

Deviating, but not Deviant:
Conformity to Gender Norms and Sex-Based Harassment at Work

by

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Abstract

This dissertation expands our understanding of gender harassment in organizations by investigating how conformity to masculine gender norms affects risk of gender and heterosexist harassment for working women. In Studies 1 and 2, I explore the definition and dimensions of gender harassment by developing a multifaceted conceptualization and measurement instrument of gender harassment. In Study 3, I use the scale to explore how deviating from individual- and contextual-level dominant gender norms predicts women's risk for being targeted with gender-based hostility. This challenges the common legal and organizational practice of privileging sexualized forms of sex-based harassment, while neglecting gender and heterosexist harassment. To address these questions, I use survey data of working women in Michigan who are diverse with respect to occupation, race, and sexual orientation.

In Study 1, I convened a panel of subject matter experts to brainstorm behaviors covering the full content domain of gender harassment, which they later sorted into categories. To tap these categories, I combined survey items from the existing literature with new items. In Study 2, we administered these items to 425 working women. Principal components and confirmatory factor analyses of these data revealed an underlying five-factor structure, reflecting both new and extant themes from the literature. This work culminated in an 18-item scale, assessing five dimensions of gender harassment: sexist behavior, crude behavior, work/family policing, infantilization, and gender policing. This multidimensional

conceptualization of gender harassment, coupled with the new measure, offers a more nuanced understanding of women's harassment experiences in organizations

In Study 3, I used the scale created in Studies 1 and 2 to explore how individual-level gender deviance (i.e., masculine appearance, masculine role conformity, and minority sexual orientation) and context-level gender deviance (i.e., job-gender context) relate to gender harassment and heterosexist harassment. Results were consistent with predictions.

Conformity to masculine gender norms related positively to gender harassment. Minority sexual orientation was related more frequent experiences of heterosexist harassment. This study supports theories that workplace harassment of women is *not* rooted in sexual desire, attraction, or romance. Instead, these are behaviors used to penalize gender-nontraditional women, or those who are seen as “deviant.”

Chapter 1

Introduction

Considering that research on sex-based harassment is decades old, there is much we already know about this phenomenon. Early empirical research on sexual harassment set out to document public perceptions as well as the prevalence and nature of the problem. Now documentation of prevalence rates extends across multiple demographics (gender, race, job-type, etc.) (e.g., Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald, & Waldo, 1998; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999; Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003). Researchers also sought to document the physical, psychological, and organizational effects of experiencing sex-based harassment (for reviews, see Cortina & Berdahl, 2008; O’Leary-Kelly, Bowes-Sperry, Bates, & Lean, 2009). Despite the magnitude of the research now available, there remains much we still have to learn about the places and situations in which sex-based harassment occurs.

This dissertation consists of three studies. I begin with an overview of research on sex-based harassment by defining the behaviors and considering how both psychologists and legal scholars have dealt with this construct. In this section, I consider how gender harassment remains an underdeveloped construct, which leads me to propose an expanded conceptualization of gender harassment (Studies 1 & 2). I follow this with a description of the organizational and individual risk factors of sex-based harassment identified by researchers.

Next, I offer a brief overview of research on conformity to gender norms and in the section following, I discuss the workplace consequences for gender nonconformity. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of how organizational factors (specifically the gender make-up of one's occupation) may interact with gender norms as a predictor of sex-based harassment. I explore this question in Study 3, where I expand upon past research on sex-based harassment by considering how conformity to gender norms affects women's experiences of gender and heterosexist harassment.

Sex-Based Harassment: Background

Fitzgerald, Swan, and Magley (1997) defined sexual harassment as: "unwanted sex-related behavior at work that is appraised by the recipient as offensive, exceeding her resources, or threatening her well-being" (p. 15). Under this broader concept, they outline three types of sexually harassing behavior – gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion.

Gender harassment refers to "a form of hostile environment harassment that appears to be motivated by hostility toward individuals who violate gender ideals rather than by desire for those who meet them" (Berdahl, 2007a, p. 425). Examples include derogatory terms of address, comments about women being better suited for raising children than working, sexist jokes, and crude behavior (e.g., displaying or distributing pornography).

Unwanted sexual attention refers to verbal and nonverbal "expressions of romantic or sexual interest that are unwelcome, unreciprocated, and offensive to the recipient (e.g., unwanted touching, pressure for dates or sexual behavior)" (Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011).

Finally, *sexual coercion* is roughly parallel to the legal concept of "quid pro quo" harassment and can be defined as bribes or threats that make the victim's job or work conditions

contingent on sexual cooperation (e.g., making a pay raise dependent on sexual cooperation). In general, researchers find high correlations across these types of harassment (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995).

Clarifying the relationships among these types of sex-based harassment, Lim and Cortina (2005) explained: “unwanted sexual attention, as the name suggests, represents unwelcomed, unreciprocated behaviors aimed at establishing some form of sexual relationship. One could argue that sexual coercion is a specific, severe, rare form of unwanted sexual attention, involving similar sexual advances coupled with bribery or threats to force acquiescence” (p. 484). These are strikingly different from gender harassment, which lacks any hint of sexual interest. Gender harassment is generally hostile, and can include displays of sexually crude images or use of sexually vulgar language (for instance, talking about a colleague in a graphic, sexual way or calling her a “whore”). These behaviors insult and reject women, without any intent of sexually exploiting them or initiating a sexual relationship.

Related to gender harassment, *heterosexist harassment* refers to “verbal, physical, and symbolic behaviors that convey hostile and offensive attitudes about one’s actual or perceived lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity” (Konik & Cortina, 2008, p. 315). Heterosexist harassment is not typically included as a type of sex-based harassment; however, its inclusion is warranted. Harassment that conveys hostility towards non-normative (non-heterosexual) sexuality is often targeted at those whose behavior is deemed not appropriate for his or her gender. For example, a man whose sexuality is questioned because someone perceives his behavior as “feminine” would not be targeted if he were a woman. His male gender makes certain “feminine” behaviors off-limits. Research indicates that both sexual minorities and

heterosexuals may experience heterosexist harassment (Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008). Although heterosexist harassment appears to be motivated, at least in part, by the perception of one's sexual identity, the gender of the target is often critical in the evaluation of the target's behavior. Thus, heterosexist harassment is a highly "gendered" phenomenon, as women and men who display nonnormative gender characteristics (e.g., highly masculine women, effeminate men) are likely to be perceived as lesbian or gay (Garnets, 2000) and then ridiculed for that assumed sexual identity (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Konik & Cortina, 2008). Furthermore, Konik and Cortina (2008) reported strong correlations (averaging .83, after partialling out measurement error) between gender harassment and heterosexist harassment. It is important to note that most studies speak generally about "sexual harassment" or "sex-based harassment" and do not include heterosexist harassment within their definitions. However, the conceptual and theoretical similarities between gender harassment and heterosexist harassment make these experiences important to study in tandem. This dissertation focuses on these two forms of harassment.

Psychological conceptualizations. Neither gender harassment, nor heterosexist harassment, were visible in early sexual harassment research. Early psychological conceptualizations emphasized the *sexual* nature of sex-based harassment. In one of the first psychological research studies of sexual harassment, researchers defined sexual harassment as: "...unsolicited, nonreciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as a worker. It can be any or all of the following: staring at, commenting upon, or touching a woman's body; requests for acquiescence in sexual behavior; repeated non-reciprocated propositions for dates; demands for sexual intercourse; and rape" (Gutek,

Nakamura, Gahart, Handschumacher, & Russell, 1980, pp. 255-256 – relying on Farley’s (1978) definition).

Much of our early understanding of the content of sex-based harassment came from a series of surveys conducted by the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (USMSPB). The USMSPB surveyed federal employees three times throughout the 1980s and mid-1990s about their experiences of sexual harassment. Consistent with the understanding of sex-based harassment at the time, both the way in which the USMSPB defined sexual harassment (“uninvited and unwelcome sexual attention and/or behavior” (USMSPB, 1995, p. vi)), and the experiences they asked about in the survey, contained some form of sexual advance or threat (e.g., unwanted touching, pressure for dates, etc.). These surveys have had a major impact on the field of psychology by shaping how we think about sexual harassment. However, they neglected non-sexually advancing behaviors (i.e., gender harassment). This focus on sexualized behaviors is important because it has not only influenced the way sex-based harassment has been studied within the psychology, but also informed the public discourse about sex-based harassment.

Our understanding of “sexual harassment” as a psychological construct has also transformed over time. Till (1980) proposed the first conceptual “map” of sexual harassment. Based on the open-ended responses of college women, Till proposed five types of sexually harassing behavior: gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, threat, and sexual imposition or assault. It is important to note that Till’s conceptual map does not match legal or organizational definitions of sex-based harassment, nor does it speak to the relatedness of the behaviors (whether they occur together, or what purposes the harassment serves). Drawing on Till’s (1980) conceptualization, Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989)

also examined the structure of sex-based harassment. Using multidimensional scaling, they identified four “types” of “sexual harassment”: seduction, threat, sexual bribery, and sexual imposition. They found that *gender harassment* (a component of Till’s conceptual map) did not map onto sexual harassment as a construct.

Since these early studies, a large effort went into developing psychometrically rigorous measures of sexual harassment. In 1988, Fitzgerald and colleagues developed a behaviorally based measure, the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) (see Fitzgerald et al., 1988), which was more comprehensive than the early sexually-focused measures (e.g., Gutek et al., 1980; USMSPB, 1981; 1988; 1995). The original SEQ included items measuring gender harassment (non-sexually advancing behavior), in addition to sexual coercion and bribery, seduction and sexual imposition. Since the introduction of the original scale, the SEQ has expanded to include group-specific scales such as the SEQ-DoD, measuring sexual harassment in the military (Fitzgerald et al., 1999), and the SEQ-Latina, measuring sexual harassment among Latinas working in the U.S. (Cortina, 2001). The SEQ is widely recognized as the benchmark for measuring sex-based harassment across multiple contexts (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007).

Gelfand, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1995) further explored the structure of sexual harassment, confirming a “tripartite model of sexual harassment” made up of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. They confirmed the model across cross-cultural samples of university women (Gelfand et al., 1995) and women in non-academic work settings (Fitzgerald et al., 1995). Psychological research has relied extensively on Fitzgerald et al.’s (1995) tripartite model, which includes sexual harassment that is recognized as illegal, but also measures sexual harassment that is not considered

illegal. Specific definitions of sex-based harassment have varied based on how much emphasis is placed on the nonsexualized forms of harassment.

Despite the multiple types of sexually harassing behavior represented in the tripartite model, aside from a few exceptions (e.g., Lim & Cortina, 2005; Leskinen et al., 2011; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997), most studies of sexual harassment prevalence and outcomes have collapsed across the different subtypes of behavior, combining gender harassment items with the more sexually explicit items during data analysis, for an overall score of sexual harassment (e.g., Glomb et al., 1997). This practice has obscured the unique experience and impact of gender harassment. For this reason, this dissertation focuses explicitly on gender harassment, as it is often overlooked despite being the most common form of sex-based harassment that women experience (Leskinen et al., 2011; Schneider et al., 1997). Additionally, I focus on heterosexist harassment, as research on this type of harassment remains relatively new and underdeveloped.

Because research on gender harassment is often muddled by combining it with research on other forms of sex-based harassment, we know less about gender harassment as an independent construct. The psychological definition incorporates multiple verbal and nonverbal behaviors. Additionally, the behaviors can be ambient, or personal, and the content of the harassment can vary widely (see Fitzgerald et al., 1995). This leads me to my first hypothesis: *Gender harassment will be a multidimensional construct* (Hypothesis 1). However, the exact content of those factors remains an open research question, leading me to ask: *what factors underlie the construct of gender harassment* (Research Question 1)? Furthermore, consistent with high correlations among gender harassment and other forms of sex-based harassment found by Konik and Cortina (2008), I expect that *strong correlations*

will emerge between all dimensions of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and heterosexist harassment (Hypothesis 2).

Gender harassment, heterosexist harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion refer to behaviors rather than legal constructs. However, sexual coercion is roughly parallel to what the law calls *quid pro quo harassment*, whereas unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment together map onto the legal category of *hostile environment harassment* (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1995, 1997). At this time, heterosexist harassment is not considered legally reprehensible behavior at the federal level, as sexual minorities do not constitute a legally protected class. The next section elaborates on how these legal conceptualizations developed over time.

Legal conceptualizations. “Sexual harassment” was first recognized as illegal in 1977 when a federal appellate court recognized it as a form of sex discrimination, which was illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (*Barnes v. Costle*, 1977).¹ Within government agencies, the early understandings focused on *sexualized* forms of harassment. For example, in 1980 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued their Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex, defining sexual harassment as “Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature...” (EEOC, 1980).

In *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson* (1986), the first sexual harassment case to reach the U.S. Supreme Court, the Court ruled that “hostile work environment harassment” constituted unlawful sexual harassment. At the time, this meant that harassment did not need to be tied to the denial of job benefits (*quid pro quo*). Instead, Justice Rehnquist, writing the

¹ Title VII prohibits employers from discriminating against any individual with regard to “compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin”.

opinion for the Court, cited the EEOC's (1980) guidelines about harassment creating an "intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment." The Court held that even if the harassment did not threaten the victim's job or benefits, it still constituted sexual harassment if it created a "hostile work environment" (*Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 1986). This clarification of the definition of sexual harassment informed a later Supreme Court decision recognizing nonsexual, gender-based hostile environment harassment, stating: "[w]hen the workplace is permeated with 'discriminatory intimidation, ridicule, and insult' ... that is 'sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the conditions of the victim's employment and create an abusive working environment'" (*Harris v Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 1993). The Harris case is important because many of the harassing behaviors cited in the case have no sexually predatory component to them. Specifically, some of the behaviors listed were: the president of the company said to Harris, "You're a woman, what do you know?" and "We need a man as the rental manager." He also told her she was "a dumb ass woman." These comments imply derogation of Harris because of her gender, not sexual interest in Harris.

Five years later, in *Oncale v Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* (1998), the Supreme Court offered further guidance about what should be considered when determining whether sexual harassment occurred. In this case, the Court explicitly mandated attention to the larger social context. The *Oncale* decision found that harassment perpetrated by members of the same sex was still actionable under Title VII and that sexual desire was not a prerequisite for establishing objective severity:

...harassing conduct need not be motivated by sexual desire to support an inference of discrimination on the basis of sex. A Trier of fact might reasonably find such discrimination, for example, if a female victim is harassed in such sex-specific and

derogatory terms...as to make it clear that the harasser is motivated by general hostility to the presence of women in the workplace. (Oncale v Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc., 1998, p. 80).

Despite this interpretation, the prevailing legal conception of sexual harassment remains a highly sexualized one, in which sexually advancing or threatening conduct is seen as “the essence of harassment” (Schultz, 1998, p. 1716). The harassing behaviors alleged in *Oncale*, although recognized as motivated by hostility rather than desire, still involved sexually predatory behavior (e.g., sodomy with a bar of soap, threatened rape). The Supreme Court has never clearly stated whether the harassing conduct itself (as opposed to the motivation for the conduct) must involve some form of sexual advance to violate Title VII. Some appellate decisions have rejected this requirement of sexualized content; for example, in *Williams v. General Motors Corp.* (1999), the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals stated that: “harassing behavior that is not sexually explicit but is directed at women and motivated by discriminatory animus against women satisfies the ‘based on sex’ requirement.” The federal bench, however, is far from unanimity on this issue. In the same *Williams v GMC* (1999) case, one judge filed a dissenting opinion, arguing vehemently that “...Title VII does not proscribe ‘anti-female animus’ at all” and “the broad new standard my colleagues have conjured here is not a correct application of Title VII sex discrimination law presently on the books.” Some courts routinely either dismiss hostile environment cases that do not involve sexual conduct, or they “disaggregate” sexual from nonsexual conduct and then deem the latter to be irrelevant to a hostile environment claim (see Franke, 2004, Growe, 2007, and Schultz, 2006 for various post-*Oncale* case examples). Thus, the privileging of harassment that appears to be sexually advancing continues.

To summarize, while the Supreme Court has tried to put the issue to rest regarding whether sexual harassment must be sexually advancing to constitute sex-based discrimination (see *Oncale v Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.*, 1998), the federal judiciary has repeatedly reinforced that offensive behavior must reference sexuality to constitute unlawful sex-based harassment. As a result, gender harassment involving no sexual advances routinely gets neglected by the law. Prominent legal scholars have critiqued the exclusively sexual view of sex-based harassment, arguing for instance that “most harassment is not designed to achieve sexual gratification. Instead, it is used to preserve the sex segregation of jobs by claiming the most highly rewarded forms of work as masculine in composition and content” (Schultz, 2006, p. 22; see also Epstein, 1998; Franke, 1995, 1997, 2004; Growe, 2007; Shultz, 1998, 2003).

Prevalence. Early sexual harassment researchers set out to document the prevalence and describe the experience of sexual harassment. Researchers have used two primary methods to assess prevalence (Iles et al., 2003). The first method is to directly ask a survey participant whether she or he has experienced sexual harassment (direct query approaches). The *direct query* approach is problematic because women often resist labeling their experience of victimization (Magley, Hulin, Fitzgerald, & DeNardo, 1999; Munson, Miner, & Hulin, 2001), thus leading to a very conservative estimate of prevalence rates. Importantly, even when women do not label their experiences as sexual harassment, they tend to endure similar psychological, physical, and occupational outcomes as women who identify as having been sexually harassed (Magley et al., 1999). Furthermore, the direct query approach does not permit the analysis of subtypes of sex-based harassment.

The second means of prevalence assessment asks about behavioral experiences (i.e., whether or not someone has experienced a variety of specific, harassing behaviors). However, some also criticize the *behavioral approach*, arguing that it may capture low levels of harassing behaviors – not serious enough to meet any legal standard for sexual harassment (Stockdale & Bhattacharya, 2009). Still, the behavioral approach remains the gold standard by which to conduct research on sex-based harassment (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008; Willness et al., 2007).

In the first national study of sexual harassment, the USMSPB (using a behavioral approach) found that 42% of female federal employees had experienced sexual harassment in the prior two years (USMSPB, 1981). The USMSPB conducted follow-up studies in 1987 and 1994, with prevalence rates remaining virtually unchanged (42% and 44%, respectively) (USMSPB, 1988; 1995). In a recent meta-analysis, researchers compared prevalence rates based on these two types of assessments (behavioral and direct query) (Ilies et al., 2003). They found lower estimates of prevalence in studies using the direct query approach: 24% of women reported sexual harassment when directly asked, whereas 58% reported experiencing sexually harassing behaviors (Ilies et al., 2003).

