, this dissertation extends previous findings that utilized person-centered methods on the deleterious effect of LGBTQ employees’ heterosexist harassment and gender harassment (e.g., Rabelo & Cortina, 2014) to new populations and institutional settings (i.e., across sexual orientation and gender; in a college student context), and alongside other relevant gendered mistreatment in college students’ lives (i.e., identity-ambiguous incivility; sexually advancing harassment).

## **Limitations and Future Research Directions**

This dissertation focused on aspects of students' identity and institutional experience that are of direct relevance to universities trying to improve their campus climates to be more welcoming and supportive for women and LGBTQ students. The cluster analysis of patterns of mistreatment experiences and the intergroup comparisons of heterosexual and sexual minority men's and women's institutional attitudes and functioning are methodological strengths. However, its findings should be considered alongside its limitations, some of which suggest directions for future research.

The study was conducted at one predominantly white institution, located in a rural college town in a "red state" in the Pacific Northwest. The findings may only be generalizable to institutions with similar social contexts and student demographics. Research on liberal campuses in urban settings may produce other results, in that manifestations of heterosexism and sexism varies by location. However, given that most research highlighting LGBTQ experiences tend to sample from such urban, liberal contexts this sample and institutional setting provide important insights. Still, given that the data all draw from the same institution, extrapolation about the influence of institutional context and setting cannot be determined. Research into campus "climates" and victimization has been heavily dominated by cross-sectional survey and single-source, self-report data collection, such as the methods used in this dissertation, which limit assessment of causality.

The institutional sample had some limitations. Though it was a large sample of students, collected over two time points, with enough sexual minority participants to allow for meaningful gender comparisons by mistreatment group, it was not large enough to examine differences between predominantly bisexual and monosexual minority (e.g., gay, lesbian) students.

Additionally, the racial minorities in the sample at this historically and predominantly white institution were too few for intergroup comparisons. For example, it was not possible to compare the experiences of white and racial minority LGBTQ students.

The mistreatment measures that were included in this dissertation, such as the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire, have undergone decades of psychometric validation across multiple institutional settings (e.g., workplace, college, military). The measures utilize retrospective reports around the frequency of campus mistreatment experiences in the previous year. They tap into the cumulative effects of mistreatment perpetrated by members of an institution on the experiences of students:

“there is no consensus about whether [students’ reports of mistreatment in] the environment is “objective”—transcending any one individual’s perceptions, or “subjective”—private and impossible to generalize beyond one’s own self. Therefore, the impact of an experience on an individual is how the experience is interpreted (Dusek and Flaherty 1981)” (Cress, 2008, p. 99).

However, differences by the institutional membership (e.g., undergraduate peers, staff, or faculty) of the perpetrator or the meaning ascribed to those experiences by the target are unclear.

Future research should also include measures of other forms of gendered treatment, such as gender conformity policing. This type of sex-based harassment often co-occurs with gender derogating harassment and heterosexist harassment (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Leskinen & Cortina, 2014). Additionally, including measures of gender conformity policing would assist in better understanding the gendered mistreatment experiences of those who express their gender atypical ways regardless of their sexual orientation (see Leskinen, Rabelo, & Cortina, 2015). For example, I suspect that gender nonconforming college students are more often punished through

gender conformity policing in addition to experiencing more frequent incivility and other forms of sex-based harassment. Assessing harassment based on violations of how men and women are prescribed to behave might illuminate further connections between sex-based harassment and incivility experiences.

The field should move toward longitudinal studies that examine the connection between mistreatment and targets' response. Moskowitz and Young (2006) recommend the use of ecological momentary assessment (EMA), which involves a sampling of participants' current behaviors and experiences, at scheduled or randomized time points; research could use daily diaries or technologies such as phone applications to measure subtle and overt gendered mistreatment experiences and students' institutional functioning in real time. Methods such as EMA reduce recall bias and allow researchers to gain a better understanding of micro processes involved in gendered mistreatment on campus, from the behavioral responses and subjective interpretation of the target to the institutional source and social nature of the perpetration. Further, researchers might consider coding harassment report claims as well as adjudication proceedings to better understand experiences of students who experience severe levels of gendered mistreatment and choose to engage the university's formal harassment response systems. Additionally, triangulating longitudinal and cross-sectional self-report data with qualitative interviews and focus groups with hard-to-reach populations (racial minorities, LGBTQ and gender non-conforming students, sexual assault targets), integrating University student record data to account for individual differences in GPA, coursework, and education, and using ethnographic observations might provide researchers a more holistic understanding of how everyday gendered mistreatment in college undermines student attitudes and functioning.

