

NOT WOMAN ENOUGH HARASSMENT: SCALE DEVELOPMENT AND AN
INTEGRATED MODEL FROM ANTECEDENT TO OUTCOME

by

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ABSTRACT

The rise of research on workplace mistreatment in the past twenty years can be attributed to the realization that workplace mistreatment is associated with a host of deleterious outcomes for both the individual targets of the mistreatment and the organizations in which they work. However, the extant literature is failing to capture the full range of sex-based mistreatment that people may experience through a tendency to focus solely on sexual harassment and sex discrimination, which are very specific types of behavior based on one's sex and gender stereotypes. In this dissertation, I introduce the construct of Not Woman Enough Harassment, or the extent to which women perceive that they are treated unfavorably because they do not meet traditionally held stereotypes of femininity. A scale was developed and validated in order to measure this type of harassment, and a model from antecedent to outcome was proposed. Results demonstrated that not woman enough harassment was experienced by approximately 32.5% of the sample. The scale showed good psychometric properties, with two distinct factors of harassment based on physical and non-physical traits. Not woman enough harassment was demonstrated to be distinct from other forms of sexual and workplace harassment. Discomfort with gender norm conformity and masculine physical and non-physical expression were shown to be antecedents of not woman enough harassment, along with a moderating effect of job gender context. In addition, not woman enough harassment significantly predicted decreased job satisfaction, affective organizational commitment, and task performance and increased withdrawal and job stress. Similar patterns were found for males with not man enough harassment.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the past several decades, there has been a growing interest in interpersonal forms of mistreatment in the workplace. A Google Scholar search of the extant literature on mistreatment at work between 1900 and 1980 yields merely 5,410 results, while a search between 1980 and 2015 yields 32,000 results. This increase in interest can be attributed to the realization that experiencing workplace mistreatment leads to a plethora of deleterious outcomes for both the individual target of the mistreatment and the organization in which the mistreatment is occurring. Recent meta-analyses have shown that workplace discrimination and sexual harassment are associated with decreased job attitudes, decrements in performance, and weakened physical and mental health (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). In addition, mistreatment resulting from one's social identity, such as discrimination and sexual harassment, has serious legal consequences, including considerable financial costs associated with lawsuits. For example, in 2012, Mercy General Hospital in Sacramento, California was required to pay 168 million dollars to Ani Chopourian for a hostile environment sexual harassment claim (Elsesser, 2015). Although this is an extreme case, it demonstrates the potential financial costs associated with workplace mistreatment. Further, given that there were 205,996 sexual harassment charges filed between 1997 and 2011 (EEOC, 2012), the cumulative cost for organizations with sexual harassment and discrimination problems is substantial.

The aforementioned negative outcomes that can be incurred by both the individual target and the organization involved in workplace mistreatment illustrates the importance of continued study on this topic. However, the majority of the extant work in this area has been focused on more established forms of group-based mistreatment, such as discrimination and sexual

harassment. While it is well documented in the extant literature that mistreatment is associated with deleterious outcomes (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007), focusing singularly on these forms of interpersonal mistreatment likely fails to capture the full scope of employee experiences. There is literature in other areas that suggest that other forms of sex-based mistreatment exist outside of traditional sexual harassment and sex-based discrimination. However, until other forms are fully explored it is impossible to measure, to understand who is likely to experience it, and to know the magnitude of the outcomes. In this dissertation, I seek to expand the understanding of workplace harassment by exploring a mistreatment construct that captures the mistreatment of women, not based on traditional gender-based stereotypes, but on perceived *violations* of those stereotypes (which I refer to as *not woman enough harassment*). Essentially, not woman enough harassment is mistreatment that occurs when women do not meet traditionally held stereotypes of femininity. This not woman enough harassment construct (Dhanani, Wolcott, & Joseph, 2014) directly mirrors the not man enough harassment construct proposed by Berdahl and Moore (2006), in which men are harassed for not adhering to traditional masculine gender norms. Further research on not man enough harassment has shown that it was related to a threatened sense of manhood, decreased cognitive ability, and lowered attentional self-control (Funk & Werhun, 2011). Not woman enough harassment has been associated with reduced job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behaviors, task performance, life satisfaction, and physical health, as well as increased withdrawal and job stress (Dhanani, Wolcott, & Joseph, 2014).

Although this initial study demonstrated that not woman enough harassment is associated with several outcomes, there are still several unanswered questions regarding this new construct,

including personal characteristics that predict women's experiences with not woman enough harassment, as well as factors that might moderate the relationships between these antecedents and not woman enough harassment. Additionally, the original scale used to measure not woman enough harassment (Dhanani, Wolcott, & Joseph, 2014) consisted of only five items that may not fully capture the breadth of harassing behaviors that women may experience. In order to address these shortcomings, the current study seeks to develop a scale that will assess the extent to which women experience harassment based on physical appearance as well as behavioral traits that are perceived to violate gender norms. In addition, this dissertation will identify personal characteristics of women that serve as antecedents to not woman enough harassment, including discomfort with gender norm conformity and expression of masculine traits and appearance. Further, this study will also be the first to examine the potential moderating effect of job gender context on not woman enough harassment. Additionally, by applying the proposed model of not woman enough harassment to not man enough harassment, I took the first steps toward the creation of a unified theory of sex-based harassment founded in perceived violations of traditional gender stereotypes.

This study contributes to the mistreatment literature by examining several unanswered questions about the not woman enough harassment construct. First, I seek to identify potential antecedents of not woman enough harassment, including comfort with conformity to gender norms, masculine expression, and the gender context of both the role and industry the target occupies. Additionally, I will measure attitudinal and behavioral outcomes of not woman enough harassment including job satisfaction, affective organizational commitment, job and work withdrawal, and task and contextual performance. Answering these previously unaddressed

questions is important for several reasons. First, as not woman enough harassment falls outside of the traditional definition of sexual harassment and is still in its nascence, it is important to understand the conditions under which it occurs, how it is perceived, and the potential outcomes in order to inform future interventions aimed at preventing this form of mistreatment.

