

Gendered measures, gendered models: toward an intersectional analysis of interpersonal racial discrimination

Catherine E. Harnois and Mosi Ifatunji

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Abstract

In this paper we draw from black and multiracial feminist theories to argue that interpersonal racial discrimination should be understood as a potentially gendered phenomenon. While there are some discriminatory practices that are directed at both black men and black women, some forms of racial discrimination affect men more than women, and some affect women more than men. Still other forms may be gender-specific. Our review of existing literature shows that most survey research has utilized measures and models of racial discrimination that fail to account for these gender differences. Drawing on the 2001–2003 National Survey of American Life (NSAL) we demonstrate the importance of gender for understanding and analysing interpersonal racial discrimination. We offer concrete ways for social researchers to centralize gender in their analyses. By doing so, we hope to advance the development of an intersectional approach to racial discrimination.

Keywords: Racial discrimination; gender; intersectionality; United States; survey data; feminism.

We know that there is such a thing as racial-sexual oppression that is neither solely racial nor solely sexual, e.g., the history of rape of black women by white men as a weapon of political repression.

Combahee River Collective ([1977] 1981, p. 213)

[M]any of the experiences Black women face are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as these boundaries are currently understood ... [T]he intersection of

racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately.

Kimberle Crenshaw (1991, p. 1244)

More than thirty years ago three members of the Combahee River Collective, Barbara Smith, Beverly Smith and Demita Frazier, wrote a 'Black Feminist Statement' in which they described the origins of and the continued need for black feminism. They wrote:

The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task *the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking*. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. ([1977] 1983, p. 210, italics added for emphasis)

The Collective's description of interlocking systems of oppression provided the foundation for intersectional theories that developed over the next three decades. Works such as Moraga and Anzaldúa's *This Bridge Called My Back* (1981), Lorde's *Sister/Outsider* (1984), and Hill Collins's *Black Feminist Thought* (2000) called attention to the ways in which race, gender, class, and sexuality worked together to produce structures of oppression and opportunity. While earlier scholarship had theorized one 'foundational' system of oppression (whether that be class, gender, or race), black and multiracial feminists argued that 'oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type', because systems of oppression are neither produced, nor experienced independently (Hill Collins 2000, p. 18).

Despite the increasing acceptance of 'intersectional' paradigms in qualitative studies of racial discrimination (e.g. St Jean and Feagin 1998; Browne and Kennelly 1999; Harvey Wingfield 2007; Timberlake and Estes 2007), quantitative research on racial discrimination remains relatively unaffected.¹ The majority of survey research continues to rely on measures and models of racial discrimination that fail to account for the unique experiences of men and women (e.g. Forman, Williams and Jackson 1997; Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu 2000; Sellers and Shelton 2003; National Research Council 2004; Roscigno 2007). In this article we explore the implications of intersectionality for survey research on racial discrimination. Though a truly intersectional approach would incorporate multiple intersecting hierarchies, as a starting point, we focus on the intersection of race with gender.

Building on multiracial feminist theories, we offer a theoretical framework to understand interpersonal racial discrimination as a

gendered phenomenon. The intersectional framework we propose suggests that, while there are some discriminatory practices that are directed at both black men and black women, some forms of racial discrimination will affect men more than women, and some will affect women more than men. Still other forms may be gender-specific. An intersectional approach to survey research, we suggest, should utilize both measures and models of racial discrimination that account for these (and other) potential differences.

Using this intersectional framework as our guide, we review the dominant survey instruments available for assessing interpersonal racial discrimination. We find that few take gender differences into account. Following this broad review, we take a closer look at one recent survey – the National Survey of American Life – and assess the extent to which its measures reflect an intersectional understanding of racial discrimination. In our final analysis, we offer one approach for analysing existing survey data from an intersectional perspective. A truly intersectional approach to survey research on racial discrimination will require the development of new survey instruments – instruments in which differences of gender, class and sexuality are made explicit. By documenting the importance of gender for understanding and analysing racial discrimination, we believe this article represents an important first step in the development of an intersectional approach.

Background

Intersectionality and racial discrimination

One of the central claims of multiracial feminist theory is that all individuals occupy multiple social statuses, and that these statuses work together to shape the experiences of all individuals (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). Hill Collins illustrates this point well in her discussion of controlling images – those patterned, systemic images, ‘designed’ to make systems of inequality appear to be ‘natural, normal and inevitable parts of everyday life’ (2000, p. 69). While controlling images fuel racial prejudices and justify discrimination against both black men and black women, this racial imagery is oftentimes deeply gendered. Black men must contend with stereotypes such as the lower-class, hyper-sexual ‘thug’ and the de-sexualized upper-middle-class ‘black buddy’, while black women face stereotypes of mammies, matriarchs, jezebels and welfare queens (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009; hooks 1992; Kelley 1995; Hill Collins 2004). Importantly for Hill Collins, controlling images are not simply racial stereotypes; they are simultaneously racialized, gendered, classed, and sexualized.

A number of recent studies lend empirical support for the idea of gendered-racial stereotypes. Timberlake and Estes (2007), for example, explored whether particular racial and ethnic stereotypes depended upon the gender of the target, and found that some racial stereotypes were indeed gender-specific. Using data from the 1992–1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, they found that ‘whites rated black men significantly lower than black women on the criminality stereotype’, and that black women were thought to be less self-sufficient (i.e. more dependent on social welfare) than were black men (2007, p. 417). Shih (2002) investigated racial and ethnic stereotypes held by employers in the Los Angeles area and found that their stereotypes of potential employees were similarly gendered: black women were often stereotyped as ‘single mothers or as “matriarchs”’, and black men were stereotyped as being more hostile and angry (2002, p. 111). Finally, in their research on racial identity among African American and white Americans, Dottolo and Stewart (2008) found that more than half of their respondents (twenty-three out of thirty-eight) brought up issues of racial discrimination when asked questions about their own racial identity. Nine of these respondents (four men, five women) specifically invoked issues of mistreatment or racial profiling by police, and, remarkably, each of these nine respondents invoked a *man* as the victim of the mistreatment. The authors conclude about their respondents, ‘their accounts of racial discrimination by the police focused on one particular form of raced classed masculinity – that associated with a public discourse that represents poor Black men as dangerous and criminal’ (2008, p. 354).

While some stereotypes of African Americans might be applied equally to black men and black women (for example, Timberlake and Estes (2007) find that stereotypes concerning intelligence are applied similarly to men and women), multiracial feminism underscores the importance of considering how particular racial and ethnic stereotypes *may* be gendered. An intersectional analysis of racial discrimination requires us to address the possibility of gendered racial stereotypes in our research.

A second insight offered by multiracial feminist theory concerns the ‘double jeopardy’ (Beal 1970) that black women face in a society marked by both racism and sexism. In general, previous research on racial discrimination has understood discrimination as ‘differential treatment on the basis of race that disadvantages a racial group’ or ‘treatment on the basis of inadequately justified factors other than race that disadvantages a racial group’ (National Research Council 2004, cited in Quillian 2006, p. 300). In both instances, the reference group is assumed to be whites, or racially privileged groups more generally. While this approach to racial discrimination is no doubt useful, our intersectional approach asks us to consider gender-specific reference

groups as well. In a society organized by intersecting hierarchies of race and gender, it is not possible to capture the full range of black women's mistreatment without comparing their experiences to those of racially privileged women.²

Thornton Dill's (1988) analysis of women's reproductive labour in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America makes this point well. She explains that, in centuries past, white women suffered as a result of being 'confined to reproductive labor within the domestic sphere'. However, these same women were simultaneously 'protected through public forms of patriarchy that acknowledged and supported their family roles of wives, mothers, and daughters because they were vital instruments for building American society' (Thornton Dill 1988, p. 415). In contrast, 'racial-ethnic' women, like racial-ethnic men, were 'treated primarily as individual units of labor rather than as members of family groups'. The protections extended to white women were systematically denied to racial-ethnic women, by means of state and economic policies and a culture of racism.

Thornton Dill's work demonstrates the importance of using gender-specific reference groups to understand discrimination against minority women. A single-oppression framework that focuses on racial inequality highlights some important aspects of racism: low wages paid to racial-ethnic women and men, abusive labour practices, and dehumanization. Thornton Dill's intersectional analysis incorporates an additional dimension: the systematic denial of the protections and privileges associated with femininity to racial-ethnic minority women. She writes,

In the reproductive sphere ... [racial-ethnic women] were denied the opportunity to embrace the dominant ideological definition of 'good' wife or mother. In essence, they were faced with a double-bind situation, one that required their participation in the labor force to sustain family life but damned them as women, wives, and mothers because they did not confine their labor to home. (Thornton Dill 1988, p. 429)

However problematic they may be, our patriarchal society extends some 'kindnesses' to privileged women (e.g. treating women chivalrously; putting a high value on women's parenting). When these acts of 'benevolent sexism' (Glick and Fiske 1996) are systematically denied to racial minority women (and sexual minority women, and working-class women), the consequences are potentially even more damaging. An intersectional analysis of racial discrimination thus requires us to consider both dimensions of black women's mistreatment in our analyses. Doing so requires us to consider how black women are

treated relative to at least two reference groups: white people generally, and white women in particular.

In addition to considering gendered-racial stereotypes and gender-specific reference groups, multiracial feminist theory also encourages us to consider the social-spatial contexts that black men and black women move through. Feagin (1991, p. 102) has argued that 'there is a spatial dimension to discrimination' and that the probability of encountering racial discrimination depends in part upon the environment one is in (see also Feagin and Eckberg 1980; Roscigno 2007). Our intersectional framework takes this idea one step further, emphasizing that the particular spaces that one moves through on a day-to-day basis are largely determined by intersecting hierarchies of race, gender, class and sexuality. Though black men and black women move through a number of shared spaces, black men are more likely to move through some social spaces (e.g. the criminal justice system, the military, male-dominated occupations) than are black women, and black women are more likely to move through some other social spaces (e.g. social welfare offices, domestic settings, participation with children's schools and healthcare) than are black men.³ These different contexts help shape the likelihood that an individual will encounter discrimination, as well as the specific forms that discrimination may take. Our intersectional approach suggests that, if we are to better understand men's and women's experiences with racial discrimination, our measures should address the varying contexts in which men and women experience discrimination.

Theories of intersectionality thus underscore the importance of gender for understanding and analysing interpersonal racial discrimination. Understanding the diverse contexts in which men and women experience discrimination, the gendered controlling images that drive racial discrimination, and the racialized gender hierarchies that shape men's and women's experiences, are all key to understanding and researching interpersonal racial discrimination. When we consider previous survey research on racial discrimination from an intersectional perspective, the limitations (and prevalence) of the single-oppression framework become clear.

Intersectionality and survey research

The overwhelming majority of quantitative research on racial discrimination fails to consider the unique ways in which black men and black women experience discrimination.⁴ Studies by Sanders-Thompson (1996), Landrine and Klonoff (1996), Forman, Williams and Jackson (1997), for example, include no discussion of how racial discrimination might be gendered and rely on seemingly 'gender-neutral' measures of discrimination, such as that involving employment,

housing, and the police. McNeilly et al.'s (1996) Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) involves four domains of racial discrimination (racism on the job, racism in academic settings, in public settings, and exposure to racist statements) and three dimensions of racial discrimination (time, type, and response), but of the forty-two items in their scale, only four imply that black men and black women might experience discrimination differently: 'I have known black men who have suffered ...'; '[I have heard people say that] black men have an animal-like passion in bed ...'; '[I have heard] white males talk about not desiring black women for "serious" relationships versus those with white women'; and '[I have heard people say that] most blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy ...'

Utsey and Ponterotto's (1996) Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) similarly includes a total of forty-six items, but of these only four hint at gender differences: 'You have heard reports of white people/non-blacks who have committed crimes, and in an effort to cover up their deeds falsely reported that a black man was responsible for the crime'; 'You have heard it suggested that black men have an uncontrollable desire to possess a white women'; 'You have observed that white kids who commit violent crimes are portrayed as "boys being boys", while black kids who commit similar crimes are wild animals'; and 'You notice that the media plays up those stories that cast blacks in negative ways (child abusers, rapists, muggers etc. [or as savages] Wild Man of 96th Street, Wolf pack, etc.), usually accompanied by a large picture of a black person looking angry or disturbed.' Revealingly, all four of these items invoke specific images of black men, and not women.

Of the eighty-eight items that measure racial discrimination in the IRRS and the PRS, only eight items hint at gender differences. Moreover, only two – 'White males talk about not desiring black women for "serious" relationships versus those with white women' and 'Most blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy ...' – hint at black women's unique experiences with racial discrimination. To our knowledge, no previous study has investigated the possibility of gender bias in our measures and models of interpersonal racial discrimination.

In what follows, we use quantitative analyses of survey data to explore further the importance of gender for understanding racial discrimination. Our analysis focuses on data from the 2001–2003 National Survey of American Life (NSAL), which includes multiple measures of 'major-life' and 'everyday' discrimination (Forman, Williams and Jackson 1997; Kessler, Mickelson and Williams 1999). We ask, 'Do the survey items available in the NSAL reflect an intersectional understanding of racial discrimination?' and 'How might an intersectional framework improve our analyses of interpersonal racial discrimination?' While previous studies have assumed that measures and models of discrimination work equally for both men

and women, our intersectional framework leads us to question this assumption.

In particular, we hypothesize that the measures of racial discrimination included in the NSAL will not prod for gendered experiences with discrimination. As in other surveys, we expect to see measures of discrimination presented as being ‘gender-neutral’. Nevertheless, we have argued that racial discrimination is frequently a gendered phenomenon, and we hypothesize that an intersectional approach to *modelling* racial discrimination will result in significantly improved model fit. Finally, because in our society men’s experiences are frequently understood to be gender-neutral, we hypothesize that the measures of discrimination found in the NSAL will, as a whole, explain a greater proportion of black men’s mistreatment than they will black women’s. We conclude by suggesting concrete ways in which future research might employ an intersectional approach to racial discrimination.

Data and measures

Data

Our data come from the 2001–2003 National Survey of American Life: Coping with Stress in the 21st Century (NSAL), a national project which aimed to ‘gather data about the physical, emotional, mental, structural, and economic conditions of black Americans at the beginning of the new century’ (Institute for Social Research 2009). The NSAL conducted face-to-face interviews with 3,570 African Americans aged 18 or older living in ‘urban and rural centers of the country where significant numbers of black Americans reside’.⁵ The NSAL is ideally suited to this project, as it is the only recent survey that provides a national oversample of African Americans, contains data from many geographic regions, and includes multiple measures of ‘major-life’ and ‘everyday’ discrimination. The NSAL uses many of the same measures of discrimination as are used in the 1995 Detroit Area Study (DAS), and like the DAS, the NSAL allows respondents to attribute particular instances of ‘major-life’ discrimination to a number of factors including one’s race, ethnicity, age, or gender. Our sample includes those African American respondents who provided complete data to all of the questions concerning major-life and everyday discrimination (2,068 women and 1,118 men).

Measures

In this study, we focus our analysis on the gendered nature of ‘major-life’ interpersonal discrimination. Major-life discrimination refers to

experiences in which an individual encounters restrictions in mobility as a result of discrimination. In the NSAL, major-life discrimination is assessed with nine event-specific questions: 'For unfair reasons, have you ever not been hired for a job?', 'Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion?', 'At any time in your life, have you ever been unfairly fired?', 'Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?', 'Have you ever moved into a neighborhood where neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?', 'Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?', 'Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?', 'Have you been unfairly denied a bank loan?' and 'Have you ever received service from someone such as a plumber or car mechanic that was worse than what other people get?'

Respondents answered each of these questions either 'yes' or 'no'. After each of the above questions, respondents were asked a follow-up question: 'What do you think was the main reason for this experience?' If respondents attributed their mistreatment to their 'shade or skin color', race or ancestry, they were coded '1' for having experienced racial discrimination. Respondents were coded 0 if they (1) reported not having experienced a particular type of mistreatment, (2) attributed this mistreatment to something else (e.g. their gender, age, weight, medical condition, sexual orientation, income), or (3) were unsure of the cause of their mistreatment.

In addition to major-life discrimination, we also include a more limited analysis of 'everyday' discrimination. The concept of everyday discrimination is meant to reflect 'the integration of racism into everyday situations through practices that activate underlying power relations' (Essed 1991, p. 50). In contrast to major-life discrimination, everyday discrimination encompasses the racial discrimination that African Americans face in day-to-day life. It is assessed with ten questions: 'In your day-to-day life how often have any of the following things happened to you? ... you are treated with less courtesy than other people', '... you are treated with less respect than other people', '... you receive poor service compared with other people at restaurants or stores', '... people act as if they think you are not smart', '... people act as if they are afraid of you', '... people act as if they think you are dishonest', '... people act as if they're better than you are', '... you are called names or insulted', '... you are threatened or harassed', and '... you are followed around in stores'. Items that tap everyday discrimination are coded into six categories, where 1 represents not having experienced a particular type of discrimination, and 6 indicates having experienced this mistreatment 'almost every day'. Our analysis of everyday discrimination benefits from information concerning the

frequency of mistreatment, but is simultaneously limited by the lack of information concerning the perceived cause of the respondent's mistreatment.

Before proceeding with our analysis, we note that our measures of both everyday and major-life discrimination are limited in that they rely exclusively on respondents' perceptions of discrimination. Previous research has documented a complex relationship among perceptions of discrimination, reports of discrimination, and experiences of discrimination (Essed 1991; Feagin and Sikes 1994), and it may be that this relationship is itself influenced by gender. While these limitations do not affect our assessment of content validity in the NSAL questions concerning discrimination, they are important to keep in mind when comparing gender differences in reports of discrimination.

Analytic strategy

We begin our analysis of discrimination by investigating the content validity of the survey items described above, and by comparing men's and women's responses to these survey questions. We then use the statistical program MPlus to perform multiple group confirmatory factor analyses on the measures of major-life racial discrimination. By comparing the relationship among multiple observed variables, multiple group analysis allows us to determine whether it is reasonable to use the same measurement instrument for people in different groups (i.e. black men and black women). Most existing survey research on discrimination relies on a model of discrimination which assumes the measurement tool – an index variable, for example – is not biased with respect to gender. Our multivariate analysis begins with this assumption; the first model assumes no gender differences in the measurement tool for interpersonal racial discrimination. We then progressively free individual parameters in order to determine whether freeing the assumptions of invariance significantly improves the model fit. Finally, we compare the R^2 of the final model for men and women, in order to determine whether the measures of major-life discrimination used in the NSAL explain a greater proportion of black men's mistreatment than they do black women's.

Results

Do survey items reflect an intersectional perspective?

Table 1 displays the percentage of black men and black women who report having experienced particular forms of major-life racial discrimination. Strikingly, for each of the nine measures, the percentage

of men who report having experienced discrimination is higher than the corresponding percentage of women. The proportion of men who report having been unfairly denied a promotion because of their race or ethnicity is roughly twice the proportion of women who report having had this experience. Even more strikingly, the proportion of black men who report having been unfairly stopped by the police (again because of their race) is more than three times greater than the corresponding proportion of black women. Men (though importantly, not women) are more likely to report this kind of racial discrimination than they are any of the other kinds of major-life discrimination. We conducted t-tests to assess the significance of the gender differences for each of the variables and found that, for six of the nine measures of 'major-life' racial discrimination, the percentage of men who report having experienced particular forms of discrimination is significantly higher than the corresponding percentage of women. The χ^2 -tests also indicate that the distribution of responses for six of the nine items is significantly different for men and women.

As shown in Table 2, this same pattern holds true for everyday discrimination. Table 2 displays the mean values for men's and women's experiences with 'everyday' discrimination, where higher values indicate experiencing discrimination more frequently. Again, the mean values for men are higher than the mean values for women on each of the ten items. We conducted t-tests to determine whether these differences were statistically significant, and found significance at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level for eight of the ten items. As in Table 1, Table 2 includes χ^2 -tests, which assess whether the distribution of responses differs for men and women. We found significant differences at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level for seven of the ten items. The χ^2 -tests suggest that, for the majority of the items, the distribution of responses differs significantly for men and women. The t-tests show that on none of the discrimination items included in the NSAL do women as a group score higher than men.

Without an intersectional framework, scholars might be tempted to conclude that black men simply experience more discrimination than do black women. The intersectional framework we have proposed, however, underscores the potential problem with this conclusion: none of the indicators of racial discrimination in the NSAL specifically invoke gender. Though a handful of items draw specifically on stereotypes of black men (e.g. 'People act as if they are afraid of you', 'You have been unfairly stopped by the police'), none of the measures draw specifically on the experiences of black women. In addition, none of the questions explicitly reflect the gender-specific contexts in which men and women experience racial discrimination. And third, none of the measures use gender-specific reference groups to understand discrimination against minority women. Consequently,

Table 1. *Percent reporting major-life racial discrimination, NSAL (N women: 2,068; N men: 1,118)*

	Men	Women	t-test	Chi-square
For unfair reasons, you have been fired?	14.67%	8.37%	***	***
For unfair reasons, you have not been hired for a job?	19.50%	11.03%	***	***
You have been unfairly denied a promotion?	18.25%	7.98%	***	***
Unfairly stopped by the police?	37.66%	8.85%	***	***
Unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood?	7.16%	5.90%	N/S	N/S
You have been unfairly discouraged from continuing your education?	6.35%	5.37%	N/S	N/S
Neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	4.20%	3.09%	N/S	N/S
Have you been unfairly denied a bank loan?	7.96%	5.27%	**	**
Have you ever received service from someone such as a plumber or car mechanic that was worse than what other people get?	7.16%	2.47%	***	***

*significant at 5%; **significant at 1%; ***significant at 0.1%

Table 2. Means for everyday discrimination, NSAL (N women: 2,068; N men: 1,118). Higher values indicate more experiences with this type of discrimination

	Men	Women	T-test	Chi-square
People act as if they're better than you are?	2.98	2.84	*	N/S
People act as if they think you are not smart?	2.58	2.49	N/S	N/S
Been treated with less courtesy than other people?	2.60	2.43	***	**
You are treated with less respect than other people?	2.47	2.32	**	*
You receive poor service compared with other people at restaurants or stores?	2.35	2.25	*	*
People act as if they think you are dishonest?	2.21	1.85	***	***
People act as if they are afraid of you?	2.38	1.83	***	***
You are called names or insulted?	1.88	1.81	N/S	N/S
You are threatened or harassed?	1.62	1.54	*	**
You are followed around in stores?	2.15	2.00	**	*

*significant at 5%; **significant at 1%; ***significant at 0.1%

the survey items available in the NSAL appear limited in their ability to assess gendered-racial discrimination.

Does an intersectional framework improve model fit?

The next portion of our analysis presents one approach to incorporating an intersectional approach in our models of interpersonal racial discrimination. Though the NSAL data are limited in their ability to assess gendered-racial discrimination, we use multiple group confirmatory factor analysis to document the importance of an intersectional approach, and to show how gender bias, in particular, might be reduced in future studies of racial discrimination.

Our model of major-life racial discrimination is a single-factor model where ‘Major-life racial discrimination’ is the latent variable, and each of the measures listed in Table 1 are observed variables. In each of these models, the factor loading and variance of the observed variable ‘At any time in your life, have you ever been unfairly fired [due to your race, skin color, or ancestry]?’ are constrained to 1 and 0 respectively, in order to index the other observed variables. The results of our first confirmatory factor analysis are presented in the left-most column (Model 1) of Table 3. Models 1 to 4 progressively free constraints of sameness (i.e. invariance) on black men and black women’s experiences with discrimination.

Several fit indices are presented for each model, including the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the χ^2 and the corresponding degrees of freedom. Both the TLI and the CFI are indices of comparative fit that evaluate ‘the fit of a user-specified solution in relation to a more restricted, nested baseline model’ (Brown 2006, p. 84). For both the TLI and CFI, values at or above 0.95 indicate good model fit. The RMSEA also evaluates model fit, but unlike the aforementioned measures, indicates a good model fit if values are below 0.05. The RMSEA ‘incorporates a penalty function for poor model parsimony’ (Brown 2006, p. 83), and so is particularly useful for comparing fit across models.