When researchers consider subtypes of sex-based harassment, they have found (using the SEQ) that gender harassment is the most common form of sexual harassment. For instance, Langhout and colleagues (2005) analyzed data from the *1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey*. Of the 22,543 women who responded, 61% reported at least one “significant experience” of sexual harassment, the most frequent of which was gender harassment. Looking at survey data from women in the military and women attorneys, Leskinen and colleagues (2011) found that approximately nine of every ten sexual

harassment victims had experienced primarily gender harassment. Schneider and colleagues (1997) also found gender harassment to be the most common form of sexual harassment encountered by women in two different organizations. Moreover, Lim and Cortina (2005), although not focusing in detail on gender harassment, did isolate this experience and find it to be associated with a plethora of negative outcomes.

Because heterosexist harassment has only recently been conceptualized as such, few reports of prevalence rates exist. Through qualitative research, sociologists have identified heterosexist harassment occurring as early as elementary school (Renold, 2002). In the few published quantitative studies on heterosexist harassment, using mixed gender samples, prevalence rates ranged from 58-66% of sexual minorities and 16%-39% of heterosexuals reporting at least one experience of heterosexist harassment over the past year (Konik & Cortina, 2008; Silverschanz et al., 2007).² More generally, research on workplace discrimination finds that between 25-66% of lesbian, bisexual, and gay employees report discrimination based on their sexual orientation (see review by Croteau, 1996).

Effects. Researchers have also explored how sexual harassment is linked with a wide range of target outcomes (for recent reviews, see Cortina & Berdahl, 2008; Berdahl & Raver, 2011). For instance, studies have found that sexual harassment is associated with decreased satisfaction with one's job and interpersonal relationships, loss of productivity, and increased turnover intentions and behaviors (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Langhout et al., 2005; Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). Moreover, the consequences of sexual harassment are not constrained to the job site. Targets also report decreased psychological well-being and more physical health problems (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Langhout et al., 2005; Richman,

² It is important to note that the Silverschanz et al. (2007) study looked at students' experiences within a university, whereas the Konik and Cortina (2008) study looked at workplace experiences of heterosexist harassment.

Shinsako, Rospenda, Flaherty, & Freels, 2002). By and large, however, this research has analyzed sexual harassment as a global phenomenon, failing to differentiate among the subtypes of sexually harassing behavior.

While experiences of gender harassment are often neglected in research, it is likely that these experiences are also going unreported in organizations. Studies have found that targets who perceive the harassment as more severe are more likely to report their experiences to a superior (Bergman, Langhout, Palmieri, Cortina, & Fitzgerald, 2002). However, case law, lay perceptions of sexual harassment, and the invisibility of gender harassment in psychological research reinforce the belief that gender harassment is inconsequential, or somehow less important than the sexually advancing forms of sexual harassment. Targets are therefore less likely to see gender harassment as severe or worthy of reporting, which means that organizations are less likely to intervene. This makes it all the more imperative that social science bring gender harassment to the fore, so that it may be recognized as a legitimate and serious form of sex-based discrimination in the workplace.

Because gender harassment has no explicit, sexually predatory component to it (unlike unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion), it may seem less deserving of scientific or legal analysis. However, past research on *everyday sexism* has found that regular sexist interactions decrease psychological well-being and predict symptoms of psychological trauma (Berg, 2006; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). For example, Swim and colleagues (2001) asked participants to keep track of instances of ordinary sexist behavior (e.g., anti-female jokes, comments reflecting gender stereotypes) observed or experienced in any life setting. They found that these everyday sexist encounters were associated with greater anger, anxiety, and depression. To explain these negative outcomes, Swim and

colleagues (2001) suggested that everyday sexism might trigger feelings of stereotype threat, defined as “being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one's group” (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 797). Similar to everyday sexism, gender harassment may foster stereotype threat in women, especially those working in traditionally masculine domains. Gender harassment may be used to cue women that they are inadequate, out of place, and unable to perform at the level of their male colleagues. The resulting experience of stereotype threat could set off a cascade of negative outcomes in targets.

Similar to research on prevalence rates of heterosexist harassment, studies on outcomes are equally sparse. In their mixed-gender study on heterosexist harassment in academia, Silverschanz and colleagues (2007) differentiated between ambient and personal heterosexist harassment. They found that experiencing both ambient and personal heterosexist harassment was correlated with lower psychological and academic well-being in a student population. Ambient harassment alone, and in combination with personal harassment was also related to increased problems with substance use. Furthermore, heterosexuals were just as likely to experience negative outcomes from heterosexist harassment as were sexual minorities. Similarly, research on “heterosexist victimization” found that among LGB youth in both an urban and a rural setting, victimization led to lower self-esteem, which in turn led to greater levels of psychological distress (Waldo, Hesson-McInnis, & D’Augelli, 1998). Research on adults yields similar results (for a review, see Deitch, Butz, & Brief, 2004). Notably, workplace heterosexism and discrimination positively related to psychological distress, physical health problems (Waldo, 1999), and stress (Driscoll, Kelley, & Fassinger, 1996), as well as negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Waldo, 1999).

Perceptions. Studies of perceptions of sex-based harassment among the lay public have often broken the behavior down into its component factors. More research has examined lay perceptions than any other aspect of sex-based harassment. This is likely due to the ease and speed of conducting this work (often using college students as participants and having them provide opinions of brief hypothetical scenarios). These perceptions of sex-based harassment have differed over time and across demographics (Cortina & Berdahl, 2008; Rotundo, Nguyen, & Sackett, 2001). However, lay people's perceptions of gender harassment when compared to sexually advancing forms of harassment consistently find gender harassment to be less severe, less offensive, and less likely to constitute "sexual harassment" (e.g., Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Lored, Reid & Deaux, 1995; Tang, Yik, Cheung & Choi, 1995).

Overview of Organizational Risk Factors for Sex-Based Harassment

Research suggests that organizational conditions influence women's experiences with sex-based harassment. In their integrated model of sexual harassment, Fitzgerald and colleagues (1995) suggest that organizational climate and job gender context are crucial antecedents of sex-based harassment. Sociological studies also note the significance of workplace culture, related to job-gender context and informed by patriarchy and gender norm socialization, in maintaining sex-based harassment (e.g., Chamberlain, Crowley, Tope, & Hodson, 2008; Gruber, 1998). Each of these factors can be broken down into component parts. The following section reviews past research on these concepts as antecedents to sex-based harassment.

Organizational climate. Organizational climate refers to a variety of factors that project tolerance, or intolerance, of sex-based harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). These can

include: existence and implementation of sexual harassment policies and procedures and perceptions of how the organization would respond to an incident of sexual harassment. A meta-analysis focusing on antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment found organizational climate to be the strongest predictor of sex-based harassment (Willness et al., 2007). Women who perceived their organizations as having a “tolerant” climate (seeing reporting as risky, unlikely to be taken seriously, and unlikely to result in sanctions for the harasser) were more likely to experience sex-based harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Job-gender context. No strict definition of job-gender context exists. Generally referring to the gender traditionality of the job, Fitzgerald, Swan, and Fischer defined it as “the factors that constitute the gendered nature of the individual’s work group” (1995, p. 62). In Fitzgerald, Hulin, and Drasgow’s (1994) study, job-gender context consisted of three related measures: whether a woman was among the first of her gender to perform her job, the gender of her supervisor, and her workgroup gender composition. By this measure, women with a more masculine job gender context reported more sex-based harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1994). Aggregating across multiple studies, meta-analytic research also finds that job gender context is an important predictor of sex-based harassment. Specifically, for women, working with more men or having a male-typed job increases the risk of experiencing sex-based harassment; however, this relationship is stronger for nonmilitary samples than for the military sample (Willness et al., 2007).

Several studies have explored job-gender context in more detail, by looking separately at the components that comprise job-gender context. Gender composition is one such component. It can be thought of in terms of the immediate workgroup, the organization, the occupation as a whole, and any combination of these variables. Quantitative studies find

that women working in traditionally male-dominated occupations (i.e., manufacturing, trades, the military) report higher rates of sex-based harassment (Gutek, 1985; Lafontaine & Tredeau, 1986; Mansfield et al., 1991). Another study of women in male-dominated fields found that 9 out of 10 harassed women had primarily experienced gender harassment, absent of unwanted sexual advances (Leskinen et al., 2011).

Similar, but not identical to gender composition of the field is the gender composition of the workgroup. While workgroup gender composition and gender traditionality of the job are highly correlated (with more men working in traditionally male fields), they measure two distinct aspects of the work environment. Gutek, Cohen, and Konrad (1990) suggested the *contact hypothesis* to explain sexual harassment. Essentially, the contact hypothesis predicts that the more contact a woman has with men at work (and visa versa), the more likely she will be targeted with sex-based harassment. Some research supports this being true for women working in predominantly male environments (e.g., De Coster, Estes, & Mueller, 1999; Fitzgerald et al., 1994). Interestingly, the contact hypothesis also predicts that the more contact a man has with women at work, the more likely he will be targeted with sex-based harassment, as well. No research has shown this to be the case. In fact, research suggests that men working in female-dominated fields may actually be protected from discrimination and rise to positions of power more quickly than their female colleagues (i.e., the glass escalator effect) (Williams, 1992; 1995).

In addition to gender composition, the type of work one performs, and the manner in which she or he performs it, can also measure gender traditionality of a job. Berdahl (2007a) found that women who violate traditional gender roles by adopting masculine personality traits (e.g., being agentic) were at increased risk for being harassed. Moreover, Heilman's

(e.g., 2001) work shows that women who are competent and successful at “male” work (e.g., upper-level management) violate traditional prescriptions for women; as a result, they face personal derogation and rejection.

Sociological studies also address issues similar to job-gender context. Gruber (1998) explores *gender predominance* (a measure that incorporated both workgroup gender composition and occupational gender ratio) and its relation to women’s experiences of sex-based harassment. He observed, “The male traditionality of an *occupation* creates a work culture that is an extension of male culture, and numerical dominance of the *workplace* by men heightens visibility of, and hostility toward, women workers who are perceived as violating male territory” (Gruber, 1998, p. 303). Despite his theorizing, he found that contact with mostly men at work increases women’s chances of being targeted with sex-based harassment, but gender predominance was not an important predictor. In a case study of women working in a predominantly male manufacturing plant, women workers seemed to view sexuality as an inherent component to the (masculine) work environment (Levine, 2009). One woman who worked in an all-male workgroup talked about not expecting men to change their sexually explicit behavior for her sake, stating “I came into their world. I have to respect that” (Levine, 2009, p. 272).

Overview of Person-Level Risk Factors for Sex-Based Harassment

While sexual harassment researchers have focused extensively on organizational antecedents to sex-based harassment, they have tended to pay somewhat less attention to individual factors, often focusing on individual qualities of the perpetrator, not the target of the harassment. However, individualized risk factors are important because they can be illustrative of widespread discrimination against particular groups.

In their revision of Fitzgerald et al.'s (1994) model of sexual harassment, Bergman and Henning (2008) posited that sex and ethnicity are important predictors of whether one is sexually harassed. Fitzgerald and colleagues (1994) proposed that "personal vulnerability" moderates the relationship between sexual harassment and psychological outcomes. Similarly, Bergman and Henning (2008) suggested that "personal vulnerability characteristics" (specifically gender and race) moderate the relationship between organizational climate and sexual harassment. In this section, I review the literature on individual risk factors that are associated with higher rates of sex-based harassment.

Gender. It may seem obvious, but gender is a major predictor of whether one experiences sex-based harassment. Generally, sexual harassment rates are higher for women than for men (Berdahl, 2007a, Berdahl et al., 1996; Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Cortina, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 2002; Gutek, 1985; Magley et al., 1999; USMSPB, 1981; 1988; 1995). When men are harassed, they report feeling less bothered by the behaviors (Berdahl et al., 1996; Cochran, Frazier, & Olson, 1997) and less likely to see behaviors as harassing (Blumenthal, 1998; Rotundo et al., 2001). Behavioral measures of sex-based harassment record any experiences of a potentially harassing behavior; given that sex-based harassment is partly defined by the behavior being unwelcome and stressful, frequently the behavior reported by men would not meet most psychological definitions of sex-based harassment (Berdahl et al., 1996).

While women are more likely to be targeted with sex-based harassment than men, are some women more likely to be targeted than other women? Social identity theory posits that people treat in-group members more positively than outgroup members (Tajfel, 1982) and social psychological research generally confirms this. Individual characteristics such as

gender, race, and other intersecting identities such as sexual orientation are salient identity markers and indices of one's ingroup or outgroup status (Bergman & Henning, 2008; McDermott & Samson, 2005; Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Below, I summarize the research on sex-based harassment of Women of Color and lesbian and bisexual women.

Race. Most sex-based harassment research focuses on the experiences of White, European-American women. Research on prevalence rates of sex-based harassment between White women and Women of Color has been mixed, with some studies finding no prevalence differences based on race (e.g., Gutek, 1985; Piotrkowski, 1998; Raver & Nishii, 2010; USMBSP, 1988), and others finding higher rates of sex-based harassment for Women of Color (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Buchanan, Bergman, Bruce, Woods, & Lichty, 2009; Gettman & Gelfand, 2007). Research examining the subtypes of sex-based harassment provides some insight into these discrepant findings. When looking at overall sex-based harassment scores, Buchanan, Settles, and Woods (2008) found that White women experience more sex-based harassment. However, consistent with their hypotheses, examining the prevalence rates for the subtypes of sex-based harassment revealed that White women reported higher rates of gender harassment, whereas Black women experienced higher rates of the sexually advancing forms of harassment (unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) (e.g., Buchanan et al., 2008). Thus, how researchers conceptualize and measure sex-based harassment affects the results.

Sexual orientation. Lesbian and bisexual women experience more gender harassment than heterosexual women (Cortina et al., 1998; Konik & Cortina, 2008). Additionally, Konik and Cortina (2008) found that lesbian and bisexual women experience more heterosexist harassment than heterosexual women. They attributed this to prescriptive

gender stereotypes, which among other things mandate heterosexuality. While research on lesbian and bisexual women's experiences of sex-based harassment is limited, related research on negative workplace experiences and workplace discrimination against lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals is relevant. LGB police officers report more negative work experiences than their heterosexual counterparts (Hassell & Brandl, 2009). Moreover, experiencing heterosexism in the workplace links with negative psychological and organizational outcomes for LGB individuals (Waldo, 1999).

Organizational status. Research suggests that holding low status in one's organization is associated with experiencing higher rates of sex-based harassment (Buchanan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1999). This is particularly evident within the military, where status is clearly differentiated, marked and visible. However, this pattern is also found in other settings (see Gruber, 2003).

In summary, individual factors continue to be important predictors as to whether one will experience harassment. Subordinate groups within identity-related categories such as gender, race, and sexual orientation are targeted with sex-based harassment more frequently than those in dominant groups. In addition to identity-related categories, individual factors, like one's status within an organization, are also associated with sex-based harassment rates. Conformity to gender norms is another individual-level variable that may prove important in our understanding of antecedents to sex-based harassment. In the next section, I look at this construct in greater depth.

Masculinity and Femininity

Although the terms *masculinity* and *femininity* are used frequently in psychological research and everyday conversation, little agreement over the conceptual definitions exists.

In 1973, Constantinople called them some of the “muddiest concepts” in psychology (p. 387). Spence (1984) suggested that masculinity and femininity “are amorphous concepts, rich in their connotations but left undefined and unanalyzed” (p. 62). Masculinity and femininity, despite definitional haze, remain central to our understanding of gender as it is culturally constrained and situated. Like gender, constructions of masculinity and femininity shift over time and across contexts.

Initially early researchers viewed masculinity and femininity as a bipolar, unidimensional construct, each being defined as *not* the other (e.g., Terman & Miles, 1936). Bem (1974), followed by Spence et al. (1975), challenged this conceptualization of gender, suggesting masculinity and femininity are independent constructs; one could endorse both, or neither feminine and masculine traits – the traits were not mutually exclusive. Despite this theoretical shift, as measured by these researchers, masculinity and femininity were narrowly operationalized as personality traits in the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Although these scales are measures of the gender-related personality traits of agency (instrumentality) and communion (expressiveness), the PAQ and BSRI are often used as proxies for the general concepts of masculinity and femininity (Kite, 2001; Spence, 1984; 1993). This continues despite Spence’s (1984) criticism of such uses. She argued that gender-differentiating personality traits do not inform our understanding of other gendered phenomena. The BSRI and PAQ remain two of the most frequently used measures of “masculinity” and “femininity.”

In addition to viewing the concepts as independent, a more recent shift in the understanding of masculinity and femininity views these as *multidimensional* and

multifactorial constructs (e.g., Levant, Richmond, Cook, House, & Aupont, 2007; Mahalik et al., 2003; Mahalik et al.; 2005; Spence, 1993; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Spence (1984) suggested that masculinity and femininity include not only gender-related personality traits, but also values, interests, and behaviors. The recognition of these constructs as multidimensional has resulted in numerous scales, all purporting (either by the scale creators, or by those who use the scales) to measure masculinity or femininity, but doing so by addressing vastly different aspects of the constructs. These include: conformity to masculine and feminine role norms (Mahalik et al., 2003; 2005), gendered personality traits (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), gender role stress (Eisler, Skidmore, & Ward, 1988), and gendered ideologies (Brannon & Juni, 1984; Levant & Fischer, 1998; Levant et al., 2007; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994). Many of these scales are attitudinal measures that do not assess one's actual performance of masculinity or femininity, but one's endorsement of gender stereotypes.

Two exceptions to this are the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI) and the Conformity to Feminine Norms Inventory (CFNI) (Mahalik et al., 2003; 2005 respectively). These scales attempt to measure an individual's performance of multiple dimensions of masculine-typed and feminine-typed behaviors in his or her everyday life. Tests of convergent validity have found the CMNI to be significantly correlated with three other measures related to masculinity: the Brannon Masculinity Scale (Brannon & Juni, 1984), the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986) and the Masculine Gender Role Stress Scale (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Since then, other researchers have found the CMNI to be positively correlated with the Masculine Body Ideal Distress Scale (Kimmel & Mahalik, 2004).