Additionally, this study contributes to the extant literature by broadening our understanding and definition of sex-based harassment beyond forms born of an adherence to gender stereotypes.

Ultimately, the analyses from this study illuminates the current state of sex-based harassment suffered by women who do not conform to traditional feminine stereotypes and inform future theorizing on this topic.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Sexual Harassment

Although sexual harassment at work has arguably existed for as long as organizations have been around, it is only in the last 30 years that research has begun to consider it an issue in need of being addressed (Berdahl & Raver, 2011). The original view of sexual harassment was the model of a male boss engaging in sexual coercion of a female subordinate, motivated by sexual desire for the target (Franke, 1997; Schultz, 1998). This embodies quid pro quo harassment, which was the first form to be recognized by the legal system (*Williams v. Bell*, 1978). However, recent work on sexual harassment has expanded this definition to include a more expansive set of gender-motivated behaviors. Today, one of the most widely accepted definitions of sexual harassment is “unwanted sex-related behavior at work that is appraised by the recipient as offensive, exceeding resources, or threatening well-being” (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997, p.15). In addition to the broad definition, there are several dimensions within sexual harassment. In 1980, Frank Till conducted a benchmark study that resulted in five categories of sexually harassing behavior: (1) general sexist comments or behavior, (2) inappropriate and/or offensive sexual advances, (3) promising rewards in exchange for sexual behavior, (4) threatening punishment for refusal to engage in sexual behavior, and (5) sexual assault. In 1988, Fitzgerald, Shullman, Bailey, Richards, Swecker, Gold, Ormerod, and Weitzman took these five categories and condensed them into a three-factor model that is still widely used in the research of sexual harassment. The three factors are: (1) gender harassment, or insulting and degrading behavior that conveys hostile attitudes about women, (2) unwanted

sexual attention, which consists of unsolicited and unreciprocated sexual attention, and (3) sexual coercion, which refers to indications that job-related outcomes will be awarded in exchange for sexual cooperation.

In addition to the conceptualization of sexual harassment outlined above, researchers have also recognized a type of harassment that is not sexually motivated, but is experienced by a victim because of his or her sex; this is referred to as sex-based harassment (Berdahl, 2007). Sex-based harassment behaviors include the not man enough harassment construct (Berdahl & Moore, 2006), where men are harassed for possessing traditionally feminine characteristics and the analogous not woman enough harassment construct examined here, in which women are harassed for possessing traditionally masculine characteristics. The assumption underlying sex-based harassment is that the behaviors are motivated by a desire to maintain traditional gender structures (Berdahl et al., 1996; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; Mellon, 2013). This idea will be explored throughout the discussion of not woman enough harassment.

Not Woman Enough Harassment

The not woman enough harassment construct captures the extent to which women perceive that they are treated unfavorably because they do not meet traditionally held stereotypes of femininity. Not woman enough harassment is composed of comments, suggestions, and teasing related to a woman's lack of conformity to feminine gender norms in terms of physical traits (i.e., hair, clothing, makeup) and non-physical traits (i.e., assertiveness, humor, low levels of sensitivity). However, in addition to objective occurrences of these behaviors, not woman enough harassment also includes women's perceptions of this harassment. This is an important component of the construct, as many scholars argue that the perception of workplace

mistreatment is more important than discrete behaviors for determining individual outcomes (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Swanson & Wotike, 1997). Stated differently, mistreatment only has the ability to affect one's job attitudes and behavior if one perceives the behaviors as mistreatment. This represents a direct analog to the not man enough harassment construct proposed by Berdahl and Moore (2006), which captures men's perceptions of mistreatment resulting from their perceived deviation from stereotypes of masculinity. Support for the proposed construct of not woman enough harassment can be found in the extant literature on the topic of agentic women in leadership roles. Gender stereotypes serve both a descriptive and prescriptive role in society, such that the descriptive stereotypes of women are proscribed for men, while the descriptive stereotypes of men are proscribed for women (Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Women's descriptive stereotypes are generally those of being communal, caring, and interdependent, while men's descriptive stereotypes are those of being agentic, ambitious, and self-reliant (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Hence, women who display agentic traits are both simultaneously disconfirming their descriptive stereotypes and violating the norms of proscriptions toward men's descriptive stereotypes. Research has found that while agentic women are perceived as equally competent as agentic men in leadership positions, these women suffer social backlash that their male counterparts do not experience (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988; Rudman, 1998). In 2007, Berdahl found that women with masculine personalities are more victimized by traditional sexual harassment than women with feminine personalities. In another series of studies, men used electronic communication to interact with women who had different mindsets regarding gender roles. Half of the men communicated with a woman who was studying economics, planned to become a bank manager, believed men and women were equal,

and belonged to women's rights groups. The other half of the men communicated with a woman who was interested in becoming a lawyer but chose to become a school teacher instead in order to dedicate more time to her family, and because she felt law was more appropriate for men and was afraid to compete with them. The men were given the option to respond to these messages with different images, and the men who were communicating with the future bank manager were more likely to respond with offensive pornographic images than the men speaking to the school teacher (Dall'Ara & Maass, 1999; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003). Women who do not conform to traditional gender stereotype behaviors may also suffer career related setbacks through discrimination, such as the case of *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins*, where a female accountant was denied a promotion for being too "macho" and was directed to "walk more femininely, talk more femininely, dress more femininely, wear makeup, have her hair styled, and wear jewelry" (1989).