In Model 1, each of the parameters in the model (including the mean and variance of the latent variable ‘major-life discrimination’, as well as the factor loadings, variances, and thresholds of the observed variables) are constrained to be the same for the two groups in the analysis: black men and black women.⁶ Model 1 represents the most constrained model. The fit indices suggest that this first model fits the data reasonably well. The RMSEA, which represents a good model fit if below 0.05, is 0.048 for our first model. However, the large χ^2 statistic and the relatively low CFI and TLI all suggest room for improvement (Bollen 1989; Brown 2006).

Table 3. *Confirmatory factor analysis for major-life racial discrimination (WLS estimation): NSAL (N women: 2,068; N men: 1,118)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
For unfair reasons, you have been fired?	1 ^c —	1 ^c —	1 ^c —	1 ^c —
For unfair reasons, you have not been hired for a job?	1.481*** (0.100)	1.483*** (0.106)	1.199*** (0.070)	1.473 (W)*** (0.113) 1.184 (M)*** (0.271)
You have been unfairly denied a promotion?	1.309*** (0.095)	1.355*** (0.099)	1.207*** (0.067)	1.111 (W)*** (0.106) 1.373 (M)*** (0.301)
You have been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?	1.325*** (0.101)	1.51*** (0.121)	1.395*** (0.099)	1.159 (W)*** (0.109) 1.989 (M) (1.273)
You have been unfairly discouraged from continuing education?	1.173*** (0.097)	1.128*** (0.094)	1.109*** (0.066)	1.07*** (0.085)
Unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood?	1.303*** (0.096)	1.252*** (0.097)	1.145*** (0.065)	1.419 (W)*** (0.119) 0.994 (M)*** (0.092)
Neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	1.056*** (0.092)	1.017*** (0.090)	1.07*** (0.072)	0.987*** (0.122)
Have you been unfairly denied a bank loan?	1.211*** (0.092)	1.174*** (0.093)	1.156*** (0.066)	1.174*** (0.081)
Have you ever received service from someone . . . that was worse than what other people get?	1.252*** (0.107)	1.211*** (0.104)	1.261*** (0,077)	0.902 (W)*** (0.130) 1.365 (M)***

Table 3 (*Continued*)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variance of 'major-life discrimination'	0.31*** (0.038)	0.246 (W)*** (0.032) 0.620 (M)*** (0.084)	0.287 (W)*** (0.029) 0.175 (M)*** (0.052)	(0.111) 0.297 (W)*** (0.040) 0.371 (M) (0.428)
Mean of 'major-life discrimination'	0 ^c	0 ^c	0 ^c (W) 0.663 (M)*** (0.105)	0 ^c (W) 0.324 (M) (0.632)
χ^2	293.225	195.344	180.095	108.624
d.f.	63	62	61	56
CFI	0.817	0.894	0.906	0.958
TLI	0.791	0.877	0.899	0.946
RMSEA	0.048	0.037	0.035	0.024

Notes

^cConstrained.

M: parameter estimates for men; W: parameter estimates for women.

Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

*significant at 5%; **significant at 1%; ***significant at 0.1% (two-tailed).

As we move across the models, the restrictions on invariance for black women and black men are progressively freed. In Model 2, the variance for our latent variable, major-life racial discrimination, is allowed to differ for men and women. In order to test whether, statistically speaking, it makes sense to free this parameter, we perform a χ^2 difference test with Models 1 and 2. Since one degree of freedom is lost ($63 - 62 = 1$) and the χ^2 is reduced by 97.881, the P-value associated with this test is statistically significant ($P < .0001$), making it 'highly unlikely' that the more restrictive model (i.e. Model 1) is correct (Bollen 1989, p. 292). Each of the fit indices associated with Model 2 also indicate an improved fit relative to the first model.

We follow this process of progressively freeing cross-group constraints for the next several models. Model 3 builds on Model 2 by allowing the mean of the latent variable to differ for men and women (in addition to the variance), and again, the χ^2 difference test reveals an improved model fit. Next, we produced several models to test for the equality of individual factor loadings. We conducted χ^2 difference tests to see whether freeing the equality constraints individually would produce an improved model fit, and found that it did in five out of eight cases.⁷ With the exception of 'neighbors make life difficult', 'discouraged from education', and 'unfairly denied a bank loan', all of the factor loadings of the observed variables showed significantly better model fit when allowed to vary for men and women. Our final model in this table, Model 4, combines these models by allowing the factor loadings for these five observed variables to vary for black men and women simultaneously. Comparing Model 4 with those that precede it, we again see improved model fit for all of our fit indices, and a statistically significant χ^2 difference test.⁸

The squared multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) for each observed variable, which indicates the proportion of its variance explained by the latent variable, major-life racial discrimination (Bollen 1989), is presented in Table 4. For six of the nine indicators of major-life racial/ethnic discrimination, the proportion of variance explained by our latent variable is higher for black men than it is for black women. In other words, our measure of discrimination explains a greater proportion of black men's mistreatment than it does black women's.

Taken as a whole, the multiple group confirmatory factor analysis provides statistical support for the intersectional framework we have proposed, particularly as it relates to gender differences. Despite the limitations of the survey items in terms of their ability to *measure* gendered-racial discrimination, our analysis suggests that gender differences are indeed important for understanding and analysing racial discrimination. Utilizing models that allow these differences to emerge may be one way for survey researchers to bring an intersectional approach to their research on racial discrimination.

Table 4. *R-square for major-life racial discrimination, final model: NSAL (N women: 2,068; N men: 1,118)*

	Women	Men
For unfair reasons, you have been fired?	0.297	0.364
For unfair reasons, you have not been hired for a job?	0.644	0.558
You have been unfairly denied a promotion?	0.366	0.604
Unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?	0.399	0.323
You have been unfairly discouraged from continuing education?	0.340	0.608
Unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood?	0.598	0.543
Neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	0.289	0.437
Have you been unfairly denied a bank loan?	0.409	0.591
Have you ever received service from someone . . . that was worse than what other people get?	0.241	0.606

Discussion and conclusion

We began this paper by reiterating multiracial feminists' call for an intersectional understanding of interpersonal racial discrimination. Drawing from black and multiracial feminist theories, we argued that gender influenced men's and women's experiences with discrimination in at least three ways. First, many of the controlling images that guide discriminatory practices are themselves gendered, causing discrimination against black men and black women to take different forms. Second, because black women and black men occupy different social-spatial locations, the contexts within which black men and black women face discrimination are frequently different, and consequently the discrimination they face can take qualitatively different forms. And third, while black men may be treated differently from white men because of their race, black women are frequently treated differently from white men *and* white women, because of their subordinate racial and gender social statuses, making it important to use (at least) two reference groups when assessing the type of discrimination they face. We documented the lack of an intersectional framework in existing survey research on racial discrimination, and used national survey data to examine the significance of an intersectional approach.

Two main points emerge from our analyses. First, interpersonal racial discrimination does appear to be a gendered phenomenon. Our bivariate analyses revealed significant differences in men and women's reports of everyday and major-life discrimination. In our analysis of major-life racial discrimination, we found that our model fit improved significantly when we relaxed constraints of invariance between men and women. Consistent with our hypotheses, we also found that our measure of major-life racial discrimination explained a greater proportion of black men's mistreatment than it did black women's.

Second, while a large and diverse body of multiracial feminist theory suggests that gender influences individuals' experiences with racial discrimination, our analysis of content validity suggests that existing survey tools do not sufficiently address these intersecting hierarchies. Like the survey items in the IRRS and the PRS, the items included in the NSAL fail to address the possibility of gendered racial discrimination, particularly as it affects minority women.

While a growing body of qualitative literature speaks to the importance of gender for understanding racial discrimination, quantitative research has not kept pace. Scholars of racial discrimination – particularly quantitative researchers – must make intersectionality more central in our work, and doing so will require us to re-evaluate some of our most basic tools. As Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill (1996, p. 329) write, an intersectional approach challenges scholars to 'go beyond the mere recognition and inclusion of difference to reshape the basic concepts and theories of our discipline'.

We conclude with a call for the development of survey instruments that speak to both the different contexts within which black men and black women experience discrimination, and the different kinds of discrimination black men and black women face. Is it likely that black men experience some forms of discrimination more frequently than black women? Our intersectional framework suggests that it is indeed likely. Is it also likely that there are specific types of discrimination that black women face more than black men? Again we answer, 'Yes', but we note that the currently available survey data are of little help in supporting (or refuting) this claim.

While the construction and assessment of potential survey questions is beyond the scope of this paper, we offer a few suggestions based on the intersectional framework and analysis presented above. First, future surveys might prod for black women's experiences relative to those of white women (e.g. 'People often talk about men's chivalry towards women. Are you treated with as much chivalry as other women?' or 'When you express your views, do people sometimes act like you are too aggressive?'). Second, future surveys might prod for women's experiences with discrimination within those social-spatial locations which they occupy more frequently than men. In particular, we suggest asking black women about their romantic and family experiences and (if applicable) their experiences within the social welfare system. Finally, we suggest that future surveys include items that speak to the controlling images of black women. The NSAL already hints at some of the controlling images of black men; McNeilly et al.'s (1996) and Utsey and Ponterotto's (1996) scales invoke these images explicitly. If we are to understand black women's experiences with discrimination to the same degree that we understand black men's, we must include survey items that address controlling images of

black women. Many of the controlling images of black women relate directly to women's gender and sexuality, in particular their status as mothers (controlling images of mammies, matriarchs, welfare queens). Thus, we advocate including some of these gender-specific measures of racial discrimination alongside those measures that may be more gender-neutral.

Taken as a whole, our analyses highlight the importance of an intersectional approach – both intersectional measures and intersectional models – for analysing racial discrimination. Future studies of discrimination should begin from the assumption that men and women may experience racial discrimination in different ways, and in different contexts, and consider the implications of this for designing surveys, constructing models, and interpreting findings. Hill Collins (2000, p. 68) writes, 'Intersectionality captures the way in which the particular location of black women in dominant American social relations is unique and in some senses unassimilable into the discursive paradigms of gender and race domination.' Roscigno (2007, p. 123) echoes, 'Discrimination has and does occur differently for people of different gender, race, and social-class backgrounds, and as such, race, gender, and class should be examined in a conjoined fashion if empirically possible.' Needless to say, we believe such a project is indeed possible. We have demonstrated here one approach for bringing an intersectional framework to the dominant discursive paradigm of racial discrimination. There are undoubtedly other approaches, and we look forward to seeing these develop in future research.

Notes

1. For exceptions see Landrine et al. (1995) and McCall (2001).
2. The same holds true for black men, though our societal tendency to view men's experiences as gender-neutral may make this less of a problem (Richardson 1989; Lorber 1991).
3. See US Department of Justice (2007) and Under Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness) (2005).
4. For an exception see Green's (1995) Perceptions of Racism Scale, which was developed to assess racism directed at African American women.
5. The NSAL was also administered to 1,621 black respondents of Caribbean descent, who were not included in our analysis.
6. MPlus produces thresholds for dichotomous observed variables. In all models, the threshold of each observed variable is the same for men and women, while the scale factors of the observed variables differ across groups.
7. We did not test for gender differences for the variable 'fired', because it is used as an index variable.
8. The 'police' variable for men is non-significant in our final model, and this variable also has a lower R^2 for men, compared to women. We suspect that this is because men are much more likely to report this kind of discrimination compared to any other type of major-life racial discrimination. This suggests that the factor-structure itself may differ by gender, which would also support an intersectional approach.

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CATHERINE E. HARNOIS is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Wake Forest University.

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology, Wake Forest University, PO Box 7808, Winston-Salem, NC 27109, USA.

Email: harnoice@wfu.edu

MOSI IFATUNJI is a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

ADDRESS: Department of Sociology, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL 60607, USA.

Email: mosi@ifatunji.com

Navigating the Workplace: The Costs and Benefits of Shifting Identities at Work among Early Career U.S. Black Women

Danielle D. Dickens¹  · Ernest L. Chavez²

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Abstract Although much progress has been made in race relations in the United States, discrimination still persists in the workplace. As a result, Black women, among individuals from other underrepresented groups, develop coping strategies, such as identity shifting, to diminish the negative consequences of discrimination. We used the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory to examine shifting racial, gender, and class identities among early career (recent college graduates) U.S. Black women working in predominantly White environments. Drawing on ten semi-structured interviews with college-educated Black women, data were analyzed with an interpretative phenomenological analysis. The results revealed two major themes: (a) benefits of identity shifting and (b) the costs of identity shifting, the latter with five subthemes: (a) managing interpersonal rejection: frozen effect, (b) assimilation to the dominant culture and inauthenticity, (c) confronting and dismantling stereotypes, (d) model Black citizen, and (c) mixed feelings toward identity shifting. The findings indicate that Black women vacillate between the benefits and costs of identity shifting, altering their dialect and behavior to meet social norms. Our study's implications suggest the necessity of a multicultural

approach by employers to affirm their workers' social identities, strengthen employee relationships, and lessen the need for shifting identities.

Keywords Black women · Intersectionality · Stereotyped behavior · Workplace politics · Identity management

Women face a number of institutional barriers in the workplace, including, most notably, gender discrimination and unequal pay. However, like other Women of Color, racism often poses an additional barrier for Black women (Bell et al. 2003; Sanchez-Hucles and Davis 2010). Thus, sexism and racism, this double-marginalization (Bell 1990), constitutes a unique experience for Black women in the workplace. A combination of educational and professional obstacles, including racism and sexism, all exact psychological tolls on Black women. As a result, they often feel compelled to present to the world a different self or an image they perceive will be more acceptable to others (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2004). This process is referred to as *identity shifting*, also known as identity negotiation, which is the alteration of one's actions, speech, and appearance to adjust to cultural norms within a given environment (Jackson 2002). Identity shifting involves changing not only how one speaks, but also one's behavioral patterns and other factors that compose an individual's sense of self. At times, identity shifting is a conscious act, given that the individual often is fully aware of her reactions. Other times, shifting is done unconsciously in an automatic manner by changing one's thoughts and ways of thinking to fit in with a dominant social group (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2004). Thus, Black women may shift their identities to conform to the professional standards and dominant cultural values of the workplace among colleagues who do not identify as Black or

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✉ Danielle D. Dickens
ddickens@spelman.edu

¹ Department of Psychology, Spelman College, 350 Spelman Lane, Atlanta, GA 30314, USA

² Department of Psychology, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523, USA

as a woman, while also managing the expectations and values associated with their roles in Black communities (Bell 1990).

An example of this identity shifting can be seen in Issa Rae's HBO show *Insecure*, which highlights racial politics in the U.S. workplace, as well as the frustrations Black individuals experience in corporate offices (Ajayi 2016). For example, in one particular episode, a confident young Black lawyer named "Rasheeda" refused to code-switch (altering between two or more languages) in the workplace; she spoke in a loud tone and used casual talk with her co-workers. As a result, her behavior raised concerns among her colleagues, who subsequently questioned her work ethics. Black women often report that their White counterparts question their credibility and authority on the job, and they consistently encounter race, gender, and class-based stereotypes in the workplace (Catalyst 2004). Working while being a Black woman in a predominantly White workspace may elicit the accusation of being angry and difficult, and many Black women feel pressured in their behavior and speech to represent all Black people as a race (Pollak and Niemann 1998). For example, in a study on racial solo status, a situation when only one member of a racial group is present, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) found that Black women were more likely to feel like race representatives, believe that their work performance would be generalized to their race, and believe that they would endure greater self-handicapping (e.g., attributing external factors as responsibility for poor performance) relative to their White women counterparts. These findings suggest that when Black women are considered tokens at work, early in their career, this may cause them to become concerned about the reputation of their racial group and their job performance.

Exploring Identity Shifting among Black Women

Situational factors (e.g., identity) can dictate whether one uses or downplays certain abilities or whether one adopts or suppresses behaviors in different environments, such as the workplace (Spencer et al. 1997). As such, the primary theoretical framework utilized throughout our research is the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST). Combining a phenomenological approach with Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems, the interaction between qualities of an individual and their environment, PVEST illustrates how an individual's ability to understand societal expectations, stereotypes, and biases influences how one will adapt to different cultural contexts across one's lifespan (Gordon and Gergen 1968; Spencer et al. 1997). We contend that the dominant European culture historically has shaped and continues to shape U.S. Black women's identities in particular contexts, such as the workplace. Furthermore, PVEST framework posits that individuals may experience stress (e.g., discrimination or isolation) due to risk contributors

(e.g., race, SES, gender) and subsequently may develop reactive coping methods, such as altering one's behaviors to fit a given cultural environment. Moreover, these reactive coping behaviors may become stable coping responses to make up one's self concept (Spencer 1995). The components of PVEST propose a framework for understanding both the shared and unique experiences of Black women in the United States. This theoretical framework assists in exploring the influence of a cultural context on the identity development and formation among Black women in the workforce. Additionally, the model scaffolds one's understanding of how Black women navigate life situations that shape their identities across career stages.

To confront the historically-imposed stereotypes of being angry, sexually promiscuous, and strong (West 1995), Black women engage in identity shifting by adopting dual identities that appease both White and Black communities (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2004; McDowell 2008). Previous literature (e.g., Jackson 2002; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2004) supports the notion that identity negotiation among Black women is multidimensional and has significance primarily because it occurs in the daily lives of Black women. Additionally, the concept of intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach 2008) purports that individuals with multiple subordinate identities (e.g., Black women) do not usually fit the prototype of their respective subordinate groups, and thus they will experience subtle or invisible forms of discrimination. As a result, Black women may use different coping strategies, such as identity shifting, in the workplace to protect themselves against experiences of discrimination, invisibility, and marginalization. Because of the daily engagement in identity negotiation, work-life can become psychologically exhausting and stressful. For this reason, investigating this shifting among early career Black women is vital given that the impact of discrimination on stress has implications for well-being and work outcomes (O'Brien et al. 2016).

Identity negotiation theory consist of negotiating sociocultural membership identity in intercultural and interpersonal communication settings (Ting-Toomey 2005). Shih et al. (2013) further define identity shifting as deemphasizing a negatively-valued identity and replacing it with a positively-regarded identity. Collectively, Ting-Toomey's (2005) and Shih et al.'s (2013) theories of identity shifting are useful and shed insight on the conceptualization of identity shifting as altering cultural behaviors and languages to deemphasize a negatively-valued identity. For example, when prompted by environmental cues, a member of an underrepresented group who engages in identity shifting makes their negatively-valued identities less prominent or stereotypical (Clair et al. 2005). Moreover, Black women may receive societal messages that their Black vernacular language is not appropriate for their work or academic environments. Consequently, they may feel compelled to "talk White," a phrase oftentimes used

within Black communities to represent “proper” English. Due to the prevailing stereotype of Black women as less intelligent than their White counterparts, language choices in different contexts, such as predominantly White workplaces, can challenge or increase Black women’s credibility among her colleagues (Scott 2013). For instance, Rasheeda in *Insecure* maintained her Black vernacular language in the predominantly White workplace and thus her credibility was questioned by some of her colleagues (Ajayi 2016).

In addition to altering language, shifting identities can take place in the form of altering one’s behavior. In exploring identity shifting among Black women, Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2004) revealed that 58% of their 333 respondents reported that at times they changed the way they acted to “fit in” or be accepted by White people. Commonly, shifting identity was done in an effort to increase White people’s comfort level around Black people. The aforementioned studies imply that there are differences in the negotiation of multiple-oppressed identities based on concerns with being judged. Differences in altering one’s cultural behavior and language as a strategy for identity shifting will be the focus of the current work. In conclusion, the complexity of identity shifting among Black women merits further examination.

Costs and Benefits of Shifting Identities

The shifting of one’s identity can be regarded as adaptive, which allows Black women to explore different aspects of their self-concept and aid in their interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds. In this sense, identity shifting can be understood as a source of strength (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2004; Jackson 2010). However, the pressure to negotiate identities, particularly in the workplace, can be burdensome for Black women. Having to shift identities often produces internal conflict and contributes to distorted perceptions of the self. In their study on identity shifting, Bell et al. (2003) included examples of Black women who expressed that they did not want to conceal or deny their racial identity. Further, focus groups conducted by Scott (2013) suggested that among some young Black women, emotions arise when they tried to resist portraying stereotypical actions by altering their behaviors. Given these differences in the positive and negative perceptions of engagement in identity shifting among Black women, the current study will address the need to determine the extent to which identity shifting is perceived as being beneficial or problematic for early career U.S. Black women.

The Influence of Career Stage on Identity Shifting

A substantial amount of research (Harris 2007; McDowell 2008; Thomas and Hollenshead 2001) exists that is related to identity shifting among Black women who are at the mid-

career level or who are already established in their careers. As an example, Parker (2002) explored Black women executives’ strategies of negotiating workplace interactions and found that executives engaged in indirect and unassertive communication to serve as a model. They also avoided difficult situations, used humor to deflect uncomfortable situations, or confronted being excluded in the workplace. Consistently, in her dissertation, McDowell (2008) explored identity negotiation among Black female athletic directors and found that, in order to be successful in their positions, they felt that they had to learn how to negotiate their identities effectively. These shifting strategies were often employed when women were confronted with negative stereotypes. Collectively, these findings highlight how senior-level Black women leaders compromise and negotiate their identities in the workplace. Consequently, if senior-level Black women negotiate their identities, despite having relatively stable identities and careers, it is critical to explore identity shifting among early career Black women who are just beginning their careers and who are in the midst of exploring their identities.

Understanding how Black women shift their identities early in their career adds to literature on the impact of shifting in the career trajectory to upper-tier positions among Black women. Although the number of Women of Color leaders in the workplace has increased, the underrepresentation of such leaders remains prevalent (Sanchez-Hucles and Davis 2010). Consequently, Bell and Nkomo (2001) argue that Women of Color experience the *sticky floor*, barriers posed by racism and sexism, which provides challenges for advancing to and maintaining leadership positions. With respect to Black women, shifting identities early in one’s career may be a developed skillset to negotiate the sticky floor to reach leadership positions. Focusing on the population of early career Black women who are recent college graduates can add to the experiences of Black women in achieving advanced leadership positions. At the time of our study, there is little-to-no research on the consequences of shifting for early stage relative to senior-career level Black women.

The Current Research

The recent literature on identity formation and presentation has addressed structural racism and sexism faced by Black women in the workplace. However, few studies have explored the perceptions of involvement and influence of context on identity shifting among early career Black women. The post-baccalaureate period is a segment period among emerging adults (generally ages 21–25 years-old) characterized by exploring their life options and identities (Arnett 2000). Past research suggests that, although some emerging adults view the time period after graduation as exciting and empowering, others may become psychologically distressed as they leave

college in search for meaningful careers (Kenny and Sirin 2006; Murphy et al. 2010). A study conducted by O'Brien et al. (2016) explore the effects of interpersonal discrimination on physical and psychological well-being and performance on early career STEM academics. The results show that perceptions of interpersonal discrimination led to greater levels of stress. However, if early career STEM academicians had supervisor support, this buffered the effects of interpersonal discrimination. Although significant, their study's sample consisted of primarily White women and male participants, while neglecting a consideration of race and gender discrimination. Exploring how career stage impacts participation in identity shifting or outcomes associated with identity shifting among early career Black women is necessary because it has implications for career trajectory and job promotion.

Consequently, there are conflicting ideas between whether an early career Black woman should engage in culturally-endorsed shifting identities for professional advancement or rather resist assimilating to the dominant culture to portray one's authentic identities in the workplace. We sought to understand the lived experiences toward the development of identity shifting of early career young Black women in a predominantly White U.S. workplace. Through such understanding of experiences of early career Black women, workplace dynamics for employers and employees can be more cooperative.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Semi-structured and audio-taped interviews were conducted with ten college-educated Black women who were in their early career stage between October 2013 and January 2014. In 2016, a chapter explored the perceived race and gender identities and involvement in identity negotiation among Black women (Carter-Sowell et al. 2016). Specifically, this current article advances the findings to focus on the benefits and costs of identity shifting among Black women. Ranging from 22 to 28 years of age ($M = 25$, $SD = 1.84$) and hailing from six states across the United States, the women all lived in or near a predominantly Black community, but worked in a predominantly White work environment. Participants worked in predominantly White spaces, but lived in majority Black urban spaces because the semi-structured interviews were a part of a larger study that explored identity shifting in both predominantly White and predominantly Black environments.