The CMNI was initially used in clinical work, as a tool for exploring how masculine norms function in the lives of individual clients (Mahalik, Talmadge, Locke, & Scott, 2005). However, the CMNI has since been used extensively in research to investigate relationships between men's endorsement of masculine norms and: sexual aggression (Locke & Mahalik, 2005), body satisfaction and distress in gay men (Kimmel & Mahalik, 2005), Black men's racial identity, self-esteem, and psychology distress (Mahalik, Pierre, & Wan, 2006), relationship satisfaction (Burn & Ward, 2005), vocational interests (Mahalik, Perry, Coonerty-Femiano, Catraio, & Land, 2006), health promoting and health risk-taking behaviors for men in the US, Kenya, and Australia (Hamilton & Mahalik, 2009; Mahalik, Burns, & Syzdek, 2007; Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006; Mahalik, Levi-Minzi, & Walker, 2007), recovery from spinal cord and traumatic brain injuries (Good et al., 2006; Good et al., 2008; Schopp, Good, Barker, Mazurek, & Hathaway, 2006; Schopp, Good, Mazurek, Barker, & Stucky, 2007), substance use (Liu & Iwamoto, 2007), and hypothetical responses to depression (Mahalik & Rochlen, 2006). Finally, although the CMNI assesses *masculine* norms, it has been validated with women and older adults (see Smiler, 2006).

Development of the CFNI followed that of the CMNI. At this time, the CFNI has not been widely used. The published work utilizing the CFNI is limited to research on eating disorders (Green, Davids, Skaggs, Riopel, & Hallengren, 2008) and attitudes towards menstrual suppression (Maraván & Lama, 2009). Additionally, researchers have adapted the inventory for use in a Spanish population (Sánchez-López, Flores, Dresch, & Aparicio-García, 2009).

A related body of literature on gender stereotypes also shows that multiple components comprise gender expectations and stereotypes (e.g., physical appearance,

personality traits, roles, behaviors, cognitive attributes) (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Cejka & Eagly, 1999). People generally view these components as related but separate factors (Deaux & Lewis, 1984). For example, given knowledge about someone's gender-related personality traits, a person will use that information to infer other gender-related characteristics, including occupation (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Cejka & Eagly, 1999).

Research suggests that children are socialized into specific gender roles based on their assigned sex at birth and continuing throughout childhood (for reviews, see Bassow, 2004; Block, 1983). Historically, psychologists looked at gender conformity as a sign of healthy development (e.g., Kohlberg, 1966). However, many have critiqued this developmental perspective, documenting neutral, and even positive effects of gender nonconformity, particularly for girls (e.g., Fagot, 1977; Hemmer & Kleiber, 1981). Additionally, studies looking at primarily White, college-aged women have found numerous benefits for holding a feminist identity (an identity not typically associated with traditional femininity) including: psychological well-being, self-efficacy, and lower eating disorder symptomatology (Eisele & Stake, 2008; Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006; Snyder & Hasbrouck, 1996).

Consequences of Gender Nonconformity

Despite evidence that gender nonconformity is beneficial for women in some domains, researchers have extensively documented costs for nonconformity, as well. Beginning at a young age, social sanctions exist for those who defy gender norms (Bussey & Bandura, 1992). Preschoolers judge both boys and girls for gender nontraditional appearances, although boys are judged more harshly (Smetana, 1986). The penalties for nonconformity are particularly harsh for boys; however, girls are also targeted. For example, qualitative research finds that boys who fail to conform to dominant forms of masculinity

often experience teasing and questioning of their sexuality (e.g., being called “gay”), whereas girls are also harassed, but their sexuality is not called into question (Renold, 2002).

Additionally, when girls engage in “cross-gender play” (i.e., engaging in more boy-typed activities) they are occasionally criticized by their teachers; however, teachers criticize boys who engage in “cross-gender play” more (Fagot, 1977).

These sanctions continue throughout women’s lives, as laboratory studies indicate that observers tend to rate assertive women more negatively (Butler & Geis, 1990; Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Marecek, & Pascale, 1975; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989), and people give women with directive leadership styles more negative evaluations than those with participatory styles (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Men also find a woman less persuasive when her speaking style is more “task oriented” (as opposed to “people oriented”) (Carli, LaFleur, & Loeber, 1995). Additionally, in an experimental study, women who violated gender norms by being victorious in a “contest” that drew on stereotypically “masculine” knowledge were more likely to be sabotaged by their counterparts (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004).

Negative repercussions for gender nonconformity are particularly visible within the workplace. For example, stereotyped images of a “traditional woman” may manifest in people holding beliefs that women are not aggressive enough for certain positions. In fact, many of the qualities thought to be necessary for corporate success are qualities that women are punished for having (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995; Martell, Parker, Emrich, & Crawford, 1998). Heilman (2001) has found that endorsing stereotypes about women biases workplace evaluations, which is a primary explanation for the “glass ceiling” that many women experience as they try to ascend the workplace hierarchies. Furthermore, research

shows that agentic women may face discrimination in hiring (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Women who engage in “self-promotion” during an interview (a behavior more acceptable for men), are seen as competent, are also viewed as less likable (Rudman, 1998). Thus, the effects of women’s gender traditionality in the workplace are severe, affecting major decisions such as hiring and promotions.

In addition to the employment discrimination discussed above, research indicates that women who violate personality-based gender norms (by expressing more agency or instrumentality) report higher rates of gender harassment (Berdahl, 2007a). In a series of three studies that examined gender-typed personality traits (as measured by the BSRI (Bem, 1978)), and experiences of sex-based harassment, Berdahl (2007a) found that women with more male gender-typed personality received more harassment than other women, regardless of whether they also scored high on female gender-typed traits. To explain this, Berdahl (2007a) suggested that harassers may be motivated to harass in order to protect their social status, thus using sex-based harassment to punish gender norm violators (Berdahl, 2007b).

While previous research suggests that gender harassment is especially targeted at gender norm violators (e.g., Berdahl, 2007a; Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Dall’Ara & Maass, 1999; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasseli, 2003), up to this point, violation of gender norms has been narrowly defined. Specifically (as discussed earlier), when considering the historical development of measures of gender conformity, early measures relied upon a unidimensional, masculine-feminine scale (e.g., Terman & Miles, 1936). If a participant scored low in masculinity, by default she scored high in femininity. While Bem (1974) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) broke away from this unidimensional construction, their questionnaires were limited to trait-based, gender-related measures. This dissertation

expands past conceptualizations of gender role conformity to include women's actual performance of masculine-typed behaviors. In recognition of the multidimensionality of masculinity and the distinct ways in which gender is performed, I use a multidimensional measure of masculinity which measures behavioral expression of traditional gender norms. Specifically, I predict that *experiences of gender harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by masculine role conformity* (Hypothesis 3A) and *masculine appearance* (Hypothesis 3B). Relatedly, I expect that *experiences of heterosexual harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by masculine role conformity* (Hypothesis 4A) and *masculine appearance* (Hypothesis 4B).

Not all types of masculine norms may equally predict gender or heterosexual harassment. Researchers have identified various masculinity-related factors that are associated with sex-based harassment, such as working in masculine environments (De Coster et al., 1999; Fitzgerald et al., 1994) and having a more instrumental (masculine gender-typed) personality (Berdahl, 2007a). This has led researchers to broadly conclude that more "masculine" women are targeted with more sex-based harassment. However, as researchers have also noted, "masculinity" is a multidimensional construct (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Even a behaviorally based measure of masculine norms contains multiple factors (e.g., Mahalik et al., 2003). Thus, when considering behaviorally-based masculine norms, it remains an open question as to *which facets of masculine norms increase risk for gender harassment* (Research Question 2) and similarly, *what facets of masculine norms increase risk for heterosexual harassment* (Research Question 3).

Workplace Discrimination and Sexual Orientation

Given the limited ways in which past research defines gender conformity, it is important to consider other ways in which women may deviate from gender norms, and how those deviations affect their experiences of sex-based harassment. It is important to acknowledge the social position within which these gender norms exist. For example, dominant femininity mandates that women display particular traits, behaviors, and qualities of outward appearance (Mahalik et al., 2005). However, embedded in this femininity are assumptions of race, class, and sexual orientation (Cole & Zucker, 2007; Collins, 2004). Although dominant gender norms exist as standards to which everyone is held, given the assumptions about race, class, and sexuality inherent in these norms, adherence to dominant gender norms is less attainable for those outside of privileged race, class, or sexual orientation groups.

Rich (1980) suggests that “compulsory heterosexuality” is the belief that heterosexuality is the standard to which everyone is held. So for example, identifying as something other than heterosexual is a deviation from the feminine gender norm. This feminine standard of heterosexuality is especially pervasive and researchers have documented intense pressure on girls to assume a typical, heterosexual, feminine gender role (Hyde & Jaffee, 2000). Thus, lesbian women deviate from this norm and fundamentally challenge the patriarchal notion that men are essential to women’s survival and well-being. Furthermore, researchers find that straight people generally believe that lesbian women are like straight men, and gay men are like straight women (Kite & Deaux, 1987). These beliefs reflect stereotypes about how lesbian women are (descriptive stereotypes), and these beliefs stand in opposition to the prescriptive gender stereotypes about how women should be (i.e., conforming to dominant femininity). Given this, I predict that *experiences of gender*

harassment will increase with minority sexual orientation (Hypothesis 3C). Similarly, I expect that *experiences of heterosexist harassment will increase with minority sexual orientation* (Hypothesis 4C).

Gendered Jobs

Not all organizational contexts appear to be equally detrimental for women. In general, women who are successful in male-typed occupations (such as managers) are derogated or disliked (Heilman, 2001). In a vignette study, Yoder and Schleicher (1996) found that undergraduates felt more negative about a woman who succeeded in a male-typed profession (electrician and electrical engineering). Specifically, the woman in the vignette was rated as less likable, attractive, feminine, and “socially accepted” compared to a woman working in a traditionally female job. Similar research finds that people perceive women’s interpersonal qualities negatively when they defy gender stereotypes by succeeding in traditionally “male” occupations (Heilman et al., 1995). Although women are penalized for their success in male-typed professions, research also suggests that women are *not* similarly sanctioned for success in female-typed jobs (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004).

Research on descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes provides a framework for thinking about who may be targeted with sex-based harassment and in what situations they may be at greatest risk. Descriptive stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics held by a particular group, whereas prescriptive stereotypes are beliefs about what characteristics a particular group *should* hold (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Eagly, 1987; Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Heilman, 2001). Descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes often overlap (i.e., the stereotype that women *are* nurturing (descriptive) is related to the stereotypes that women *should be* nurturing (prescriptive)). Furthermore, prescriptive

stereotypes describe both positively valued attributes (how women *should* be), but also negatively valued attributes (how women *should not* be) (Heilman, 2001). Generally, descriptive stereotypes related to women's interpersonal skills are overwhelmingly positive; women are thought to be communal, nurturing, and caring (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989).

Gender typing of occupations. While women and men are constrained by gender-specific stereotypes, gender-based stereotypes also exist for occupations. Shinar (1975) found that, when making judgments about the gender-type of an occupation, people generally used two criteria: the gender proportion of those employed in the occupation and the personality traits believed to be necessary for that occupation. Regardless of how people make their determinations, they hold beliefs about whether a particular occupation is “male” or “female.” Research suggests that these beliefs are clearly defined and widely held (Shinar, 1975). In one study, when people were asked to describe attributes of a job, over 60% of the time they listed the gender of the employee as an attribute (Glick, Wilk, & Perreault, 1995). Thus a descriptive stereotype for construction workers might be that construction workers are men; the related prescriptive stereotype is that construction workers *should* be men.

The stereotypes of occupations on the extreme ends of gender stereotyping (those considered most masculine or most feminine) have changed very little over time (Beggs & Doolittle, 1993). In addition to explicit beliefs, recent research suggests that people hold implicit stereotypes about the gender-type of occupations, as well. Using the Implicit Attitudes Test, White and White (2006) found that undergraduates identified gender consistent jobs (e.g., a female elementary school teacher) more quickly than they recognized gender inconsistent jobs (e.g., a female engineer).

In addition to occupational gender-typing, gender-typing also occurs within professions. For example, research indicates that people consider management jobs to be male gender typed (Heilman et al., 1989). In fact, experimental research indicates that people describe men in ways very similar to how they describe successful managers; however, women are not described similar ways (Heilman et al., 1989; Schein, 1973). Male-typed jobs are typically thought to require characteristics contrary to those believed to be held by women (i.e., women's descriptive stereotypes), and contrary to characteristics held about how women *should* behave (i.e., prescriptive stereotypes) (Heilman, 2001). This leads me to my next hypotheses: *Experiences of gender harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by: male dominated workgroup gender composition* (Hypothesis 3D). Similarly, *experiences of heterosexist harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by: male dominated workgroup gender composition* (Hypothesis 4D). Past research suggests that prescriptive stereotypes are most relevant for our understanding of sex-based harassment (Burgess & Borgida, 1999). Specifically, "the prescriptive component of the female stereotype is expected to lead to discrimination when women are judged to have violated, or to have behaved in a manner that is *incongruent* with, prescriptive aspects of the female stereotype" (Burgess & Borgida, 1999, p. 669). In this way, sex-based harassment becomes a way in which adherence to stereotypical gender norms is enforced (Burgess & Borgida, 1999).

There is evidence that prescriptive stereotypes of occupations are also important. For example, Eagly and Karau's (2002) role incongruity model of prejudice suggests that hostile prejudices are activated when someone attempts to enact a role for which personal/individual stereotypes are incongruent. For example, traditional feminine norms are inconsistent with

male-typed jobs. Thus, merely by being women, working in a male-dominated field can have deleterious effects (see Heilman et al., 1995). Even when women possess masculine characteristics (e.g., agency), in male job-gender contexts they are less likely to emerge as leaders than their male counterparts (Ritter & Yoder, 2004).

Because both gender stereotypes (e.g., women are, and should be, nurturing) and occupational stereotypes (e.g., managers are, and should be, strong leaders) exist, there is the potential for people to conform to one, neither, or both of the norms expected for their gender and occupation. A woman could deviate from gender norms by acting in a more masculine manner; however, if this same woman works in a traditionally “masculine” job (such as engineering), she may be actually conforming to the norms for that job. Given the evidence that women are sanctioned for acting in counterstereotypical ways, and given that a masculine job-gender context is associated with women experiencing more sex-based harassment, do occupational gender type and conformity to masculine norms interact to affect women’s experiences of gender harassment?

The Exacerbating Effect versus Buffering Effect Hypothesis

Theories of double jeopardy emerged in the 1970s to explain the doubly disadvantaged position experienced by Women of Color (e.g., Almqvist, 1975; Beal, 1970; Epstein, 1973). Essentially, double jeopardy argues that Women of Color are doubly oppressed because they are female *and* because they are ethnic minority. Furthermore, this doubly disadvantaged position *exacerbates* their experiences of discrimination and mistreatment (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Buchanan et al., 2008). Since then, scholars have adopted the double jeopardy theory to explain the exacerbating effect of being doubly disadvantaged based on a variety of social positions including age and gender (Lincoln &

Allen, 2004), homelessness and drug use (Neale, 2001), and depression and help-seeking behaviors among men (Good & Wood, 1995), among others.

Psychological research recognizes two versions of the exacerbating effect hypothesis (for an example, see Berdahl & Moore, 2006). In the first version, the multiple disadvantaged qualities exert an additive effect. For example, we see an additive effect if women of color and white women experience equivalent levels of sex discrimination; women and men of color experience equivalent levels of race discrimination; and women of color experience the most discrimination (after adding the two sources of discrimination together). In the second version, we have a multiplicative effect. This version maintains that different sources of difference are not independent, additive categories. Instead, this version argues that sources of disadvantage may multiply, resulting in unique patterns for individuals.

Drawing on the theoretical bases from research on the double jeopardy women of color experience, I propose competing hypotheses for how individual- and context-level forms of gender deviance predict gender harassment. Despite the fact that in the US, a majority of women work outside the home, many blue-collar and white-collar occupations remain stereotypically male domains. Women who conform to individual-level gender norms may stand out as “out of place” in occupations that remain predominantly male. Past research suggests that women’s deviation from gender norms makes them more likely to be targeted with harassment. Thus, it is possible that women who deviate from individual-level feminine gender norms (such as masculine role conformity, masculine appearance, and minority sexual identity) while also deviating from context-level gender norms (by working in a male job-gender context) may experience an exacerbating effect for deviation. As such, I hypothesize an exacerbating effect model, whereby *women who deviate from individual-*

and context-level gender norms will experience the most gender harassment (Hypothesis 5A). See Figure 1.1 for a visual representation of these predicted relationships.³

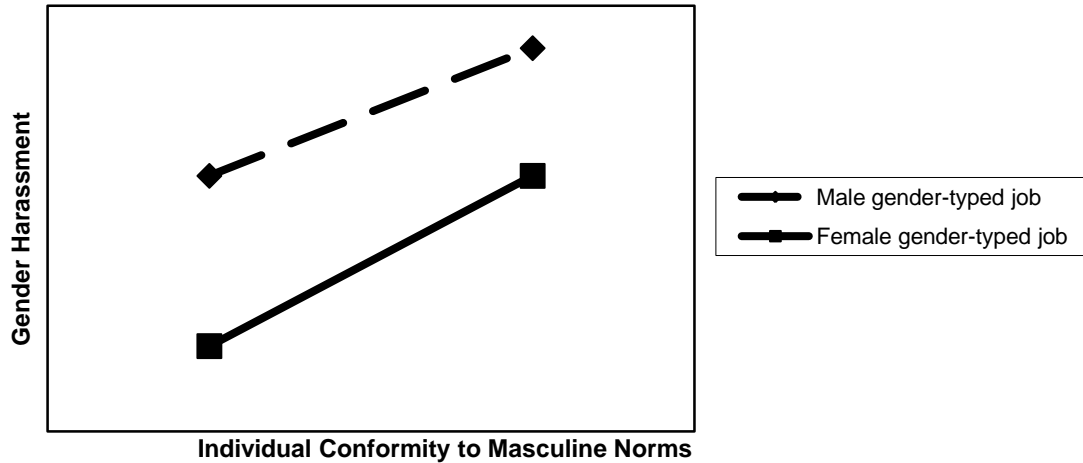


Figure 1.1 Hypothesis 5A. Predicted Relationships between Gender Harassment and Conformity to Masculine Norms (Competing Alternative A).