In addition to behaviors that are prescribed for women through traditional gender stereotypes, there are also appearance norms that, when violated, may result in female employees experiencing not woman enough harassment. This is illustrated by the case of *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989), in which the plaintiff was directed by her superiors to wear more makeup in an effort to appear more feminine. Similarly, in *Jespersen v. Harrah's* (2004), a female server was fired for a refusal to wear makeup. Additionally, in *Sanchez v. City of Miami Beach* (1989), a female police officer who was also a body builder was subjected to sexual noises and materials, and found vibrators, urinal devices, used condoms and sanitary napkins in her office mailbox. Taken together, these court cases demonstrate that appearance can have significant influence on female employees' outcomes. Empirical evidence also supports the notion that appearance can

influence how women are perceived and treated. In one qualitative study, women shared that they felt pressure to wear makeup to work in order to conform to the gender norms associated with being a heterosexual female, and those who did not conform revealed the discrimination they faced, including being fired from a job for not having the “right look” (Dellinger & Williams, 1997). Feminine appearance gender norms are pervasive throughout different industries, although they may manifest in different ways. Bell and McLaughlin (2006) suggest that working in a nightclub may call for a highly sexualized appearance, while working as a school teacher may require a “mother image” (p. 458). In sum, regardless of the role a woman is in, her femininity is still at the forefront of the appearance norms that she will be evaluated against.

Not woman enough harassment differs from other forms of sex-based mistreatment, such as sexual harassment and sex discrimination, in that it does not result solely from the existence of stereotypes about women and the general subordination of women in our society. Instead, not woman enough harassment results from the *deviation* from sex-related stereotypes. Stated differently, not woman enough harassment occurs when women behave in ways that are stereotype-inconsistent, leading others to react negatively to this violation of gender expectations. Supporting this, the pioneer study on not woman enough harassment showed that not woman enough harassment accounts for unique variance in job attitudes, job behaviors, and employee health outcomes above that explained by sexual harassment (Dhanani, Wolcott, & Joseph, 2014).

In this dissertation, I propose a model whereby internal discomfort with conformity to gender stereotypes will predict masculine expression, which in turn will predict not woman

enough harassment in the workplace. This non-conformity will have different relationships with the harassment dependent on the job gender context of the individual's job. Additionally, I posit that not woman enough harassment will be related to attitudinal outcomes, which will affect self-ratings of job behavior outcomes in the workplace.

Proposed Model

In the current study, I propose the following model. Each of the relationships in the model is talked about in more detail in the subsequent sections.

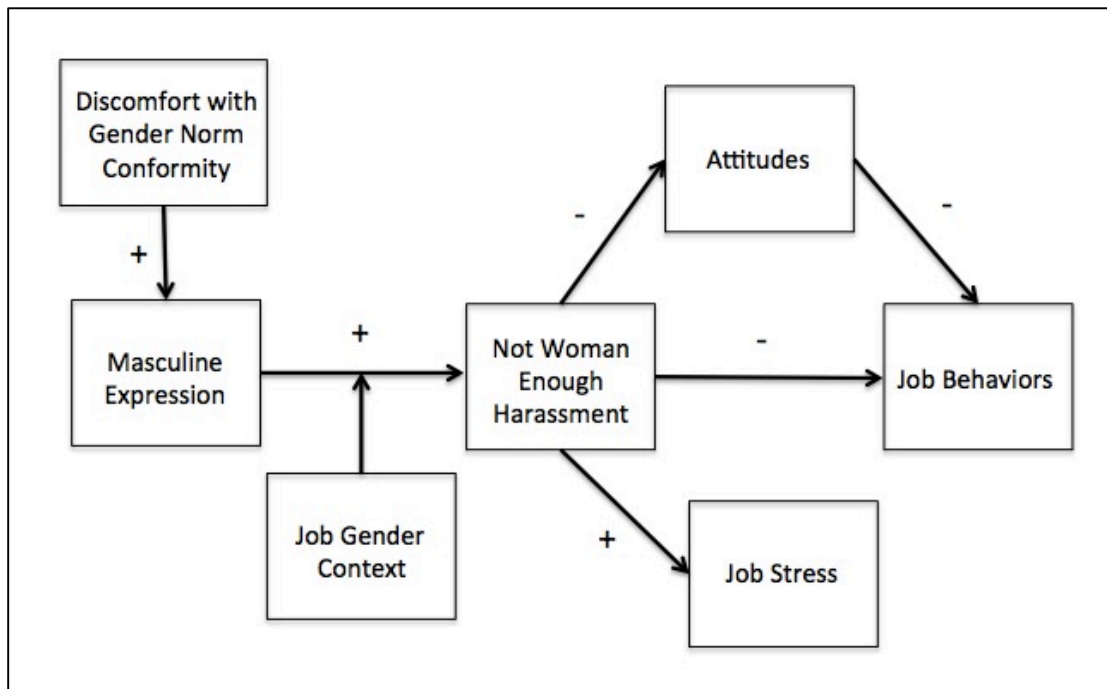


Figure 1. *Proposed Model of Not Woman Enough Harassment*

Discomfort with Gender Norm Conformity, Masculine Expression, and Not Woman Enough Harassment

One potential antecedent of experiences of not woman enough harassment is the extent to which women feel comfortable with gender norm non-conformity. It is posited here that women who feel uncomfortable conforming to traditional feminine stereotypes will report experiencing not woman enough harassment. Despite the lack of clarity regarding the concepts of masculinity and femininity, these constructs are vital to society's conceptualization of gender. At birth, children begin being socialized into the gender role that corresponds with their biological sex, and the process continues throughout their lives (Block, 1983). However, it is possible for individuals to endorse certain characteristics that are more in line with the norms of their opposing sex. For example, a woman may feel more comfortable wearing pants than skirts, or may use assertiveness more than subservience in her interactions with others. Given that people use their knowledge about others' gender-related personality traits in order to infer other gender-related characteristics about people (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Yan & Wang, 2014), it is likely that women who endorse masculine traits will be viewed by others as more masculine all around, and will be the recipient of not woman enough harassment. For instance, the woman who prefers to wear pants rather than skirts to work, or acts in an assertive manner may be viewed as masculine, even if she displays other, less salient feminine characteristics.