Each of the women was employed in their current workplace for 3 years or less ($M = 1.67$ years, $SD = .75$). In addition, each participant self-identified as a Black/African American woman and reported that her biological parents also identified as Black/African American. All participants

attained at least a bachelor's degree in the past 5 years. Participants worked in a variety of professions, including student affairs in higher education, case management, family services, physical therapy, and healthcare. Six of ten participants possessed a Master's degree and one participant has a doctoral degree. One of the ten was married, whereas the other nine were single, and each identified as heterosexual. Each participant was interviewed once for approximately one hour (range = 60 to 90 min) via video chat (e.g., Skype, FaceTime, or Google Chat). All participants were assigned pseudonyms to protect their identity.

To reach a diverse sample of participants from different regions of the United States, emails were sent to professional and personal networks and were posted on social media websites (e.g., Facebook). We also employed the snowball technique, in which an identified respondent who was eligible to participate in the study was asked to identify and recommend another eligible participant. To be eligible to participate in our study, participants had to: (a) self-identify as a Black/African American woman, (b) hold a bachelor's degree that was earned in the past 5 years, (c) work in a predominantly White environment in the past year, and (d) live in a majority-Black urban area or cities where the Black population percentage ranged from 10% to 49% ($M = 31.28\%$, $SD = 14.69$) (e.g., Atlanta, Georgia). All participants were treated in accordance with APA guidelines and ethics, and the Institutional Review Board at Colorado State University approved the study. All verbal and written communication explained that the goals of the study were: (a) to learn about ways in which Black women may or may not alter their language/dialect or behavior to fit the norm of work, social, and familial environments and (b) to explore how Black women interpret these experiences. All participants were compensated \$10 after completion of the interview.

Prior to the data collection process, pilot interviews were conducted to determine if the questions were appropriate and effective in eliciting responses from the participants. A pilot interview was conducted with one Black woman, who, as a recent college graduate, resided in the Atlanta metro area and worked in a predominantly White environment. The purpose of the pilot interview was to determine which questions needed restructuring or omission. A few questions were restructured in order to improve the interview questions. Some of the original questions that were excluded from the final interview questions include: "How do you define the term identity?," "What is the importance of being Black/African American?," and "What is the importance of being a Black/African American woman?" (The full interview schedules for both the pilot and actual study can be accessed as an [online supplement](#).)

For the final interviews, before asking about their involvement in identity shifting, as the first author, I asked more general questions about the participants' career trajectories and the importance of their race, gender, and class identities.

Participants were encouraged to speak about their perspectives on how they describe (a) their identities, (b) self-concept, and (c) interpersonal and institutional relationships as well as (d) their identity shifting in work and social environments. In addition, a script was provided containing broad interview questions that allowed the participants to lead the interview. A semi-structured interview is guided by a set of questions that are administered to all participants; however the flow of the interview may vary depending on how the participant responds to the questions. This informal interview process allows the interviewer to go where the data and respondent lead (Patton 2009). The interview questions were informed by previous research (e.g., McDowell 2008), and the pilot study and each question was developed to gain insight into the various identities and experiences of identity negotiation/shifting among Black women.

Some of the final interview questions include: (a) If you were in a professional setting with majority White people and you are the only Black woman in the room, would you or have you ever changed your behavior or language to fit in or to accommodate others?"; (b) What are the positive results of changing and altering behaviors in the scenarios discussed?"; and (c) What are the negative results of changing and altering behaviors in the scenarios discussed? All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim using specialized computer software. To maintain confidentiality, all identifying information was removed from each transcript. In accordance with APA ethical guidelines, all identifying information, such as transcripts and demographic surveys, was kept secure. After each interview was transcribed, a copy of the transcription was sent to each participant for review with the option of adding anything new or clarifying information in her particular transcript. This enabled an ongoing co-construction of the data with participants. This process is important to provide a second step in constructing a complete and accurate transcript when conducting phenomenological research.

Interviewer's Background, Experiences, and Biases

All interviews were conducted by the first author. For this reason, critical self-reflexivity also was used throughout the research process. This method measures the researcher's subjectivity related to experiences with the participants, and it extends how one's position and interests as a researcher affect all stages of the research process (Primeau 2003). As the first author, my identity as an educated Black woman who engages in identity shifting influenced the data collection process. As the interviewer, I shared my demographics with regard to age, ethnicity, and sex of majority of the participants. The experiences of racism and sexism in graduate school forced me to navigate through the institutional system as a modified self. In order to survive psychologically and physically in a predominantly White institution and environment, I developed

navigation skills that worked best for me at that given time. I altered my language and expressed myself differently to avoid confirming negative stereotypes of Black women, such as being hyper-aggressive and overly strong. For instance, I removed many aspects of my ethnic cultural identity to assimilate to the dominant White culture. In fact, my personal experiences with discrimination and identity shifting within academia are what led me to research this particular topic.

Additionally, my role as a researcher was influential because I determined the interview questions and the participants' experiences were filtered through my lens. I began most of the interviews by telling participants about the purpose of the study and by emphasizing that participants were also experts in their experiences as a Black woman. Despite my role as a researcher, my experiences with identity shifting, and my shared racial and gender identity with the participants, I strived not to allow my perspective and experiences to overshadow the voices of the Black women who participated in our study.

Coding

Data analysis was guided by interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). The primary researcher openly coded one transcript, adding in the left margin comments that conveyed the meaning of the particular sections of the transcript relative to the language and similarities, differences, amplifications, and any contradictions in what the participant described (Smith and Osborn 2003). Initial notes were grouped into emerging themes. The themes were then listed separately in another Microsoft Word document. Next, common links were identified between the themes and similar themes were grouped together. After a list of ten themes was created, a color-coding scheme was used for each theme. Next, the primary researcher returned to the transcript to check the emerging themes against specific quotes from the transcript. This step was repeated by checking the themes against the text with the interview transcripts until the themes were distinct and completely representative of the text.

For final coding, the primary researcher triangulated the transcribed interview with a second coder (a research assistant who also identifies as a Black woman) to ensure that the coding categories were reliable. The second coder first coded two masked transcripts with the generated themes. Then, the second coder reviewed the primary researcher's eight coded transcripts and noted any discrepancies between the primary researcher's and the second coder's coding. To reconcile any differences in coding, the primary researcher and second coder talked through the coded transcripts. Deciding upon which themes to focus was dependent upon not only the frequency of each theme, but also the richness of particular passages,

especially ones illustrating explicit negotiations of intersectional identities. The researchers also took into account the ways the themes helped illuminate other aspects of identity shifting (Smith and Osborn 2003). With the assistance of the second author and two qualitative experts, the themes were narrowed down to the highest number of prevalent topics among the participants (Creswell 2009).

Results

More information about each participant quoted in the following section can be found in Table 1, which is organized by each participant's pseudonym. The following section critically explores constructed themes from the interviews with the participants. These themes describe and relate to the experiences associated with the long overdue recognition of identity shifting of race, class, and gender identities among early career and college-educated U.S. Black women. As summarized in Table 2, the themes constructed from the data include two major themes: (a) the benefits of identity shifting and (b) the costs of identity shifting, with the latter encompassing five subthemes: (a) managing interpersonal rejection: frozen effect, (b) assimilation to the dominant culture and inauthenticity, (c) confronting and dismantling stereotypes, (d) model Black citizen, and (e) mixed feelings toward identity shifting. The two constructed themes and five constructed subthemes consisted of common narratives (e.g., themes had to appear four or more times) and important information that emerged from the data. These benchmarks were relevant to better understand each participant's experiences of negotiating their race, class, and gender identities in social, cultural, and professional environments. After the themes were finalized, the primary researcher reviewed each transcript again, using the themes and sub-themes to synthesize common data elements.

Benefits of Identity Shifting

A prominent theme constructed from the data is shifting identities to build and maintain personal and professional relationships, which are essential for social and professional advancement. Seven participants discussed the need to build relationships to thrive in social and professional environments. For example, Harriet discussed how shifting identities has allowed her to interact with people from different cultural backgrounds: "The positive result is that my interaction with various groups of people and cultures has allowed me to become culturally competent. Therefore, I am able to interact with a diverse group of people without being offensive or degrading."

In a similar example, Jasmine described how she avoided social environments where she was the only Black woman to prevent being uncomfortable. However, Jasmine recognizes that this avoidance can hinder her ability to develop relationships with co-workers: "It probably interferes and stifles or adds challenges to my professional relationships because I am not relating to them during downtime in fun and genuine ways." Because Jasmine decided to remove herself from different situations to avoid having to shift her identities, this represents a form of defiance and resistance in an effort to avoid experiences of discrimination by her colleagues, which is consistent with previous research (Thomas and Hollenshead 2001). Collectively, many participants believed that shifting their identities in order to create and sustain professional relationships is critical to the career development of early professional Black women, and those who resisted assimilation to the dominant culture were aware that it stifled their professional relationships.

Several of the participants specifically identified altering their behaviors and speech as a benefit that would enhance their career development. In another example, Brittany stated: "I think it helps us get to where we want to be at work

Table 1 Participants' demographic information

Pseudonym	Age	Education	Job sector	Job tenure (years)	U.S. region	% of black pop. in urban area	Marital status	Social class
Angie	26	Masters	Family Services	<1	Southwest	30%	Single	Lower Middle class
Brittany	24	Bachelors	Education	1	Mid-Atlantic	49%	Single	Working class
Claire	26	Doctorate	Physical Therapy	1.5	Southeast	30%	Single	Lower middle class
Harriett	23	Bachelors	Education	NP	Northeast	11.8%	Single	Upper middle class
Jasmine	28	Bachelors	Student Affairs	3	Southwest	10%	Single	Middle class
Jessica	26	Masters	Student Affairs	1	Mid-Atlantic	30%	Married	Middle class
Kara	26	Masters	Student Affairs	1.5	Midwest	51%	Single	Working class
Levi	27	Masters	Case Management	NP	Southeast	22%	Single	NP
Nicki	22	Bachelors	Health Care Policy	<1	Southeast	30%	Single	Lower middle class
Nicole	26	Masters	Non-profit	2	Mid-Atlantic	49%	Single	Middle class

NP Not provided

Table 2 Theme clusters of the meanings, process, and strategies of identity shifting

Themes subthemes	Definition	Example quote	Frequency of theme <i>n</i> (%)
Benefits of Identity Shifting theme	Discussion of the perceived positive outcomes associated with altering one's behavior and language in the workplace.	"I think it helps other people become more comfortable around you and you can relate to people more, assimilate more, you can just get along with co-workers more by doing that and it can help you in your career goals because you are identifying with people and connecting with people." (Jessica)	7 (70%)
Costs of Identity Shifting theme	Discussion of the perceived negative outcomes associated with altering one's behavior and language in the workplace.	"A negative outcome would be that the people that you are altering your behavior to will not know the different sides of you. There will be just this one side of you that's it...they won't know more about the other languages and cultures because you are assimilating to theirs." (Jessica)	9 (90%)
Managing interpersonal rejection: Frozen effect	A description of a situation where participants remove themselves from situations to avoid discrimination by becoming silent and psychologically paralyzed by mentally "checking out" or remain silent to avoid confrontation.	"I check out of the conversation because of that [experiences of discrimination], then I get questioned if I am engaged or if I am passionate about being here." (Harriet)	4 (40%)
Assimilation to the dominant culture and inauthenticity	The process of ascribing to the codes of conduct by changing one's actions and way of speaking in professional settings and presentation of an inauthentic version of self.	"When you have to try to curve your behaviors in social settings; it's almost dreaded going into situations and knowing what it is going to be and when you leave those situations you're like I am kind of tired." (Angie)	Assimilation 4 (40%) Inauthenticity 6 (60%)
Confronting and dismantling stereotypes	The process of altering one's behavior and way of speaking to defend against Black women stereotypes, such as, to not be labeled as a Black woman stereotype (e.g., aggressive, bougie, Jezebel, Sapphire, mammy, strong Black woman).	"I probably tried not to be as aggressive and threatening sounding and acting because I don't want to be labeled the mad Black woman or something." (Jessica)	10 (100%)
Model Black citizen	Due to the pressure to represent Black people in the workplace, one may alter her behaviors and way of speaking.	"You don't want to be that person in the room that sounds ignorant or uses slang, or maybe what they would call 'talking ghetto.'" (Jessica)	5 (50%)
Mixed feelings associated with identity shifting	A cognitive dissonance associated with shifting identities, where one may recognize the benefits but also suggesting that there are negative outcomes associated with this experience.	"To some extent like on a personal level it is a little bit trying because you're constantly, I feel like sometimes when you change situations like that very quickly you're like okay well I am this person for you and I am this person for you, so who am I when I am by myself and I think that can be kind of hard." (Nicki)	8 (80%)

professionally." Meanwhile, Jessica believed that shifting identities helped her connect with different people: "It can help you in your career goals because you are identifying with and connecting with people." On the other hand, Kara focused on how altering her behavior changes other peoples' race- and age-based perceptions of her, allowing them to relate to her more readily.

It's also helpful when it came to how professional people view you, especially if you are young like me, or just how White people feel like they can relate to you, even outside of the workplace. If people do not feel like they can relate to you, then it's harder for them to open up to you. (Kara)

This philosophy aligns with past research conducted by Thomas et al. (2004), wherein they explored the association between stereotypes of Black women (e.g., overly sexualized Jezebel) and their self-esteem. The findings showed that participants who internalize "Mammy" stereotype feel the need to serve and care for others, often setting aside their own needs. Additionally, women who internalize the "Sapphire" stereotype may fear being perceived as overly aggressive and have difficulty expressing their anger in the workplace. Thus, these perceptions point to the pressure of speaking more articulately and refraining from aggressive behavior in the dominant culture, as described by Kara and other participants. Similarly, Levi asserted that altering behaviors and languages is something that Black women have to do to survive: "Black

women—we have to know how to adapt to our environments no matter what situation we are thrown in. We have to be able to act accordingly. You can't allow someone else to catch you slipping up.”

On the other hand, Angie argued that a Black person in America has to maintain a level of stigma consciousness in order to thrive: “To survive as a Black person in America is having this double consciousness, being aware of who you are and also being aware of everything around you.” Jasmine implies that there is a strategic process associated with altering one's behaviors and speech patterns: “I think strategically in order to get the things that you are seeking, whether it's related to your career, academically or in a social setting, you may need to code-switch or change your behaviors.”

The theme's findings are consistent with the consequence of *cultural imperialism*, “the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm” (Young 1990, p. 59), which has distorted and defined what is considered the norm and everyone who is not part of the dominant group is considered to be atypical. For instance, “dominant group members stigmatize minorities' food, clothing, music, values, behaviors and language or dialect as bad and inferior to theirs” (Ogbu 2004, p. 4). This dismissiveness of Black culture began during slavery, with the myth that slaves came from a dark continent that was less civilized (Becknell 1987; Ogbu 2004). As a result, Black women may alter and change their behaviors, language, and culture when it is not in accordance with the dominant culture in order to move up in their career or to avoid being labeled as the stereotypical Black woman. Their stories are consistent with PVEST (Spencer 1995) in that they reveal the ways in which some Black women understand societal expectations and stereotypes of Black women. Thenceforth, the participants use stigma consciousness to their advantage of learning how to strategically navigate through a predominantly White workplace while having double marginalized identities.

Costs of Identity Shifting

Managing Interpersonal Rejection: Frozen Effect

Another prevalent theme that emerged from the interviews entails the idea of remaining silent about discriminatory experiences. After experiencing discriminatory situations, four participants discussed becoming silent and psychologically paralyzed, mentally “checking out” in conversations in predominantly White social or professional environments. Jasmine described how, within a predominantly Euro-centric professional environment, she began to question her sense of voice: “Mostly I just won't talk...I would just kind of answer questions yay or nay.” Due to past experiences, Jasmine developed a coping mechanism that works best for her in this type of environment. Jasmine's behavior is a form of invisibility

because she retreated into isolation and responded with concise replies when communicating with her colleagues to avoid being visible in the workplace. According to Franklin (1999), invisibility syndrome is described as an inner struggle with the feeling that one's abilities are undervalued or ignored because of prejudice and racism. More specifically, invisibility syndrome is also used as a conceptual model to understand factors determining adaptive responses to racism and invisibility (e.g., lack of recognition). For example, as a result of racism, participants in our study discussed how they began to shut down and remove themselves from certain situations and conversations to avoid the internalized effects of racism.

Likewise, Nicki's personal experience with aversion exemplifies such encounters. At her job, most of the Black women work in the customer service department; however, she has a managerial position in another department. One day she was visiting a colleague who works near the customer service department. Nicki and her colleague, who is an Asian male, were wearing headphones as they were completing their work. At least two other employees who walked by asked Nicki, and not her Asian male colleague, to take out her headphones because customer service representatives are not allowed to wear them. Nicki stated:

Have you seen me before? I don't even work in your department. So that pissed me off. I mean it really, really pissed me off, and especially because my co-worker and friend said no one had ever said anything to him about his headphones, ever. So I was really upset about that. I really didn't do anything about it. I honestly just took my headphones out and I chalked it up to, well it sucks that these adults work in a really stressful environment as customer service professional, yet they don't get these sentiments. So I tried to chalk it up to well when in Rome I will take my headphones out and get back to my corner of the building. (Nicki)

In response to this differential treatment, Nicki was nevertheless conflicted, but stayed silent and did as she was told. Her behavior is equivalent to the *frozen effect*, which is described as the process of mentally removing one's self from a situation to avoid further experiences of discrimination by becoming silent. The frozen effect is also consistent with the self-silencing concept, which suggests that to create and maintain safety within relationships, women may silence certain feelings, thoughts, and actions. It is possible that Black women who face discrimination silenced themselves to prevent further experiences of discrimination and to reduce being viewed as threatening (Bryant et al. 2005). Over time, self-silencing may contribute to a decline in self-esteem and feelings of a losing one's self (Jack and Dill 1992). In Nicki's case, it can also be understood as maintaining a sense of solidarity with the other Black women who were working as customer

service professionals. By not reacting negatively to her coworkers' comments, Nicki further stated that she did as she was told to prevent negative experiences from occurring for the Black women working in customer service. In this situation, it is assumed that Nicki weighed the costs and benefits of responding to her colleagues and instead chose to respond in a way that would benefit other Black women coming behind her, although her decision may have come at a psychological cost of internal conflict. In alignment with PVEST, due to the stress and experiences of discrimination, some early career Black women develop a coping strategy of remaining silent, hoping to avoid confrontation with their senior colleagues.

Assimilation to the Dominant Culture and Inauthenticity

Another theme identified in the transcripts was shifting identities to ascribe to codes of conduct and professionalism, thereby assimilating to norms in predominantly White work environments. Four participants discussed the need for Black women to assimilate to whatever situation that confronts them. In particular, according to Angie, her involvement in negotiating her identities exemplifies not being one's self in social and/or professional environments, which can inhibit authentic relationships.

I mean our world is kind of based off of relationships, professional relationships and social relationships. So, I think that can be a negative downfall being able to create actual, genuine connection with somebody, so [failing to create authentic relationships] could be a downfall. Yeah, because it could really cheat you out of, whether it be a professional or social setting, real connections. (Angie)

In centering identity shifting, the women also drew upon discourses of feeling inauthentic when assimilating in the workplace. Six participants acknowledged that a negative outcome associated with shifting their identities was presenting an inauthentic version of themselves. Although there are benefits to shifting identities, some participants feel as though they are not true to themselves when they attempt to assimilate to the dominant White culture. For instance, Angie discussed her internal struggle with not being true to herself:

You feel like you are not being your true self and you know when you're not being yourself...you know when you are out of character in whatever situations. You know those things and when some things are off with you; we all have an internal instinct whether we do something about it or not is another story, but we all know when something is off... I don't know if it's kind of being desensitized to it or thinking it's normal and that's just what you have to do you know. (Angie)

Also, in our many discussions about assimilation in a professional setting, participants characterized professionalism as "acting White." Acting White is analogous to a standard etiquette and way of speaking in professional settings. According to Ogbu (2004), Black professionals who choose to assimilate abandon their Black culture and dialect, and they try to speak primarily in Euro-centric frames of reference. As an example, in the workplace, Brittany shifted her dialect and actions to be "professional":

When I am around my friends, I can be myself, but I think that within a professional setting, I feel as if I have to tone it down and tame it and be very careful with how I do things or say things. [Stereotypes] really have affected me, but I didn't think that it did, but it has affected me and made me more aware of how to conduct myself in a professional setting, especially, and even sometimes in my personal life. (Brittany)

Altering one's language can be both an empowering and an assimilatory act. Several of the participants discussed the internal conflict associated with being professional, "acting White," and retaining their true and authentic identities. The dynamics involved with identity shifting in predominantly White environments includes the pressure to be professional, even when confronting racism and negative stereotypes associated with Black women. There is a professional identity that Black women have to negotiate in their workplaces and other social spaces in order to be taken seriously.

Confronting and Dismantling Stereotypes

One of the unifying reasons for shifting identities among all of the participants was to resist stereotypes associated with Black women. Presently, due to societal expectations and images of Black women wherein they are classified as aggressive, sexually promiscuous, dominant, and strong (Bell 1990, Mitchell 1998; Thomas and King 2007), all participants shifted their identities to avoid sounding "ignorant" and "aggressive" in the workplace. This finding is consistent with stereotype reassociation, where individuals may disassociate with a negatively-valued stereotype and strengthen their association with a positive stereotype (Shih et al. 2013). Participants cited various prevailing stereotypes against which they feel they have to defend their identity: being loud and angry Black woman (5 participants); over sexualization—the Jezebel stereotype (5 participants); welfare queen (4 participants); ghetto (5 participants), and bougie (3 participants). In each of these stereotypes, race, gender, and class identities intersected, forging a triple identity shifting that these women undergo daily. Jessica intentionally changed her language to avoid conforming to the aforementioned stereotypes. Similarly,

Harriet discussed the stereotypes of being overly sexualized and loud:

Some of the other stereotypes include the image of Sarah Baartman, the Hottentot Venus. This involves the idea that our bodies are meant to constantly be displayed for the enjoyment and/or curiosity of others. We are seen as sexual objects of very little value. We are assumed to be loud and only educated by the streets. The stereotype is that African American women are argumentative, moody, and evil because we lack the ability to express ourselves using any other approach. There is also the reality-show stereotype that depicts us as crabs in a barrel that only get ahead by demeaning other women. (Harriet)

Another prevalent stereotype that the Black women in our study confronted was being labeled as “the angry Black woman.” To not be labeled as the domineering Sapphire, some participants discussed how they might report shifting their language more to not appear as aggressive.

I find that a lot times when I want to react to the situation, I have to be very careful with how I react because of that [stereotype] and it makes me feel uncomfortable. Sometimes I just want to do whatever, but because of how I am looked at as an African American woman, I can say something like “I did not like the way you said that” and somebody can be like “Oh my gosh she is being hostile,” but I guess I am supposed to say it like (in a soft nice voice) “Oh I did not like the way you said that” and then they would be like “Oh she is not being hostile.” (Brittany)

In this instance, Brittany discussed changing the tone of her voice to avoid confirming the stereotype as the aggressive, angry Black woman. This adds to the difficulty of having to negotiate both of those lines of perceptions and indicates that there is not a model for a middle-ground professional identity among the participants.