An alternative, competing possibility is that by deviating from traditional individual-level feminine norms, these women may be conforming to context-level gender norms (i.e., conforming to the stereotypical gender expectations of male-typed jobs). Consequently, they may not be doubly targeted with gender harassment because their gender deviance is congruent with the masculine job-type expectations. In other words, *there will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms, such that these women will experience no more gender harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norms* (Hypothesis 5B). See Figure 1.2 for a visual representation of these predicted relationships.⁴

³ Identical relationships are predicted when considering heterosexist harassment (Hypothesis 6A).

⁴ Identical relationships are predicted when considering heterosexist harassment (Hypothesis 6B).

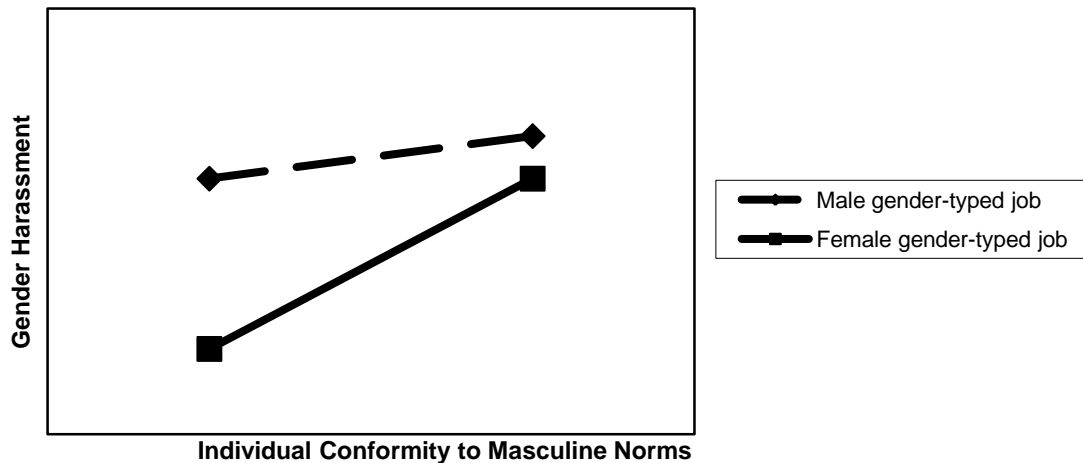


Figure 1.2 Hypothesis 5B. Predicted Relationships between Gender Harassment and Conformity to Masculine Norms (Competing Alternative B).

I predict similar relationships when considering heterosexual harassment. Specifically, *women who deviate from individual- and context-level gender norms will experience the most heterosexual harassment (Hypothesis 6A)*. A competing (parallel) hypothesis is that *there will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms, such that these women will experience no more heterosexual harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norms (Hypothesis 6B)*.

Summary of Hypotheses and Research Questions

Hypothesis 1: Gender harassment will be a multidimensional construct.

Research Question 1: What factors underlie the construct of gender harassment?

Hypothesis 2: Strong correlations will emerge between all dimensions of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and heterosexual harassment.

Hypothesis 3: Experiences of gender harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by:

3A: Masculine role conformity

3B: Masculine appearance

3C: Minority sexual orientation

3D: Male dominated workgroup gender composition

Research Question 2: Which facets of *masculine* norms increase risk for *gender* harassment?

Hypothesis 4: Experiences of heterosexual harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by:

4A: Masculine role conformity

4b: Masculine appearance

4C: Minority sexual orientation

4D: Male dominated workgroup gender composition

Research Question 3: Which facets of *masculine* norms increase risk for *heterosexual* harassment?

Hypothesis 5: There are two alternative, competing possibilities:

5A: Women who deviate from individual- and context-level gender norms will experience the most gender harassment.

5B: There will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms, such that these women will experience no more gender harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norms.

Hypothesis 6: There are two alternative, competing possibilities:

6A: Women who deviate from individual- and context-level gender norms will experience the most heterosexual harassment.

6B: There will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms, such that these women will experience no more heterosexist harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norms.

Chapter II

Method & Results: Study 1

This dissertation consists of three studies. In the first and second studies I develop an expanded measure of gender harassment. Specifically, I test, validate, and document the psychometric properties and underlying factor structure of this measure. In the third study, I expand upon past research on sex-based harassment by considering a multi-faceted conceptualization of gender-roles and exploring how conformity to gender norms and work in gendered jobs affect women's experiences of gender and heterosexist harassment.

Study 1: Gender Harassment: Scale Development

Given the high rates of women who report experiencing gender-based harassment, and the need to better understand women's experiences, the purpose of this study was to develop a more comprehensive and nuanced measure of gender harassment. Past research has demonstrated gender harassment to be the most common form of sex-based harassment (Langhout et al., 2005; Leskinen et al., 2011; Schneider et al., 1997). These studies, however, have assessed gender harassment using very brief measures, at most only measuring two constructs (sexist hostility and sexual hostility) (e.g., Langhout et al., 2005; Leskinen et al., 2011). The purpose of this study was therefore to develop a more comprehensive measure of gender harassment.

Brainstorming. In order to develop an expanded measure of gender harassment, I convened a panel of seven subject matter experts for a brainstorming session. I provided the panel with a definition of gender harassment, used by Konik and Cortina: “disparaging conduct not intended to elicit sexual cooperation; rather, these are verbal, physical, and symbolic behaviors that convey hostile and offensive attitudes about women” (2008, p. 314). Using a classic brainstorming method (Osborn, 1957), I then instructed the panel to generate as many examples as possible of behaviors that fit this definition.

When the panel was unable to generate additional examples, I prompted them by quoting, one at a time, nine additional definitions of gender harassment that have appeared in the psychology literature; Appendix A presents these definitions. After displaying and reading each definition, I asked the panel for additional examples of that behavior. Finally, I provided the panel with vivid descriptions of “real-life” gender harassment culled from court cases, to see if this would bring any other behaviors to mind; these descriptions also appear in Appendix A. I conducted the brainstorming session in this order (i.e., waiting until the end of the brainstorming session before priming with concrete examples of gender harassment) to minimize bias. As the session progressed, providing the panel with additional definitions and examples of gender harassment served to broaden the way the team was thinking about concept. In the end, the panel generated 200 unique behaviors. See Appendix A for a complete list of the definitions and examples provided to the subject matter experts.

The classic brainstorming method (Osborn, 1957) may generate ideas that are irrelevant to the final project. Therefore, both authors reviewed the 200 behaviors; when we agreed that a behavior did not qualify as gender harassment, we removed it from the list. More specifically, we removed 96 behaviors because they met one or more of the following

disqualifiers: (1) the behavior did not reference women, gender, or sexuality; (2) the behavior was not interpersonally harassing, hostile, disparaging, demeaning, or belittling; (3) the behavior was an example of unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion (not gender harassment); or (4) the behavior was generally ambiguous or nonsensical. Any behavior on which we disagreed was left in the pool for consideration in a card-sorting task. A total of 104 behaviors remained for this task.

Card-sort. Members of the panel of subject matter experts then completed a card-sorting task. I printed each of the 104 behaviors on separate cards, organized randomly. I instructed the panel to individually sort these 104 cards into piles that “go together,” using whatever criteria made sense to them. I also told participants to use as many piles as they liked, and no card could appear in more than one pile (see Altermatt, DeWall, & Leskinen, 2005 for a similar methodology). When panelists completed their card sort, each person then labeled her piles based on her individual grouping criteria.

From the card sort, individuals created between 8 and 16 piles ($M = 11.8$, $SD = 3.03$). The self-generated criteria, or categories, that individuals used to group the items overlapped considerably. I pooled all categories and removed duplicates, leaving 18 categories overall; these appear in Appendix B. Three categories (*anti-gay comments*, *unwanted sexual attention*, and *sexual violence/coercion*) were then eliminated for representing constructs other than gender harassment. This left 15 categories for consideration as subtypes of gender harassment (see Appendix B).

I next examined published measures of sex-based harassment and related constructs to determine whether existing items addressed the remaining 15 categories. Scales reviewed included multiple iterations of the SEQ, including the SEQ-DoD (developed for use in a

military sample) (Fitzgerald et al., 1999), the SEQ-Latina (developed for use with a Latina sample) (Cortina, 2001), the Gender-Nonconformity Harassment scale, a subtype of gender harassment assessed by Konik and Cortina (2008), and the Sexual Harassment of Men scale (SHOM), which adapted the SEQ for use with men (Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998).⁵ Eight out of the remaining 15 categories were covered by items in the SEQ, the SHOM, or the Gender-Nonconformity Harassment scale.

To tap the categories that remained unassessed by existing measures of sex-based harassment, I developed 12 new items. Patterned after the format of the SEQ, the new items were behaviorally based and did not include the term “sexual harassment.” I combined our 12 items with existing items from the SEQ (16 items; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; 1995), the Gender-Nonconformity scale (3 items; Konik & Cortina, 2008), and the SHOM scale (1 item; Waldo et al., 1998). This preliminary measure thus consisted of 32 items (see Appendix C). To test the psychometric properties of this instrument, I conducted Study 2.

⁵ We also reviewed scales that measure related concepts, including: the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), the Hostility Toward Women Scale (Check, Malamuth, Elias, & Barton, 1985), and the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE) (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995); however, with the exception of the SSE (which included items very similar to those in the SEQ), these scales did not include items assessing behavioral experiences of sex-based harassment.

Chapter III

Methods & Results: Study 2

Study 2: Gender Harassment: Scale Exploration and Validation

Participants and procedures. After developing the initial 32-item scale, I sought to test and validate it with a sample of working women. Participants were recruited through a larger collaborative survey of working women in Michigan. We used a short, internet-based “snapshot” survey, to determine participant eligibility (see Appendix D). We directed participants to one of two websites through which participants could link to the snapshot survey. The two websites served to aid in oversampling sexual minority women for a subsequent, paper-based survey. Participants read a letter explaining the purposes of the snapshot survey (see Appendix E) and then proceeded to the online survey.

We advertised the snapshot survey through multiple avenues. Most of the women learned about the snapshot survey through emails sent to listserves for women’s groups across Michigan (see Appendix F for a sample recruitment email). Groups targeted with recruitment emails included a wide range of organizations: working women’s networking groups (e.g., Women’s Business Owners of Southeastern Michigan, Women’s Exchange of Washtenaw, InForum), local chambers of commerce (e.g., Ann Arbor/Ypsilanti Regional Chamber, Metro Detroit Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce), and human resources departments (e.g., the University of Michigan and University of Michigan Health System – including all locations). We provided the contacted organizations with scripted posts (for

Facebook, twitter, and other social networking sites) as a form of recruitment (see Appendix G). Also, we recruited sexual minority women by emailing organizations that identified as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) focused (e.g., Lesbian Mom's Network, A2 Connection, Detroit Area Womyn's Network). We asked that organizations serving sexual minority women direct their members to the second website (which was identical to the first). This allowed us to over sample sexual minority participants without directly asking participants their sexual orientation in a brief survey about their work. In addition to email recruitment, we advertised the snapshot survey through social networking groups (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn), through flyers distributed at venues where women were in high attendance, and through posters displayed at businesses throughout in the Washtenaw County area.

A total of 4,690 women completed the snapshot survey. Responses to the snapshot survey determined eligibility for a subsequent paper-based survey. Eligibility criteria were: current employment at least 10 hours per week; employment at an organization that employs other individuals as well (i.e., the respondent is not the sole employee); and provision of a complete mailing address; 3,622 women met these criteria. Of those, we randomly sampled 500 participants, oversampling women of color and sexual minority women. We mailed them a paper survey, and a total of 425 women responded (85% response rate). These respondents were mailed a \$10 check as compensation. The women represented a variety of occupational fields that vary in their gender-traditionality (e.g., education, healthcare, law, construction). They averaged 41 years of age and seven years of job tenure. This sample was relatively diverse, with 19% identifying as Black, 15% as Asian, and 10% as Latina.

Following Dillman, Smyth, and Christian's (2009) recommendations for maximizing response rates for survey administration by mail, we sent participants a packet which contained a paper survey that had been professionally designed and printed in color, in booklet format. Packets also included an introductory letter (see Appendix H), a stamped and addressed envelope in which to return the survey, a stamped and addressed postcard to indicate survey completion (see Appendix I), and a two-dollar bill. The separate postcard allowed us to note a participant's completion of her survey while her actual survey remained anonymous. We sent reminder postcards to participants who did not respond to the survey within one week (see Appendix J). Finally, two weeks after sending out the reminder postcard, participants who still had not completed the survey received a replacement packet. The replacement packet was identical to the first packet, except it did not include a two-dollar bill, and the introductory letter was updated to indicate that this was the last mailing they would receive (see Appendix K). Dillman and colleagues (2009) show these methods (professionally printed booklets, token incentive, reminder postcard, and replacement survey) maximize response rates. Participants who completed the survey were mailed a \$10 check as compensation.

Measures. In addition to the gender harassment scale, women responded to questions about: demographics; mental health; optimism; conformity to gender norms; salience of gender, race, and sexual orientation; heteronormativity and heterosexual privilege; heterosexist harassment, sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention; activism; and measures of work-related outcomes. For the purposes of this study, I only discuss the demographic questions, the gender harassment items, and the sexual advance harassment items, as those are the only scales used in Study 2.

Demographics. Participants provided standard demographic information (age, race, and gender). To indicate ethnicity, they selected as many categories as were relevant from the following options: Asian, Asian American, Pacific Islander, or Native Hawaiian; Black, African, or African American; Latina, Hispanic, or Hispanic American; Middle Eastern, Arab, or Arab American; Native American or Alaskan Native; White; and “Other.” Participants also provided demographic data related to their marital/partnership status, children, and religion. We also asked about work-related demographic information such as: current field, length of time working in their current field and with their current organization, hours worked, and gender composition of their workgroup.

Gender harassment. To assess gender harassment, we administered the 32 items developed in Study 1. The complete text of these items appears in Appendix C. The stem asked specifically about the work context: “During the PAST YEAR, has anyone associated with your WORK (e.g., supervisors, coworkers, clients/customers, collaborators at other companies) done any of the following behaviors?” Participants responded on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *never* to 5 = *very often*.

Sexual-advance harassment. To assess sexual-advance harassment (which includes both unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion), surveys contained seven items from the SEQ ($\alpha = .60$; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; 1995). These items omit the words “sexual harassment,” which permits the measurement of actual behaviors experienced, not the participant’s subjective appraisal of those experiences. Following the same stem used to assess gender harassment, four items addressed unwanted sexual attention, including “Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?” and “touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?” Two items gauged experiences of sexual coercion: “Implied better

treatment if you were sexually cooperative?” and “Made you afraid that you would be treated poorly if you didn’t cooperate sexually?” Again, we used a 5-point response scale, from *Never* to *Many Times* (see Appendix L).

Heterosexist harassment. To assess heterosexist harassment, we used eight items developed by Waldo (1999) and Konik and Cortina (2008), supplemented with seven new items (15 items total; $\alpha = .90$). Again, following the same stem, sample items include: “Made anti-gay remarks about you personally, regardless of your sexual orientation” and “Gossiped about someone’s sexual orientation at your workplace.” Participants responded on a Likert-type scale, ranging from (1) *Never* to (5) *Many times*.

Results

Data reduction. I sought to winnow down our initial 32-item gender harassment scale to retain only the most robust items, assess the content domain without excessive redundancy, and yield a scale that is short enough for use in organizations. Following the recommendations of Hinkin (1998), I began by inspecting inter-item correlations. I eliminated three items that failed to correlate .40 or above with more than three other items. Next, I looked for items endorsed by less than 5% of the sample, which would indicate insufficient variance, and found no items with this problem. Upon further review, I dropped one additional item because the item could be interpreted in multiple ways (some of which were not gender harassing). Twenty-eight items remained for further analysis.

Hypothesis 1: *Gender harassment will be a multidimensional construct.*

To identify and then cross-validate the structure of the remaining items and test Hypothesis 1, I divided the larger sample into two random halves. Using the guidelines suggested by Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum and Strahan (1999), I submitted gender

harassment data from the first half-sample ($n = 212$) to a series of principal components analyses (PCA) with oblique (promax) rotation, which allows for correlations among factors. An initial PCA identified one item as having low communalities, so I excluded that item (Fabrigar et al. 1999; Hinkin, 1998). All other items had moderate-to-high communalities and were retained. I examined both the scree plot (Cattell, 1966) as well as the eigenvalues, to determine the number of factors (Kaiser, 1960). The rule of Kaiser (1960) is that eigenvalues be greater than one. Cattell's scree test suggested as few as two factors, while Kaiser's rule suggested seven factors, so I compared all possible solutions (from two to seven factors). Per the recommendations of Fabrigar et al. (1999), I assessed each solution for interpretability, parsimony, and "simple structure." I retained only the items that loaded strongly and cleanly onto one factor. Hinkin (1998) suggests that loadings "greater than .40 and/or a loading twice as strong on the appropriate factor" are common indicators of strong factor loadings (p. 112). I eliminated nine items that failed to meet these criteria. Table 2.1 presents all discarded items and the reasons for their removal.

I re-ran the PCA once more on the remaining 18 items. Kaiser's rule suggested that five factors best represented the structure of the data, and I found the five-factor solution easily interpretable; these 18 items and their loadings appear in Table 2.2. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .84, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant, $\chi^2 = 2204.80$ (153), ($p < .001$). All items loaded onto their respective factors, with loadings averaging .80. Also consistent with Hinkin's (1998) recommendations, items loaded at least twice as strongly on the appropriate factor as on any other factor. The five factors explained 71% of the variance.