Social norms have been found to exert pressure on women to adopt feminine characteristics including physical and non-physical traits, as women who adhere to these stereotypes are generally treated more favorably than women who do not (Collins, 2004). Hence, women who are naturally comfortable adhering to traditional feminine gender norms will likely

display characteristics in line with traditional feminine stereotypes. However, women who are uncomfortable conforming to traditional gender role norms may have more difficulty maintaining an expression of feminine characteristics and a suppression of masculine characteristics. It was once thought that individuals who possessed a concealable stigmatized identity had an advantage over those whose stigmatized identities were not concealable because they could simply hide them and avoid the negative outcomes associated with their identities (Goffman, 1963). It is now recognized that the advantage of concealability comes at the cost of the emotional and cognitive stress associated with concealment (e.g., Ragins, 2008; Shapiro, 2011; Waldo, 1999). Hence, it may not be feasible for women who do not internally espouse traditional feminine stereotypes to maintain a constant suppression of their masculine characteristics and an expression of feminine characteristics in order to outwardly adhere to the gender norms. In other words, women who are uncomfortable with conformity to gender norms will likely express traits in line with non-conformity.

There are societal expectations for males and females to conform to traditional gender stereotypes. “Men are expected to exercise, and are socialized for dominance, leadership, sexual initiative and persistence, and self-interest. Women are expected to exercise, and are socialized for, submissiveness, nurturing, sexual gatekeeping, and self-abnegation” (Tangri & Hayes, 1997, pp. 120-121). It quickly becomes apparent that gender roles serve to reinforce patriarchal superiority, and that sexual harassment serves to reinforce the subordinate status of women (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996). Hence women who violate their prescriptive gender stereotypes by expressing masculine traits will likely face “punishment” for threatening male dominance in the form of not woman enough harassment.

As described in the discussion of not woman enough harassment, women who display traits that are not in conformity with traditional feminine stereotypes have traditionally faced social and professional backlash for their lack of adherence to these gender norms. Agentic female leaders, while perceived as equally competent as their male counterparts, are rated as having less social skills and face hiring discrimination that agentic males do not face (Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988; Rudman, 1998). Women outside of the laboratory have also suffered career related setbacks, such as the accountant who was denied a promotion at her firm for being too “macho” in the case of *Price Waterhouse v. Hopkins* (1989), and the server who was fired from her job for her refusal to wear makeup in the case of *Jespersen v. Harrah’s* (2004).

Hypothesis 1: Higher feelings of discomfort with gender role conformity will be associated with higher levels of masculine expression.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of masculine expression will be associated with higher levels of not woman enough harassment.

Job Gender Context

Gender is one of the most salient demographic features used to categorize people and guide behaviors toward them in the workplace (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ito & Urland, 2003; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glas, 1992). While there is no standard agreed-upon definition of job gender context, researchers often examine the gender traditionality of jobs, which has been described as “the factors that constitute the gendered nature of the individual’s work group” (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995, p. 62). Researchers have operationalized job gender context as consisting of the sex composition of one’s co-workers, the sex of one’s supervisor, and the proportion of women to men in the occupation (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990). Prior meta-

analytic data demonstrates that job gender context is a significant predictor of sex-based harassment, where women who work with more men or have a traditionally masculine-typed job have an increased risk of being victimized by sex-based harassment (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Further, it has been shown that women who have masculine personalities and work in male-typed jobs have the highest rate of traditional sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007).

Job gender context is not only applicable to specific jobs, but can also be applied to industries, and empirical evidence has demonstrated that a more masculine gender context in terms of both jobs and industries is associated with increased sex-based harassment (Lafontaine & Tredeau, 1986; Martin, 1990; Mansfield, Koch, Henderson, Vicary, Cohn, & Young, 1991; Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011; Heilman, 2001). Individual gender stereotypes prescribe submission, dependency, weakness, emotionality, and kindness for women, while men are prescribed dominance, resilience, stoicism, and competitiveness (Eagly & Sczesny, 2009; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). In addition to individual gender stereotypes, occupations also have also been imposed with their own gender stereotypes, such as upper-level management being categorized as male-typed (Lyness & Heilman, 2006). However, prior research has demonstrated that in the intersection between individual stereotypes and job stereotypes, individual prescriptions stand out as more salient (Evans, 2002). For example, feminine caring would be expected of a female doctor, despite a doctor being a male-gendered occupation.

Despite the evidence from the extant literature showing that women in masculine job gender contexts are more at risk of receiving sexual harassment, both research approaches and legal cases have focused on traditional sexual harassment. Much of this work has focused on sex role spillover theory, which is “the carryover into the workplace of gender-based roles that are

usually irrelevant or inappropriate to the work setting” (Nieva & Gutek, 1981, p. 60). This theory has been used to posit that the shortage of women in a male work context makes their gender salient and focuses on their sexual availability (Deaux, 1995; Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990). According to sex role spillover theory, this results in men viewing women in the workplace as potential sex partners rather than colleagues and ends in inappropriate sexual advances (Burgess & Borgida, 1997). However, this theory does not apply to the relationship between job gender context and not woman enough harassment, as not woman enough harassment is based in the maintenance of traditional gender roles, and not in sexual advances. The same pattern of results in which harassment of women is increased in male-dominated jobs is expected for not woman enough harassment, but for different reasons.