Stereotyping all Black women as being overly sexualized or angry can negatively affect the career mobility of early career Black women. Every participant in the current study discussed the need to deal with stereotypes of Black women by altering their behaviors and speech. According to Reynolds-Dobbs et al. (2008), if Black women are too aggressive in the workplace, they can become marginalized on the job, which can create a stressful work environment. Further, Black women who are aware of the domineering stereotype may become soft-spoken (Bryant et al. 2005). This subsequently may result in cultural adaption (Kim 2001), the process by which an individual modifies his or her personal habits and customs to fit in to a particular culture. By engaging in the

process of identity shifting, one attempts to minimize the impact of the changing salience of various elements of identity within given environments and cultural contexts.

Model Black Citizen

Half the participants described what can be called “the model Black citizen,” wherein they discussed the need to be mindful that they are representing other Black people, such as family members, in professional environments. Angie, for example, related this phenomenon to a pre-established “bar” that every other Black person must maintain in the workspace and in academic environments:

It’s like one Black person sets the bar for how other Black people are supposed to be. So I don’t know if that was an internal thing you know like, or to be this representation or the Black token, or sometimes to be the only Black person in class. It’s also like if something racial comes up, how you are expected to know all of the answers and guide everybody. So I think in that way I feel like rather than changing; I was uneasy. (Angie)

In addition, Jasmine discussed how she had to be conscious about what she was saying or doing to make sure that her behavior did not undermine what Black people have fought against in the United States. Because of this history, she felt the need to be a model citizen for Black people.

All of my ancestors who just, you know, went through incredible amounts of sorrow and pain, but were strong and able to ride through that enough to the fact that we are still here. So, I always think: “Am I doing enough?” Then also what I am doing that is representing or beneficial to my people—is it counter or hindering them? Does it add to the negative stereotypes? Then I think about my race in terms of how people see me. In terms of how I have to be careful when navigate the world, as I walk through it. Especially here when I am at work, I don’t always feel like comfortable to speak. I don’t have any mentors here and there’s nobody that I see that I would say “there’s somebody who is helpful to me” and there’s nobody who has taken an interest in me either. (Jasmine)

Similarly, Levi discussed how professionalism was associated with being a representative for others: “I define professionalism as you’re keeping in mind that you are an ambassador for not only yourself but for your family. . .” The interview excerpts articulate a collective racial identity that seems to be emerging and the tension between having an independent professional identity and being a community-minded Black woman.

The model citizen idea seemed to serve both as pressure to be a representative for other Black women and used as an advantage to change stereotypes associated with Black women among the participants. This ideology is consistent with previous research suggesting that being the token Black woman in the workplace adds to the pressure of being a representative on behalf of all Black people (Pollak and Niemann 1998). Significantly, Nicki used the concept of the model Black citizen to her advantage. If she had to negotiate her identities to make life easier for another Black woman coming after her then she did not mind.

So, I think that if I can do my best to be a model Black citizen then hopefully, somebody who has a negative perception of Black people or Black women that we are loud and uneducated and ghetto and all of that other stuff, then maybe if they meet me then the next woman they meet they won't be like that and will be a little bit more open to seeing her as an individual. (Nicki)

Nicki focused on the positive aspect of shifting, where it may not have served her direct purpose, but she hoped to make experiences better for other Black women coming after her. The model Black citizen is consistent with the out-group homogeneity effect (Quattrone and Jones 1980), which argues that the dominant culture may have a misperception that underrepresented groups are more similar to one another than they are to people who are part of the dominant group. As a result, out-group members (in this case Black women) are at risk of being seen as interchangeable or expendable, and thus they are more likely to be stereotyped. Because of being stereotyped, this can affect their chances of getting job promotions or moving up in their career due to the unfortunate stereotypes of Black women being unreliable and not having credibility.

Mixed Feelings Associated with Identity Shifting

The subtheme of mixed feelings toward shifting shows the complexity of identity shifting and the diverse feelings that arose among some participants. Some struggled with identity shifting because they believed that it was necessary to navigate through different cultural worlds while simultaneously being aware of the anxiety and frustration of having to consistently negotiate their identities. Three participants specified that this process was stressful. Nicki said:

To some extent, like on a personal level, it is a little bit trying because you're constantly changing. I feel like sometimes when you change situations like that very quickly, you're like "Okay well, I am this person for you and I am this person for you, so who am I when I am by myself," and I think that can be kind of hard. (Nicki)

Having to negotiate identities in various environments and juggle interactions with various people caused significant emotional and psychological stress for these participants.

Additionally, Angie discussed how she is "just doing it to survive," though it is stressful: "Having to curb my behavior, I'm just doing it to survive and to get to where I need to be, kind of like survival of the fittest, but it is difficult." Four participants discussed how altering their behaviors and language/dialect was actually part of their identity. For instance, Jessica said, "I grew up in a predominantly White environment, so you do not see it as changing, because it's a part of who you are." It is possible that Jessica either feels a stable sense of self when she negotiates or that the shifting itself is constant for her.

Moreover, Angie stated that she does not think she has altered her behaviors or changed her language "because a lot of the times, I act White anyways." Intriguingly, these participants suggested that they "act White" and so they do not see themselves as altering their behaviors and speech. This points to the fact that some Black women may not see that they are changing their behaviors or languages in particular contexts; instead, the participants perhaps are constructing their own meaning of Black womanhood that is multifaceted. Similarly, the two participants who stated that altering their behaviors and languages is a part of who they are, also said that they felt like they could not be their true selves. The inconsistencies in perceptions of identity shifting add to the complexity of understanding identity shifting among early career Black women in our sample and suggest that identity shifting is not always a conscious process. This inconsistency also illustrates the complexity of the intersectionality of identity shifting among oppressed groups (Crenshaw 1991), like the young professional Black women in our sample. Overall, the complexity of identity shifting can cause paradoxical behaviors and mixed feelings toward identity shifting among early career Black women.

Discussion

The current study provides a critical analysis of the perceived benefits and costs associated with shifting one's identity among early career Black women. Thomas et al. (2013) argue that early career employees who belong to underrepresented groups and have racial solo status in their workplace may be treated as pets (cared for and treated in a child-like fashion) rather than as professionals. As such, the pet status suggests that early career professionals, who belong to underrepresented groups, are not equal to their senior colleagues and thus are ignored or disregarded for their accomplishments. It is possible that identity shifting has stronger consequences for early career Black women relative to senior career level Black women, due to this pet phenomenon. In general, the current

study illustrates the need for early career Black women to shift their identities to manage their early career stage and the stereotypes of Black women.

Additionally, due to double jeopardy (King 1988) and the experiences of being inauthentic, participants also discussed the advantages of negotiating their identities. The psychological costs and benefits experienced by the individual is context-driven. Once identity shifting occurs, psychological costs and benefits increase, depending on the context. This behavior is consistent with the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (Spencer et al. 1997), suggesting that societal expectations and stereotypes influences how one will adapt to various cultural contexts. As an example, on the one hand, acting White incurs a cost by triggering feelings of betrayal and abandonment to one's allegiance to the Black community; on the other hand, acting White may result in a benefit toward professional advancement. However, if a Black woman decides not to assimilate to the White dominant culture in the workspace, she may incur a cost toward professional advancement, but she may simultaneously experience the benefit of feeling connected to her Black culture in the workspace. Consistent with Brannon et al. (2015) research on double consciousness, being Black and American can function as a gift of two self-schemas, and it can serve as a cognitive resource that supports flexibility in self-construal across different cultural contexts. As proposed by the phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (Spencer et al. 1997), the social context is a fruitful site for exploring normative expectations and cultural messages regarding identity shifting.

The present results also provided noteworthy, but mixed, responses related to perceptions of one's participation in identity shifting. The theme of mixed feelings toward shifting shows the complexity of identity shifting and the diverse feelings that arose among participants. Several participants struggled with identity shifting. Some believed that it was necessary to alter one's behavior and language to navigate through different cultural worlds while simultaneously being aware of the anxiety and frustration of having to consistently negotiate their identities. On many occasions in the interviews, some participants stated that all identities are authentically theirs and did not see their behaviors as negotiating their identities. These varied perceptions support the notion that it can be demanding for some Black women to manage bi-cultural experiences of living and working in two different cultural worlds (Bell 1990). These behaviors are also consistent with the literature on cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957), the excessive mental stress and discomfort that is experienced by an individual who holds two or more contradictory beliefs, ideas, or values at the same time. This cognitive dissonance may allude to the difficulty of discussing experiences of negotiating identities, while being cognizant of the careful navigation required through White America and Black America.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although our study's findings contribute to our understanding of U.S. Black women's experiences in the workplace and social environments, there are some limitations that are important to highlight, such as issues with member checking, distractions during video interviews, and generalizability. One limitation is that the sample of ten women in the current study is non-representative, raising limitations in generalizability. Future research may sample more representatively and may explore the longitudinal outcomes of shifting among Black women, specifically, if shifting identities within one's early career has implications for career trajectory and job promotion for Black women. It is possible that identity shifting might have stronger consequences for early career level Black women than for senior career level Black women. In addition, research exploring how the length of time working in a predominantly White workplace influences identity shifting is critical to better understanding this phenomenon among Black women.

Another limitation of our study regards extending participants the opportunity to review their transcripts, also referred to as member checking. This process allows the respondents to review their transcripts and/or allows the researcher to elicit feedback on emerging themes from some of the people who were interviewed (Merriam 2009). Although this process does add to the veracity of the study, there were some shortcomings. One participant completely changed her response to one question from the initial interview, which made it difficult to decipher her true, genuine responses. For instance, during the interview, she mentioned that it was difficult for her to negotiate her identities: "It's definitely difficult and stresses me out to the point where I am like telling myself to stop it, you are doing the best that you can." However, after reviewing her transcript, she said, "It is easy for me to code switch." Although it was difficult to determine the participant's true response, this ambivalence surrounding identity shifting is consistent with participants mixed feelings associated with identity shifting.

Lastly, although video interviewing was a convenient method to both the investigator and participants, there were some problems with this method of interviewing. For instance, all of the interviews took place at the home of each participant, and some of the participants were distracted by other activities, such as texting on their phone or watching the television in between questions. In the future, it is best to remind the respondents at the beginning of the interview to put away all electronic devices so that they can focus on the subject at hand. Despite the limitations, video interviewing did allow for respondents to be in the comfort of their home when answering questions about their personal lives, and it also allowed the researcher to survey a wider geographical demographic of women than would have occurred otherwise.

The present study focused on the experiences of early career and college-educated Black women in professional environments. In addition to exploring a predominantly White workplace, future research might include a comparison of Black women who work in White male- or female-dominated workplaces to explore how gender balance of the workplace might impact identity shifting. Such a study may better highlight the distinct differences in shifting identities that result from different cultural contexts. Another area to consider would be quantitatively studying the role that parental upbringing and gendered racial socialization (Thomas and King 2007), that is, the process by which Black girls and women develop a healthy racialized gendered identity, may play in the decision to shift or not shift identities among Black women. In speaking with each of the participants, most stated that their parents had a huge influence on their racial/ethnic pride, and participants identified this pride as something that helped them deal with their perceived experiences of racism and discrimination. The findings from the current study can also be extended to explore identity shifting among other marginalized groups, such as Black men, other Women of Color, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Individuals of Color to explore the shifting of visible and invisible identities in different spaces.

Practice Implications

The implications of our study suggest that, although there are benefits to identity shifting, it can also take a psychological toll on the psyche of Black women because it can be a very stressful process in which to engage. Previous research argues that long-term use of identity shifting can cause an unstable sense of self, and this unstable self may be associated with poor psychological well-being (Campbell et al. 2003; Shih et al. 2013) and may influence one's work performance (Sekaquaptewa et al. 2007). Similarly, O'Brien et al. (2016) explored discriminatory experiences of early career academics and found that negative work performance outcomes were associated with higher levels of psychological stress. The present study provides vital insights regarding some of the unique challenges of individuals who belong to multiple oppressed groups, as well as the need for workplaces to incorporate a work policy that celebrates group differences and individual identities.

Our research also highlights the importance of work environments creating inclusive cultures that welcome different cultural values. Research indicates that diversity initiatives in the workplace often address blatant forms of discrimination rather than subtle microaggressions (Shih et al. 2013), many of which were apparent in the experiences of the present participants. It is suggested that employers take a multiculturalism approach toward creating an inclusive organization. Research suggests that fostering a work environment where

individual differences are not ignored and employees engage in open and honest discussions about differences is effective (Stevens et al. 2008). More specifically, the all-inclusive multiculturalism (AIM) model acknowledges differences among all employees, promotes maintenance of subgroup identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, religion, age) and overarching work identity, diminishes perception of social exclusion, affirms individual's social identities, and strengthens employees' relationships (Hogg and Terry 2000; Stevens et al. 2008). In all, a multicultural approach acknowledges and supports differences between individuals and could potentially minimize the use of identity shifting strategies (Shih et al. 2013). The present research speaks to the importance of creating a workplace environment that fosters acceptance of different cultural behaviors and practices so that there is no need to shift the identities that are central to an individual.

Identity shifting research on Black women can also help Black women develop healthy navigation strategies. Some strategies for navigating the workplace for early career Women of Color include remaining culturally grounded in identifying with one's own sense of self and speaking up strategically with an understanding of the political stakes involved rather than remaining silent (Thomas et al. 2013). Another way to assist early career Black women in navigating the workspace is by obtaining a mentor. It is important for Black women to have informal or formal mentors, especially for Black women who are in male- or White majority-dominated environments. Research suggests that many Women of Color lack access to mentors (Thomas and Hollenshead 2001), which can possibly impede their job performance and satisfaction. One can seek out mentorship within their department or another department on the job.

Additionally, it is encouraged for Black women to understand how to navigate different workspaces and to develop an authentic self in the workplace by constructing a positive work identity (Dutton et al. 2010). Research shows that the promotion of authentic leaders in the workplace leads to more meaningful relationships and greater well-being (Gardner et al. 2005). Leadership identity development programs should be designed by Black women to assist with positive identity development of young Black women to foster an authentic self in the workplace, to encourage positive professional and social relationships, and to promote economic and political commitment to the Black community (King and Ferguson 2001).

Conclusion

Overall, the promising contribution of our study is the enhanced understanding of the shifting of identities among early career and Black millennial U.S. women in the workplace. Past work on identity shifting/negotiation theoretically informs the behaviors associated with identity shifting, but it

does not include discourse on the costs and benefits related to the outcomes of shifting one's identities. Identity shifting requires psychological resources and, depending on how often one has to negotiate, an individual can be depleted of those resources. Once those psychological resources are eliminated or depleted, one may develop strategies to avoid shifting, through signs of resistance and denial, such as being silent in conversations, limiting professional contacts, and restricting participation in social environments. Research on the experiences of Black women in the workplace has focused primarily on more seasoned Black women (Harris 2007; Parker 2002), not taking into account Black women who are recent college graduates who are new to the workforce and who may be at the early stages of engaging in workplace identity negotiation. Therefore our study is also significant because it addresses a void in the psychological literature on the experiences of Black women who are recent college graduates and contributes to the overall knowledge base in identity research among Black women. It is evident that there are complexities associated with the shifting of the intersection of race, gender, class, and other identities. By understanding the issues that Black women face relative to their identity formation in the workforce, our research can provide information for protocols or changes that employers can implement to improve the work environment for Women of Color and other marginalized groups.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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Selective Incivility as Modern Discrimination in Organizations: Evidence and Impact

Lilia M. Cortina
Dana Kabat-Farr
Emily A. Leskinen
Marisela Huerta
University of Michigan
Vicki J. Magley
University of Connecticut

This collection of studies tested aspects of Cortina's theory of selective incivility as a "modern" manifestation of sexism and racism in the workplace and also tested an extension of that theory to ageism. Survey data came from employees in three organizations: a city government (N = 369), a law enforcement agency (N = 653), and the U.S. military (N = 15,497). According to analyses of simple mediation, target gender and race (but not age) affected vulnerability to uncivil treatment on the job, which in turn predicted intent to leave that job. Evidence of moderated mediation also emerged, with target gender and race interacting to predict uncivil experiences, such that women of color reported the worst treatment. The article concludes with implications for interventions to promote civility and nondiscrimination in organizations.

Keywords: *incivility; gender; race; turnover*

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Corresponding author: Lilia M. Cortina, University of Michigan, Department of Psychology, 530 Church Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1043, USA

Email: lilia.cortina@umich.edu

Within the organizational sciences, there has been a recent surge of interest in *general incivility*, or rude and discourteous behavior that lacks a clear intent to harm (e.g., Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008; Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001; Pearson & Porath, 2009). The past 25 years have also witnessed considerable social scholarship on *modern* or *contemporary* forms of racism and sexism. This refers to subtle types of prejudice, held even by egalitarian-minded persons who harbor no discriminatory intent (e.g., Brief, 2008; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Swim, Mallett, & Stangor, 2004; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & St-Pierre, 1999). The current article connects these two literatures by testing elements of Cortina's (2008) theory of *selective incivility* as modern discrimination in organizations. Our central argument is that "general" incivility, in some forms, is anything but general, instead representing a modern manifestation of bias that alienates women and people of color from work life. Theories of *double jeopardy* and *intersectionality* suggest that women of color may be most at risk for this mistreatment. We test these ideas with survey data from three organizations.

Theoretical Background

Workplace incivility. Andersson and Pearson define *workplace incivility* as "low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm the target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect. Uncivil behaviors are characteristically rude and discourteous, displaying a lack of regard for others" (1999: 457). When the instigator aims to injure the targeted employee or organization, the uncivil conduct constitutes *psychological aggression* (e.g., Baron, 2004; Neuman, 2004). For behavior to qualify as incivility, however, any harmful intent must be ambiguous to one or more of the parties involved (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Pearson et al., 2001).

Incivility may be ambiguous, but its effects are not. Individuals targeted with uncivil work behavior report greater job-related stress, distraction, and dissatisfaction; lower creativity and cooperation; and greater psychological distress. Over time, they lose commitment to their organizations and quit at higher rates (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001; Lim et al., 2008; Pearson, Andersson, & Porath, 2000; Pearson et al., 2001; Pearson & Porath, 2004). Even employees who only experience incivility *second hand* (e.g., witnessing the mistreatment of colleagues) show lower job satisfaction and commitment and greater job burnout and turnover intentions (Lim et al., 2008; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004, 2007). Cortina notes that these adverse consequences of incivility "have financial implications for employers, who must absorb the costs of employee distraction and discontentment, job accidents, substance abuse, sick leave, work team conflict, productivity decline, and turnover" (2008: 57).

Prior research has advanced our understanding of incivility's definition, impact, and relationship to other types of *generic* workplace mistreatment. Questions remain about how incivility relates to *group-specific* expressions of hostility, such as harassment based on gender and race. Incivility, gender harassment, and racial/ethnic harassment have a lot in common: Each behavior is antagonistic; degrades, offends, or intimidates; and violates standards of interpersonal respect. In addition, Cortina (2008) argues that these behaviors blend together at times. This may seem illogical, given that incivility is neutral on its surface.

That is, “generally” uncivil words and deeds make no *overt* reference to gender or race (or any other social dimension). Nevertheless, incivility may sometimes represent a *covert* manifestation of gender and racial bias when women and people of color are selectively targeted.

Initial evidence of working women being selectively targeted with incivility comes from research on attorneys (Cortina et al., 2002), university faculty (Richman et al., 1999), and court employees (Cortina et al., 2001). In each of these groups, women described higher rates of uncivil treatment than their male colleagues did. Less is known about race differences in uncivil work experiences, but the related literature on racial and ethnic harassment suggests that minority employees, compared to their White counterparts, are at greater risk for workplace mistreatment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman, Palmieri, Drasgow, & Ormerod, 2001).

Cortina (2008) offers explanations for why, in certain circumstances, women and people of color may be targeted with more incivility than men and Whites. She notes that the ambiguity inherent in uncivil conduct (e.g., using a condescending tone, ignoring or interrupting a colleague, belittling a coworker’s contribution) makes it possible to rationalize these behaviors as unbiased—that is, attribute them to factors (e.g., instigator carelessness or personality) that have nothing to do with race or gender. This makes incivility a means by which individuals can degrade women and people of color while maintaining an egalitarian image. This profile of findings is highly consistent with the social-psychological notion of *modern discrimination*.

Modern discrimination. What are now termed “old-fashioned” sexism and racism involve unconcealed contempt, endorsement of offensive stereotypes, and support for blatant discrimination against women and people of color. Such overt bigotry underwent a radical decline in the United States in the latter half of the 20th century (e.g., Brief et al., 1997; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995). Along with these changes in ideology came sweeping reforms in antidiscrimination laws and practices. In particular, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and related reforms, e.g., the Civil Rights Act of 1991) codified the illegality of employment discrimination based on sex and race. Nearly 50 years have elapsed since the passage of that legislation; still, gender and race disparities persist in virtually every sector of the workforce, from the military to the government to the *Fortune* 500 (e.g., Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009; Brief, 2008; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Bachman, 2001; Eagly & Carli, 2007).

To account for ongoing gender and racial inequalities in the United States, social psychologists have identified various forms of “modern” discrimination based on both gender (Jackson, Esses, & Burris, 2001; Swim et al., 1995; Swim et al., 2004; Tougas et al., 1995; Tougas et al., 1999) and race (Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998; McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1998). Different conceptualizations and terminologies have emerged across this literature (e.g., *modern sexism*, *neosexism*, *contemporary sexism*, *modern racism*, *aversive racism*, *symbolic racism*), but each construct reflects a similar set of core beliefs. This includes myths that sexism (or racism) is no longer a problem in this country, women or minorities are making unfair demands and using unfair strategies to advance their privilege and power, and “preferential treatment” or “special

favors” granted to these groups are undeserved. Today’s *modern sexists* and *modern racists* view these beliefs as empirical fact, not opinion or ideology. In fact, research suggests that they consciously endorse values of egalitarianism and justice, publicly condemn sexism and racism, and strongly identify as nonprejudiced. However, these same individuals implicitly harbor negative emotions and cognitions toward women (or minorities), driving them to discriminate in inconspicuous or rationalizable ways (e.g., Brief et al., 1997; Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986; Swim et al., 1995; Swim et al., 2004). That is, they discriminate (1) when the biased nature of the behavior is not obvious or (2) when a negative response can be attributed to something other than gender or race. Both of these descriptions fit many manifestations of workplace incivility (Cortina, 2008).

Empirical research connects modern sexist and racist beliefs to *formal* types of discrimination, such as unfair selection decisions (e.g., Brief et al., 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Building on that work, Cortina (2008) theorizes that these ideologies could also fuel *interpersonal* discrimination in the form of selective incivility. The result would be disparate incivility incidence rates by gender and race, such that women and employees of color receive more uncivil treatment than do men and Whites (respectively). In the current set of studies, we test for this incidence rate pattern across three organizations, seeking to corroborate prior findings on gender and incivility (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001; Richman et al., 1999), and also extend that work to consider race, race-by-gender, and age effects. We begin with the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Women will report more experiences of workplace incivility than men.

Hypothesis 2: People of color will report more experiences of workplace incivility than Whites.

Extending Selective Incivility Theory: Intersectionality and Double Jeopardy

The literatures on intersectionality and double jeopardy also suggest a combination of gender and race effects. Theories of intersectionality “simultaneously consider the meaning and consequences of multiple categories of identity, difference, and disadvantage” (Cole, 2009: 170). Emerging from feminist and critical race theories, intersectional perspectives recognize that people concurrently occupy numerous social locations (based on gender, race, class, etc.) that vary in the degree of privilege and power they afford. An intersectional analysis considers multiple social identities simultaneously rather than focusing on any single identity in isolation. Intersectional perspectives have been vital in shedding light on the unique experiences of women of color—experiences that often differ from those of men of color and White women (e.g., Browne & Misra, 2003; Cole, 2009; Greenman & Xie, 2008).