Future research could consider other institutional factors not included in this dissertation. For example, fostering a climate where LGBTQ students feel affirmed (e.g., through LGBT ally programs) and LGBTQ community can be formed, where they can be open about their sexuality so intergroup friendships with heterosexuals can occur (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and where bystander intervention training is sensitive to students' social concerns (Dessel, Goodman, Woodford, 2016) might help reduce gendered mistreatment on campus, particularly towards LGBTQ students. Members of an institution often feel unwilling or unable to report instances of sexual harassment in the organization due to perceptions of barriers in the reporting process, inadequate organizational responses to reports, and threats of retaliation (Bergman, Langout, Palmieri, Fitzgerald, & Cortina, 2002). Thus, increasing students' competency and confidence to interrupt such discriminatory and sexualized mistreatment on college campuses is of the utmost importance.

Accounting for individual differences that might help to prevent, buffer, or exacerbate the risk for experiencing gendered mistreatment in college or its negative impact on institutional attitudes and academic engagement may be a valuable next step. For example, students' centrality and collective identification with their marginalized identities, global self-esteem, academic self-efficacy, physical and affective gender expression, LGBTQ friendships and acquaintances (both presence and quality), and LGBTQ students' "outness" about their minority gender/sexuality to friends and family are all important areas of inquiry for educational and organizational psychology research and may play an important role as college administrators seek to best support their marginalized and targeted students. Beyond the scope of this dissertation, assessing students' use of agentic responses such as interrupting or reporting the offensive behaviors will be important to assess in future research, as it could mediate their regard

toward and academic functioning within the institution. Future research should examine students' engagement in these anti-oppressive behaviors in the face of gendered mistreatment, while accounting for students' possible concerns around safety, retaliation, and social exclusion.

Finally, multi-institutional data collection could address sample size issues for analytic inclusion of other multiply marginalized subgroups (e.g., students who are both racial and sexual minorities) and accounting for racial and ethnic group differences among people of color. This diversity of institutional settings would also allow for the inclusion of institutional and structural factors, such as liberal versus conservative or urban versus rural settings, and differences by type of college (e.g., community college, private liberal arts, public university).

## **Conclusion**

The topic of estrangement from one's family has been discussed in relation to LGBTQ youth and their unaccepting families that they are dependent on. In that literature on family estrangement, attention is paid to discriminatory injustices and abuse perpetrated by family members and the (voluntary or involuntary) estrangement from those family support systems (Scharp & Dorrance Hall, 2017). Despite being discriminated against in their own family, sexual minority youth may nonetheless “adapt” to this injustice by brushing off their individual experiences as “no big deal” rather than holding their family accountable (e.g., McClelland, Rubin, Bauermeister, 2016). It could be argued that LGBTQ students may therefore come to rely on the university for more support than the average student. Particularly for LGBTQ college students who have experienced school victimization and family unacceptance in their youth, going to college can represent a safe haven and a time for sexual exploration, believing:

“that being at university was (or would be) a more positive experience than being at school. This belief was informed by word of mouth (for example, family and friends) and

popular culture (such as television programmes)... [that their college peers] would necessarily be predisposed to be more liberal or ‘understanding’ in their attitudes” (Formby, 2017, p. 214).

Thus, LGBTQ college students seeking refuge in college may experience heightened dependency on their academic institution. However, in instances of frequent discriminatory and sexualized abuse perpetrated systematically in the context of the university, a place where they expected to find safety and where they must socially and academically engage to thrive, students can also become estranged from their academic institution. I propose that this estranged relationship can manifest in the form of institutional dissatisfaction, distrust, safety concerns, and disengagement.

This dissertation integrated intersectionality with person-centered methods to explore how gendered mistreatment in college is associated with institutional estrangement. The findings suggest that those experiencing predominantly identity-ambiguous mistreatment (i.e., incivility) or globally frequent victimization (i.e., with predominantly sexualized mistreatment) had the most strained institutional relations and academic disengagement. There were heightened and intersecting gender and sexuality risks for sexual minority women’s campus safety and for sexual minority men’s academic engagement.