The pattern of results in which women who work with more men encounter more sex-based harassment was first suggested in 1977 by Rosabeth Moss Kanter, who posited that women who work among predominately male employees are more visible than women who work mainly with other women, increasing stereotype activation. Continued work based on this paradigm has shown strong support. For example, prior research has shown that female construction workers encounter increased visibility and role entrapment, which is a state in which acceptable behaviors are limited to those which confirm stereotypes (Whittcock, 2002). Another theory regarding the increased harassment of women in situations where men are the majority is the contact hypothesis, which states that the more contact a woman has with men on the job, the more likely that sex-based harassment will be for her (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990). In other words, if a woman works in a male-typed job, she will have more contact with male employees, which will increase her opportunities for harassment. In addition to the increase

in not woman enough harassment directly from male co-workers, the dominance of men in a workplace may lead other women to engage in not woman enough harassment in order to gain and maintain acceptance into the majority culture. These behaviors are related to the “Queen Bee Syndrome” (Staines, Tavris, & Jayaratne, 1973), in which women belittle other women in order to legitimize their own roles in the workplace.

One idea that may explain the increased harassment of women in a masculine job gender context is that if a male-typed occupation creates an extension of male culture, female workers in that domain may be viewed as a threat to male territory (Gruber, 1998). Given that not woman enough harassment occurs in reaction to the violation of traditional feminine gender norms, it stands to reason that women who not only reject traditional stereotypes, but also enter a male-dominated industry will be viewed as a double violator of female norms and will thus be the recipient of not woman enough harassment. This can be likened to the double jeopardy theory, which seeks to explain the experiences of individuals with twice disadvantaged social statuses, and shows that harassment is increased for those who fall into the minority on multiple social construct variables (Almquist, 1975; Epstein, 1973; Good & Wood, 1995; Lincoln & Allen, 2004; Neale, 2001). Stated differently, women choosing to engage in “male work” may itself be viewed as a violation of gender norms, resulting in a masculine-typed job being associated with increased not woman enough harassment. Additionally, as mentioned above, it could also be other women who engage in not woman enough harassment as a form of “turf protection.” Females working in male dominated industries may participate in not woman enough harassment in order to highlight their own femininity, thus avoiding becoming victims themselves, and to engage in assimilation into the majority male culture in which they work, extending the “Queen

Bee” syndrome (Staines, Tavris, & Jayaratne, 1973), into the realm of gender stereotypes. This pressure to gain acceptance in the workplace mirrors that of adolescents who engage in bullying to attain social status due to the importance placed on aggressiveness by young males (Eder, 1995). Hence, masculine jobs may result in higher rates of not woman enough harassment both directly from an increase in exposure to male co-workers and from the pressures other female co-workers face to fit in and avoid being victimized themselves.

Hypothesis3: Job gender context will moderate the relationship between masculine expression and not woman enough harassment such that, in masculine-typed jobs, masculine expression will result in more not woman enough harassment than in feminine-typed jobs.

Attitudinal Outcomes

Empirical evidence on workplace mistreatment has demonstrated that experiencing mistreatment is associated with a range of negative outcomes (e.g., Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Drawing on past empirical evidence and dysempowerment theory, it is argued here that experiencing not woman enough harassment will have a negative impact on job attitudes. Due to their widespread popularity in the attitudes literature, the current study focuses on job satisfaction and affective commitment (Newman, Joseph, & Hulin, 2010).

Job satisfaction has been defined as an affective response to the situation of the job that manifests in a positive emotional state (Locke, 1976). Exploring the effects of not woman enough harassment on job satisfaction is critical given the importance of job satisfaction for employee health and well-being (Johns & Saks, 2001; Jones, Hill, & Henn, 2015), task performance (Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001), contextual performance, and withdrawal,

and turnover (Johns & Saks, 2001; Nyberg, 2010). Affective commitment, or an employee's psychological bond to their organization (Choi, Oh, & Colbert, 2015), is also of importance to both researchers and organizations. It has been associated with task performance (Cooper-Hakim & Viswesvaran, 2005), contextual performance (LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002), and turnover (Meyer, Stanley, Herscovis & Topolnytsky, 2002).

Applying dysempowerment theory to the experiences of women who are victimized by not woman enough harassment aids in our understanding of the relationship between this type of harassment and attitudinal outcomes. Kane and Montgomery (1998) defined dysempowerment as "a process whereby a work event or episode is evaluated by an individual as an affront to his/her dignity" (p. 264). Dysempowerment is viewed by the employee as a violation of respect and consideration, which will lead to distrust of the leadership of an organization for allowing such violations of workplace norms. Experiencing dysempowerment at work is posited to be related to impairments in motivation, performance, and job attitudes. I maintain that experiencing not woman enough harassment will likely cause perceptions of dysempowerment, given that this form of harassment relates to targets that others do not value the traits they possess and desire them to change (i.e., to be more feminine).

When examining the attitudinal outcomes of not woman enough harassment through the lens of dysempowerment theory, it follows that not woman enough harassment will be negatively related to job satisfaction and affective commitment. In support of this, prior literature has shown time and again, that interpersonal mistreatment and discrimination in the workplace are associated with deficits in job satisfaction and organizational commitment (e.g., Jones et al., 2013; Ensher & Grant-Vallone, 2001; Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief, & Bradley, 2003;

Foley, Ngo, & Loi, 2006; Parker & Kohlmeyer, 2005). Discrimination, which is the broad umbrella that not woman enough harassment falls under, has been shown to account for variance in job satisfaction beyond that of other workplace stressors (Sanchez & Brock, 1996).

The link between harassment in the workplace and deleterious attitudinal outcomes is well documented in the extant literature. Previous meta-analytic work has linked perceived workplace discrimination (Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013; Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper, 2015) and sexual harassment (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007; Triana et al., 2015; Sojo, Wood, & Genat, 2016) to reduced job satisfaction and organizational commitment. However, it has been shown that victims of workplace aggression are more likely to take the mistreatment personally than victims of sexual harassment, who attribute their mistreatment to the perpetrator's attitude toward their gender rather than their own internal attributions (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). In the case of not woman enough harassment, victims are not likely to depersonalize their mistreatment in the same manner that victims of traditional sexual harassment will, as the harassment is directed toward their own level of gender displays and not the female gender in general. This suggests that the attitudinal outcomes of not woman enough harassment may operate through different mechanisms than traditional sexual harassment.