Research Question 1: *What factors underlie the construct of gender harassment?*

Each factor made theoretical sense. The first factor consisted of items found in the existing SEQ gender harassment-*sexist* subscale (Stark, Chernyshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow & Fitzgerald, 2002). This factor assesses experiences of behaviors that insult members of one sex (in this case, women), without any sexually crude implications. In keeping with prior research, I labeled this factor *sexist behavior*. The second factor parallels the gender harassment – *crude/offensive behavior* subscale in the existing SEQ (Stark et al., 2002); however, this factor also includes harassment perpetrated via technologies (e.g., texting, instant messaging) that were less prevalent when the SEQ was initially developed. I labeled this factor *crude/offensive behavior* to be consistent with prior work. The third factor suggests a new dimension of gender harassment, related to policing the boundaries between work (as a space where women are unfit and unwelcome) and home (women’s “proper” place, especially when parenting); I labeled this factor *work/family policing*. The fourth factor contained behaviors that belittle women by infantilizing them – treating them as ignorant, childlike, or stupid; I labeled this factor *infantilization*. This factor, while not containing new items, suggests a new way of conceptualizing these behaviors. The fifth factor concerns harassment related to the policing of appearance and role-related gender norms; I labeled this factor *gender policing*.

Factor-structure confirmation. After identifying a meaningful factor structure in one random half of the sample, I sought to confirm that structure. Based on data from the other random half-sample of cases ($n = 212$), I submitted correlations among the 18 remaining gender harassment items to Maximum Likelihood Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) using LISREL 8.8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom 2006). The goal of the CFA was to validate the 5-factor structure identified during data reduction. To assess model fit, I examined the

Root Mean Square Residual (*RMSR*), Non Normed Fit Index (*NNFI*, also known as the Tucker-Lewis Index or TLI), and the Comparative Fit Index (*CFI*; see Bollen, 1989 and Hu & Bentler, 1999, for more details about these fit indices).

As Table 2.2 shows, all items loaded highly onto the 5-factor model, with standard errors less than .07. The standardized *RMSR* of .06 indicated minimal differences between the fitted and observed correlation matrices (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Moreover, less than 16% of the standardized residuals exceeded three in absolute value; these residuals did not appear to be systematic in any way, again indicating that the 5-factor model represented the data well. The goodness of fit indices (*NNFI* = .94, *CFI* = .95) further indicated strong fit to the data (Bentler & Bonett, 1980).

Hypothesis 2: *Strong correlations will emerge between all dimensions of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and heterosexist harassment.*

Reliability and validity analysis. After establishing the factor structure, to test Hypothesis 2, I conducted analyses of reliability and validity using the full sample of $N = 424$. Coefficient alphas for each of the five gender harassment subscales were strong: sexist behavior (.93), crude/offensive behavior (.78), work/family policing (.86), infantilization (.85), and gender policing (.83). Moreover, coefficient alpha for the total scale (combining all 18 items) was .91. Correlations among the five subscales ranged from .35 to .61, averaging .46; these appear in Table 2.3.

I examined correlations of the gender harassment subscales with two other types of harassment (sexual-advance harassment and heterosexist harassment) to provide additional evidence of validity. *Sexual-advance harassment*, as assessed by SEQ items, measures behavior that creates a hostile work environment for members of one sex because it contains

some form of sexual advance or threat (e.g., unwanted touching, pressure for dates, etc.). As Table 2.3 shows, all of these correlations were positive, significant, and in the moderate range. As expected, this suggests that the five components of gender harassment are linked, but not identical to, other forms of sex-based harassment.

I also computed correlations between the gender harassment subscales and the measure of *heterosexist harassment*, that is, harassment based on actual or perceived sexual orientation (Konik & Cortina, 2008). These correlations also appear in Table 2.3. Gender harassment and heterosexist harassment should theoretically be related, because both express derision or animosity toward a social group. Indeed, these correlations were all significant and ranged from moderate to large, averaging .55, which confirmed Hypothesis 2.

Our final instrument contained 18 items that measured five dimensions of gender harassment: sexist behavior, crude/offensive behavior, work/family policing, infantilization, and gender policing. Because our measure builds on existing SEQ items, we dubbed it the GEQ, or Gender Experiences Questionnaire. In the Discussion, I address the implications of this factor structure and utility of this scale.

Chapter IV

Methods and Results: Study 3

Study 3: Conformity to Gender Norms, Job-Gender Context, and Gender Harassment

Participants, recruitment, and procedure. Participants are identical to those described in Study 2. See Study 2 for a detailed description of participations, recruitment, and survey procedures.

Measures

Demographics. Demographic information is the same as that described in Study 2. See Study 2 for complete details.

Sexual orientation. Participants reported their sexual orientation by responding to the question, “How would you describe your sexual orientation?” Response options included: (1) Completely homosexual, lesbian, or gay; (2) Mostly homosexual, lesbian, or gay; (3) Bisexual; (4) Mostly heterosexual; (5) Completely heterosexual; and (6) Other (please specify).

Conformity to masculine norms. For the purposes of this research, I rely on Spence’s understanding of empirical uses of masculinity and femininity as “merely nominal labels for observable qualities or events that are more closely associated with members of one gender than the other in a given culture” (1984, p. 66). In order to investigate how endorsement of masculine norms is associated with experiences of gender and heterosexual harassment, I use the short form of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-

46; Parent & Moradi, 2009), which measures the extent to which individuals conform to specific masculine gender-related norms. This inventory expands upon past measures of masculine gender role conformity by assessing multiple factors, and they include items that assess masculine role conformity visible to an outside observer. Other scales ask about one's endorsement of gendered ideologies; however, the beliefs one holds about how men and women should behave are internal cognitions, and unless one expresses them explicitly, these beliefs may not affect the individual's conformity to gender norms in practice. For this reason, it was important that the measure of conformity to masculine norms assess observable behavior (in addition to attitudes). Although the CMNI-46 does not represent the entire content domain of masculine norms, it offers a sampling of roles relevant to the performance of masculine gender-typed behaviors.

The styling of the CMNI-46 is written such that the scale does not directly compare men and women; instead, it assesses the individual's own conformity to gender-typed norms. The CMNI-46 is a 46-item scale that assesses an individual's adherence to components of masculinity: winning, emotional control, risk-taking, violence, power over women,⁶ playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, and heterosexual self-presentation (Parent & Moradi, 2009) (see Appendix N for sample items). Because the items are written in the first person, it was unnecessary to adapt the items based on a participant's gender. Participants responded on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Descriptive statistics and correlations among subscales are listed in Table 3.1.

⁶ While some of these items seem less applicable to women respondents, the conditions that govern the use of the CMNI mandate that all items be administered to all samples.

Smiler (2006) validated the CMNI with an adult, mixed-gender population. The CMNI remained statistically reliable in the mixed-gender sample, with alpha reliabilities of the subscales ranging from .64-.92. The CMNI total score was also reliable ($\alpha = .94$). In addition to testing reliability, Smiler (2006) found that over half the subscales were unrelated to gender traits (as measured by the PAQ) (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), suggesting that the CMNI assesses gender-related concepts not previously tested in research on sex-based harassment.

Appearance. In order to assess the appearance aspect of gender norm conformity, I adapted the Physical Presentation of Gender Scale (Moore, 2006). Participants rated themselves on a 7-point scale from 1 (very masculine) to 7 (very feminine) on five physical traits including hair, clothing, and way of walking (see Appendix N).

Gender harassment. I measured gender harassment with the scale developed in Studies 1 and 2. (See Study 1 for details on scale development).

Sexual advance harassment. The measure of sexual advance harassment is identical to that described in Study 2. See Study 2 for details.

Heterosexist harassment. The measure of heterosexist harassment is identical to that described in Study 2. See Study 2 for details.

Workgroup gender composition. In addition to reporting their field of work, participants also responded to a question about the gender make-up of their workgroup. The survey asked, “What is the gender make-up of the people with whom you regularly work?” Participants responded on a 7-point scale from 1 (all men) to 7 (all women). Participants also had the option of selecting “N/A (e.g., I work alone).” This item served as a proxy for job-gender context.

Control variables. Past research has shown that race and age both influence harassment risk (Berdahl & Aquino, 2009; Buchanan et al., 2008; Chamberlain et al., 2008). In order to take these variables into account while studying the impact of gender-norm violation, I controlled for these factors. I asked these questions as a part of demographic information (see Study 1 for complete details). For the purposes of this study, race was coded such that 0 = white women and 1 = Women of Color.

Results

Table 3.2 displays descriptive statistics and correlations among variables. Nearly 4 out of 5 respondents (78%) reported experiencing at least one episode of gender harassment during the past year. The most commonly reported type of gender harassment was infantilization (63%), followed by sexist harassment (52%), work/family policing (34%), crude harassment (32%), and gender policing (14%). The significant correlations were generally consistent with predictions. Specifically, minority sexual orientation positively related to two subtypes of gender harassment. A relationship between masculine appearance and two subtypes of gender harassment also emerged (such that more masculine appearing women experienced more harassment). However, it is surprising to note that neither the crude nor infantilization subtypes of gender harassment were related to any of the measures of gender norm conformity. Next, I turn to my specific hypotheses and the corresponding analyses.

Hypothesis 3: Experiences of gender harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by:

3A: Masculine role conformity

3B: Masculine appearance

3C: *Minority sexual orientation*

3D: *Male dominated workgroup gender composition*

I conducted moderated regression analyses to test the relationships between gender norm deviance and the different subtypes of gender harassment (Hypothesis 3). Each regression contained two control variables (age and race, entered in the first step), independent variables entered in the second step (gender role conformity, appearance, sexual orientation, and workgroup gender composition), and all person by context two-way interaction terms entered in the third step (to test Hypotheses 5A and 5B; I explain the rationale for the interaction terms below). The dependent variable was one of the subscales of gender harassment (sexist, crude, infantilizing, work/family policing, gender policing). For regression purposes, continuous variables were mean centered. Race was coded as 0 for whites and 1 for Women of Color.

Tables 3.3 through 3.7 display results of the Contrary to Hypothesis 3A, conformity to masculine roles (as a global construct) was not related to experiencing more gender harassment of any type. However, consistent with Hypothesis 3B, appearance related to some gender harassment subtypes. The model explained 12% of the variance in sexist harassment, $F(6, 403) = 8.95, p < .001$. According to beta weights in Table 3.3, more masculine appearing women experienced more sexist harassment. A significant 9% of variance was explained in the gender policing subtype of harassment, $F(6, 402) = 6.28, p < .001$, with women being targeted with more gender policing harassment when they display a more masculine appearance. None of my regression models explained significant variance in infantilizing or work/family policing harassment, as seen in the non-significant R^2 results in Tables 3.5 and 3.7, respectively. However, the model did explain significant variance in

crude harassment, but no individual predictor was significant (see Table 3.4). Contrary to Hypothesis 3C, minority sexual orientation was unrelated to experiences of gender harassment after controlling for race, age, and other indicators of gender norm deviation.

Consistent with Hypothesis 3D, male dominated workgroup gender composition was related to experiencing more sexist harassment (see Table 3.3). Contrary to my hypotheses, workgroup gender composition was not related to experiences of heterosexist harassment, nor was it associated with crude, infantilizing, gender policing, or work/family policing (once I controlled for race, age, and other indicators of gender norm deviation).

Research Question 2: *What facets of masculine roles increase risk for gender harassment?*

While masculine role conformity (as a global construct) was unrelated to experiences of gender harassment, the measure also allowed me to explore whether individual facets of masculine roles relate to individual's gender harassment experiences. To do this, I conducted additional regression analyses. These regressions contained the same two control variables described previously (age and race, entered in the first step); however, in the second step I entered each of the subscales of the CMNI-46 separately (winning, emotional control, risk-taking, violence, power over women, playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, and heterosexual self-presentation). Again, the dependent variable was one of the subscales of gender harassment (sexist, crude, infantilizing, gender policing, work/family policing). While no individual subscale predicted experiences of sexist, crude, infantilizing, or work/family policing types of gender harassment (see Tables 3.8-3.12), the model accounted for a significant 2% of the variance in gender policing harassment, $F(11, 396) = 1.92, p < .05$, with self-reliance and heterosexual self-presentation significantly predicting gender

policing harassment. According to the betas in Table 3.11, the more women reported engaging in “self-reliant” behaviors (e.g., by never asking for help), the more gender policing harassment they experienced. Also, the *more* women reported engaging in “heterosexual self-presentation,” (e.g., by trying to avoid being perceived as gay), the less they were targeted with gender policing harassment (see Table 3.11).

Hypothesis 4: *Experiences of heterosexist harassment will increase with deviation from feminine norms as indicated by:*

4A: *Masculine role conformity*

4B: *Masculine appearance*

4C: *Minority sexual orientation*

4D: *Male dominated workgroup gender composition*

Similar to the analyses conducted to test Hypothesis 3, I conducted a moderated regression analysis to test the relationships between gender role deviance and heterosexist harassment. The regression contained two control variables (age and race, entered in the first step), four independent variables (masculine role conformity, appearance, sexual orientation, and workgroup gender composition, entered in the second step), and all person by context two-way interaction terms (entered in the third step). The dependent variable was heterosexist harassment. Contrary to Hypothesis 4A, 4B, and 4D conformity to masculine roles, as a global construct, was not related to experiencing more heterosexist harassment; was appearance or workgroup gender composition (see Table 3.13). However, consistent with Hypothesis 4C, sexual orientation emerged as a significant predictor, such that women with minority sexual orientations were targeted with more heterosexist harassment. The

model accounted for a significant 5% of the variance in experiences of heterosexual harassment, $F(6, 402) = 4.83, p < .001$.

Research Question 3: *What facets of masculine roles increase risk for heterosexual harassment?*

I conducted a final regression analysis to explore whether there were individual facets of masculine gender roles that related to experiences of heterosexual harassment. This regression contained the same control variables as the previous regression analyses (age and race, entered in the first step). Similar to Research Question two, in the second step I entered each of the subscales of the CMNI-46 separately (winning, emotional control, risk-taking, violence, power over women, playboy, self-reliance, primacy of work, and heterosexual self-presentation). The dependent variable was heterosexual harassment. Overall, the model was significant (accounting for 4% of the variance), $F(11, 396) = 2.64, p < .01$. Heterosexual self-presentation emerged as the only facet that related to experiencing heterosexual harassment, such that the more women engaged in heterosexual self-presentation, the *less* they were targeted with heterosexual harassment (see Table 3.14).

Hypothesis 5: There are two alternative, competing possibilities:

5A: *Women who deviate from individual- and context-level gender norms will experience the most gender harassment.*

5B: *There will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms, such that these women will experience no more gender harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norms.*

I relied on results from the moderated regression analyses, described earlier, to test whether the combination of variables results in an exacerbating effect (Hypothesis 5A) or a buffering effect (competing Hypothesis 5B) on the different subtypes of gender harassment (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2 for graphical representations of the competing hypotheses). Hypothesis 5A was the exacerbating effect hypothesis – if this hypothesis were true, women who deviated the most from both individual- and context-level feminine gender norms would report more gender harassment than other women. If competing Hypothesis 5B were true, I would see a significant interaction between individual- and context-level gender deviance predicting gender harassment. Additionally, to show a buffering effect, the significant interaction, when plotted, would show that women who deviate from both individual- *and* context-level gender norms do not experience significantly more harassment than women who deviate from just individual- *or* context-level gender norms.

To recap, I conducted these moderated regressions with all 423 participants. Conformity to masculine roles, appearance, and job-gender context were mean centered. Tables 3.3-3.7 display the results.

The two-way interaction of *masculine gender role conformity* x *workgroup gender composition* predicting sexist harassment emerged as significant. To probe of this significant interaction, following Holmbeck's (2002) recommendations I computed two new conditional moderator variables. For theoretical reasons, I assumed that workgroup gender composition was the moderator. Computing the new conditional moderator variables allowed us to manipulate the 0 point of the workgroup gender composition and examine conditional effects of masculine gender role conformity on sexist harassment. Also, per Holmbeck's (2002) recommendations, I computed new interactions, incorporating the new conditional variables.

These new variables allowed us to conduct post-hoc regressions and generate the slope for each condition (low masculine gender role conformity and high masculine gender role conformity) and plot the interaction (see Figure 3.1).

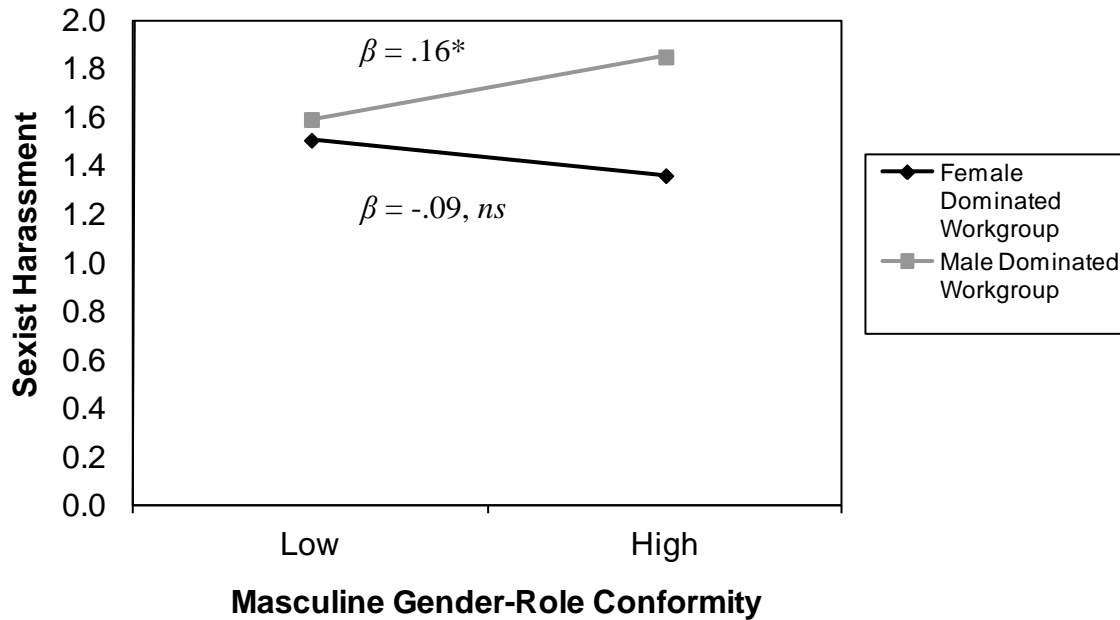


Figure 3.1 Interaction between Workgroup Gender Ratio and Masculine Gender-Role Conformity

Figure 3.1 indicates that women who conformed highly to stereotypically masculine gender roles and worked in male-dominated workgroups experienced the most sexist gender harassment. Significance tests for each slope indicate that the simple slope for the male dominated workgroup regression line was significantly different from zero ($p < .05$; the direction indicates women experience the most sexist harassment when they deviate from traditional feminine gender roles – by conforming highly to masculine gender roles and working in a male dominated workgroup). The simple slope for the female dominated workgroup regression line was not significant. None of the other two-way interactions were significant.