More specific to negative experiences, double-jeopardy is a related theory arguing that women of color face a “double whammy of discrimination” (Berdahl & Moore, 2006: 427) based on both sexual and ethnic prejudice (e.g., Beal, 1970; Buchanan, Settles, & Woods, 2008; Epstein, 1973; Greenman & Xie, 2008). In other words, women of color are disadvantaged because they are female *and* because they are ethnic minority, and this doubly oppressed status exacerbates their experiences of mistreatment. In a study of workplace harassment, Berdahl and Moore (2006) found evidence supporting the double-jeopardy

hypothesis, such that women reported more sex-based harassment than men did and minorities reported more ethnic harassment than Whites did, the net result being minority women describing the most hostility on the job. Based on theories of intersectionality and double jeopardy, we expect:

Hypothesis 3: Gender and race will interact in affecting vulnerability to uncivil treatment, the result being that women of color report more experiences of workplace incivility than men of color or Whites of either gender.

Implications for Employee Turnover

Finally, we suggest that selective incivility could contribute to thoughts of turnover, ultimately driving women and people of color out of some organizations. We know from census and Department of Labor statistics that employees who are female or minority remain heavily underrepresented in a variety of occupations. For example, in 2010, women held less than 15% of the executive officer positions in the *Fortune* 500 (Catalyst, 2010), and only 32% of lawyers and 32% of physicians and surgeons were female (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Likewise, in 2010, only 14% of people in management occupations, 12% of physicians and surgeons, and 8% of lawyers were Black or Latino (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Many factors likely influence these disparities, one of which may be selective incivility. Supporting this possibility, past studies have identified links between uncivil experiences and turnover intentions (e.g., Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001; Lim et al., 2008), and intent to turnover is one of the strongest antecedents of voluntary turnover in organizations (e.g., Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000). In short, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: Greater exposure to incivility within an organization will predict greater thoughts and intentions of leaving that organization (i.e., turnover intentions).

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4 suggest a chain of events: Being a woman and/or person of color increases the risk of uncivil treatment, and this treatment then increases turnover cognitions. The proposition underlying these hypotheses can be summarized as a case of *simple mediation*: Female gender and minority race have indirect effects on intent to turnover, via experiences of incivility.

Hypothesis 3 further proposes that not only should race and gender have main effects on uncivil experiences, but those effects should also interact. Hypotheses 3 and 4 can be combined and tested as a special case of *moderated mediation*, in which “an interaction between an independent and moderator variable affects a mediator variable that in turn affects an outcome variable” (Edwards & Lambert, 2007: 7). In other words, we expect gender to interact with race in influencing risk for uncivil treatment; that incivility risk should in turn affect turnover intentions. This model would also be consistent with what Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes refer to as a *conditional indirect effect*, when an indirect effect “[varies] in strength conditional on the value of at least one moderator variable” (2007: 195). In summary, we expect to find:

Hypothesis 5: The indirect effect of gender on turnover intentions, via incivility, should be moderated by race, such that the strength of the mediated relationship is stronger for people of color than for Whites.

Further Extending Scholarship on Selective Incivility: What About Age?

Cortina's theoretical arguments about selective incivility focus primarily on gender and race. That said, she acknowledges that "workplace mistreatment can be based on other social dimensions as well, such as sexual orientation, age, disability status, etc. . . . Similar arguments could be developed for [these] other characteristics that divide and stigmatize individuals" (2008: 257, Note 1). Following up on these possible extensions of selective incivility theory, in the current article we consider age-based incivility, that is, incivility that is disproportionately targeted at older employees.

Ageism, similar to racism and sexism, has been institutionalized insofar as Americans receive countless messages that growing old is bad (Nelson, 2009, 2011). Research on age bias in the workplace suggests that multiple factors, including stereotypes, relational demography, career timetables, and "prototype matching" (comparing a job applicant's age to the age of the average employee) influence whether employees are discriminated against because of their age (e.g., Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995; Shore & Goldberg, 2004). Common stereotypes of older adults are complex, such that people internalize both positive and negative views of the elderly (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Nelson, 2009). However, within the workplace, beliefs about older adults tend to be uniformly negative (for a review of this literature, see Wiener & Keller, 2011). Additionally, experimental studies have shown that older adults receive more negative evaluations than do their younger or middle-age counterparts (e.g., Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995; Kulik, Perry, & Bourhis, 2000; Levin, 1988). *Overt* discrimination against older adults is prohibited by the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, but negative attitudes toward older workers could manifest in *covert* ways, such as selective incivility. This brings us to our next and final hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6: Increasing age will be associated with more experiences of workplace incivility.

The Present Studies

To test our hypotheses, we conducted secondary analyses of survey data from three organizations. The organization in Study 1 was a city government that had sufficient variance on gender to test Hypothesis 1. Study 2 took place in a law enforcement agency; this being an industry that is more ethnically diverse than most, it lends itself well to tests of the race effect in Hypothesis 2. For Study 3, we drew on survey data collected by the U.S. military. This last study oversampled women and people of color, the result being thousands of participants in each sex-by-race group (women of color, men of color, White women, White men); this allowed us to test Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 5. In addition, each of these studies collected data on turnover intentions, so we were able to test Hypothesis 4 in all

three organizations. Finally, Studies 1 and 2 also collected information about respondent age, permitting tests of Hypothesis 6.

We also recognize that there are alternative explanations for disparities in descriptions of uncivil work experiences. Both gender and race are sometimes confounded with number of years on the job because women and people of color have only recently gained entry into many professions (e.g., Reskin & Padavic, 2006; Valian, 2000). This provides an alternative explanation for why they may feel less respect than their (longer tenured) White male colleagues. We therefore added job tenure as a control in all analyses.

A second possibility is that the gender or race of the *situation*, not the target, is what drives incivility. In other words, perhaps women or people of color receive higher rates of incivility than others because their gender or race is underrepresented in their work environments, making them highly visible minorities. This would be consistent with work by Kanter (1977) and others (Gruber, 1998; Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990), which has found women “tokens” in male-dominated work groups to experience social isolation, performance pressures, gender role encapsulation, and harassment. Further complicating this picture, Ely (1994) reported that in organizations with low proportions of women in senior leadership, women in gender-imbalanced groups perceived more competition with their female peers and less support in these relationships. To explain such effects, Ely (1994) argued that organizational demographics affect social identities and work relationships, such that women in the upper echelons indicate to junior women the possibility of obtaining a position of power. This, in turn, shapes the meaning and significance women associate with being female in that organization, ultimately influencing work relationships with other women. In our project, the demographic composition of work groups was most striking with respect to gender in the military context, where the work environment remains extremely male dominated, particularly at the senior leadership level (men comprise over 85% of today’s active-duty military personnel; Department of Defense, 2009). We therefore added work group gender composition and supervisor gender as controls in all Study 3 analyses.

Study 1: City Government

Method: Participants and Procedure

Approximately 50% of the employees of a Midwestern municipality were randomly sampled and invited to participate in this study.¹ With a 79% response rate, 393 employees completed the on-site survey. Participants’ job types varied, primarily including public safety, manual labor, and administrative positions. We excluded 24 participants from all analyses for omitting critical information (on gender or incivility) or for returning surveys largely blank. Hence, the final sample consisted of 369 employees. Thirty-eight percent were female, 80% were White, and 64% were married or partnered. They ranged in age from 22 to 62 (age $M = 40$, $SD = 9.24$) and averaged 12 years of job tenure ($SD = 9.15$). Eighty-four percent had at least some college education.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Coefficients, and
Correlations for Study 1 (city government)

Variables	Number of Items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4	5
1. Target gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	1	0.38	0.49	–	1.00				
2. Target job tenure	1	12.27	9.15	–	-.07	1.00			
3. Target age	1	39.85	9.24	–	.03	.72***	1.00		
4. Target's experience of incivility	12	8.27	8.76	.92	.19***	.08	.08	1.00	
5. Target's turnover intentions	3	2.13	2.53	.87	.21***	.04	.05	.49***	1.00

*** $p < .001$.

Measures

Descriptive statistics, coefficient alphas, and intercorrelations for all variables appear in Table 1. For multi-item scales, we summed relevant items to create scale scores; higher scores reflect greater levels of the underlying construct.

Demographics. Participants self-reported their gender, which we coded 0 (*male*) or 1 (*female*). They also provided their job tenure (i.e., number of years employed at that organization) and age in write-in boxes.

Workplace incivility. We used items from the reliable and valid Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS; Cortina et al., 2001) to measure the frequency of participants' personal experiences of uncivil conduct. We also supplemented the WIS with new items, to assess the construct domain more fully. The complete instrument appears in the appendix. Participants responded on a 5-point scale (0 = *never* to 4 = *many times*), describing how often they had experienced each behavior from a coworker or supervisor during the prior year at work. In other words, this scale assesses actual experiences of specific behaviors rather than general perceptions or imagined reactions to hypothetical scenarios.

Turnover intentions. A three-item job withdrawal scale (Hanisch & Hulin, 1990, 1991) measured thoughts about or intentions to quit the organization, using a 5-point scale (response options vary, depending on the item: 0 = *once or twice a year* to 4 = *once a week or more* or 0 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*). Hanisch and Hulin (1990, 1991) discuss the development and validation of this measure, reporting an average coefficient alpha of .70 and longitudinally linking prior job stresses to subsequent withdrawal.

Study 1 Results and Discussion

We tested the simple mediation effects implied in Hypotheses 1, 4, and 6 using both the *product of coefficients* approach (the Sobel test) and bootstrap² confidence intervals. The independent variables in this analysis were gender and age, incivility was the mediator, and

Table 2
Results of Regression Analysis of Simple Mediation in Study 1 (city government)

Predictor	<i>B</i> ^a	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Mediator variable model (criterion: incivility)				
Constant	5.19	2.32	2.23	.026
Target job tenure	0.06	0.07	0.88	.381
Target gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	3.26	0.95	3.42	.001
Target age	0.03	0.07	0.38	.707
Dependent variable model (criterion: turnover intent)				
Constant	0.61	0.59	1.03	.305
Target job tenure	0.01	0.02	0.04	.972
Target gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.67	0.24	2.73	.007
Target age	0.01	0.02	0.21	.831
Target's experience of incivility	0.14	0.01	10.22	.001

a. Here and throughout this article, we report *unstandardized* beta coefficients, as recommended by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007). Standardization would not have altered either the *t* ratios or *p* values.

turnover intent was the dependent variable. In addition, these analyses controlled for job tenure.

We began by testing two ordinary least squares (OLS) regression equations, the results of which appear in Table 2. The first equation was the mediator variable model, with the criterion being incivility. Our primary question here was whether target gender and target age predict uncivil treatment (as suggested by Hypothesis 3 and Hypothesis 6), over and above the effects of target tenure. A significant regression coefficient supported a relationship for target gender. More specifically, women reported significantly higher average exposure to incivility ($M = 10.45$, $SD = 9.68$) than did men ($M = 6.97$, $SD = 7.93$). Target age, however, showed no significant effect.

The second regression equation—the dependent variable model—also appears in Table 2. The key question here was whether the target's experience of incivility (the mediator) significantly predicted his or her intent to turnover (the dependent variable), and indeed this was the case. Taken together, the collection of variables (gender, age, incivility, and job tenure) explained 26% of the variance in employees' turnover intentions.

A Sobel analysis confirmed that gender had a significant indirect relationship with turnover intent via incivility (point estimate of indirect effect = .47, $SE = .13$, $z = 3.47$, $p = .000$). In contrast, a second Sobel test suggested that age had no indirect relationship with turnover through incivility (point estimate = .01, $SE = .01$, $z = 1.52$, $p = .13$).

The Sobel test is widely used in research on mediation, but it erroneously assumes normality in the distribution of the indirect effect.³ Methodologists (e.g., Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Shrout & Bolger, 2002) therefore recommend that it be supplemented with bootstrap confidence intervals, which do not make assumptions about the shape of the sampling distribution. If the confidence intervals exclude zero, the indirect effect (i.e., mediation) is considered meaningful. We therefore calculated *percentile-based*, *bias-corrected*, and *bias-corrected and accelerated* confidence intervals across 5,000 bootstrap resamples; these results appear in the upper panel of Table 3. None of the

Table 3
Bootstrap Analysis of Simple Mediation in Study 1
(city government) and Study 2 (law enforcement)

	95% Bootstrap Confidence Intervals					
	Percentile-Based		Bias-Corrected		Bias-Corrected and Accelerated	
	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
Study 1						
Gender	.18	.74	.19	.75	.19	.75
Age	-.02	.02	-.01	.02	-.01	.02
Study 2						
Race	.02	.10	.02	.10	.02	.10
Age	-.01	.00	-.01	.00	-.01	.00

Note: Results are based on 5,000 bootstrapped samples.

confidence intervals for gender contained zero, which further supported a significant indirect relationship between gender and turnover intent, via incivility. In contrast, all confidence intervals for age *did* include zero, confirming that age did not link with turnover intentions through incivility.

This pattern of results supported Hypotheses 1 and 4 but not Hypothesis 6. That is, female gender (but not advanced age) was associated with increased risk for uncivil treatment on the job, which in turn related to increased intentions to leave that job. Moreover, these results cannot be explained by women having shorter tenure than men in their organizations. Of course, many additional factors would contribute to turnover decisions (e.g., health, job satisfaction), but incivility proved to be an important predictor.

Whereas Study 1 focused on links from gender and age to incivility, Study 2 addressed links from race and age.

Study 2: Law Enforcement Agency

Method: Participants and Procedures

As part of a larger study of a law enforcement agency on the East Coast, a sample of 797 sworn personnel was drawn, including all of the women, all of the minority men, and a random sample of the White men. Those with the rank of lieutenant or below completed surveys in large groups. Employees with the rank of captain, major, or higher received the survey questionnaire in the mail, which they returned in postage-paid envelopes. A total of 679 personnel responded to the survey (85% response rate). We excluded participants who failed to complete questions about race or incivility, yielding a sample of 653 for analyses. Ninety percent of this sample was male, 93% had at least some college education, and 82% was married. Fifty-four percent identified as White, 24% as African American/Black, 12% as Hispanic, 3.5% as Native American, 2% as Asian American, and 2.5% as "Other"; 2% did

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Coefficients, and
Correlations for Study 2 (law enforcement)

Variables	Number of Items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4	5
1. Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>minority</i>)	1	0.45	0.50	–	1.00				
2. Target job tenure	1	14.62	6.90	–	.02	1.00			
3. Target age	1	38.75	6.21	–	.06	.88***	1.00		
4. Target's experience of incivility	20	26.74	8.79	.91	.11**	.05	.01	1.00	
5. Target's turnover intentions	3	1.50	0.73	.76	.11**	.14***	.09*	.32***	1.00

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

not indicate their race. This sample ranged in age from 24 to 54 (age $M = 39$, $SD = 6.21$), and they averaged 15 years of job tenure ($SD = 6.90$).

Measures

Summary statistics, coefficient alphas, and intercorrelations for all constructs appear in Table 4. For multi-item scales, we summed items to create scale scores; higher scores reflect greater levels of the underlying construct.

Demographics. Participants self-reported their race, which we coded 0 (*White*) or 1 (*minority*). In addition, they provided the number of years they had been employed with that law enforcement agency, as well as the number of years they had been employed in law enforcement prior to working for that organization. We summed responses to these two items to create a measure of total job tenure in law enforcement. Participants also gave their age in a write-in box.

Workplace incivility. To assess experiences of uncivil behaviors, we used a 20-item measure based on the WIS (Cortina et al., 2001). This included all of the incivility items used in Study 1 plus additional items to increase coverage of the construct domain (e.g., “refuse to work with you,” “withhold information that you needed to do your job correctly”). Participants again described how often they had experienced each behavior in the prior year (from 0 = *never* to 4 = *many times*) from other employees in their agency.

Turnover intentions. To assess turnover intentions, we again used Hanisch and Hulin's (1990, 1991) three-item job withdrawal scale, identical to that employed in Study 1.

Study 2 Results and Discussion

Analyses for Study 2 paralleled those of Study 1, the only difference being that race rather than gender was an independent variable. Age was a second independent variable, and job tenure was a covariate. Our focus this time was testing Hypotheses 2, 4, and 6.

Table 5
Results of Regression Analysis of Simple Mediation in Study 2 (law enforcement)

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Mediator variable model (criterion: incivility)				
Constant	29.25	3.62	8.96	.000
Target job tenure	0.18	0.11	1.68	.093
Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>minority</i>)	2.09	0.70	2.99	.003
Target age	-0.16	0.12	-1.35	.178
Dependent variable model (criterion: turnover intent)				
Constant	0.85	0.28	3.10	.002
Target job tenure	0.02	0.01	2.45	.015
Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>minority</i>)	0.12	0.06	2.19	.029
Target age	-0.01	0.01	-1.03	.303
Target's experience of incivility	0.03	0.01	7.81	.000

We again began with two OLS regression equations, the first of which was the mediator variable model predicting incivility; Table 5 displays these results. The primary question behind this analysis was whether target race and target age predict uncivil treatment (as suggested by Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 6), over and above the effects of target tenure. A significant regression coefficient supported a relationship for target race. Minority members' average exposure to incivility was significantly higher ($M = 27.86$, $SD = 9.26$) than that of their White colleagues ($M = 25.87$, $SD = 8.40$). Target age, however, showed no significant effect on incivility exposure.

We then tested the dependent variable model, predicting turnover intent; these results also appear in Table 5. The focus of this analysis was again whether the target's exposure to incivility significantly predicted his or her intent to turnover, over and above the effect of tenure in the organization. Once again, this was indeed the case. Taken together, this collection of variables (race, age, incivility, and job tenure) explained 12% of the variance in turnover intentions in law enforcement.

According to the Sobel analysis, racial minority status had a significant indirect relationship with turnover intent via incivility (point estimate = .05, $SE = .02$, $z = 2.83$, $p = .005$). Another Sobel test, however, suggested that age had no indirect association with turnover by way of incivility (point estimate = .0006, $SE = .001$, $z = 0.41$, $p = .68$).

Next, we again calculated confidence intervals across 5,000 bootstrap resamples; these appear in the lower panel of Table 3. None of the confidence intervals for race, but all of the confidence intervals for age, contained zero.

This pattern of results was consistent with an indirect connection between race and turnover intentions through incivility, supporting Hypotheses 2 and 4. Hypothesis 6, about age having an indirect link, was not supported. We thus found that minority race (but not age) related to increased risk for rude treatment in an organization, which in turn predicted greater thoughts and intentions of leaving that organization. Moreover, these results cannot be explained by job tenure. It is important to note that the uncivil behavior assessed in this study *came from coworkers, supervisors, and command staff*. These findings therefore cannot be attributed to hostile treatment directed at law enforcement officers from members of the public (e.g., on the streets, during arrests, while issuing citations).

To build on findings from Studies 1 and 2, we next analyzed survey data from a sample that was large and diverse enough to examine effects of *both* gender and race simultaneously, permitting tests of whether women of color face double jeopardy when it comes to workplace incivility (as Hypothesis 3 proposes). This sample also included enough African American women and men, within both the enlisted and officer ranks, such that analyses of race could focus more specifically on Whites compared to African Americans. This overcomes the limitation inherent in combining all people of color into a single “minority” group. An additional advantage of this survey was that it contained questions about supervisor gender and work group gender composition; these data enabled tests of whether women’s increased reports of incivility might be attributable to the severe underrepresentation of their gender in the military work environment. In other words, assuming that military women report more uncivil treatment than military men do, Study 3 allowed us to test whether this was due to their own gender (and/or race), the gender of their work environment, or both. We could not test for age effects, having no age question in the Study 3 survey (moreover, military samples are less likely to have older workers).

Study 3: U.S. Military

Method: Participants and Procedures

This study (the 2002 Status of the Armed Forces Surveys: Workplace and Gender Relations) began with a nonproportional stratified, single-stage random sample of active-duty members of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard (excluding reservists on active duty). The initial sample contained 60,415 individuals, of whom 53,170 were deemed eligible for the survey (reasons for ineligibility were various, such as inability to locate the sample member). These individuals were invited to complete surveys either on paper or online, and 19,960 usable surveys were returned (38% response rate). Forty-nine percent of the sample was female, 62% was married, and 47% had approximately 12 to 14 years of schooling. Their number of years of active service revealed a bimodal distribution, with 38% of the sample reporting less than 6 years and 36% reporting 10 to 20 years of active duty. Fifty-seven percent of this sample was White, and 21% was African American; all analyses focused on this subset of 15,497 participants. (For more information on this sample and procedures, see Lipari & Lancaster, 2003).

Measures

Descriptive statistics, coefficient alphas, and intercorrelations for all variables appear in Table 6. For multi-item scales, we summed relevant items to create scale scores; higher scores reflect greater levels of the underlying construct.

Demographics. Participants self-reported their gender (coded 0 = *male* or 1 = *female*), their race (coded 0 = *White* or 1 = *Black or African American*), and their immediate supervisor’s gender (coded 0 = *male* and 1 = *female*). In addition, they provided their years of military service (i.e., job tenure), and the Defense Manpower Data Center collapsed their

Table 6
Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Coefficients, and Correlations for Study 3 (U.S. military)

Variables	Number of items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Target gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	1	0.53	0.50	–	1.00					
2. Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>African American</i>)	1	0.51	0.50	–	.06***	1.00				
3. Target job tenure	1	2.33	1.08	–	–.15***	.06***	1.00			
4. Supervisor gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	1	0.17	0.37	–	.15***	.09***	–.02	1.00		
5. Workgroup gender composition	1	2.80	1.19	–	.25***	.13***	.04***	.36***	1.00	
6. Target's experience of incivility	10	18.76	8.88	.93	.09***	.03*	–.15***	.02*	–.04***	1.00
7. Target turnover intentions	5	2.96	1.73	.80	–.01	.01	.00	.00	.00	.19***

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

responses into four ordered categories: 1 = *less than 6 years*, 2 = *6 years to less than 10 years*, 3 = *10 years to less than 20 years*, and 4 = *20 years or more*. Participants also described the “gender mix” of their work groups, defined as “the people with whom you work on a day-to-day basis.” Response options fell along a 7-point scale (1 = *all men*, 2 = *almost entirely men*, 3 = *more men than women*, 4 = *about equal numbers of men and women*, 5 = *more women than men*, 6 = *almost entirely women*, and 7 = *all women*).

Workplace incivility. This survey assessed experiences of incivility with Glomb’s (in press; Glomb & Liao, 2003) reliable and valid Aggressive Experiences Scale. These 10 items asked how often, in the past 12 months, respondents had “been in workplace situations where military personnel, civilian employees, and/or contractor employees” had targeted them with behaviors such as “avoiding you,” “saying offensive or crude things about you,” or “insulting, criticizing you (including sarcasm).” The 5-point response scale ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*).

Turnover intentions. To assess thoughts and intentions to leave the military, five items were adopted from the 1999 Survey of Active Duty Personnel (Helba et al., 2001). Examples included “thought seriously about leaving the military” and “discussed leaving and/or civilian opportunities with family or friends.”

Study 3 Results and Discussion

Before proceeding, we sought to equalize the cell sizes in our analysis. The data set contained many more White men ($n = 5,964$) and White women ($n = 5,387$) than African American men and women ($n = 1,816$ and $n = 2,330$, respectively), yielding an unbalanced

Table 7
Results of Regression Analysis of Moderated Mediation in Study 3 (U.S. military)

Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Mediator variable model (criterion: incivility)				
Constant	21.81	0.36	60.47	.000
Target job tenure	-1.13	0.09	-12.03	.000
Supervisor gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	0.66	0.29	2.28	.023
Work group gender composition ^a	-0.49	0.09	-5.29	.000
Target gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	0.86	0.29	2.99	.003
Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>African American</i>)	0.12	0.29	0.42	.675
Target gender × race	0.90	0.40	2.26	.024
Dependent variable model (criterion: turnover intent)				
Constant	2.21	0.08	25.94	.000
Target job tenure	0.04	0.02	2.17	.030
Supervisor gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	-0.03	0.06	-0.55	.580
Work group gender composition	0.01	0.02	0.72	.469
Target gender (0 = <i>male</i> , 1 = <i>female</i>)	-0.20	0.06	-3.58	.000
Target race (0 = <i>White</i> , 1 = <i>African American</i>)	-0.13	0.06	-2.36	.018
Target gender × race	0.26	0.08	3.28	.001
Target's experience of incivility	0.04	0.00	17.23	.000

a. Work group gender composition was coded such that higher scores reflect a greater presence of women.