Hypothesis 4: Not woman enough harassment will be negatively related to job attitudes, as represented by job satisfaction and affective commitment.

Behavioral Engagement Outcomes

For the purposes of this dissertation, I focused on the three outcomes of task performance, contextual performance, and withdrawal, because they have been conceptualized to

represent an employee's willingness to contribute rather than withhold desired inputs (Harrison, Newman & Roth, 2006; Newman, Joseph, & Hulin, 2010).

Task and contextual performance are two categories of behaviors that contribute to organizational performance. Task performance is characterized as the efficiency with which individuals perform actions that contribute to the organization's success through the organization's technical core and that are included in their job role (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997). Contextual performance represents elective behaviors, often conceptualized as discretionary, that contribute to organizational success, but through social and psychological processes, and the behaviors are extra-role (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997).

Not woman enough harassment will likely result in a reduction in task and contextual performance due to the taxation from the harassment on the target's cognitive resources. Cognitive theories of resources maintain that individuals possess a limited number of resources for attention that they assign to various activities (Kahneman, 1973). Kanfer and Ackerman (1989) built on this theory through the development of the integrated resource allocation model, which states that when an individual is engaged in a task, they can choose to assign resources to on- or off-task activities. Off-task activities that may require cognitive resources include thinking about and emotionally processing an event, and these activities have been shown to lower performance (Kafner & Ackerman, 1989).

In the case of not woman enough harassment, the target of the harassment will likely allocate cognitive resources to off-task activities such as coping, processing, and adjusting gender behavior. Porath and Erez (2007) suggested that after experiencing a rude event, victims may devote cognitive resources to various activities, such as assigning blame for the harassment,

trying to justify the perpetrator's behavior, and replaying the events in their mind. They also found support for deficits in performance resulting from being the target of rude behaviors. While not woman enough harassment is certainly a rude behavior, it can also contribute to cognitive distraction above and beyond rudeness through its very nature. A woman that has experienced not woman enough harassment may direct cognitive resources to questioning her status as a woman and figuring out how to come across as more feminine in order to avoid further harassment. These appraisal processes drain cognitive resources, leaving the employee with fewer resources to devote to performance.

The remaining cognitive resources that are not used up through appraisal of not woman enough harassment will need to be spent on performance, which leaves little room for contextual performance. Even without the added cognitive demands of harassment, task performance and contextual performance has demonstrated a curvilinear relationship due to resource allocation limitations (Rapp, Bachrach, & Rapp, 2013), lending support to the notion that once harassment is added to the cognitive load, contextual performance will also be reduced. Not woman enough harassment may also reduce contextual performance through a reduction in perceived obligation to perform these extra-role behaviors. The norm of reciprocity states that individuals are likely to assist those who have a benefit to them (Blau, 1964). Not woman enough harassment likely undermines reciprocity in the form of contextual behavior because the target may perceive that not only is the perpetrator of the harassment not beneficial, but the organization that is failing to prevent the harassment is equally not beneficial. Reciprocity even suggests that individuals may retaliate against those who have wronged them in order to restore justice (Andersson & Pearson,

1999), and one method of retaliation may be the withholding of the extra-role behaviors of contextual performance.

In addition to task and contextual performance, organizational withdrawal is another important organizational behavior that represents the withholding of positive organizational behaviors. Withdrawal behaviors are negative workplace behaviors typified by work withdrawal, including voluntary absenteeism, presenteeism, and tardiness, and job withdrawal, which is comprised of intentions to leave the organization (Hanisch & Hulin, 1990).

Prior research has suggested that employees who face discrimination at work are more likely to have negative attitudes regarding their organization (Madera, King, & Hebl, 2012). Supporting this, Leiter, Laschinger, Day, and Gilin Oore (2011) maintain that being victimized by incivility at work results in distrust against organizational leadership due to the perceived endorsement of organizational norm violation. This perception of hostility may manifest in employees having a reduced desire to be present in their organization.

In the case of not woman enough harassment, it may be that in addition to the negative attitudes the victimized employee feels toward the organization, she may also simply wish to avoid the negative feelings and experiences of the harassment. This can result in the employee physically removing herself from the situation as often as possible through behaviors such as being late to work, leaving early, taking extended or frequent breaks, or being absent altogether. If the harassment is not addressed and terminated, social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) would suggest that the employee may choose to end their working relationship with the organization if the perceived benefits of employment are not valued to be greater than the perceived costs of the harassment.

Hypothesis 5: Not woman enough harassment will be negatively related to behavioral engagement, as represented by task performance, contextual performance, and positively related to withdrawal.

Job Stress Outcome

Not woman enough harassment has implications for occupational well-being, and specifically levels of job stress. Viewing the relationship from the lens of the Transactional Stress Model, according to Lazarus and Folkman (1986), stress is defined by the relationship between an individual and his or her environment when the individual perceives the environment to be threatening, exceeding personal resources, and harmful to their well-being. Job stress, perhaps unsurprisingly, is defined as stress related to one's work (Lyons, 2002). The relationship between not woman enough harassment and job stress finds its roots in the definition of workplace mistreatment as a psychosocial stressor (Lazarus & Folkman, 1991), as it occurs in an interpersonal setting, has the potential to cause harm, and may require adaptive reactions (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Rospenda, Richman, & Shannon, 2009). Women who face this form of harassment, will face it in an interpersonal setting such as from supervisors or co-workers, will likely cause harm, as it will be viewed as a dysempowering event, and will require adaptive responses. These responses may take the form of the target's attempt to alter her physical or non-physical traits to be more feminine in order to avoid the harassment, or they may consist of cognitive reframing and coping strategies in order to cope with the harassment.