First, I identified four mistreatment profile groups using k-means cluster analysis: Minimal (i.e., little to no mistreatment), Hetero/Sexist (i.e., predominantly identity-specific mistreatment), Uncivil (i.e., predominantly identity-ambiguous), and High Victimization. Marginalized students, such as sexual minorities, and younger and undergraduate students, were disproportionately represented in the Hetero/Sexist and High Victimization groups. Further, sexual minorities were more than twice as likely as heterosexuals to report High Victimization and heterosexuals were disproportionately in the Minimum group. Across sexual orientation, and



speaking to the selective discriminatory impact of incivility (Cortina, 2008), women disproportionately experienced Uncivil mistreatment compared to men.

Next, I found gender and sexuality demographic and mistreatment profile associations with strained institutional relations (i.e., college satisfaction, trust in harassment reporting, campus safety, and academic engagement), while controlling for differences between undergraduate and graduate students. Overall, sexual minorities were less satisfied with their college experience, perhaps due to the mismatch between their hopes for acceptance at the university (Formby, 2017) and their disproportionately High Victimization compared to heterosexuals. Compared to heterosexuals and men with similar patterns of mistreatment experiences, sexual minorities felt less safety and women had resilient academic engagement in the face of High Victimization. However, speaking to the pervasively gendered concerns around personal safety and sexual assault, even the most frequently victimized men reported feeling safer on campus than women reporting little to no gendered mistreatment.

Compared to Hetero/Sexist and Minimal mistreatment, Uncivil mistreatment was more detrimental to satisfaction and safety. Experiencing High Victimization was associated with the least trust, safety, and engagement, which supports theories of exacerbation of negative outcomes, rather than habituation, resulting from experiencing multiple forms of victimization (Raver & Nishii, 2010). I theorize that students' strained attitudes and disengagement alongside gendered mistreatment in college might be best characterized as institutional estrangement, whereby victimized and marginalized students in this rural, college town may experience simultaneous dependency on (Smith & Freyd, 2014) and alienation from (Tinto, 1975) the university that they rely on to live, learn, work, and socialize.

Institutional Betrayal has been found to exacerbate negative health outcomes from sexual assault trauma, and students may maintain an inattention to the systemic negligence (i.e., Blindness to Betrayal) they experience at an institution that fails to protect them from this abuse or support their academic success and personal wellbeing after sexual assault disclosure (Smith & Freyd, 2014). Smith and Freyd (2014) argue that the hierarchically dependent nature of students' relationship to their academic institution sometimes necessitates "extended inattention" to systemic negligence (e.g., the university not making harassment reporting resources adequately available) in the aftermath of traumatic victimization in the trusted academic institution students depend on to live, learn, and work. However, this systemic inattention to institutional negligence on the part of victimized students may also occur when more everyday experiences gendered mistreatment proliferates unchecked.

University harassment response systems are typically built to prevent and address the most overt and egregious abuses (e.g., sexual assault, procedural sex discrimination), as required by federal law (e.g., Title IX grievance procedures). However, less overt, verbal, and symbolic discriminatory and sexualized mistreatment can also taint students' institutional attitudes and engagement with the academic enterprise, whereby students are targeted for mistreatment based on their gender and/or sexuality and are systematically discriminated against by members of the university. Students may not hold the university accountable or take a systemic view of their seemingly isolated interpersonal mistreatment, but I suggest that these incidents may accumulate to constitute institutional neglect at the aggregate level. Students may remain inattentive to the failures of the University to prevent or provide redress for their victimization, yet this gendered mistreatment may nonetheless interfere with the students' academic experience and exacerbate strained relations with their academic institution.

These institutional actions and inactions, which disproportionately implicate the wellbeing of women and sexual minorities, carry political weight. Students surveyed in this dissertation attended a public University located in a rural area in a “red state,” with little to no protections for sexual minorities at the local or state level, and with state legislation that specifically targets marginalized women’s reproductive choices. In arguing for the role of academic institutions in systemically promoting students’ success and academic engagement, Tinto and Pusser (2006) suggest that public postsecondary institutions, in particular, are political institutions whose leaders choose how to interpret state and national policies:

“they are entities generally chartered or empowered to operate with the sanction of a state agency, often in a state constitution or framing document. Further, they generate significant public costs and allocate public benefits... [and] also have unique salience and symbolic power in the political arena, as they have long been sites of political contest and instruments in broader political struggles” (p. 29).