Hypothesis 6: There are two alternative, competing possibilities:

6A: Women who deviate from individual- and context-level gender norms will experience the most heterosexist harassment.

6B: There will be a buffering effect for women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms such that these women will experience no more heterosexist harassment than women who deviate from either individual-level or context-level gender norm

In terms of predicting heterosexist harassment, none of the interaction terms were significant, therefore competing Hypothesis 6B was not supported (see Table 3.13). There was a main effect for appearance such that a more masculine appearance was related to more heterosexist harassment; however, there were no main effects for any of the other individual-level gender norms, nor was there a main effect for the context-level gender norm, thus Hypothesis 6A was not supported – there was no support for the exacerbating effect hypothesis in terms of individual- and context-level gender norm deviance predicting heterosexist harassment.

Chapter V

Discussion

This dissertation was designed to provide a nuanced analysis of women's experiences of gender harassment. In the first two studies, I set out to broaden the conceptual framework of gender harassment and expand existing measures for this construct; this yielded the *Gender Experiences Questionnaire (GEQ)*. Five subtypes of gender harassment emerged. The results of the first two studies replicate and extend past research by reflecting both extant and new themes in the gender harassment literature. These new themes go beyond previous conceptualizations of gender harassment, demonstrating the many faces that this phenomenon takes.

The third study uses the newly developed GEQ to examine the effects of different types of masculine gender norm conformity on heterosexist harassment and the various subtypes of gender harassment. In addition to testing how a variety of types of gender deviancy could be related to experiences of gender and heterosexist harassment, I also tested a set of competing hypotheses concerning whether women who deviate from both individual- and context-level gender norms suffer an exacerbating effect, or alternatively (when working in a male job-gender context), experience a buffering effect when it comes to experiencing gender and heterosexist harassment at work. I found some support for the exacerbating effect: women who deviated from feminine appearance norms *and* worked in male job-gender contexts experienced significantly more sexist harassment than other women.

Facets of Gender Harassment

It is important to note that the new facets of gender harassment identified in this project - *work/family policing* and *infantilization* – rely heavily on gender stereotypes, both descriptive and prescriptive. Descriptive stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics held by a particular group, whereas prescriptive stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics that a particular group *should* or *should not* hold (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 2001). We know that gender stereotypes can influence job interviews, hiring, and evaluations (e.g., Heilman, 2001; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999); the current study shows how stereotypes are also a foundation for on-the-job harassment. For example, stereotyped images of a “traditional woman” suggest that women are unsuitable for certain jobs due to their assumed family orientation (and resulting low productivity and dependability on the job) and/or innate incompetence; when manifested as hostile work behavior, this could yield mother-derogating and woman-infantilizing gender harassment. In addition, qualities that are commonly believed to be necessary for corporate success are stereotyped as exclusively male (e.g., Heilman et al., 1995; Martell et al., 1998). This can breed contempt for women who leave their “rightful place” at home to encroach on “men’s turf” at work – i.e., work/family policing. Studies 1 and 2 thus provide evidence that women may be targeted with harassment for conforming (or failing to conform) to prescriptive or descriptive gender stereotypes. Within the workplace, these behaviors diminish a woman’s ability to be taken seriously by suggesting that she does not belong.

The GEQ is not the first measure developed to assess gender harassment; other instruments already exist in the literature, and their content overlaps to some degree with the content domain that I have specified here. For example, the *sexist behavior* and *crude/offensive behavior* factors of the GEQ reflect the two subscales of gender harassment

assessed by the SEQ-DoD (Fitzgerald et al., 1999). Additionally, some previous research has identified *gender policing* as relevant to the discussion of gender harassment (see Konik & Cortina, 2008; Waldo et al., 1998). However, with the exception of the SEQ-DoD (which has two gender harassment subscales), most existing measures of gender harassment consist of few items and only one dimension, missing important facets of the construct domain.

I tested the construct validity of the GEQ by examining its relationship with theoretically meaningful variables. As expected, the GEQ scales correlated significantly with measures of heterosexist and sexual-advance harassment in the expected direction. This suggests that the constructs are related; however, the correlations were not large enough to indicate redundancy among these measures. Additionally, the scale is consistent with current understandings of gender harassment: “a broad range of verbal and nonverbal behaviors not aimed at sexual cooperation but that convey insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes about women” (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p. 430).

Gender Deviance and Harassment

Turning to Hypotheses 3, this dissertation tested whether deviation from individual-level types of gender deviance (masculine role conformity, masculine appearance, and minority sexual orientation) and context-level gender deviance (male-skewed workgroup) were related to gender harassment. Surprisingly, I found that when controlling for age, race, and other types of gender deviance, minority sexual orientation and masculine role conformity (as a global construct) were unrelated to any type of gender harassment.

One possible reason for these results is that, as Constantinople (1973), Spence (1984), and other researchers have noted, *masculinity* and *femininity* are incredibly complex and messy psychological concepts. While the results appear to contradict Berdahl’s (2007a)

finding that violation of feminine ideals relates to more frequent experiences of gender harassment, given the conceptual breadth that gender norms encompass, divergent results are not entirely surprising. Berdahl's (2007a) research provided the first systematic evidence for a relationship between women's adherence to masculine-typed personality traits (as defined by the Bem Sex Role Inventory; Bem, 1978) and sexual harassment. My research expands upon Berdahl's findings by demonstrating that different forms of gender deviance may elicit different responses.

Another possible explanation for the null results is the nature of the self-report measurement of gender nonconformity. Self-report data may not accurately capture how outside observers perceive the target. People generally have more nuanced perceptions of themselves than outsiders do; consequently, it could be that people have inaccurate perceptions of themselves with regard to how others may perceive their gender nonconformity. Future research could address this limitation by incorporating observer reports into the study. Alternatively, this limitation could be addressed in an experimental, laboratory setting where the focus is on the perpetration of gender and heterosexist harassment. The level of gender nonconformity of the potential target could be manipulated by the researchers and the participants would be put in a situation where engaging in harassment is a possibility.

A final possible explanation for the lack of significant results could lie within the actual items and subscales of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-46). Many of the roles assessed by the CMNI-46 are qualities that are beneficial to hold within a work setting (e.g., primacy of work; self-reliance). In fact, these are qualities outlined in Williams (1998) description of the "ideal worker." We see from the significant results that

women who deviate from gender norms in some ways (i.e., appearance) are targeted with more harassment. However, it could be that deviating from gender norms in ways that are particularly beneficial to the workplace does not trigger increased harassment. Instead, a measure that considers other types of masculine roles (ones that are not salient to the workplace) may be more relevant when considering who is targeted with gender and heterosexist harassment.

While conformity to masculine *roles* and minority sexual orientation were unrelated to experiences of gender harassment, masculine-typed *appearance* was related (again reinforcing the complexity of masculinity and femininity). Specifically, having a more masculine appearance (e.g., less feminine manner of dress, hairstyle, etc.) significantly predicted experiences of *sexist* harassment and *gender policing*. It also was significantly related to *work/family policing* (although the overall model was not significant).

This association of masculine appearance with sexist harassment and gender policing makes great sense. Appearance is one of the most visible markers of gender deviance. While appearance is arguably the easiest to modify (of these individual-level factors tested), we generally assume that core aspects of one's appearance remain relatively stable from day-to-day. It seems unlikely that, on a daily basis, one would modify her way of talking, walking, or dressing (for work) in a fundamental manner. Thus, it is likely that appearance is a salient factor that influences how people respond to an individual in the workplace.

Further, research has shown that when people have information about a single gender-related characteristic, they use that information to make assumptions about other gender-related characteristics (particularly sexual orientation) (Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Deaux & Lewis, 1984). Given that people often equate "homosexuality" with gender inversion

(e.g., Minton, 1986; Terry, 1999), masculine appearance may function as a marker by which people make assumptions about sexual orientation. Thus, a woman with a traditionally masculine appearance may be threatening to some people because she deviates from traditional feminine norms; however, her masculine appearance may also symbolize other forms of gender deviation, specifically minority sexual orientation. This is consistent with past research which found that straight people generally believe that lesbian women are like straight men, and gay men are like straight women (Kite & Deaux, 1987). Thus, it makes sense that masculine appearance was the strongest of the individual-level variables related to gender harassment, as it is the most visible of the variables assessed and could carry with it assumptions about other gender-related characteristics.

Although conformity to masculine roles (as a global scale) did not emerge as a significant predictor in any of the gender harassment analyses, given the variety of masculine norms included in the measure, I tested whether any individual subscales would emerge as a significant predictor. Contrary to my expectations, none of the subscales emerged as significant predictors of sexist, crude,⁷ infantilizing, or work/family policing harassment. However, two of the subscales were significantly related to gender policing harassment: heterosexual self-presentation and self-reliance. These relationships are particularly interesting given how psychologists, the law, and the general public have viewed sexual harassment (focusing on *unwanted sexual attention*). While research has recognized the hostile nature of sexual harassment, people often assume that those who sexually harass are motivated by sexual desire for their targets (Browne, 2006; Studd & Gattiker, 1991).

Berdahl (2007a) suggests that “if sexual harassment is motivated by sexual desire, then the

⁷ The “violence” subscale was significant; however, the overall model was not significant, thus it is not included as a significant finding.

most frequent targets of sexual harassment should be individuals who meet gender ideals” (p. 425). However, I found that women who violate traditional feminine norms by acting self-reliant or failing to go out of their way to appear heterosexual are actually the most at risk of experiencing gender policing. This supports Berdahl’s (2007) contention that sexual harassment is not rooted in sexual desire, but by desire to sanction gender deviance. Specifically, gender policing may function to punish women who deviate from these socially acceptable gender prescriptions.

While research on discrimination against sexual minorities has grown over the past few years, research exploring heterosexist harassment in tandem with other forms of gender-based harassment is still in its infancy. This dissertation is among the first to consider how deviation from gender norms (including minority sexual orientation) may predict experiences of heterosexist harassment. I found that after controlling for other forms of gender norm deviation, minority sexual orientation predicted experiencing heterosexist harassment. Masculine role conformity (as a global construct), masculine appearance, and workgroup gender composition were not significant predictors when considered collectively with sexual orientation (although correlations do suggest bivariate relationships between these variables and heterosexist harassment).

Similar to the gender harassment analyses described earlier, I tested the individual subscales of masculine role conformity as predictors of heterosexist harassment. The heterosexual self-presentation subscale emerged as a significant predictor of heterosexist harassment (despite the global construct being non-significant). This relationship makes sense given that this is the most appearance-oriented of the subscales (and masculine appearance was the strongest predictor of sexist harassment and gender policing). Women

who did not endorse a heterosexual self-presentation (i.e., going out of their way to make sure others knew they were not lesbians), were *more* likely to be targeted with heterosexual harassment. Considering that minority sexual orientation also predicted heterosexual harassment, it could be that when an individual fails to explicitly present herself as heterosexual (regardless of her sexual identity), she too is targeted with heterosexual harassment. This is consistent with research that suggests that heterosexism is a way of reinforcing strict gender roles (Kitzinger, 2001).

In Study 3, I also tested two sets of competing hypotheses. Specifically, I examined whether women who deviate from both individual-level and context-level feminine gender norms would suffer an exacerbating effect, or alternatively, would experience a buffering effect in the workplace. Between these competing hypotheses, the results lent more support to the exacerbating effect: women who conformed to masculine roles and worked in a male job-gender context experienced the most sexist harassment. This supports feminist arguments which suggest that this conduct is not about misguided attempts to draw women into sexual relationships; instead, it *rejects* women and attempts to drive them out of the workplace – particularly when they violate gender norms by adopting “male” roles and working in “male” jobs.

It is interesting to note that significant interactions did not emerge among the other variables. However, with regard to the interaction between sexual orientation and workgroup gender composition, it is understandable that there was no buffering effect. Within the contemporary workplace, regardless of the gender composition of the workgroup, minority sexual orientation is always deviant. Minority sexual orientation is stigmatized regardless of the context; thus, the absence of a buffering effect makes sense.

Methodological Strengths and Limitations

The categories generated by the subject matter experts in Study 1 contained one theme that was not reflected in any individual GEQ factor: harassment using digital media. Across occupational contexts, more work is being conducted using digital means of communication. Research indicates that women are not immune to gender harassment when communicating through digital media (Citron, 2009; Herring, 1999). However, in retrospect it seems logical that use of new technologies did not emerge as a subtype of gender harassment. Rather than being a qualitatively different *type* of behavior, it is a *mode* of behavior, or a vehicle through which the various forms of gender harassment can occur. One can imagine situations where any subtype of gender harassment measured by the GEQ could be perpetrated through digital means. Moreover, digital media continue to evolve, and computer-mediated communications change with each new technological development (e.g., Skype, Twitter, instant messaging). I therefore encourage future users of the GEQ (and SEQ) to adapt and create new items as needed, ensuring that it incorporates the full range of digital media possibilities.

The GEQ is a first attempt at expanding conceptualizations of gender harassment, and some aspects of the instrument would benefit from further development. One strength of this measure is that it was developed using a non-student sample of working women who came from a broad range of occupational sectors (including blue, white, and pink collar jobs). However, most of these women worked in professional occupations, either “white” or “pink” collar. Also, the sample was relatively educated (47% holding a graduate or professional degree). Future research should determine the applicability of this measure to the work lives

of “blue-collar” women, perhaps also adding items tailored to their unique employment context (e.g., the trades, law enforcement).

One aspect of the GEQ is both a limitation and strength: it focuses very specifically on gender harassment perpetrated by men against women. Research into sexual harassment perpetrated *against* men (e.g., Berdahl et al., 1996; Waldo et al., 1998) suggests that a measure of male-on-male gender harassment might look very different. Likewise, female-on-female gender harassment could take on unique forms. Future research should explore how the content of gender harassment is similar (or different) across different gender dyads.

Regardless of these limitations, the GEQ permits researchers to conduct more nuanced analyses using the facets of gender harassment. The GEQ can be used as a stand-alone tool, or in tandem with other items in the SEQ. Additionally, those interested in how gender harassment relates to other constructs can sum across the 18 items to create a global score.

The survey results in Study 2 and 3 are self-reported and cross-sectional. Because of this, common method variance could potentially explain some of the findings. However, surveys were designed to minimize some of these problems: gender harassment questions were asked at the end of the survey, so as not to influence prior answers.

Relying on quantitative survey data provided some disadvantages. Despite oversampling sexual minority women, the sample size did not permit more complex analyses across the experiences of lesbian, bisexual, queer, or differently identified women. In order to consider sexual orientation in the analyses, I dichotomized sexual orientation and collapsed across minority sexual identities. One possible way that future research could challenge these socially constructed categories is by integrating quantitative and qualitative

research, thus facilitating more nuanced analyses. Finally, workgroup gender ratio functioned as a proxy for job-gender context; however, proxies are imperfect and broader generalizations should be interpreted with caution.

Despite these limitations, there were a number of strengths to this survey. The sampling strategy used in for Studies 2 and 3 allowed us to recruit participants from diverse racial and sexual identities: groups often underrepresented in mainstream psychological research. Moreover, these data are based on “real” experiences in “real” organizations, as described by women who vary with respect to occupation, race, and sexual orientation. This attention to lived experiences, as well diversity and inclusive sampling, are additional features that make this research strong.

Future research should also examine the relationships between gender roles and harassment for individuals with multiple stigmatized identities. Recall that dominant femininity (Collins, 2004) mandates that women display particular traits, behaviors, and qualities of outward appearance. However, embedded in this femininity are assumptions of race, class, and sexual orientation. Dominant femininity does not incorporate deviations from white, upper-middle class, heterosexual identities, making adherence to feminine gender ideals less attainable for these women. Using an intersectional lens, it is essential to examine how conformity to gender norms may function differently in the workplace for professional women of color and white women. Cole and Zucker (2007) discuss how Black femininity differs from dominant femininity in that resilience, strength, and instrumentality are expected and rewarded in Black women. These expectations stand in stark contrast to those of dominant femininity. Future research needs to account for these differences rather than gloss over them. Aside from using the present data to conduct race-specific analyses,

results of those analyses must be interpreted using an intersectional framework.

Additionally, using the present dataset, additional research is necessary to explore how the relationship between conformity to gender norms, gender harassment, and heterosexist harassment may look different across race. Future research should consider including measures of gender conformity that account for the disparate gender expectations and stereotypes among women of color.

Also, future research on gender harassment should move beyond focusing on men's harassment of women to consider how gender harassment functions among women, and also within groups of men. Berdahl (2007b) proposed that sex-based harassment may be driven by the perpetrator's desire to maintain or enhance his or her social status within an organization. Her theory neutralizes gender-specific explanations of sexual harassment that understand it as a means of protecting male dominance. This theory suggests that both men and women may be motivated to engage in sex-based harassment by the same forces. However, how this manifests may look different when perpetrated within same-sex groups. More research to explore these complexities is necessary.

Finally, it is important to explore how sexual prejudice affects both heterosexual and sexual minority men within organizations. The studies detailed in this dissertation focused on women's experiences of gender and heterosexist harassment in the workplace; however, past research suggests that men's experiences of gender-based harassment may be qualitatively different from women's experiences (e.g., Waldo et al., 1998). Considering that harassment is typically defined from the target's perspective, it should not be assumed that the results from these studies would generalize to men. In fact, conducting qualitative

analyses of men's experiences of gender-based harassment could further refine our understanding of how gender stereotypes relate to gender and heterosexual harassment.

Conclusion

Gender harassment has routinely been underexplored within social science scholarship. One possible reason for this is the lack of a standardized, empirically validated measure. This dissertation aimed to address this gap with the development of the Gender Experiences Questionnaire, a tool that assesses different facets of male-on-female gender harassment in the workplace. In this dissertation, I mapped the content domain of gender harassment and developed a comprehensive assessment instrument. Using brain-storming and card-sorting techniques with Subject Matter Experts, I identified dimensions of gender harassment that had been absent from prior research. Though distinct, these dimensions shared a common feature in penalizing women for deviating from individual and occupational gender roles (consistent with Heilman's (1983) *lack of fit* model). These data informed the development of a multidimensional measure of gender harassment, which I submitted to principal components and confirmatory factor analysis. The result is a conceptually grounded, psychometrically rigorous Gender Experiences Questionnaire, which can advance our understanding of women's experiences of gender bias on the job. While gender harassment has been neglected in research, it has almost certainly gone unreported in organizations. The Gender Experiences Questionnaire may help scholars and practitioners understand the nuances of gender harassment within different employment contexts, working towards elimination of this behavior.