The Cybernetic Model of Stress (Edwards, 1992) may also be useful in understanding the relationship between not woman enough harassment and job stress. In this conceptual model, Edwards (1992) defined stress as "a discrepancy between an employee's perceived state and

desired state, provided that the presence of this discrepancy is considered important by the employee” (p. 245). The employee’s perceived state is affected by the environment (both physical and social), personal characteristics, view of reality, and information obtained socially. Women who experience not woman enough harassment will likely find important discrepancies between their desired state (i.e., not being harassed at work) and their perceived state of being harassed at work, which will result in stress related to their jobs.

Not woman enough harassment may also impact job stress through overt discriminatory practices. Hobfoll (1989) outlined three conditions, of which at least one must be met in order for an event to be appraised as a stressful situation: a loss of resources, resources being threatened, or an investment of resources without a return on the investment. These resources can be object resources, personal resources, or energy resources (Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll, Dunahoo, Ben-Porath, & Monnier, 1994; Hobfoll, 2001). If not woman enough harassment results in discrimination, it can negatively impact a woman’s condition resources, such as obtaining a promotion, and energy resources such as salary. It can also incidentally affect her object resources, such as her ability to purchase a home or car, and personal resources, such as her self-worth. As not woman enough harassment is set specifically in the workplace for the purposes of this study, women who are targets of this harassment and perceive a potential loss of resources due to the harassment will likely associate the resulting stress directly with their jobs.

As previous evidence has shown that workplace mistreatment is a stressor (Lazarus & Folkman, 1991), women who perceive that they are targets of not woman enough harassment will likely experience stress, and associate the stress with their workplace. Supporting this idea, prior research has demonstrated a positive relationship between workplace discrimination and

job stress (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Crede, Chernyshenko, Stark, Dalal, & Bashshur, 2007; Dhanani, 2014).

Hypothesis 6: Not woman enough harassment will be positively related to job stress.

Partial Mediation

In addition to the direct relationship that not woman enough harassment is expected to have with performance dimensions, I also posit that the relationship will be partially mediated by job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Returning to the lens of dysempowerment theory, after a dysempowering event the target employee goes through a cognitive interpretation, which leads to an attitudinal response, ultimately resulting in a behavior (Kane & Montgomery, 1998). The cognitive interpretation is posited to result in a direct effect from the harassment to the job behaviors due to a lack of cognitive resources. However, the attitudinal response will also likely play a role in influencing job behaviors. For instance, a perceived lack of courtesy may lead to a perception of lack of conformity to norms, which may lead to a withholding of effort, resulting in diminished job behaviors (Kidwell & Bennett, 1995). In the case of not woman enough harassment, perceived harassment may lead to lowered job satisfaction and commitment, which may result in decreased task and contextual performance, and increased withdrawal.

Previous research lends support to the idea that job attitudes influence performance outcomes. In 2006, Harrison, Newman, and Roth meta-analytically demonstrated that an overall job attitude factor comprised of job satisfaction and organizational commitment strongly predicted a behavioral factor comprised of task performance, contextual performance, withdrawal, and turnover. In addition to the meta-analytic data demonstrating the strong

relationship between the attitude factor of satisfaction and commitment and the behavioral factor of task performance, contextual performance, withdrawal and turnover (Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006), the extant literature shows that the effects of interpersonal mistreatment, such as sexual harassment, on performance and withdrawal is at least partially mediated by job attitudes (e.g., Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997).

Due to both the application of dysempowerment theory to this harassment and prior research findings, it is to be expected that the attitudes measured in this dissertation will at least partially mediate the relationship between not woman enough harassment and task and contextual performance and withdrawal.

Hypothesis 7: The relationship between not woman enough harassment and job behavioral engagement will be partially mediated by job attitudes.

Comparison of Not Woman Enough Harassment to Not Man Enough Harassment

As stated in the introduction, the construct of not woman enough harassment was inspired by the not man enough harassment construct proposed by Berdahl and Moore (2006), in which men are mistreated for a lack of adherence to traditional masculine norms. The sexual harassment of men in the workplace is not a new concept. Waldo, Berdahl, and Fitzgerald (1998) were among the first to explore a framework for understanding the experiences of male victims of sexual harassment. In their paper, they posited that the use of instruments intended to measure sexual harassment of women were inappropriate for use in a male population, as similar experiences are likely to be interpreted differently by males and females due to variances in socialization and power (both organizational and physical). In their scale, Waldo, Berdahl, and Fitzgerald identified five dimensions of male sexual harassment: sexual coercion, unwanted

sexual attention, lewd comments, negative remarks about men, and enforcing the male gender role. While the sexual harassment of women is nearly exclusively perpetuated by the opposite sex, male sexual harassment was found to be surprisingly divided between offenders of the same and opposite sex. Males more often perpetrated lewd comments and enforcement of the male gender role, women were more often the instigators of negative remarks about men, and unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion was equally divided among male and female offenders (Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998). Additionally, it was found that gender role enforcement was the most upsetting form of sexual harassment faced (Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998).

While masculine gender norms are proscriptive for females, masculinity is a highly prized trait that society encourages males to actively demonstrate across cultures (Gilmore, 1990; Kimmel, 1996; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). With the value placed on the demonstration of masculine traits for males, deviations from these norms are poorly tolerated, with significantly more male children than female children receiving psychological referrals for treatment of Gender Identity Disorder (Zucker, Bradley, & Sanikhani, 1997). Hence, males are highly motivated to reject non-masculine traits in themselves (Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Klumper, & Weinberg, 2007; Vohs, Baumesiter, & Ciarocco, 2005) and others (Schmitt & Brasncombe, 2001). Berdahl (2007) posited that sexual harassment is motivated not by sexual desire, but rather by a drive to protect the status of one's social identity, which in this context is one's sex. As men enjoy the majority status between the two sexes, it makes sense that women are the victims of traditional sexual harassment, which may humiliate or derogate them into submission in the view of the harasser, and that women are the victims of not woman enough harassment,

which punishes them for not complying with their prescriptive gender norms. It also makes sense that men are both the perpetrators and the victims of not man enough harassment, or gender norm enforcement sexual harassment, as men who do not actively display their masculinity in line with male prescriptive gender norms may be viewed as a threat to the “superiority” of the male sex.