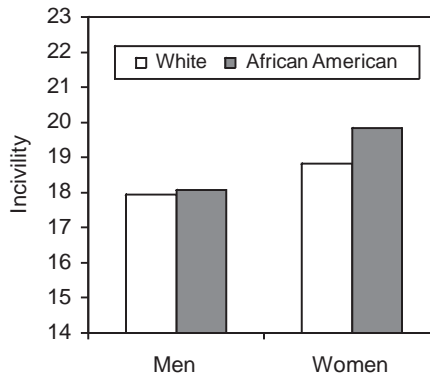
design. We therefore drew a random sample of 2,000 White men and 2,000 White women in order to more closely match the African American cell sizes. After pooling data from the two random samples with data from all of the African American respondents, we had a subsample of 8,146.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that gender and race would interact in predicting uncivil treatment, with women of color reporting disproportionately more uncivil experiences than any other gender-by-race group. Hypothesis 4 predicted that greater experiences of incivility would be associated with greater thoughts and intentions of quitting. Hypothesis 5 combined both of these predictions into a moderated mediation model, with race moderating the gender-to-incivility relationship.⁴

To test Hypothesis 5, we implemented the analyses recommended by Preacher et al. (2007), which included both normal theory-based and bootstrap-based approaches to testing moderated mediation. In these analyses, gender served as the independent variable, race was the moderator, incivility was the mediator, and turnover intent was the dependent variable. As in previous analyses, job tenure served as a covariate. We also added two new covariates—supervisor gender and work group gender composition—to test whether women's increased exposure to incivility could be attributable to their working in an environment (the military) in which they are heavily underrepresented. These analyses essentially tested whether (after controlling for job tenure, supervisor gender, and work group gender composition) incivility mediated a relationship between gender and turnover intentions and whether this mediated effect varied depending on race.

As with simple mediation, we began by estimating two OLS regression equations, corresponding to a mediator variable model and dependent variable model; these results appear in Table 7. The main question of the first model was whether target gender and race

Figure 1
Estimated Marginal Means for Gender-by-Race Effect on Incivility



interacted in the prediction of uncivil treatment (Hypothesis 3). A significant regression coefficient supported this relationship.

To better understand this effect, we plotted the marginal means for each gender-by-race group in Figure 1. This figure shows how female gender related to increased risk for uncivil treatment for both White and African American employees (consistent with a main effect of target gender, which remained significant even in the presence of the interaction). The figure also demonstrates how target gender interacted with target race, with the gender difference being more pronounced for African Americans than for Whites. Follow-up Tukey tests revealed that African American women described significantly more uncivil treatment ($M = 19.85$) than any other group: White women ($M = 18.83$), African American men ($M = 18.07$), or White men ($M = 17.95$). Consistent with Hypothesis 3, then, women of color (in this case, African American women) were uniquely vulnerable to uncivil treatment.

Because the mediator variable model also included target gender and target race as main effects, this provided further tests of Hypotheses 1 and 2. As noted above, gender had a main effect on incivility over and above effects of the interaction; race, however, did not (see Table 7). This means that racial minority status (specifically, being African American) was associated with increased risk for uncivil treatment only when combined with female gender. Female gender, in contrast, predicted increased exposure to incivility, regardless of one's race.

Although not hypothesized, another interesting finding in Table 7 was the significant effect of work group gender composition on incivility exposure, over and above the effects of target gender, gender-by-race, and so on. This suggested that the more that an employee's work group was skewed toward "all men," the more uncivil conduct that employee encountered.

Results from the dependent variable model also appear in Table 7. This model tested

Table 8
Conditional Indirect Effect of Gender on Turnover Intent via Incivility,
at Different Values of the Race Moderator in Study 3 (U.S. military)

Race	Mean conditional indirect effect	SE	Z	p	95% Bootstrap Confidence Intervals					
					Percentile-Based		Bias-Corrected		Bias-Corrected and Accelerated	
					Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
African American	.07	.01	5.43	.000	.04	.09	.04	.09	.04	.09
White	.03	.01	3.12	.002	.01	.05	.01	.05	.01	.05

Note: Results are based on 5,000 bootstrapped samples.

whether the target's experience of incivility (the mediator) significantly predicted intent to turnover, and indeed this was the case. Taken together, the variables in this equation (gender, race, gender \times race, incivility, job tenure, work group gender composition, and supervisor gender) explained 4% of the variance in respondents' intent to leave military employment.

We next conducted a bootstrap test of the conditional indirect effect at different values of the moderator. That is, across 5,000 bootstrap resamples, we calculated the mean indirect effect of gender \rightarrow incivility \rightarrow turnover intent for our two race categories, White and African American; these results appear in Table 8. These analyses further demonstrated that the indirect relationship between gender and turnover intentions—via incivility—was significant for both racial groups but over twice the size for African Americans (mean indirect effect = .07, $p = .0000$) compared with Whites (mean indirect effect = .03, $p = .0018$).

Finally, we calculated percentile-based, bias-corrected, and bias-corrected and accelerated bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effects; these also appear in Table 8. None of the confidence intervals contained zero, which further supported a significant indirect effect of gender on turnover intent, by way of incivility, for both African Americans and Whites.

In summary, according to moderated mediation analyses, gender and race interacted in predicting incivility; this resulted in African American women facing higher risk for uncivil treatment than African American men or Whites of either gender. Incivility, in turn, was associated with greater intention to turnover. All effects held significant while controlling for job tenure, supervisor gender, and work group gender composition.

General Discussion

This article makes novel contributions to both organizational and social psychology. First, by building bridges with social-psychological scholarship on discrimination, we extend the literature on workplace mistreatment to incorporate issues of gender, race, and age. Most extant organizational studies of aggression, deviance, undermining, injustice, and so on have

addressed generic conduct irrespective of social categories, without recognizing that antisocial work behavior may often reflect bias against members of undervalued social groups.⁵ A second contribution of the present work is to the social psychology literature. A frequent complaint in social psychology (e.g., Fiske, 2000) is that studies of “discrimination” and “intergroup conflict” have focused in detail on cognition and emotion but have neglected action. While we appreciate the importance of attitudes, stereotypes, and ideologies, we also agree that a thorough understanding of intergroup relations requires attention to intergroup behaviors (Fiske, 2000). With this goal in mind, we investigated the specific behavioral experience of selective incivility from the target’s perspective.

More specifically, we began testing Cortina’s (2008) theory of selective incivility as a covert manifestation of sexism and racism in organizations. Consistent with that theory, and with our hypotheses, Studies 1 and 2 found that women and people of color reported significantly more experiences of incivility on the job than did men and Whites, respectively. The uncivil behaviors assessed in these studies were neutral in content with respect to both gender and race. These findings support the possibility that some uncivil conduct represents an inconspicuous form of gender and racial discrimination. This work echoes Sue, Capodilupo, and Torino’s (2007) research on “racial microaggressions,” referring to subtle racist behaviors that are most likely to emerge when they can be explained by factors other than race.

Race effects also emerged in Study 3, but only in interaction with gender. Employees of color—specifically, African Americans—did report more uncivil treatment than White employees but only when they were women (Figure 1). One might wonder why African American *men* did not describe more incivility than White men, and one possible explanation lies in the particular context of this study: the U.S. military. Military work calls for hypermasculinity, encouraging employees toward extreme physical fitness, aggression, and even violence. These traits are also core components of stereotypes of African Americans (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 2000), especially African American men (e.g., Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Young, 2004). This alignment between occupation and stereotype could promote acceptance of and respect for African American men in the military: Because they are seen to “belong” in this work environment, fellow employees may treat them with civility. In contrast, African American *women* could be viewed as ill suited to this employment context due to their female gender and its associated stereotypes, so employees may selectively target them with incivility.

In line with Hypothesis 4, experiences of incivility related to turnover intentions across all of our studies: The more that people faced rudeness on the job, the more they considered leaving that job. Because turnover intentions are one of the strongest predictors of actual turnover (Griffeth et al., 2000), our findings support the likelihood that uncivil treatment drives some women and people of color out of their places of work. Relationships between selective incivility and turnover might even be one explanation (out of many) for the dearth of women and people of color in certain jobs and industries; this is an intriguing possibility that warrants further study.

The size and diversity of Study 3 allowed us to test our predictions as a special case of moderated mediation. Results supported Hypotheses 3, 4, and 5, with gender and race interacting to influence risk for uncivil treatment, which in turn related to turnover intentions.

Put differently, we found that the indirect effect of gender on turnover intent, via incivility, was stronger for African American employees compared with White employees. As seen in Figure 1, African American women described more incivility than did African American men, White women, or White men. This finding is consistent with theories of double jeopardy for women of color (e.g., Beal, 1970; Buchanan et al., 2008; Epstein, 1973; Greenman & Xie, 2008). It is also in line with Crenshaw's classic intersectionality argument, suggesting that the experiences of African American women may be "the product of intersecting patterns of racism and sexism" (1991: 1243).

Our findings build on the work of Berdahl and Moore (2006), who demonstrated that women of color face double jeopardy when it comes to harassment in organizations. Whereas Berdahl and Moore addressed harassment based on sex and ethnicity, we focused on uncivil treatment that is neutral in its content. In doing so, we showed that the double-jeopardy pattern generalizes to forms of workplace mistreatment that do not overtly reference one's gender or race.

We found no evidence of age-based selective incivility in either a city government or law enforcement workplace. One possible explanation for these null effects is that participants in both of these samples were relatively young, averaging approximately 40 years of age. Moreover, these employees ranged in age from 22 to 62 (city) and 24 to 54 (law enforcement), so neither sample included elderly adults. It remains possible that age-based incivility manifests in the lives of people who work beyond middle age, that is, beyond age 65, "the magic number associated with retirement" (Cuddy et al., 2005: 277). The elderly stereotype includes both positive and negative elements—both warmth and incompetence—and this mixed pattern of stereotyping is known to breed interpersonal disregard and exclusion (e.g., Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Cuddy et al., 2005). Such exclusionary behavior, if disproportionately targeted at older employees, would constitute selective incivility in the workplace.

Patterns of *triple jeopardy* (e.g., based on the intersection of age, gender, and race biases) are also possible with workplace incivility. For instance, perhaps older Black women face more disrespect than other employees, due to stereotypes that frame them (being Black professionals) as cold and also (being older) incompetent (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002; Glick & Fiske, 1999, 2001). Such effects may depend on job type since not only persons but also jobs carry age stereotypes (e.g., Cleveland & Landy, 1983; Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995). Our data did not include the relevant variables to test these possibilities, but they represent interesting avenues for future research.

Although unexpected, it is interesting to note that work group gender composition had a significant relationship with incivility, over and above the effects of target gender and target race. That is, the more male dominated an employee's workgroup, the more incivility that employee tended to experience. This is consistent with prior empirical research linking male-skewed gender ratios to stereotyping and discrimination (e.g., Kanter, 1977; Whitley & Kite, 2006), harassment (e.g., Berdahl, 2007; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Gruber, 1998), and lower social support (e.g., Ely, 1994). More generally, this finding suggests that the demographics of situations, in addition to the demographics of persons, should be considered in models of incivility risk. There are also multiple levels of situation to consider; for instance, Ely's (1994) work suggests that the gender composition of senior leadership can influence individual experiences in work groups.

These issues of organizational demography as they relate to incivility are ripe for further inquiry.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although supported across three large studies, our findings have their limitations. First, the correlational, cross-sectional nature of our data sets precludes definitive causal or temporal inferences. Other studies, however, have identified longitudinal relationships between hostile work experiences and subsequent turnover cognitions (Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999) and turnover behaviors (Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). We therefore have good reason to believe that employees' thoughts and intentions of quitting followed, rather than preceded, their incivility exposure.

Second, data in this research were collected using single-source, self-report methods. Although the nature of our constructs makes the use of self-report appropriate (Chan, 2009), relying fully on self-reported data raises the potential that correlations may be distorted due to common method variance. Response biases were minimized to some extent in the design of these surveys, which assessed turnover intentions independent of and prior to measuring incivility. This creates "psychological separation" of the variables, which Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, and Podsakoff (2003) recommended as a means of reducing common method bias. In our surveys, this strategy also decreased the chances that respondents' memories of uncivil behaviors could influence their answers to turnover questions. Still, to test the possibility that common method variance may have unduly influenced results, we conducted the Harman single-factor test in each of our three data sets (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986). No overarching (method) factor emerged, making it less likely that our observed relations are primarily due to common method variance.

Another measurement issue is that the assessment of incivility varied across our three studies. In particular, Study 3 used Glomb's (in press; Glomb & Liao, 2003) Aggressive Experiences Scale, which aims to assess exposure to aggression that has an unambiguous intent to harm the target. However, as is common in the workplace mistreatment literature (Hershcovis, 2011), "intent" was factored into the definition but not the operationalization of this construct. Without any reference to intent, the behaviors assessed by Glomb's scale overlap heavily with common understandings of incivility (e.g., avoiding the target, insulting the target, using an angry tone of voice). That said, one could argue that these behaviors fall on the more hostile or angry end of the incivility continuum, or perhaps that they fall into the subdomain of incivility that bleeds into psychological aggression (these construct domains partly overlap—intent to harm should be *ambiguous* with incivility, but it can be present; Andersson & Pearson, 1999). The reader should keep in mind these measurement issues when making sense of findings across our three studies.

Note that the variance accounted for in turnover intent varied across studies, from a high of 26% (Study 1) to a low of 4% (Study 3). This diversity in effect size could be due to differences across surveys in incivility and turnover instruments. Perhaps also the smaller effect in Study 3 is due to turnover being more routine in the military context. Exiting military employment to continue one's career elsewhere is common. This is reflected in

Study 3's turnover intent data: Scale values ranged from 0 to 5, and the mean response was 2.96 ($SD = 1.73$), but the *modal* response was 5. Thoughts and intentions of exit appear customary in the military, to some extent regardless of incivility exposure. Readers should also bear in mind that even effects of small magnitude can be very meaningful (e.g., J. M. Cortina & Landis, 2011; Prentice & Miller, 1992) and, when it comes to turnover, very costly to organizations (e.g., Kacmar, Andrews, Van Rooy, Steilberg, & Cerrone, 2006; Staw, 1980).

Many interesting questions remain about incivility from the perspective of the instigator. Cortina's (2008) theory of selective incivility outlines cognitive, affective, and situational factors that can motivate instigators to target women and people of color with disproportionate disrespect. We indirectly assessed instigators' uncivil conduct by measuring targets' experiences of that conduct. Future studies could attempt to capture the instigator's perspective directly, which will require innovative methods to overcome social desirability bias. It will also be interesting to link instigators' actions with their thoughts, emotions, and contexts, which would further test Cortina's theory and help us better understand the personal and social factors that fuel selective incivility.

Although we ruled out several alternative explanations for our findings, there are additional possibilities. For instance, compared with men and Whites, women and people of color tend to occupy different types and levels of jobs, which may increase their interpersonal involvement with others (i.e., some jobs emphasize "working with people" more than "working with things"; e.g., Katz, 2009; Whiston, 1993) and therefore increase the likelihood of uncivil involvements. Put differently, gender and race can affect career choice, which in turn can shape the extent of interpersonal interaction; this can then affect risk for uncivil treatment. This complex mediational possibility (i.e., gender or race \rightarrow job type \rightarrow interpersonal interaction \rightarrow incivility) is an intriguing one that should be tested empirically.

Implications for Organizations

If selective incivility interferes with the retention of a diverse workforce, effective and creative strategies are needed to curtail this disguised form of discrimination. Cortina (2008) identified both person and situation factors that can fuel this behavior, and interventions for each of these factors could be considered. These interventions need not be limited to the organizational context, as *intraindividual* change also is possible. That is, the social psychology literature is replete with ideas on how to reform not only the situation but also the person. For example, effective strategies exist for preventing and intercepting individual stereotyping (e.g., Devine & Monteith, 1999; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) and for modifying people's cognitive categorization of who comprises their "ingroup" (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2001; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Because stereotyping and social categorization are key forces underlying modern discrimination, similar techniques could be applied to the management of selective (i.e., discriminatory) incivility.

Situation-level interventions for creating respectful, incivility-free work environments have emerged from the organizational sciences. As Pearson and colleagues (e.g., Pearson et al., 2000; Pearson & Porath, 2004, 2009) have argued, senior management should model

appropriate, respectful workplace behavior and clearly state expectations of civility in mission statements and policy manuals. All new employees should receive education about civility expectations, and employees at all levels could undergo interpersonal skills training. When incivilities do arise, instigators should be swiftly, justly, and consistently sanctioned.

Given the connections to gender and race documented in our research, civility-promotion campaigns should be integrated with organizational efforts to prevent overt discrimination (e.g., sexual and racial harassment). For instance, civility policies and trainings could emphasize that common courtesy ought to be race blind, gender blind, age blind, and so on. Leaders should stress that unacceptable discrimination includes not just overt expressions of misogyny and bigotry but also subtle acts of disrespect. The goal would be a broadening of employees' conceptualizations of what it means to be unbiased and professional (Brief & Barsky, 2000). As Cortina notes, "This sort of combined strategy would provide a more efficient and effective means of combating antisocial work behavior, which has many behavioral faces (general, gendered, raced, etc.)" (2008: 71). Training programs could potentially benefit all employees, crossing gender and race boundaries. They might therefore hold broader appeal and meet less resistance than interventions exclusively targeting discrimination or harassment based on gender, race, and so forth (Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2002; Lim & Cortina, 2005).

In sum, this collection of studies provides initial evidence that workplace incivility may be selectively targeted at women and people of color—and especially women of color—driving them out of some places of work. The uncivil treatment, in these cases, may represent a subtle and insidious form of discrimination. This speaks to the need for particular vigilance about issues of "general" incivility, which may not be so general after all.

Appendix

Incivility Items for Study 1 (city government)

During the PAST YEAR, were you ever in a situation in which any of your supervisors or co-workers...

Paid little attention to your statements or showed little interest in your opinions.

Doubted your judgment on a matter over which you had responsibility.

Gave you hostile looks, stares, or sneers.

Addressed you in unprofessional terms, either publicly or privately.

Interrupted or "spoke over" you.

Rated you lower than you deserved on an evaluation.

Yelled, shouted, or swore at you.

Made insulting or disrespectful remarks about you.

Ignored you or failed to speak to you (e.g., gave you "the silent treatment").

Accused you of incompetence.

Targeted you with anger outbursts or "temper tantrums."

Made jokes at your expense.

Note: Participants respond to each item on a 5-point scale: *never*, *once or twice*, *sometimes*, *often*, and *many times*.

Notes

1. Portions of this data set were also analyzed by Lim, Cortina, and Magley (2008), but none of the hypotheses or analyses of the current study overlap with those of Lim and colleagues.
2. Bootstrapping is a nonparametric procedure that “involves repeatedly sampling from the data set and estimating the indirect effect in each resampled data set. By repeating this process thousands of times, an empirical approximation of the sampling distribution of *ab* is built and used to construct confidence intervals for the indirect effect” (Preacher & Hayes, 2008: 880).
3. Due to this flawed assumption, some methodologists (e.g., Hayes, 2009) now recommend that tests of mediation *only* report bootstrap confidence intervals and omit the Sobel test altogether. Many readers, however, are accustomed to seeing Sobel test results in analyses of mediation, so we report them in this article.
4. Specifically, we tested a “Model 2” moderated mediation effect, in Preacher and colleagues’ (2007) nomenclature; this is conceptually analogous to Edwards and Lambert’s (2007) “first stage moderation model.” Although we designated race as the moderator variable, either race or gender could be framed as the moderator and the relevant statistical procedure would be the same. This is because “moderation is symmetric, such that either of the variables involved in a two-way interaction can be cast as the moderator variable” (Edwards & Lambert, 2007: 8, Note 2).
5. Notable exceptions exist, however. For example, see the work of Richman and colleagues on gender and “generalized workplace abuse” (e.g., Richman et al., 1999) and that of Fox and Stallworth (2005) on race and bullying.

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COMPARING SEXUAL HARASSMENT SUBTYPES AMONG BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN BY MILITARY RANK: DOUBLE JEOPARDY, THE JEZEBEL, AND THE CULT OF TRUE WOMANHOOD

NiCole T. Buchanan, Isis H. Settles, and Krystle C. Woods
Michigan State University

Drawing upon feminist analyses of double jeopardy and the cult of true womanhood, we examine race, rank, sexual harassment frequency, and psychological distress for Black and White female military personnel ($N = 7,714$). Results indicated that White women reported more overall sexual harassment, gender harassment, and crude behavior, whereas Black women reported more unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion; enlisted women reported higher rates of each subtype than officers. Black enlistees reported more sexual coercion than White enlistees, and enlistees reported more than officers, but there were no racial differences across officers. Black women reported more psychological distress following gender harassment than White women, and enlisted women reported more distress following gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion than officers. Although Black officers were less distressed at low levels of sexual coercion, as coercion became more frequent, their distress increased significantly, and at high levels, all groups were similarly distressed.

Sexual harassment is an occupational hazard directly affecting the majority of women across a variety of workplace settings (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993; Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003). Depression, post-traumatic stress, and work withdrawal are among a host of individual negative consequences associated with sexual harassment (see Avina & O'Donohue, 2002; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000). Further, sexual harassment costs organizations millions of dollars a year due to factors unrelated to legal costs, such as absenteeism, reduced productivity, and job turnover (Faley, Knapp, Kustis, & Dubois, 1999; Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board [USMSPB], 1987). Because of the high rates of sexual harassment and its adverse outcomes, additional re-

search on factors that influence its prevalence and severity is needed.

The race and organizational status of the sexual harassment target may be two such factors that have independent and interactive effects on sexual harassment experiences and outcomes. The harassment experiences of Black and White women may be dissimilar as a result of differing social perceptions of their work-related gender roles, family-caretaking priorities, sexuality, and femininity (Buchanan, 2005; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; DeFour, David, Diaz, & Thompkins, 2003; Texeira, 2002). Specifically, they may be targeted with different types of sexual harassment (e.g., gender harassment vs. sexually explicit forms). Differences may also manifest as a result of women's status within their organizations. For example, higher status women may be somewhat protected from being targets of sexual harassment compared with lower status women (Firestone & Harris, 1999; Gruber, 2003). Finally, race and organizational status may interact, such that low-status women of color are at heightened risk for being harassed and experiencing negative psychological consequences compared to low-status White women and high-status women of any race. To investigate the role of race and rank (i.e., status) in sexual harassment experiences and outcomes, the present study examines experiences of four sexual harassment subtypes among a sample of Black and White women

NiCole T. Buchanan, Isis H. Settles, and Krystle C. Woods, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University.

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Address correspondence and reprint requests to: NiCole T. Buchanan, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, 105C Psychology Building, East Lansing, MI 48824-1116. E-mail: nbuchana@msu.edu

who were either enlisted personnel or officers in the U.S. military.

Definition, Prevalence, and Outcomes of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment refers to a variety of unwanted gender-related comments and behaviors, with four subtypes (Fitzgerald, 1996; Lipari & Lancaster, 2004). *Gender harassment* includes negative 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. *Crude behavior* includes offensive verbal and nonverbal sexual behaviors, such as making sexual gestures or jokes. *Unwanted sexual attention* encompasses unwanted touching or attempts to establish a sexual relationship, including repeatedly asking someone for a date or making attempts to kiss or stroke another person against her will. Lastly, *sexual coercion* refers to attempts to coerce sexual cooperation via job-related threats or benefits, such as promising a promotion in exchange for sexual activities or threatening to fire someone for refusing to comply with sex-related requests. The current study examines all of these subtypes of sexual harassment.