Finally, this dissertation sought to clarify how (non)conformity to gender norms relates to targets' experiences of gender harassment. Traditional feminine roles prescribe

domesticity, communality, and deference to men, and women face social sanctions when deviating from those role norms (e.g., Heilman, 2001). Extending this logic, I have argued that individual gender stereotypes interact with occupational gender stereotypes, such that expectations for women's behavior vary with the gender of the job context. I found that women who deviate from feminine norms in their appearance, sexual orientation, or job-gender context experience higher rates of different types of gender harassment. Also, using moderated regression and simple slopes analyses, I found that experiences of sexist harassment were moderated by job-gender context. Women who conformed to masculine roles and worked in a male-dominated environment experienced the highest rates of sexist gender harassment. This suggests that women are not protected by conforming to occupational gender stereotypes (i.e., conforming to masculine norms when working in a male dominated environment), but instead may be doubly punished for breaking both gender stereotypes and occupational stereotypes.

In closing, this dissertation makes novel contributions to the study of working women by illuminating the complexity of gender harassment in the workplace. Findings from this research can inform policy reforms and interventions in organizations. This research has important feminist implications. The arguments of feminist legal scholars inspired this project, as they have been instrumental in their analysis of the conceptualization of sex-based harassment being too narrow (e.g., Franke 2004; Hébert, 2005; Shultz, 2006). This dissertation produces empirical data to support those feminist arguments, which I hope will advance our understanding of the sexual harassment of working women.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Definitions and Real-Life Examples of Gender Harassment Provided During Item Generation

Definitions

“Gender harassment undermines, humiliates, or rejects a target on the basis of sex with sexual and sexist remarks, jokes, materials, or pranks” (Berdahl, 2007a, p. 426).

“[B]ehavior that derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual based on that individual’s sex” (Berdahl, 2007b, p. 641).

“[D]isparaging conduct not intended to elicit sexual cooperation; rather, these are verbal, physical, and symbolic behaviors that convey hostile and offensive attitudes about women” (Konik & Cortina, 2008, p. 314).

“[C]onduct, whether sexualized or not and whether directed at women in general or one woman in particular, that conveys hostile and degrading attitudes about women” (Bacharach, Bamberger, & McKinney, 2007, p. 233).

“[C]omments and behaviors that discriminate based on gender” (Woods, Buchanan & Settles, 2009, p. 67).

“[N]egative verbal and nonverbal behaviors that target an individual based on gender, such as statements that women are less intelligent than men or that they are not fit to do certain types of work” (Buchanan et al., 2008, p. 348).

“[U]nwanted behavior that conveys sexist attitudes about a person’s gender, such as calling a female coworker ‘babe’ or displaying suggestive materials or pornography” (Nelson, Halpert, & Cellar, 2007, p. 814).

“[D]erogatory and insulting remarks or behavior” (Lucero, Allen, & Middleton, 2006, p. 333).

“[C]onveys insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes about women” (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p. 430).

Crude behavior: “includes offensive verbal and nonverbal sexual behaviors, such as making sexual gestures or jokes” (Buchanan et al., 2008, p. 348).

Real-Life Examples

“One example includes an assertive female police officer and bodybuilder who was subjected to sexually explicit noises and materials and found vibrators, a urinal device, and a soiled condom and sanitary napkin in her mailbox at work” (Berdahl, 2007a, p. 426).

“[L]earn how to ‘walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear make-up, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry’ (p. 235)” (Berdahl, 2007a, p. 426).

APPENDIX B

Gender Harassment Categories Generated During Card-Sort with Subject Matter Experts

Categories for which we developed new items:

- Equation of women with children (infantilization)
 - Disparagement of women as “too emotional”
 - Disparagement of women as stupid/unable
 - Assumptions made about women’s physical ability or social roles (e.g., reproduction)
 - Beliefs that work is a man’s space
 - Disparagement for involvement with family/kids
 - Harassment using digital technology (e.g., emails, texts)
-

Categories already tapped by existing scales (no new items developed):

- Comments about physical appearance
 - Comments on a women’s sexual behavior/relations/history
 - Displays of sexist material in public
 - Displays of sexual material in public
 - “Too feminine” harassment
 - “Too masculine” harassment
 - Verbal jokes
 - Name-calling
-

Categories reflecting constructs other than gender harassment (no new items developed):

- Anti-gay comments
 - Sexual violence/coercion
 - Unwanted sexual attention
-

APPENDIX C
Gender Harassment Scale – Pilot Tested Items

Item	Adapted from	Hypothesized GH subtype
Displayed or distributed sexist materials?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Made sexist remarks about people of your gender?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Referred to people of your gender in insulting or offensive terms?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Made sexist remarks or jokes about women in your presence?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Treated you “differently” because of your gender (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you)?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Made sexist jokes in your presence?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Made offensive remarks or jokes about men in your presence?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Suggested that people of your gender are not suited for the kind of work you do?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Treated you like you were unable to do your job because of your gender?	SEQ	Gender derogation
Publicly addressed you as if you were a child (e.g., dear, kid, etc.)?	SEQ	Infantilizing
Talked to you as if you were a small child instead of speaking to you like an adult?	NEW	Infantilizing
Treated you as if you were stupid or incompetent?	NEW	Infantilizing
Referred to the workplace as a “man’s space” (e.g., women don’t belong here)?	NEW	Traditional roles/stereotypes
Suggested women are better suited for raising children than being in the workplace?	NEW	Traditional roles/stereotypes
Said employees who are mothers are less dependable than other employees?	NEW	Traditional roles/stereotypes
Said employees who are mothers are less productive than other employees?	NEW	Traditional roles/stereotypes
Suggested women belong at home, not in the workplace?	NEW	Traditional roles/stereotypes
Criticized you for not behaving “like a woman should”?	Gender Non-conformity harassment	Gender conformity harassment
Treated you negatively because you were not “feminine enough”?	Gender Non-conformity harassment	Gender conformity harassment
Questioned your femininity?	Gender Non-conformity harassment	Gender conformity harassment
Made you feel like you were less of a woman because you had traditionally masculine interests?	SHOM	Gender conformity harassment

APPENDIX C: Continued
Gender Harassment Scale – Pilot Tested Items

Item	Adapted from	Hypothesized GH subtype
Made unwanted attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either publicly or privately?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made offensive remarks about your appearance or body?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature that embarrassed or offended you?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made degrading sexual jokes in your presence?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made offensive remarks about your sexual activities?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Made offensive remarks about your real or presumed sexual history?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Displayed, distributed dirty pictures or stories (for example, nude pictures)?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Told you stories of their sexual exploits when you didn't want to hear them?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Sent offensive pornographic pictures to you over email, texting, or instant messaging?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Emailed, texted, or instant messaged offensive sexual jokes to you?	SEQ	Crude behavior
Said crude or gross sexual things in front of others or to you alone?	SEQ	Crude behavior

SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzerald et al., 1988; 1995)

SHOM = Sexual Harassment of Men (Waldo et al., 1998)

Gender Non-conformity harassment (Konik & Cortina, 2008)

APPENDIX D
Snapshot Survey: Web Survey

2010 Michigan Women Work Snapshot Survey

1. Please indicate your gender (open-end)
2. How many hours do you work per week? (open-end)
Not currently employed (thank and terminate)
3. Where are you employed?
Ingham County
Jackson County
Lenawee County
Livingston County
Macomb County
Monroe County
Oakland County
Washtenaw County
Wayne County
Other _____
4. How long have you worked at your present organization?
Less than 1 year
1 year or more
5. Approximately how many people are employed at your organization?
1
2-10
11-50
More than 50
6. What industry do you work in?
Accounting
Banking
Biotechnology
Construction
Education
Engineering
Healthcare
Human Resources
Legal
Marketing
Manufacturing
Restaurant/Food Service
Retail
Software Development
Technology (Web Development)
Other Business to Business Services
Other
7. What do you see as the biggest challenge facing working women? (open-end)

APPENDIX D: Continued
Snapshot Survey: Web Survey

Demographics

8. How would you describe your ethnicity? Please note that these categories are U.S. Census Bureau breakdowns. (check all that apply)
- American Indian and Alaskan Native
 - Asian
 - Black or African American
 - Caucasian
 - Hispanic/Latina
 - Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander
 - Other _____
9. Do you hold any of the following leadership positions at your job? (check all that apply)
- Owner (you personally own over 50% of controlling interest in your company)
 - Senior Executive
 - Executive
 - Manager
 - Supervisor
 - Other _____
 - None of the above

For Women Business Owners Only

10. How many years have you owned your business? (open-end)
11. What is your company's annual revenue?
- under \$100,000
 - \$100,000-\$250,000
 - \$250,001-\$500,000
 - \$500,001 or more
 - Don't know
12. What do you anticipate will be the biggest business challenge this year? (open-end)

For Everyone

Thank you for completing our survey. Your information is important for understanding the status of working women in Michigan. We're conducting an additional study of the unique rewards and challenges Michigan women face at work. As part of the larger Michigan Women Work initiative, would you be interested in completing a survey by mail?

- Yes
- No

Please provide a name and mailing address where you would like to receive the survey: This information will be kept completely confidential. Your name and address will not be attached to your survey responses. We will not sell or use your address for any other purposes.

Thank you.

APPENDIX E
Snapshot Survey: Online Introduction and Consent Form

**MICHIGAN WOMEN WORK (MWW)
SNAPSHOT SURVEY**

Dear Participant,

Your opinions matter! A team of researchers from the University of Michigan are gathering information about women working in Southeastern Michigan. We have developed a snapshot survey and look forward to your participation. Your input is very important to us.

The survey will take no more than 5 MINUTES to complete. If you agree to be part of the survey, you will be asked to provide basic information about your work. Your responses are very important to the success of this initiative, which will benefit residents of Southeastern Michigan.

Your answers will remain CONFIDENTIAL. No one at your organization or in the community will see your responses. There are occasional and infrequent reasons why people other than the researchers may need to see information you provide as part of the study. This includes organizations responsible for making sure the research is done safely and properly, including the University of Michigan or government offices. However, only combined data in the form of averages will be used in analyses, interpretation, reports, publications, or presentations. You will NEVER be identified in any report. The data you provide will be stored on password-protected computers that can only be accessed by members of the research team. The researchers will retain an electronic database of survey responses indefinitely for use in future research studies conducted by members of our lab. However, this database will not contain information that could identify you.

There are no known risks associated with this survey because its questions are not of a sensitive nature. Participating in this study is completely voluntary, and you may skip any question. Also, you may withdraw from the study by not completing it without any consequences. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB) at irbhsbs@umich.edu, (734) 936-0933, or 540 East Liberty, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. By answering the survey questions, you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this research and have your answers included (anonymously) in the results.

If you have any questions about this survey research, please contact the Michigan Women Work research team at mww2010@umich.edu or (734) 647-8014.

By taking a few minutes to share your experiences as a woman working in Michigan, you will be helping us a great deal.

Many Thanks,

Lilia Cortina, PhD
University of Michigan Department of Psychology

APPENDIX F
Recruitment Text for Emails and Social Networking Sites

Working Women—We Want Your Opinion

Please take 2-3 minutes to fill out this brief survey and tell us about yourself. A team of researchers at the University of Michigan has developed a short snapshot survey of working women in the region. Your input will allow us to create a base of knowledge about working women. The results will also be published for your review.

<<link to Snapshot Survey>>

Thank you for your time and input!

Lilia Cortina

APPENDIX G

Template Announcement for Social Networking Sites and Organizations' Websites

Working Women in Michigan - We Want Your Opinion!

Please take 2-3 minutes to fill out this brief survey and tell us about yourself and your work. A team of researchers at the University of Michigan has developed a short "snapshot" survey of working women in the region. Your input will allow us to create a base of knowledge about working women.

Go to: MichiganWomenWork.org

You will be able to view findings from this study on the website starting Fall 2010. Please feel free to contact me with any questions regarding the study at mww2010@umich.edu.

Thank you for your time and input!

Lilia Cortina, PhD
Associate Professor
University of Michigan

Tweet (Twitter post):

Working Women - We Want Your Opinion! Please take 2-3 minutes to fill out a survey and tell us about your work. MichiganWomenWork.org

APPENDIX H

Primary Survey: Introduction Letter

Dear Participant,

Thank you for volunteering to take part in the continuation of the Michigan Women Work Project. We appreciate your recent responses to the online snapshot survey. The enclosed survey is the next step of this research initiative. We hope that this survey experience is interesting for you!

As researchers from the University of Michigan Department of Psychology, we are assessing the experiences of women working in Southeast Michigan. If you agree to be part of the study, you will be asked about topics such as your organization's climate, your feelings about working there, and rewards you may have received and negative experiences you may have had at work. The survey also contains questions about more sensitive topics, such as your general attitudes and emotional states.

Your responses are very important to the success of this initiative. Your answers to this survey are completely ANONYMOUS, meaning they cannot be tied to you or your contact information in any way. To indicate your completion of this survey, please fill out the enclosed pre-stamped postcard and *mail it separately* from your survey. That way, we will know you have participated, but your name will not appear anywhere on the survey itself. There are occasional and infrequent reasons why people other than the researchers may need to see information you provide as part of the study. This includes organizations responsible for making sure the research is done safely and properly, including the University of Michigan or government offices. Remember though that your responses to the enclosed survey are anonymous. We plan to publish the results of this study, but no information will identify you.

We recognize that some of the questions in this survey are personal, and we want you to be confident that your privacy will be protected in multiple ways. The researchers will retain an electronic database of survey responses indefinitely for use in future research studies conducted by members of our lab. However, this database will not contain information that could identify you. This paper version of your survey will be destroyed through shredding upon entry in the electronic database.

A risk of discomfort may exist in answering some of the more sensitive questions in this survey (e.g., recalling negative experiences). However, participating in this study is completely voluntary, and you may skip any question. Also, you may withdraw from the study by not returning it without any consequences. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 540 East Liberty, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (734) 936-0933 [or toll-free, (866)936-0933], irbhsbs@umich.edu. We hope that you will complete the survey with your most thoughtful and honest answers, whatever these may be.

This survey may help identify aspects of women's work life that need greater attention, ultimately influencing positive change. To thank you for completing this survey, we will mail you \$10. By completing your survey, you can make a difference.

In order to indicate that you completed the survey (and to receive your \$10), please remember to fill out the enclosed pre-stamped postcard and *mail it separately* from your survey. Please note that this postcard confirming your participation will not be linked to your survey responses.

This survey will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. By returning it to the researchers, you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this research and have your answers included (anonymously) in the dataset. When you are finished completing the survey, please mail it to the researchers using the enclosed prepaid envelope. We would appreciate receiving your responses within 2 weeks.

If you have any questions about this survey now or at a later time, please contact the Michigan Women Work research team at mwv2010@umich.edu or (734) 647-8014.

By taking a few minutes to share your experiences as a woman working in Michigan, you will be helping us a great deal.

Many Thanks,

Lilia Cortina, PhD

Dana Kabat, MA

Emily Leskinen, MA, MSW

Lisa Marchiondo, MS

P.S. - We have enclosed a small token of appreciation - please enjoy a cup of coffee on us while you complete this survey.

APPENDIX I
Primary Survey: Postcard Text to Indicate Completion

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING!

In order to indicate that you completed the survey (and to avoid receiving reminder letters), please mail this postcard separately from your survey. Please note that this postcard confirming your participation will not be linked to your survey responses.

Name (as it appears on the survey envelope): _____

In return for your completed survey, we will mail you \$10.

Results will be available on the Michigan Women Work website, beginning Fall 2010!

Check here if you would like to receive a summary report of these results in the mail.

APPENDIX J

Primary Survey: Text for Reminder Postcard

MICHIGAN WOMEN WORK REMINDER

Dear Michigan Working Woman:

Recently, we sent you an invitation to complete the **Michigan Women Work Survey 2010**. If you have completed it already, we thank you. If not, we urge you to do so. The survey is part of an important initiative to understand the current work climate in Michigan from the perspectives of all women in the community.

As a further motivation to complete the survey, we will mail you \$10 upon receiving your survey. You will also have the option of receiving a Michigan Women Work summary report. If you complete the survey, you will not receive any further mailings about it.

If you did not receive a questionnaire, or if it was misplaced, please call us at 734-647-8014 and we will mail another one to you today. If you have questions about the survey, please contact us by phone or by email at mww2010@umich.edu.

Sincerely,

Lilia Cortina, PhD Dana Kabat, MA Emily Leskinen, MA, MSW Lisa Marchiondo, MS
The University of Michigan, Department of Psychology

APPENDIX K
Primary Survey: Replacement Letter

Dear Participant,

Thank you for volunteering to take part in the continuation of the Michigan Women Work Project. We appreciate your recent responses to the online snapshot survey. About a month ago, we sent a survey that is a continuation of this research initiative. We are writing again because your perspective is important to this research. This will be our last attempt to contact you. We hope that this survey experience is interesting for you!

As researchers from the University of Michigan Department of Psychology, we are assessing the experiences of women working in Southeast Michigan. If you agree to be part of the study, you will be asked about topics such as your organization's climate, your feelings about working there, and rewards you may have received and negative experiences you may have had at work. The survey also contains questions about more sensitive topics, such as your general attitudes and emotional states.

Your responses are very important to the success of this initiative. Your answers to this survey are completely ANONYMOUS, meaning they cannot be tied to you or your contact information in any way. There are occasional and infrequent reasons why people other than the researchers may need to see information you provide as part of the study. This includes organizations responsible for making sure the research is done safely and properly, including the University of Michigan or government offices. Remember though that your responses to the enclosed survey are anonymous. We plan to publish the results of this study, but no information will identify you.

We recognize that some of the questions in this survey are personal, and we want you to be confident that your privacy will be protected in multiple ways. The researchers will retain an electronic database of survey responses indefinitely for use in future research studies conducted by members of our lab. However, this database will not contain information that could identify you. This paper version of your survey will be destroyed through shredding upon entry in the electronic database.