For instance, public universities can take a supportive stance for students who are LGBTQ and/or women, such as the recognition of sexual minorities as a protected class or remediating androcentric bias in liberal arts curriculum. A failure of the university to protect its students from gendered mistreatment must be understood in the context of the political dynamics that underpin adoption and deployment of policies to prevent and adequately redress claims of discrimination and harassment. Students’ strained institutional relations and academic engagement is associated patterns of gendered mistreatment. Because gendered mistreatment negatively affects both men and women, across sexuality, university interventions and programs of research should address incivility, subtle and overt heterosexism, sexism, and sexualized harassment in tandem.

## Appendix A: Mistreatment Constructs

Table 12.

*Key terms and definitions of assessed mistreatment experiences.*

<b>Mistreatment</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Alternative Terms</b>
Gender harassment	“disparaging conduct not intended to elicit sexual cooperation; rather, these are verbal, physical, and symbolic behaviors that convey hostile and offensive attitudes [about people of one’s gender] (Konik & Cortina, 2008: 314).	<b>Gender harassment</b> (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Huerta et al., 2006; Konik & Cortina, 2008, Lim & Cortina, 2005), <b>sexist hostility</b> (Fitzgerald et al., 1999), <b>sexist remarks</b> (Leskinen, Rabelo, & Cortina, 2015)
Sexually advancing harassment	“all inappropriate and unwanted behaviors [...] that aim to gain sexual access to a target” (Lim & Cortina, 2005: 484)	<b>Sexualized harassment</b> (Bond, Mulvey, & Mandell, 1993; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Lim & Cortina, 2005),
Heterosexist harassment	“insensitive verbal and symbolic (but non-assaultive) behaviors that convey animosity toward non-heterosexuality” (Silverschanz et al, 2008: 180)	<b>Anti-LGBT harassment</b> (Waldo, et al., 1998), <b>homophobic harassment</b> (Silverschanz, et al., 2008), (in)direct heterosexism (Waldo, 1999), <b>Homo-anathema</b> (Pryer & Whalen, 1997)
Incivility	“low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of ...[institutional] norms for mutual respect.” (Andersson & Pearson, 1999: 457)	<b>Emotional abuse</b> (Keashly, 1998), bullying (Einarsen, 1999), <b>generalized abuse</b> (Rospenda, Richman, Wislar, & Flaherty, 2000), , <b>employee deviance</b> (Robinson & Bennett, 1995), <b>generalized harassment</b> (Rospenda, 2002), “ <b>rude or disrespectful treatment</b> ” (Neuman, 2004)

## **Appendix B: Considerations for Person-Centered Analyses**

Wang and colleagues (2013, p. 170) suggest several novel considerations for researchers attempting to use a person-centered approach, such as cluster analysis. These include: (1) the inclusion and exclusion of input variables; (2) developing a priori hypotheses of the "numbers of profiles, the nature of the particular profiles, and their antecedents and outcomes;" (3) theoretically-informed a priori hypotheses for why certain patterns in profiles might not be found; (4) carefully considering the meaning of descriptor terms (i.e., high, medium, low) in the interpretation of profile data; and (5) using theory and empirical research to inform hypothesized differences between profiles.

### **1. Inclusion of Input Variables**

The "particular pattern of profiles obtained is highly dependent on the number and nature of the variables included," (Wang, et al., 2013, p. 359) which can limit replication and generalizability efforts. However, there are many conceivable mistreatment variables that could be included in any study on campus hostility. Wang and colleagues (2013) note that: "inclusion of large lists of measures may create more confusion rather than clarity" (p. 360); the decision to include specific measures in a model "should be guided by its potential impact on the profiles obtained, with the outcome of interest being an important criterion" (p. 360). The present study focuses on institutional attitudes (e.g., safety concerns) as they relate to gendered mistreatment experiences in the campus community, with a priori interests in the unique experiences of those who encounter differing patterns of mistreatment and in observable subpopulations of students (i.e., women; LGBTQ). Thus, sexually advancing harassment, gender harassment, and heterosexist harassment are central measures from sex-based harassment literature to include alongside incivility (selectively discriminatory against women and minorities; Cortina, 2008) in a descriptive person-centered analysis of gendered mistreatment in college.