Among civilians, one-half of working women experience sexual harassment prior to retirement (Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993; Iles et al., 2003). Rates among military personnel are higher than those for civilian women, with estimates ranging from 65 to 79% of women in the military experiencing sexual harassment within a 1-year period (Bastian, Lancaster, & Reist, 1996; U.S. Department of Defense, 2004; U.S. Department of Defense Inspector General, 2005; Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999; Hansen, 2004). Thus, sexual harassment is a frequent phenomenon for working women, particularly those in the military. Further, sexual harassment is detrimental to the psychological well-being of targeted individuals. Sexual harassment has been associated with increased rates of depression, posttraumatic stress, general clinical symptomology, work withdrawal, intentions to quit, and decreased productivity (Avinia & O'Donohue, 2002; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Langhout et al., 2005; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). As a result of these costs, researchers are moving to identify important factors related to the prevalence and consequences of sexual harassment, such as the race and organizational status of the harassed woman.

Race and Sexual Harassment

Within the literature, studies investigating racial differences in sexual harassment frequency have had inconsistent results. For example, although the majority of studies have found that women of color report more frequent experiences of sexual harassment than White women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Cortina, Swan,

Fitzgerald, & Waldo, 1998; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Hughes & Dodge, 1997; Kalof, Eby, Matheson, & Kroska, 2001; Mecca & Rubin, 1999; Nelson & Probst, 2004), others have found no differences or that women of color have lower rates (Frank, Brogan, & Schiffman, 1998; Gruber, 2003; Piotrkowski, 1998; Wyatt & Riederle, 1995). The inconsistency in past findings may be an artifact of the majority of studies examining racial differences in the frequency of overall sexual harassment, but not in sexual harassment subtypes. It is possible that focusing solely on the frequency of overall sexual harassment masks potential racial differences. We propose that differences in Black and White women's socio-historical experiences in the U.S. have resulted in differing gender-role norms regarding work and family caretaking, social status, and race-based sexual stereotypes. These differences may influence the subtypes of sexual harassment that are experienced, such that gender harassment may be more frequently targeted toward White women, and sexualized forms of harassment may be more commonly directed toward Black women. The following discussion provides our reasoning for this prediction.

By the mid-1800s the ideology of White womanhood centered on the "Cult of True Womanhood," which emphasized domesticity, submissiveness, morality, and dedication to caring for family (Browne & Kennelly, 1999; Perkins, 1983; Welter, 1966). White women, particularly those from the middle and upper classes, were expected to care for their families and homes, to the exclusion of outside work for pay. Whereas middle- and upper-class White women were able to meet this expectation, poor and working-class White women typically had to work out of economic necessity. Although their work for pay was equated with sexual impropriety (Poling, 1996; Santamarina, 2006; Stansell, 1987), the definition of a "proper lady" was applied to White women from all social classes. Further, the cult of true womanhood's characterization of White women as pious and morally superior resulted in several stereotypes of White women's sexuality, such as images of White women as sexually restrained (potentially due to their high moral character), inhibited, chaste until marriage, and interested in sex for the sole purpose of procreation (Collins, 2000; Frankenberg, 1993; Scully & Bart, 2003). Additionally, the high value placed on White women's virginity, combined with a perception of their sexual naiveté, furthered the presumption that White women needed protection, particularly by White men, to save them from being sexually mistreated; this contributed to paternalistic relationships between White men and women (Collins, 2000; Frankenberg, 1993).

During the 1960s, middle- and upper-class White women began to enter the workforce in substantial numbers; however, they entered a sex-segregated environment where they were marginalized as women and primarily relegated to secretarial duties. Presently, although the majority of White women are employed outside the home, many remain in sex-segregated work (Reskin, 1999; U.S.

Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006) and are defined as caretakers rather than wage earners (Browne & Kennelly, 1999). Additionally, the expectation persists that White women will exit the workforce, temporarily or permanently, once they have children and caretaking responsibilities (Browne & Kennelly, 1999; Stone & McKee, 1999). Hence, the acceptable roles for White women of all social classes have involved caretaking and child rearing, to the exclusion of outside work for pay, and stereotyped them as objects in need of protection from sexual advances, rather than as acceptable targets for sexual objectification (Stone & McKee, 1999; Scully & Bart, 2003).

Black women's work history in the United States has been dissimilar from that of White women. From slavery until the 1920s, Black women's primary employment was either as field and industrial workers (jobs which were undesirable and often required the physical strength typically expected of men) or domestic workers as maids and cooks (Davis, 2002; Pascale, 2001). Hence, throughout their history in the United States, Black women have been visible as workers, deemed physically suited for traditionally male jobs, and expected to maintain employment, regardless of their caretaking responsibilities within their own families (Santamarina, 2006; Stone & McKee, 1999; Yoder & Berendsen, 2001).

In addition to these work-related factors, Black women also experience *double jeopardy* (Beal, 1970; Bowleg, Huang, Brooks, Black, & Burkholder, 2003; King, 1988), which theorizes that Black women are especially vulnerable to mistreatment because they have low status on the basis of both their gender and race. For example, during slavery the rape of a Black woman was not considered a crime and, if prosecuted, the rape was litigated as a property crime with her owners presented as the victims (Davis, 1998). Currently, Black women continue to face disparate treatment from police, sexual assault advocates, medical personnel, and the courts when sexually assaulted (Campbell, Wasco, Ahrens, Sefl, & Barnes, 2001).

Further, sexualized stereotypes of Black women have been perpetuated since slavery and remain evident to the present day (Bell, 2004; Collins, 2000; West, 2004). Namely, the archetype of the *Jezebel* depicts Black women as sexually insatiable, promiscuous, and morally corrupt (Bell, 2004; West, 2004) and was used to justify the sexual exploitation of Black women during and after slavery (Collins, 2000; West, 2004). This archetype is present in the depiction of Black women in many forms of popular culture, such as television, film, advertisements, and the news (Bryant-Davis, 2005; Poran, 2006; Sanches-Hucles, Hudgins, & Gamble, 2005; Wilcox, 2005). Such representations may cause others to view Black women in a sexualized manner (Bell, 2004; Collins, 2000; Settles, 2006; West, 2004). Thus, their membership in multiple marginalized groups, combined with sexualized stereotypes, may make Black women more prone to experience sexualized forms of sexual harassment at work.

Organizational Status in the Military: Rank

Organizational status may influence the frequency of experiencing all types of sexual harassment. Results from previous studies on organizational status suggest that high organizational status is protective with regard to a variety of negative workplace behaviors, such as incivility and sexual harassment (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001). Conversely, individuals with lower organizational status are more frequently targeted for sexual harassment, particularly those in male-dominated organizations (e.g., Firestone & Harris, 1999; Fitzgerald et al., 1999; Gruber, 1998, 2003). The U.S. military is a hierarchical and highly masculine environment (Burke, 2004), and organizational status is reflected in individuals' rank. The hierarchical structure can be divided into enlisted personnel (e.g., sergeant, private), who constituted the largest number of those serving in the military (approximately 84% in 2002, the year in which the data were collected), and commissioned officers (e.g., lieutenant, general), who hold the highest ranks (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007). Military rank is unequally distributed by class, race, and gender (Hillman, 1999; Stoeber, Schmaling, Gutierrez, Blume, & Fonseca, 2007). For example, regardless of one's skills, competencies, or tenure, one must hold a college degree to rise to the rank of officer, and officers earn higher salaries than enlisted personnel with comparable years of service (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007). As a result of these policies, those of higher social class, as evidenced by education, are given access to more material resources (e.g., salary) and social status. In the military, this is formally operationalized via rank as enlisted personnel and officer.

One's military rank also communicates a variety of spoken and unspoken rules for normative behavior and interpersonal interactions (Burke, 2004; Hillman, 1999), which may be protective for those of higher rank. For example, lower ranking personnel can be reprimanded for disrespectful behavior toward a superior officer, although the same behavior may be acceptable if directed toward someone of equal or lower rank. Further, officers are less likely to be prosecuted and convicted for crimes against lower ranking personnel (Hillman, 1999). The strict guidelines for behavior toward someone of higher rank and penalties for violating these regulations reduce the likelihood that someone will be mistreated by lower ranking personnel. As a result, even the lowest ranking officers are protected from mistreatment, although they may still be at risk of abuse from officers of higher rank. For these reasons, enlisted women may be more at risk for being targets of sexual harassment than female officers.

The Current Study

Studies suggest that observers rate harassment as less severe when directed toward Black women (Mecca & Rubin, 1999; Shelton & Chavous, 1999), but little conclusive data

exists regarding whether women of various racial groups do indeed differ in the rates at which they are targets of the sexual harassment subtypes. Further, analyses that combine race and rank (or status) are noticeably absent, although being low status and being a woman of color may both act as vulnerability factors for sexual harassment. The current study seeks to expand the sexual harassment literature to address this issue among Black and White women in the military.

In the military, acceptance of women is tenuous (Vogt, Bruce, Street, & Stafford, 2007). Further, because gender-role norms for White women characterize them as caretakers, they may face even greater resistance to their suitability in the military than Black women. Gender harassment, which includes comments about women's belonging in a particular work context, can be an active and deliberate attempt to communicate such transgressions to women (Berdahl, 2007; Miller, 1997). Further, to the extent that they are seen as being in need of protection from sexual improprieties, they may be protected from more sexualized forms of sexual harassment. Conversely, because of cultural stereotypes of Black women as sexually promiscuous, as well as their race and gender marginalization, we expect that they will report more overtly sexual forms of sexual harassment than those reported by White women. Additionally, we propose that the protection offered by higher organizational status will be protective against sexual harassment. In summary, we expected that: (a) White women would report more gender harassment than Black women, whereas Black women would report more crude behavior, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion than White women; (b) enlisted women would report more sexual harassment of all types than officers; and (c) there would be a race by rank interaction, such that the racial differences in sexual harassment subtypes would be greater for enlisted women than for officers.

In addition, although there is a great deal of research on the negative outcomes associated with experiencing sexual harassment, less is known about factors, such as race and rank, that may act as moderators. Because of their potential vulnerability for multiple negative experiences, Black women may be more negatively affected by sexual harassment experiences than White women. Further, enlisted women in the military may be more negatively affected by sexual harassment because of their more limited recourse and power, compared to officers. Thus, we examined main and interactive effects for sexual harassment subtype frequency, race, and rank as predictors of psychological distress. Thus, we also predicted that: (a) for more frequent sexual harassment of any type, being Black and being enlisted personnel will be related to more psychological distress; (b) the relationship between all subtypes of sexual harassment and distress will be stronger for Black women than White women; (c) the relationship between all subtypes of sexual harassment and distress will be stronger for enlisted women than officers; (d) psychological distress will

be highest for Black enlisted women and lowest for White officers, with levels of distress for White enlisted women and Black officers falling between the other groups; and (e) race, rank, and sexual harassment will interact, such that the relationship between sexual harassment and psychological distress will be strongest for Black enlisted women and weakest for White officers, with the strength of these relationships for White enlisted women and Black officers falling between the other groups.

METHOD

Procedure and Participants

This study is a secondary analysis of the 2002 U.S. Department of Defense's "Status of the Armed Forces: Workplace and Gender Relations Survey (Form 2002 WGR)." The survey was sent to active armed services personnel. To protect participant confidentiality, Data Recognition Corporation collected the survey data and prepared the file for analysis by the Defense Manpower Data Center. Notification letters introducing the study were sent to potential participants. A cover letter and survey were sent approximately 3 weeks later. Reminder/thank-you letters were sent to members after 2 weeks, and a second survey was mailed to those who did not already return a survey. Four weeks after the second survey was mailed, a final survey and cover letter were sent to those who had not yet responded. Together, these sampling procedures yielded a 36% response rate. Further details regarding data collection and preparation of the public access data set are available in Lipari and Lancaster (2004) and Willis, Mohamed, and Lipari (2002).

The present study ($N = 7,714$) included Black ($n = 2,327$, 30.2%) and White ($n = 5,387$, 69.8%) women who were enlisted personnel ($n = 5,340$, 69.2%) or officers ($n = 2,374$, 30.8%) in the U.S. Armed Forces. Participant age was not included in the survey; however, 40.3% of women had been in the military for less than 6 years, 14.1% had served from 6 to less than 10 years, 34.9% had served from 10 to less than 20 years, and 10.7% had served for 20 years or more. All branches of the armed forces were represented: Army ($n = 2,144$, 27.8%), Navy ($n = 1,669$, 21.6%), Marine Corps ($n = 972$, 12.6%), Air Force ($n = 2,259$, 29.3%), and the Coast Guard ($n = 670$, 8.7%).

Measures

Race. Participants who self-identified their race as White (0) or Black (1) were selected for the current study.

Rank. On the original survey, participants selected 1 of 20 levels that represented their current pay grade (from enlisted military personnel level 1 to officer level 6 or higher). In the data set available to the public, original participant responses were placed into one of five categories: enlisted level 1 through level 4, enlisted level 5 through level 9, warrant officer level 1 through level 5, commissioned officer

level 1 through level 3, and commissioned officer level 4 through level 10. Because of the important status differences between enlisted personnel and officers, this variable was dichotomized into enlisted personnel = 0 (including all enlisted personnel) and officers = 1 (including all warrant officers and commissioned officers) in the present analyses.

Sexual harassment. The SEQ-DoD (U.S. Department of Defense; SEQ-DoD; Fitzgerald et al., 1999) was used to assess sexual harassment experiences. This measure is a 16-item modified version of Fitzgerald et al.'s (1988; see also Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995) Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). It assessed the frequency of participants' overall sexual harassment experiences in the military during the previous 12 months (full scale $\alpha = .92$). Items were coded on a 5-point scale, from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*).

The sexual harassment scale was also used to create the four harassment subscales. Responses for each subscale were averaged, with higher mean scores reflecting more frequent experiences of each subtype of sexual harassment in the past year. Because gender harassment requires that the experiences be gender based, two items in this subscale explicitly asked participants to report on experiences that they believe occurred because of their gender. All other items in the SEQ-DOD are behaviorally based and do not require the participant to make an attribution regarding the cause of the behavior. Further, for all items, the participant does not need to label the behavior as sexual harassment.

Differential treatment due to gender was assessed using four items that composed the Gender Harassment subscale ($\alpha = .87$). Sample items include "Referred to people of your gender in insulting or offensive terms," "Put you down or was condescending to you because of your gender," and "Treated you differently because of your gender (for example, mistreated, slighted, or ignored you)." The Crude Behavior measure comprised four items that assessed the frequency of verbal and nonverbal sexual experiences that the target appraised as offensive or embarrassing ($\alpha = .88$). Sample items include "Repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you" and "Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature that embarrassed or offended you." Four items ($\alpha = .84$) assessing Unwanted Sexual Attention inquired about unwanted touches or attempts to establish a sexual relationship, such as "Touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable" and "Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you." Four Sexual Coercion items ($\alpha = .85$) assessed attempts to coerce compliance with sexual demands by making job-related threats or promising job-related benefits. Example items include "Made you feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative" and "Made you feel like you were being bribed with some sort of reward or special treatment to engage in sexual behavior."

Psychological distress. Psychological distress was assessed using 8 items from the Rand Corporation's 36-item Short Form Health Survey (Ware & Sherbourne, 1992). Items asked participants to indicate how often in the past 4 weeks they had experienced emotional problems (e.g., "felt downhearted and blue") and how much those problems interfered with their work performance (e.g., "accomplished less than you would like to"). Items used a rating scale that ranged from 1 (*little or none of the time*) to 4 (*all or most of the time*), and responses were averaged together, such that higher scores indicated more psychological distress ($\alpha = .88$).

Military tenure. The number of years of military service was used as a control variable. It was assessed using a single item that asked participants to indicate the number of years of active-duty service they had completed. In the publicly available data set, these responses were placed into four categories (1 = *less than six years*, 2 = *6 to less than 10 years*, 3 = *10 to less than 20 years*, and 4 = *20 or more years*).

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the percentage of women reporting at least one behavior constituting overall sexual harassment and each of the subtypes of sexual harassment; subsequent analyses are based on the mean frequency scores for overall sexual harassment and each subtype. Correlations and descriptive statistics are provided in Table 2. Correlational analyses indicated that women who had been in the military for more years held higher rank, and longer military tenure was related to experiencing less overall sexual harassment, less of each sexual harassment subtype, and lower psychological distress. Black women generally held lower rank than White women despite having more years of service in the military. The correlations also indicated that, compared to White women, Black women experienced less overall sexual harassment and gender harassment, more unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion, and reported less psychological distress; however, these must be interpreted with caution given the relatively low correlation between these variables. Officers reported less overall sexual harassment, less of all four subtypes of sexual harassment, and less psychological distress than enlisted women. Further, overall sexual harassment and all of the subtypes of sexual harassment were significantly positively related to each other. Finally, women reporting more overall sexual harassment and all of the sexual harassment subtypes reported more psychological distress.

A 2 (race) \times 2 (rank) analysis of covariance, controlling for military tenure, was used to determine if there were differences in overall sexual harassment by race, rank, and their interaction for Black and White women (see Table 3, line 1). For all analysis of variance (ANOVA) models tested in this study, we used the Type II sum of squares, which has

Table 1
Number and Percentage of Women Reporting Any Sexual Harassment Overall and for Subtypes by Race and Rank

	<i>Enlisted</i>		<i>Officer</i>	
	<i>Black</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>White</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>Black</i> <i>n (%)</i>	<i>White</i> <i>n (%)</i>
Any sexual harassment	1,025 (52.9%)	2,107 (61.9%)	201 (51.3%)	1,151 (58.0%)
Any gender harassment	845 (43.7%)	1,843 (54.2%)	173 (44.4%)	1,029 (52.4%)
Any crude behavior	759 (39.3%)	1,614 (47.4%)	110 (28.2%)	722 (36.4%)
Any unwanted sexual attention	477 (24.7%)	911 (26.8%)	41 (10.5%)	279 (14.1%)
Any sexual coercion	162 (8.4%)	243 (7.1%)	7 (1.8%)	44 (2.2%)

Note. Percentages are the number of women in each group who reported at least one behavior constituting each form of sexual harassment.

been recommended as more powerful than Type III sum of squares for ANOVAs with unbalanced data (Langsrud, 2003). Results indicated that there was a significant main effect for race differences in the amount of total sexual harassment reported by Black and White women. White women reported more overall sexual harassment than Black women (Cohen's $d = .05$). There was also a significant main effect for rank, such that enlisted women reported more overall sexual harassment than officers (Cohen's $d = .27$). However, there was not a significant interaction between women's race and rank in predicting the frequency of their overall sexual harassment.

To determine whether there were differences by race and rank in the amount of each subtype of sexual harassment experienced, a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANCOVA), controlling for military tenure, was performed (see Table 3, lines 2–5). In this analysis, race, rank, and their interaction were the independent variables; the four types of sexual harassment were the dependent variables; and military tenure was a covariate. The overall MANCOVA indicated that there were significant main ef-

fects for race, Wilks's Lambda = 0.987, $F(4, 7664) = 25.88$, $p < .001$, and rank, Wilks's Lambda = .986, $F(4, 7664) = 27.84$, $p < .001$. The interaction between race and rank was marginally significant, Wilks' Lambda = .999, $F(4, 7664) = 1.99$, $p < .10$.

Results indicated that White women reported significantly more gender harassment (Cohen's $d = .19$) and crude behavior (Cohen's $d = .04$) than Black women, whereas Black women reported significantly more unwanted sexual attention (Cohen's $d = .07$) and sexual coercion (Cohen's $d = .10$) than White women. Each of these findings was consistent with our hypotheses, except for crude behavior, which we hypothesized would be higher for Black women than for White women. As expected, enlisted women reported significantly more sexual harassment of all subtypes than officers (Cohen's d for gender harassment = .09, for crude behavior = .32, for unwanted sexual attention = .33, for sexual coercion = .20). Further, we predicted a race by rank interaction for each sexual harassment subtype. Contrary to this hypothesis, results indicated that there were no interactions for gender harassment, crude behavior, or

Table 2
Pearson Product Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

<i>Variable and statistic</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
1. Military tenure									
2. Race	.05**								
3. Rank	.23**	-.20**							
4. Overall sexual harassment	-.20**	-.02*	-.12**						
5. Gender harassment	-.14**	-.08**	-.04**	.86**					
6. Crude behavior	-.21**	-.02	-.14**	.91**	.71**				
7. Unwanted sexual attention	-.19**	.03**	-.14**	.80**	.47**	.67**			
8. Sexual coercion	-.10**	.05**	-.08**	.65**	.38**	.48**	.65**		
9. Psychological distress	-.19**	-.04**	-.12**	.31**	.29**	.28**	.23**	.17**	
<i>M</i>	2.16	—	—	0.29	0.53	0.39	0.18	0.05	1.60
<i>SD</i>	1.07	—	—	0.48	0.80	0.69	0.49	0.29	0.55

Note. For Race (0 = White, 1 = Black); for Rank (0 = Enlisted, 1 = Officer).
** $p < .01$.

Table 3
Frequency and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Statistics for Overall Sexual Harassment and Subtypes by Race and Rank

	<i>Enlisted</i>		<i>Officer</i>		ANOVA <i>F</i>		
	<i>Black M (SD)</i>	<i>White M (SD)</i>	<i>Black M (SD)</i>	<i>White M (SD)</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Race × Rank</i>
1. Overall sexual harassment	0.29 (0.54)	0.34 (0.50)	0.16 (0.28)	0.21 (0.34)	7.41**	45.49**	0.24
2. Gender harassment	0.44 (0.76)	0.61 (0.86)	0.38 (0.65)	0.50 (0.72)	50.79**	4.73*	0.91
3. Crude behavior	0.40 (0.76)	0.47 (0.75)	0.18 (0.40)	0.25 (0.51)	6.82**	72.55**	0.18
4. Unwanted sexual attention	0.24 (0.59)	0.22 (0.51)	0.07 (0.26)	0.09 (0.30)	4.04*	62.50**	1.92
5. Sexual coercion	0.09 (0.39)	0.06 (0.28)	0.01 (0.11)	0.02 (0.17)	13.85**	20.42**	3.86*

Note. For line 1, degrees of freedom are 1, 7,676, and cell sizes are as follows: Black enlisted women, *n* = 1923; White enlisted women, *n* = 3388; Black officers, *n* = 390; White officers, *n* = 1980. For lines 2–5, degrees of freedom are 1, 7,667, and cell sizes are as follows: Black enlisted women, *n* = 1,917; White enlisted women, *n* = 3,387; Black officers, *n* = 390; White officers, *n* = 1,978. All analyses control for military tenure.
p* < .05. *p* < .01.

unwanted sexual attention. However, the interaction between race and rank was significant. Specifically, the racial difference in which Black women reported more sexual coercion than White women was only observed for enlisted women (Cohen’s *d* = .08). For officers, there was little difference in the amount of sexual coercion reported by Black and White women (Cohen’s *d* = .03).

We posited that psychological distress would be predicted by sexual harassment subtype, race, rank, their two-way interactions (type of sexual harassment × race; type of sexual harassment × rank; race × rank), and the three-way interaction (type of sexual harassment × race × rank). Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed with each sexual harassment subtype (gender harassment, crude behavior, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion)

predicting psychological distress. In the analyses, the sexual harassment variables were centered (Aiken & West, 1991). Significant interactions were graphed and simple slopes were obtained using the values of the dichotomous moderator variables and values that were one standard deviation above and below the mean for the continuous variables (Aiken & West, 1991).