A risk of discomfort may exist in answering some of the more sensitive questions in this survey (e.g., recalling negative experiences). However, participating in this study is completely voluntary, and you may skip any question. Also, you may withdraw from the study by not returning it without any consequences. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the University of Michigan Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 540 East Liberty, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104, (734) 936-0933 [or toll-free, (866)936-0933], irbhsbs@umich.edu. We hope that you will complete the survey with your most thoughtful and honest answers, whatever these may be.

This survey may help identify aspects of women's work life that need greater attention, ultimately influencing positive change. To thank you for completing this survey, we will mail you \$10. By completing your survey, you can make a difference.

This survey will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete. By returning it to the researchers, you indicate your voluntary agreement to participate in this research and have your answers included (anonymously) in the dataset. When you are finished completing the survey, please mail it to the researchers using the enclosed prepaid envelope. We would appreciate receiving your responses within 2 weeks.

If you have any questions about this survey now or at a later time, please contact the Michigan Women Work research team at mww2010@umich.edu or (734) 647-8014.

By taking a few minutes to share your experiences as a woman working in Michigan, you will be helping us a great deal.

Many Thanks,

Lilia Cortina, PhD

Dana Kabat, MA

Emily Leskinen, MA, MSW

Lisa Marchiondo, MS

APPENDIX L
Sexual Advance Harassment Items

❖ **Sexual Advance Harassment**

○ Fitzgerald et al., 1995; 1988

Adapted from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ):

Fitzgerald, L., Gelfand, M., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring sexual harassment: Theoretical and psychometric advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17(4), 425-445. doi:10.1207/s15324834basp1704_2.

Fitzgerald, L., Shullman, S., Bailey, N., & Richards, M. (1988). The incidence and dimensions of sexual harassment in academia and the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 32(2), 152-175. doi:10.1016/0001-8791(88)90012-7.

During the PAST YEAR, has anyone associated with your WORK (e.g., supervisors, coworkers, clients/customers, collaborators at other companies) done any of the following behaviors?

1.	Attempted to establish a romantic or sexual relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage it?	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Continued to ask you for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you said "No"?	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Stared or leered at you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Made you afraid that you would be treated poorly if you didn't cooperate sexually?	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Implied better treatment if you were sexually cooperative?	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX M
Heterosexist Harassment Items

❖ **Heterosexist Harassment**

○ Konik & Cortina (2008); Waldo (1999)

Adapted and expanded from the Heterosexist Harassment Scale:

Konik, J. & Cortina, L. M. (2008). Policing gender at work: Intersections of harassment based on sex and sexuality. *Social Justice Research*, 21(3), 313-337. doi:10.1007/s11211-008-0074-z

Waldo, C. R. (1999). Working in a majority context: A structural model of heterosexism as minority stress in the workplace. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 46(2), 218-232. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.46.2.218

During the PAST YEAR, has anyone associated with your WORK (e.g., supervisors, coworkers, clients/customers, collaborators at other companies) done any of the following behaviors?

1.	Made anti-gay remarks about you personally, regardless of your sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Gossiped about someone's sexual orientation at your workplace?	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Expressed opposition to gay marriage?	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Called someone a "dyke," "faggot," or "fence-sitter," or some similar slur in your presence?	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Called someone who was lesbian, gay, or bisexual "sick"?	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Expressed opposition to gays in the military?	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Told offensive jokes about lesbians, gays, or bisexual people in your presence?	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Made crude or offensive remarks about gay people?	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Expressed a negative opinion about a lesbian or gay celebrity or public figure?	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Referred to your sexuality as abnormal or perverted, regardless of your sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Made you afraid that you would be treated poorly if you were open about your sexual orientation?	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Called someone anti-gay names in your presence?	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Displayed or distributed anti-gay literature or materials?	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Used the phrase "That's so gay" to refer to something negative?	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Called you a "dyke," "faggot," or "fence-sitter," or some similar slur?	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX N

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory: Sample Items

This is a sample of items from the short form of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-46). It contains the directions given to persons completing the inventory, the format of the inventory, and some sample items.

❖ **Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-46)**

- Mahalik et al. (2003); Parent and Moradi (2009)

Mahalik, J., Locke, B., Ludlow, L., Diemer, M., Scott, R., Gottfried, M., et al. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory.

Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4(1), 3-25. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3.

Parent, M., & Moradi, B. (2009). Confirmatory factor analysis of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory and development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 10(3), 175-189. doi:10.1037/a0015481.

Think about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings, and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression with answering.

Subscale	Item				
<i>Winning</i>	1. In general, I will do anything to win	1	2	3	4
<i>Playboy</i>	2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners	1	2	3	4
<i>Violence</i>	3. I am disgusted by any kind of violence	1	2	3	4
<i>Power over women</i>	4. I love it when men are in charge of women	1	2	3	4
<i>Primacy of work</i>	5. My work is the most important part of my life	1	2	3	4
<i>Heterosexual self-presentation</i>	6. I try to avoid being perceived as gay	1	2	3	4
<i>Risk-taking</i>	7. I enjoy taking risks	1	2	3	4
<i>Self-reliance</i>	8. I hate asking for help	1	2	3	4
<i>Emotional control</i>	9. I tend to keep my feelings to myself	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX N
Physical Presentation of Gender Scale

❖ **Appearance**

- Moore (2006)

Moore, M. R. (2006). Lipstick or Timberlands? Meanings of gender presentation in black lesbian communities. *Signs*, 32(1), 113-139. doi:10.1086/505269

On a scale from one to seven, with “1” being a person whose PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES are “very masculine” and seen as stereotypically masculine, and “7” being a person whose physical attributes are “very feminine” or most like those stereotypically female, which number best represents YOUR OWN physical attributes?

Item								
1.	Your style of dress	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Your hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Your way of walking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Your way of talking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Your clothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Tables

Table 2.1

Items Excluded from Final Measure and Reasons for Exclusion

Item	Reasons for exclusion			
	Ambiguous meaning	Low inter-item correlation	Double loading	Low Communalities
Made crude and offensive remarks, either publicly or privately			X	
Made offensive remarks about your appearance or body			X	
Displayed or distributed sexist materials			X	
Treated you “differently” because of your gender (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you)	X			
Made offensive remarks about your sexual activities		X		
Displayed or distributed dirty pictures or stories (for example, nude pictures)			X	
Referred to the workplace as a “man’s space” (e.g., women don’t belong here)			X	
Criticized you for not behaving “like a woman should”			X	
Made offensive remarks about your real or presumed sexual history		X		
Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature that embarrassed or offended you			X	
Made degrading sexual jokes in your presence			X	
Sent offensive pornographic pictures to you over email, texting, or instant messaging		X		
Treated you like you were unable to do your job because of your gender			X	
Suggested people of your gender are not suited for the kind of work you do.				X

Table 2.2

Item Factor Loadings

Item	PCA					CFA				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Made sexist remarks about people of your gender.	.90	.06	-.05	-.03	.04	.92				
Referred to people of your gender in insulting or offensive terms	.89	-.01	.04	.00	-.02	.90				
Made sexist remarks or jokes about women in your presence.	.89	.07	-.08	-.02	.09	.87				
Made sexist jokes in your presence.	.87	.10	.08	-.05	-.13	.84				
Emailed, texted, or instant messaged offensive sexual jokes to you.	-.10	.79	-.01	-.10	.09		.48			
Said crude or gross sexual things in front of others or to you alone.	.06	.75	.07	.07	-.15		.85			
Made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters.	.05	.74	.08	.09	-.05		.64			
Told you stories of their sexual exploits when you didn't want to hear them.	.16	.61	-.11	.11	.08		.69			
Suggested women belong at home, not in the workplace.	-.15	.15	.89	-.08	.03			.71		
Suggested women are better suited for raising children than being in the workplace.	-.09	.25	.88	-.11	.00			.80		
Said employees who are mothers are less productive than other employees.	.18	-.22	.72	.15	-.03			.75		
Said employees who are mothers are less dependable than other employees.	.25	-.25	.67	.09	.06			.74		
Talked to you as if you were a small child instead of speaking to you like an adult.	-.11	.04	-.08	.98	-.02				.88	
Treated you as if you were stupid or incompetent.	-.01	.03	.03	.83	.02				.85	
Publicly addressed you as if you were a child (e.g., dear, kid, etc.).	.08	.06	.03	.71	.04				.82	
Treated you negatively because you were not "feminine enough."	.09	-.16	-.03	-.04	.90					.96
Questioned your femininity.	-.12	.01	.09	.10	.71					.82
Made you feel like you were less of a woman because you had traditionally masculine interests.	.00	.29	.01	-.04	.64					.85

Table 2.3

Intercorrelations among Gender Harassment (GH) Subscales and Validity Measures (full sample, N = 424)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. GH: Sexist behavior						
2. GH: Crude behavior	.61***					
3. GH: Work/family policing	.54***	.39***				
4. GH: Infantilizing	.53***	.42***	.49***			
5. GH: Gender policing	.43***	.44***	.39***	.35***		
6. Sexual-advance harassment	.43***	.47***	.32***	.33***	.33***	
7. Heterosexist harassment	.67***	.60***	.46***	.47***	.56***	.41***

*** $p < .001$

Table 3.1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Conformity to Masculine Roles Subscales

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Winning	2.32	0.57	--							
2. Emotional Control	2.21	0.64	.00	--						
3. Risk Taking	2.10	0.58	.28***	-.03	--					
4. Violence	2.04	0.66	.20***	.00	.06	--				
5. Power over Women	1.28	0.36	.13**	.03	.04	.07	--			
6. Playboy	1.68	0.64	.00	-.05	.19***	.20***	-.06	--		
7. Self-Reliance	2.13	0.66	.04	.34***	.06	.03	.07	.10*	--	
8. Primacy of Work	2.14	0.70	.29***	.11*	.16***	.01	.11*	.11*	-.08	--
9. Heterosexual Self-Presentation	1.90	0.79	.11*	.10*	-.15**	-.06	.33***	-.26***	.04	.06

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

Table 3.2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among the Study Variables

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Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Age	40.77	10.29	--											
2. Race	1.45	0.50	-.06	--										
3. Workgroup Gender Composition	4.39	1.25	.07	.20***	--									
4. Masculine Gender Role Conformity	2.01	0.26	-.10*	.12*	-.01	--								
5. Appearance	5.29	1.01	-.01	.28***	.09	.02	--							
6. Sexual Orientation	0.17	0.37	.00	.26***	.08	-.10*	-.39***	--						
7. Gender Harassment - Overall	1.38	0.47	-.09	-.10*	-.11*	-.06	.20***	.10*	--					
8. Sexist	1.58	0.84	-.10*	-.18***	-.18***	.04	-.23***	.14**	.87***	--				
9. Crude	1.23	0.45	-.03	-.03	-.07	.09	-.09	.07	.73***	.61***	--			
10. Gender Policing	1.10	0.35	-.03	-.10*	-.02	.03	-.28***	.15**	.59***	.43***	.44***	--		
11. Infantilization	1.72	0.89	-.09	-.02	-.01	.02	-.09	.05	.78***	.53***	.42***	.35***	--	
12. Work/Family Policing	1.29	0.54	-.03	-.03	-.07	.05	-.10*	-.01	.75***	.54***	.39***	.39***	.49***	--
13. Heterosexist Harassment	1.23	0.38	-.03	-.14**	-.01	.03	-.17***	.22***	.72***	.67***	.60***	.56***	.47***	.46***

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

Table 3.3

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Sexist Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Sexist Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.01	.00	-.12*	.05***	
Race	-.31	.08	-.19***		
Step 2					
Masculine Role Conformity	.13	.15	.04	.12***	.07***
Appearance	-.14	.04	-.17**		
Workgroup Gender Composition	-.13	.03	-.18***		
Sexual Orientation	.19	.12	.09		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	.05	.03	.07	.14***	.02 ⁺
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	-.29	.12	-.11*		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	.10	.10	.06		

Note. (N = 410) ⁺p < .10, *p < .05, ***p < .001

Table 3.4

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Crude Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Crude Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.04	.00	
Race	-.02	.05	-.03		
Step 2					
Masculine Role Conformity	.15	.09	.09 ⁺	.03 ⁺	.03*
Appearance	-.03	.02	-.07		
Workgroup Gender Composition	-.03	.02	-.09 ⁺		
Sexual Orientation	.09	.07	.07		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	.01	.02	.02	.04 ⁺	.01
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	-.12	.07	-.08		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	-.04	.06	-.04		

Note. (N = 410) ⁺p < .10, *p < .05

Table 3.5

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Infantilizing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Infantilizing Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.01	.00	-.08 ⁺	.01	
Race	-.06	.09	-.04		
Step 2					
Masculine Role Conformity	.01	.17	.00	.02	.01
Appearance	-.09	.05	-.11 ⁺		
Workgroup Gender Composition	.01	.04	.01		
Sexual Orientation	.04	.13	.02		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	.04	.04	.05	.02	.00
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	-.07	.14	-.03		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	.06	.11	.03		

Note. (N = 410) ⁺p < .10, *p < .05

Table 3.6

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Gender Policing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Gender Policing Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.03	.01	
Race	-.07	.04	-.10 ⁺		
Step 2					
Masculine Role Conformity	.05	.07	.04	.09***	.08***
Appearance	-.09	.02	-.26***		
Workgroup Gender Composition	.00	.02	.01		
Sexual Orientation	.05	.05	.05		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	-.02	.02	-.06	.09***	.01
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	.03	.06	.03		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	.02	.04	.02		

Note. (N = 409) ⁺p < .10, ***p < .001

Table 3.7

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Work/Family Policing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Work/Family Policing Harassment</i>				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.05	.00	
Race	-.04	.05	-.04		
Step 2					
Gender Role Conformity	.08	.10	.04	.02	.02
Appearance	-.06	.03	-.11*		
Workgroup Gender Composition	-.03	.02	-.08		
Sexual Orientation	-.05	.08	-.04		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	-.01	.02	-.03	.03	.01
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	-.12	.09	-.07		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	.07	.07	.06		

Note. ($N = 409$) * $p < .05$

Table 3.8

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Sexist Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Sexist Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.01	.00	-.11*	.05***	
Race	-.32	.08	-.19***		
Step 2					
Winning	.06	.08	.04	.08***	.03
Emotional Control	.04	.07	.03		
Risk-taking	.03	.08	.02		
Violence	.11	.07	.08		
Power over Women	-.02	.12	-.01		
Playboy	.09	.07	.07		
Self-reliance	.03	.07	.03		
Primacy of Work	-.10	.06	.08		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	.07	.06	-.06		

Note. (N = 409) * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3.9

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Crude Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Crude Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.03	.00	
Race	-.03	.05	-.04		
Step 2					
Winning	-.03	.04	-.04	.04	.04 ⁺
Emotional Control	.02	.04	.03		
Risk-taking	-.01	.04	-.01		
Violence	.08	.04	.12*		
Power over Women	.05	.07	.04		
Playboy	.05	.04	.07		
Self-reliance	.07	.04	.10 ⁺		
Primacy of Work	-.01	.03	-.02		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	-.02	.03	-.03		

Note. (N = 409) * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3.10

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Infantilizing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Infantilizing Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	-.01	.00	-.08 ⁺	.01	
Race	-.07	.09	-.04		
Step 2					
Winning	-.08	.09	-.05	.04	.03
Emotional Control	.03	.07	.02		
Risk-taking	-.01	.08	.00		
Violence	.11	.07	.08		
Power over Women	-.05	.13	-.02		
Playboy	.11	.07	.08		
Self-reliance	.07	.07	.05		
Primacy of Work	-.12	.07	-.10 ⁺		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	-.02	.06	-.02		

Note. (N = 409) ⁺p < .10

Table 3.11

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Gender Policing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Gender Policing Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.02	.01	
Race	-.07	.04	-.10 ⁺		
Step 2					
Winning	-.02	.04	-.04	.05*	.04 ⁺
Emotional Control	.03	.03	.05		
Risk-taking	.02	.03	.03		
Violence	.00	.03	.00		
Power over Women	.07	.05	.07		
Playboy	.03	.03	.05		
Self-reliance	.06	.03	.11*		
Primacy of Work	-.02	.03	-.03		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	-.05	.03	-.12*		

Note. (N = 408) ⁺p < .10, *p < .05

Table 3.12

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Work/Family Policing Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Work/Family Policing Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.03	.00	
Race	-.05	.06	-.05		
Step 2					
Winning	.10	.05	.11 ⁺	.02	.02
Emotional Control	.06	.05	.07		
Risk-taking	-.05	.05	-.05		
Violence	.01	.04	.01		
Power over Women	-.04	.08	-.03		
Playboy	.04	.05	.04		
Self-reliance	.02	.05	.03		
Primacy of Work	-.04	.04	-.05		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	-.03	.04	-.04		

Note. (N = 408) ⁺p < .10

Table 3.13

Regression Analyses Summary for Appearance, Workgroup Gender Composition, Masculine Role Conformity, and Sexual Orientation Predicting Heterosexist Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Heterosexist Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.04	.02*	
Race	-.11	.04	-.14**		
Step 2					
Masculine Role Conformity	.07	.07	.05	.07***	.05***
Appearance	-.03	.02	-.09		
Workgroup Gender Composition	.00	.02	.00		
Sexual Orientation	.18	.06	.18***		
Step 3					
Workgroup Gender Composition x Appearance	.00	.02	-.01	.07***	.00
Workgroup Gender Composition x Masculine Gender Role Conformity	-.02	.06	-.02		
Workgroup Gender Composition x Sexual Orientation	.01	.05	.01		

Note. (N = 409) * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 3.14

Regression Analyses Summary for Facets of Masculine Norms Predicting Heterosexist Harassment

<i>Model</i>	<i>Heterosexist Harassment</i>				
	B	SE B	β	R ²	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Age	.00	.00	-.03	.02*	
Race	-.11	.04	-.15**		
Step 2					
Winning	.01	.04	.01	.07**	.05*
Emotional Control	.03	.03	.05		
Risk-taking	.00	.04	.00		
Violence	.05	.03	.08		
Power over Women	.01	.06	.01		
Playboy	.04	.03	.07		
Self-reliance	.05	.03	.08		
Primacy of Work	-.05	.03	-.09 ⁺		
Heterosexual Self-Presentation	-.05	.03	-.11*		

Note. (N = 408) ⁺p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01

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