

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

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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

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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 \times race; type of sexual harassment \times rank; race \times rank), and the three-way interaction (type of sexual harassment \times race \times 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: ΔR^2	.002**		.001		.001*		.001*	
SH type \times race		.05 (.04)**		.01 (.00)		.01 (.01)		-.07 (-.03)
SH type \times rank		-.05 (-.03)**		-.05 (-.02)†		-.11 (-.03)**		-.19 (-.03)*
Race \times rank		-.06 (-.02)†		-.05 (-.02)		-.04 (-.02)		-.04 (-.02)
Step 3: ΔR^2	.000		.000		.000		.001**	
SH type \times race \times 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.
† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

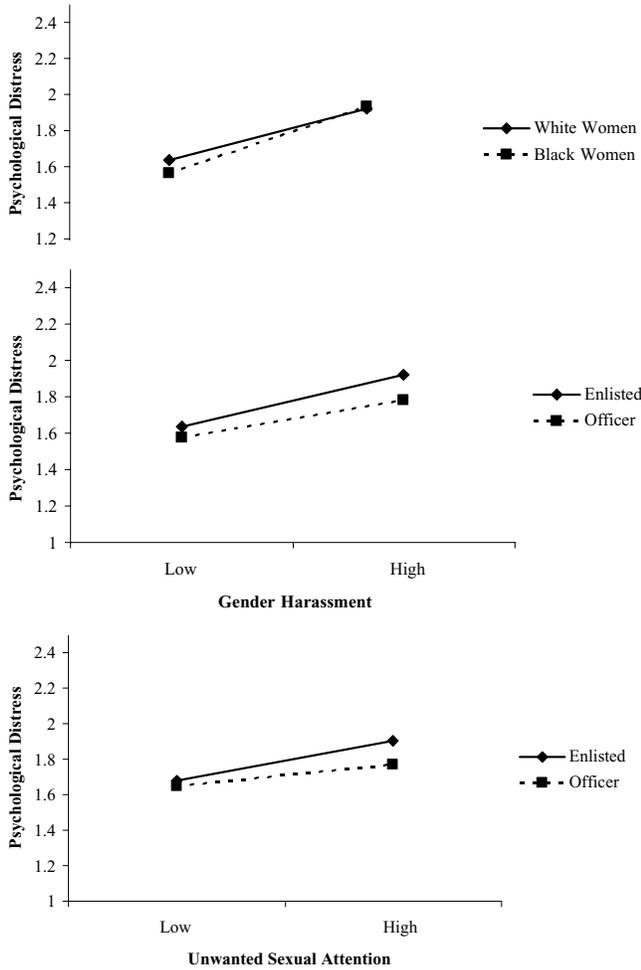


Fig. 1. Psychological distress as a function of gender harassment and race (top), gender harassment and rank (middle), and unwanted sexual attention and rank (bottom).

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

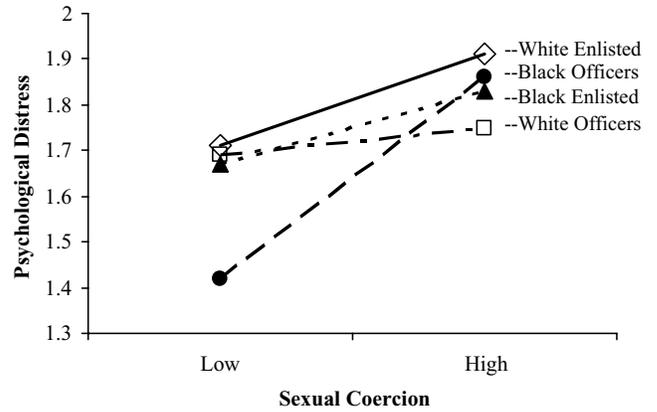


Fig. 2. Psychological distress as a function of sexual coercion, race, and rank.

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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