Sexual harassment type, race, and rank were entered in the first step of each of the four analyses, along with the military tenure control variable. In all analyses, these four predictors accounted for a significant amount of the variance in psychological distress (see Table 4). For each of the four types of sexual harassment, women with a longer military tenure reported less psychological distress. As expected, more frequent experiences of each sexual harassment

Table 4
Psychological Distress Predicted by Type of Sexual Harassment, Race, Rank, and Their Interactions

	<i>Psychological distress</i>							
	<i>Gender harassment</i>		<i>Crude behavior</i>		<i>Unwanted sexual attention</i>		<i>Sexual coercion</i>	
	<i>R²</i>	<i>B (β)</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>B (β)</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>B (β)</i>	<i>R²</i>	<i>B (β)</i>
Step 1: <i>R²</i>	.110**		.100**		.080**		.066**	
Military tenure		-.07 (-.13)**		-.06 (-.12)**		-.07 (-.13)**		-.08 (-.15)**
SH type		.18 (.27)**		.20 (.25)**		.23 (.20)**		.30 (.16)**
Race		-.03 (-.03)*		-.05 (-.04)**		-.06 (-.05)**		-.07 (-.06)**
Rank		-.10 (-.08)**		-.08 (-.06)**		-.08 (-.07)**		-.09 (-.08)**
Step 2: Δ <i>R²</i>	.002**		.001		.001*		.001*	
SH type × race		.05 (.04)**		.01 (.00)		.01 (.01)		-.07 (-.03)
SH type × rank		-.05 (-.03)**		-.05 (-.02)†		-.11 (-.03)**		-.19 (-.03)*
Race × rank		-.06 (-.02)†		-.05 (-.02)		-.04 (-.02)		-.04 (-.02)
Step 3: Δ <i>R²</i>	.000		.000		.000		.001**	
SH type × race × rank		-.03 (-.01)		.03 (.01)		.09 (.01)		.75 (.04)**
Total <i>R²</i>	.113**		.101**		.081**		.068**	

Note. SH Type = the sexual harassment (SH) subtype used in the analysis; the subtype is indicated at the top of each column. For Race (0 = White, 1 = Black); for Rank (0 = Enlisted, 1 = Officer). Coefficients are from the step on which they were entered into the model.
†*p* < .10. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01.

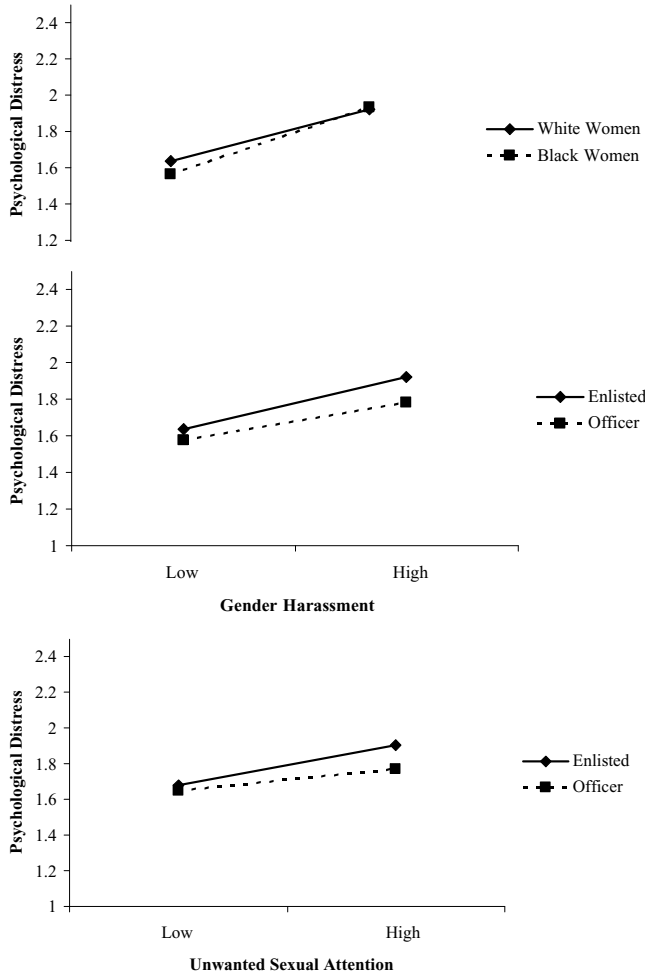


Fig. 1. Psychological distress as a function of gender harassment and race (top), gender harassment and rank (middle), and unwanted sexual attention and rank (bottom).

subtype were significantly associated with more psychological distress, and enlisted personnel reported significantly more psychological distress than officers; however, contrary to expectations, White women reported significantly more psychological distress than Black women.

The two-way interaction terms were entered in the second step of the four multiple regressions. Together, these three interaction terms accounted for a significant increase in the amount of variance in psychological distress for gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion, but not crude behavior. Specifically, there was a significant interaction between gender harassment and race (see Figure 1), indicating that the relationship between more frequent gender harassment and greater psychological distress was stronger for Black women ($B = .22, \beta = .29, SE = .02, p < .01$) than for White women ($B = .17, \beta = .26, SE = .01, p < .01$). In addition, the two-way interactions between gender harassment and rank (see Figure 1), unwanted sexual attention and rank (see Figure 1), and sexual coercion and rank (subsumed in the three-way interaction

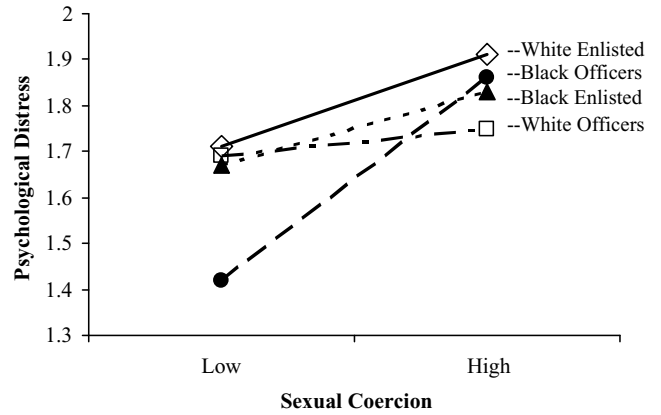


Fig. 2. Psychological distress as a function of sexual coercion, race, and rank.

shown in Figure 2) were also significant and demonstrated similar patterns to each other. Specifically, the relationship between more frequent sexual harassment of each type and greater psychological distress was stronger for enlisted women (Gender Harassment: $B = .19, \beta = .28, SE = .01, p < .01$; Unwanted Sexual Attention: $B = .23, \beta = .22, SE = .01, p < .01$; Sexual Coercion: $B = .31, \beta = .17, SE = .02, p < .01$) than for officers (Gender Harassment: $B = .15, \beta = .22, SE = .01, p < .01$; Unwanted Sexual Attention: $B = .15, \beta = .09, SE = .03, p < .01$; Sexual Coercion: $B = .18, \beta = .06, SE = .06, p < .01$). Contrary to predictions, there were no significant race by rank interactions for psychological distress.

We also predicted three-way interactions between each sexual harassment subtype, race, and rank (entered on step 3), which was supported for sexual coercion. Specifically, the interaction (see Figure 2) indicated that the relationship between more frequent sexual coercion and greater distress was weaker for White officers, $B = .13, \beta = .05, SE = .06, p < .05$, than for Black enlisted women, $B = .26, \beta = .17, SE = .03, p < .01$, White enlisted women, $B = .36, \beta = .18, SE = .03, p < .01$, and Black officers, $B = .80, \beta = .19, SE = .21, p < .01$. The relationship between the level of sexual coercion and psychological distress for Black officers was driven largely by their lower levels of psychological distress (compared to the other groups) at lower levels of sexual coercion; however, at higher rates of sexual coercion, Black officers reported levels of psychological distress that were similar to those of the other groups. No other three-way interactions were significant.

DISCUSSION

Using a sample of female military personnel, this study examined differences across race and rank in Black and White women’s rates of overall sexual harassment, four sexual harassment subtypes (gender harassment, crude behavior, unwanted sexual harassment, and sexual coercion), and psychological distress. Our predictions about race and

rank differences in sexual harassment subtypes were partially supported. Although we found only one three-way interaction between sexual harassment subtype, race, and rank predicting psychological distress, several two-way interactions were consistent with our predictions.

Prior to hypothesis testing, we examined whether there were significant differences by race and rank in the overall frequency of sexual harassment. Results indicated that White women reported more overall sexual harassment than Black women, and enlisted women reported more sexual harassment than officers; however, the race by rank interaction was not significant. As stated earlier, research on the frequency of sexual harassment across racial groups has been inconclusive. Many studies find that Black women have higher rates of sexual harassment compared to White women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Cortina et al., 1998; Kalof et al., 2001), whereas others report that they have similar or lower rates (Frank et al., 1998; Gruber, 2003; Piotrkowski, 1998; Wyatt & Riederle, 1995). The findings presented here indicate that White women may have higher rates of sexual harassment when total scores alone are taken into account.

However, looking only at the frequency of overall sexual harassment would have obscured the nature of racial differences in the subtypes of sexual harassment. Consistent with our first hypothesis, White women reported higher rates of gender harassment, and Black women reported higher rates of unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Traditional work-related gender-role expectations for White women are that they should remain in traditionally female jobs and/or workplaces and that working should be secondary to caring for their families (Browne & Kennelly, 1999; Perkins, 1983; Welter, 1966). White women in the military, a male-dominated and highly masculine environment, violate these norms, and gender harassment is one way in which men can punish women for occupying roles that challenge these stereotypes (Berdahl, 2007; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003; Miller, 1997). Thus, gender harassment may serve to remind them of their place. In contrast, Black women in the United States have always been expected to work, even in domains that are traditionally deemed appropriate only for men. Therefore, Black women's presence in the military may not evoke criticisms about the appropriateness of their presence as working women to the same extent as does the presence of White women. It is also possible that the sexualized stereotypes of Black women were more salient than general work-related gender-role norms, resulting in Black women experiencing more unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (i.e., more sexualized forms of harassment), but not gender harassment, than White women.

There was one racial difference that was in the opposite direction from our prediction; we found that White women reported more crude behavior than did Black women. We had expected Black women to be targeted with crude behavior because of its sexualized nature. However, although

crude behavior is considered to be sexualized, it is similar to gender harassment in that it is primarily characterized by the derogation of women (e.g., via sexual jokes). Furthermore, crude behavior is less directly intrusive than unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion because crude behavior is less about direct attempts to establish contact or a sexual relationship with a specific woman. Although crude behavior may be a more extreme way than gender harassment for men to communicate to White women that they are not wanted in, or suited to, the military environment, both forms of sexual harassment serve to make them feel unwelcome and uncomfortable in this type of organization. In fact, some researchers have subsumed crude behavior under gender harassment (e.g., Hitlan, Schneider, & Walsh, 2006), so perhaps the distinction between gender harassment and crude behavior drawn by the military does not map onto meaningful differences in how these subtypes are experienced by women in this context.

As hypothesized, being of lower rank was also related to higher rates of sexual harassment and each of its subtypes. The effect sizes for these differences in sexual harassment experiences by rank were moderate in size, further reinforcing the importance of organizational status within this setting. This finding suggests that those who are more vulnerable because of their lower rank are at greater risk of sexual harassment in the military. These findings support previous research indicating that those with lower organizational status and power are more frequently targeted for sexual harassment, particularly in male-dominated organizations such as the military (e.g., Firestone & Harris, 1999; Fitzgerald et al., 1999; Gruber, 2003).

We had predicted interactions by race and rank for all of our sexual harassment subtypes; however, the only interaction observed was for sexual coercion. Results indicated that Black enlisted women reported more sexual coercion than White enlisted women, and enlisted women reported more sexual coercion than officers, but there was no significant difference between Black and White officers in their frequency of sexual coercion. Thus, Black officers are somewhat protected by their organizational status from the experience of sexual coercion. We may have observed this interaction only for sexual coercion because it is the most severe and uncommon form of sexual harassment. Further, as sexual coercion refers to job-related threats and benefits tied to sexual compliance, there are fewer individuals who can target officers with this type of sexual harassment (i.e., those with even higher rank) compared with the other subtypes. Thus, it may be for this subtype that higher rank most protects women from the increased risk associated with racial group membership. The lack of significant race by rank interactions for gender harassment, crude behavior, and unwanted sexual attention suggests that, although officers reported less sexual harassment than enlisted women, the pattern of racial differences in the experience of sexual harassment subtypes did not differ for women at each rank. Thus, for all of the subtypes except sexual coercion, the

differences between Black and White officers' experiences of harassment were similar to the racial differences found among enlisted women.

In addition to studying the incidence of harassment, the current study sought to examine whether sexual harassment subtypes, race, and rank independently and jointly predicted psychological distress. Consistent with our predictions, our results indicated that more sexual harassment of any subtype was related to more psychological distress, consistent with the results of previous studies examining the consequences of experiencing sexual harassment overall (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Langhout et al., 2005; Willness et al., 2007). Although race predicted psychological distress, results indicated that White women reported more psychological distress than Black women, counter to our prediction that Black women's increased vulnerability would exacerbate their distress once harassed. A similar pattern was reported among Black and White sexually harassed college students (Rederstorff, Buchanan, & Settles, 2007). These results may be related to cultural differences in the manifestation of psychological distress (Zhang & Snowden, 1999); specifically, past studies have found that White women more readily endorse symptoms of depression, whereas Black women are more likely to report symptoms of somatization (Franko et al., 2005). As expected, enlisted women reported more psychological distress than officers, supporting previous studies finding higher organizational status to be protective (e.g., Lipari & Lancaster, 2004).

The only predicted three-way interaction between sexual harassment subtype frequency, race, and rank was observed for sexual coercion and psychological distress. Consistent with our hypothesis, we found that the negative effect of sexual coercion on psychological distress was weakest for White officers and strongest for Black officers, with levels for enlisted Black and White women falling between. We had predicted that White officers would be the group least psychologically affected by sexual harassment because of the protection provided by their higher rank and more valued racial group membership; this supposition was borne out by the data. Notably, Black officers reported very low levels of psychological distress at low levels of sexual coercion as compared to other groups; however, as sexual coercion became more frequent, Black officers' psychological distress was similar to those of the other groups. These findings suggest that, at high levels of sexual coercion, psychological well-being is affected regardless of one's race and rank. However, race and rank differences are evident at low levels of sexual coercion, where Black officers appear to be especially resilient to the negative psychological effects associated with sexual coercion. This resilience may be the same characteristic that helped this small group of Black women (only 5% of the sample) to achieve the rank of officer.

We did observe other significant two-way interactions that speak to the role of race and rank as moderators of sex-

ual harassment outcomes. First, similar to the findings for sexual coercion, the slope for the relationship between gender harassment and psychological distress was stronger for Black women than White women. This difference may be driven by the fact that, at low levels of gender harassment, Black women reported less distress than White women, possibly reflecting Black women's greater psychological resilience when gender harassment was less frequent. Nevertheless, as gender harassment increased, Black women reported rates of psychological distress that were similar to those of White women. Perhaps because Black women were less used to nonsexualized gender mistreatment than White women (who report more gender harassment), they demonstrated greater psychological vulnerability with more frequent gender harassment.

Second, we found that more frequent experiences of gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion were more strongly related to psychological distress for enlisted women than for officers. Although marginally significant, a similar pattern was observed for crude behavior predicting distress. We again see that higher organizational status (i.e., rank) buffers women from negative psychological outcomes associated with harassment subtypes, such that they do not experience the same degree of psychological harm by harassment as do lower ranked enlisted personnel. This may be due to an increased perception of vulnerability among enlisted personnel and a sense of having fewer options for redress. Not only do enlisted personnel generally have fewer options for transferring and/or leaving an abusive work situation, they may also be aware of the difficulty of having senior personnel sanctioned for abuse perpetrated against lower ranking personnel and the possibility of retaliation from other higher ranking officials (Firestone & Harris, 1999; Gruber, 2003; Hillman, 1999; Lipari & Lancaster, 2004). Together, these factors may contribute to worsened psychological well-being among sexually harassed enlisted personnel, as compared to officers.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

Examining both race and rank across subtypes of sexual harassment is an important and unique contribution of the current study. Although past studies have examined differences in sexual harassment rates by race (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Kalof et al., 2001) or differences related to rank (Bastian et al., 1996; Fitzgerald et al., 1999; Lipari & Lancaster, 2004), they have not simultaneously investigated the influence of both race and rank in predicting sexual harassment or its subtypes. Therefore, the current study makes new contributions to the literature on sexual harassment, particularly as it pertains to race; however, there are some limitations to note. For example, despite assuring participants of their confidentiality, it is possible that respondents did not feel free to candidly answer all questions in the survey. This may be

especially likely for those who believed they would be easily identifiable due to factors such as their race, position, or rank. To the extent that individuals were constrained in reporting their experiences, relationships among these variables may be attenuated. Taking additional steps to ensure participant anonymity, rather than confidentiality, will further enhance their willingness to share experiences of a sensitive nature. Additionally, the results of this study may be affected by recall bias, as well as bias related to the sole use of self-report data (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). To address recall bias, participants' responses were limited to their experiences within the past 12 months. However, limiting the time frame is likely to underestimate women's reporting of their total amount of harassment and might not capture revictimization. Future studies with longitudinal designs will better capture the frequency and impact of recurrent victimization over time.

Further, because these data are correlational, we cannot assert that the findings presented here represent a causal relationship. As a result, we cannot conclusively posit that women are differentially targeted with different subtypes of sexual harassment based on their race and rank. Given that race and rank are often confounded with other variables that also predict increased harassment risk (e.g., socioeconomic status), it is possible that these ancillary factors contribute to the differences observed between Black and White women across rank. This is particularly important in light of the effect sizes for our significant findings. Whereas the effect sizes for rank were moderate in size and fairly uniform across the subtypes of harassment, the effect sizes for race were smaller and more variable. For race, the largest effects were seen for gender harassment and sexual coercion, which represent the most frequent form and the most severe form of harassment, respectively, adding to our confidence that these findings reflect true differences. Similarly, the additional amounts of variance in psychological distress accounted for by the interaction effects were small. However, it is interesting to note that the two race by rank interactions emerged in the context of sexual coercion (once when predicting the frequency of sexual coercion and then for the three-way interaction of race, rank, and sexual coercion predicting psychological distress). The consistency of these findings bolsters our confidence that these results are not merely statistical artifacts. Nonetheless, there are likely to be a number of factors in addition to race and rank that contribute to the ways in which women are sexually harassed and the extent of their psychological distress.

The use of a military sample is a strength of this study. The military is highly masculine and predominantly male; yet, it employs a sufficient number of women across ethnic groups to enable studies of this nature. Because the military continues to have high levels of sexual harassment, generally much higher than those found in the civilian population (U.S. Department of Defense Inspector General, 2005;

Fitzgerald et al., 1999; Hansen, 2004), it is an especially important setting in which to increase our understanding of the sexual harassment experiences of female military personnel as a means of reducing sexual harassment incidence. However, the military is a unique context within which to study sexual harassment, which may limit the generalizability of these results. Nevertheless, it is likely that these results will generalize to the experiences of women in other highly masculine and predominantly male workplaces, such as the natural sciences and engineering (Settles, Cortina, Malley, & Stewart, 2006), which is an area in need of additional research. As such research is conducted across populations and different workplace contexts, the extent to which these results are generalizable will become clear.

Research has determined that the nature of the harassment experienced by Black and White women may differ. Specifically, Black women may also experience racial harassment in addition to sexual harassment, which could affect their well-being (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; King, 2003; Shorter-Gooden, 2004). In addition, Black women sometimes report *racialized sexual harassment* (Buchanan, 2005; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Texeira, 2002), a form of harassment that focuses on their race and gender simultaneously. These differences present a potential confound to the findings presented here. For example, to the extent that the Black women in the current study attributed their harassment experiences to race rather than gender, they might have underreported experiences that could be defined as gender harassment. Examining sexual harassment, racial harassment and their fused form of racialized sexual harassment may augment the findings presented here.

It is also important to acknowledge that assumptions were made regarding the perpetrators and targets that are worthy of future exploration. For example, although those who sexually harass women are overwhelmingly male (Huerta, Cortina, Pang, Torges, & Magley, 2006; Rospenda, Richman, & Nawyn, 1998; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998), it is possible that a small proportion of the sexual harassment experiences reported involved female perpetrators; such experiences may be appraised differently from the same experiences perpetrated by a man. Although research suggests that lesbian women and gay men are sexually harassed more frequently than their heterosexual counterparts (e.g., Cortina et al., 1998), this important issue could not be explored with the current military sample. Because it is illegal to be a gay man or a lesbian woman serving in the U.S. Armed Forces, the military's "Don't ask, don't tell" policy prohibits asking about or disclosing homosexuality. Additionally, cross-racial harassment has been associated with worse psychological outcomes than intraracial harassment for Black women (Woods, Buchanan, & Settles, in press). Future research would be strengthened by further examination of these and other target and perpetrator characteristics.

Implications and Conclusions

This study has implications for the emerging body of research examining the relationships between race, rank, and sexual harassment. Although the majority of studies find that Black women experience elevated rates of sexual harassment compared to White women (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003), there are others that find the opposite (e.g., Wyatt & Riederle, 1995). Results from the current study demonstrated that examining only the overall rates of sexual harassment may underestimate meaningful differences in the experiences of sexual harassment. When examined in greater detail, race and status differences in sexual harassment rates appear to differ by subtype. Gender harassment and crude behavior, the two most frequently experienced subtypes, were more often directed toward White women than Black women. Conversely, Black women experienced more sexual and intrusive forms of harassment (i.e., unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) than White women. With the exception of sexual coercion, this pattern of racial differences was observed for both enlisted women and officers. Although establishing the severity of the sexual harassment subtypes is subjective, when the pervasiveness of the harassment is controlled, gender harassment and crude behavior are generally considered to be milder forms of sexual harassment than unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (Gruber, 1998; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Langhout et al., 2005; Lim & Cortina, 2005). Therefore, Black women reported experiencing the more severe, but less common forms of sexual harassment, whereas White women reported experiencing the more common but less severe sexual harassment subtypes. The difference in severity may be obscured when researchers examine only overall rates of sexual harassment, which may be more heavily weighted by gender harassment and crude behavior. Further, our consistent finding that lower status women experienced more of all the subtypes of sexual harassment speaks to the importance of relative status when considering organizational power, as well as the importance of explicitly considering the overall organizational context in which the harassment is occurring (Paludi & Paludi, 2003).

In conclusion, the current research contributes to the existing sexual harassment literature in several ways. We have demonstrated that White women reported more gender harassment and crude behavior, whereas Black women reported higher levels of unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion. Thus, race does appear to play an important role in women's sexual harassment experiences. Further, the pattern of racial differences we observed largely applied to women with both high and low organizational status (rank). Thus, both race and rank were related to differences in sexual harassment experiences and outcomes. Further, both race and organizational status (rank) were important determinants of psychological outcomes associated with level of harassment. Certainly, more research is

needed that systematically examines the experience of sexual harassment subtypes across ethnic groups and rank in a variety of contexts. This research will aid in determining the generalizability of these results. However, the findings presented here offer a rich and complex picture of the intersections of race and status with sexual harassment.

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Multiple Disadvantages: An Empirical Test of Intersectionality Theory in EEO Litigation

Rachel Kahn Best

Linda Hamilton Krieger

Lauren B. Edelman
Berkeley Law

Scott R. Eliason

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Multiple Disadvantages: An Empirical Test of Intersectionality Theory in EEO Litigation

Rachel Kahn Best
Linda Hamilton Krieger

Lauren B. Edelman
Scott R. Eliason

A rich theoretical literature describes the disadvantages facing plaintiffs who suffer multiple, or intersecting, axes of discrimination. This article extends extant literature by distinguishing two forms of intersectionality: demographic intersectionality, in which overlapping demographic characteristics produce disadvantages that are more than the sum of their parts, and claim intersectionality, in which plaintiffs who allege discrimination on the basis of intersecting ascriptive characteristics (e.g., race and sex) are unlikely to win their cases. To date, there has been virtually no empirical research on the effects of either type of intersectionality on litigation outcomes. This article addresses that lacuna with an empirical analysis of a representative sample of judicial opinions in equal employment opportunity (EEO) cases in the U.S. federal courts from 1965 through 1999. Using generalized ordered logistic regression and controlling for numerous variables, we find that both intersectional demographic characteristics and legal claims are associated with dramatically reduced odds of plaintiff victory. Strikingly, plaintiffs who make intersectional claims are only half as likely to win their cases as plaintiffs who allege a single basis of discrimination. Our findings support and elaborate predictions about the sociolegal effects of intersectionality.

Twenty years ago, Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the idea that civil rights laws are ill equipped to address the types of inequality and discrimination faced by people who suffer multiple, or “intersecting,” axes of discrimination (Crenshaw 1989). Her work has inspired two decades of research on intersectionality in many fields, including critical race theory, stratification, social psychology, and

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