### **2. Number of Profile Groups**

Wang and colleagues (2013) note that amount and type of variables included in person-centered approaches exponentially increases the number of profile groups (and comparisons between profiles) possible in the analysis. Cluster analysis, in particular, "[relies] on the subjective judgment of researchers to determine the appropriate numbers of categories..." that constitute the cluster profiles and, "which usually generate sample specific classification results that rely heavily on the scores observed from the particular sample" (Wang, et al., 2013, p. 352). Whereas more modern approaches, such as latent profile analysis (LPA), are model-based procedures that use consistent estimated model parameters and maximum likelihood estimates to generate the latent categorical variable membership. However, Marsh and colleagues (2009, p. 194) note an overlap between these two approaches: traditional cluster analysis is "equivalent to a very restricted specification" of LPA. Further, all models obtained from any person-centered approach: "are influenced by idiosyncrasies of the sample studied, a problem that is particularly likely when researchers study relatively small convenience samples and do not replicate their findings" (Wang, et al., 2013, p. 362). Because person-centered approaches in gender/sexual harassment literature are still in early stages, and have been mostly explored in adult workplace samples (see Rabelo & Cortina, 2014), "even largely exploratory research is useful for establishing an empirical foundation for future theorizing" (Wang, et al., 2013, p. 362), such as

how sex-based and generalized mistreatment from campus members is experienced as a college student.

### **3. Predicting Unexpected Profiles**

Beyond making a prediction about the expected number of profile groups that account for the variance in a set of variable indicators, Wang and colleagues (2013) argue that researchers who use person-centered approaches need to also use existing empirical findings and theory to determine why a set of profiles are unlikely to occur given the input variables in the model. "This sort of theorizing can provide additional insight into the nature of relationships among the constructs under investigation, as it highlights the idea that certain combinations of a set of predictors may not occur in reality" (p. 362). For example, because previous studies have found that heterosexist harassment is rarely present absent gender-based harassment (Rabelo & Cortina, 2014), I would not predict a cluster group that had higher levels of heterosexist harassment and low/no reported gender harassment.

### **4. Interpreting Profile Group Data**

Because person centered approaches "treat variables less as agents and outcomes and more as properties of individuals and their environments" (Lauren & Hoff, 2006, p. 384) a nuanced interpretation of the clustering of input variables within a profile is necessary. Wang and colleagues (2013) argue that researchers must carefully operationalize terms (i.e., high, medium, low) when describing profiles obtained through person-centered approaches. They argue that such terms should ideally use a well-established norm or a standardized operational definition of being high or low on the measure, rather than relying on descriptive statistics and the distribution of scores in the sample to label profile groups with these terms. Wang and colleagues (2013) also offered the language of "dominant" to "refer to relatively higher scores in the measures used to build the profile" group and to avoid absolute terms (i.e., high) that may not reflect actually being "high" compared to other samples or to how a measure was originally conceptualized. For example, instead of using "high sexually advancing harassment" to define a group with a standard deviation above the sample mean on this indicator, the researcher could use "sexually advancing dominant" to describe the cluster group.

### **5. A-priori Hypotheses for Outcome Variables**

Regardless of the specific person-centered analysis used, it is important to develop hypotheses about how pairs of profile groups differ and to test empirically how each profile group differs from all other profiles as a set. Cluster analysis, should lend itself exceptionally well to explore how mistreatment victimization, across multiple constructs, varies in the sample. For example, Holt and Espelage (2003) used cluster analysis to explore differences in high school students' experiences of physical, psychological, and sexual victimization. They note that cluster analysis allows for consideration of how being multiply victimized might lead to greater negative outcomes. However, Wang and colleagues (2013) note that "the highly exploratory nature of [the person-centered approach] make it particularly susceptible" to researchers developing post-hoc hypotheses about how profile groups differ on outcomes, based on what the data produces rather than theoretically informed analysis. Thus, it is important to balance the exploratory nature of the analysis with strong a priori hypotheses that are informed by past empirical findings and theory.

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