Prior research on the not man enough harassment construct have demonstrated that it is related to feelings of upset (Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998), a threatened sense of manhood, decreased cognitive ability, and lowered attentional self-control (Funk & Werhun, 2011), and decreased psychological well-being and job satisfaction (Holland, Rabelo, Gustafson, Seabrook, & Cortina, 2016). However, the outcomes of men regarding sexual harassment may not carry the same impact that they do for women. Berdahl, Magley, and Waldo (2006) demonstrated that men report significantly less anxiety due to sexual harassment than women do. Cochran, Frazier, and Olson (1997) also found that men rate sexual harassment experiences as less upsetting than women. Waldo, Berdahl, and Fitzgerald (1998) point out that sexual harassment is only considered harassing if the victims find the experience to be “offensive, threatening, or upsetting” (p.74), and found in their study that men reported their experiences to be only “slightly” upsetting.

In sum, it appears that males may face more societal pressure to embrace masculine traits than women do to embrace feminine traits. However, it also appears that women face more severe outcomes of sexual harassment than do men. Not man enough harassment is still in its nascence and there are still many questions to be answered. By applying the model and framework proposed here for not woman enough harassment to not man enough harassment, I

seek to take the first steps toward the creation of a unified theory of harassment based on deviation from traditional gender norms. As the relationships of this particular type of sexual harassment between men and women have not yet been compared in the extant literature, and no theory yet exists to build a hypothesis, I pose a research question to examine the relationship.

Research Question 1: Are the antecedents and outcomes similar for women and men in not woman enough and not man enough harassment?

CHAPTER 3: STUDY ONE

A pilot study was performed in order to develop and assess the items of the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale and to identify the factor structure thereof.

Participants and Procedure

Participants were students at a large southeastern university who were at least 18 years of age and employed at least part-time. Participants were given experimental credit in exchange for their participation. Data collection took place online through a survey form. Prior research has indicated the online surveys are effective in the collection of data for psychological studies (e.g., Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2003; Knapp & Kirk, 2003; Lonsdale, Hodge, & Hargreaves, 2006; McCabe, Boyd, Couper, Crawford, & D'Arcy, 2002; McCabe, 2004) and are possibly superior to paper and pencil questionnaires when the items are about sensitive topics such as discrimination and harassment (Schonlau, Fricker, & Elliott, 2002). Participants were guided to the survey after signing up for the study, where they read an informed consent letter before proceeding. Female participants completed a survey related to not woman enough harassment, while male participants completed a survey related to not man enough harassment.

A total of 294 females and 286 males responded to the survey. The average time it took to complete the survey was 22.63 minutes for females and 24.96 for males. Three quality check items were included in the survey and participants who failed to correctly answer these quality check items were excluded from the final analysis. Additionally, participants who indicated that they were unemployed or of the incorrect sex for the survey were also excluded.

The final female sample consisted of 287 participants, which exceeded the recommended minimums of 100 (Gorsuch, 1983; Kline, 1979), 150 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and 200 (Guilford, 1954). The average age was 21.71 years ($SD = 5.42$). 50.2% of the sample was Caucasian, 23.7% were Hispanic, 13.9% were African-American, 4.5% were Asian, and 7.7% identified as “other.” 88.2% of the sample identified as heterosexual, 7.7% identified as bisexual, 1.4% identified as homosexual, and 2.8% identified as “not sure” regarding their sexual orientation. 77.4% of the sample was employed part-time, and 22.6% were employed full-time. The average tenure at current position was 19.44 months ($SD = 28.98$), and the average lifetime tenure was 52.04 months ($SD = 59.85$).

The final male sample consisted of 274 participants. The average age was 20.57 ($SD = 4.94$). 54.7% of the sample was Caucasian, 22.3% were Hispanic, 8.8% were African-American, 6.6% were Asian, and 7.7% identified as “other.” 91.2% of the sample identified as heterosexual, 5.1% identified as homosexual, 2.6% identified as bisexual, and 1.1% identified as “not sure” regarding their sexual orientation. 83.9% of the sample was employed part-time, and 16.1% were employed full-time. The average tenure at current position was 16.53 months ($SD = 32.85$), and the average lifetime tenure was 39.15 months ($SD = 60.91$).

Measures

Not Woman Enough Harassment

Not woman enough harassment was measured using the 46-item Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale developed for this study, in which respondents were asked to identify the frequency with which they receive harassment ranging from comments to suggestions to teasing in regard to the masculinity of their physical and non-physical traits. A sample item is “During

the past two years at work, have any of your supervisors or co-workers suggested or advised you to change your hairstyle to be more feminine?” Perception of harassment was also measured with a single item that assesses how harassed a woman has felt from being the recipient of not woman enough harassment.

Discriminant Validity

Both gender-related and general harassment were measured in order to establish the discriminant validity of the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale. *Sexual harassment* was measured by the 17-item Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995), in which respondents were asked to report the frequency with which they have experienced sexually harassing behaviors from their supervisors or co-workers in the past two years. A sample item is “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers....made unwanted attempts to discuss sexual matters with you?” The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire has demonstrated good reliability and validity in samples across contexts and cultures (see Gutek, Murphy, & Douma, 2004 for a review). In this study Cronbach’s alpha was .96 for the female sample and .95 for the male sample. General workplace harassment was measured by the 20-item Aggressive Experiences Scale (Glomb, 2002), which assesses participants’ general experiences with negative treatment without reference to any social group. A sample item is “During the past two years at work, have you ever been in a situation where someone belittled your opinion in front of others?” Prior research has demonstrated high reliability of this scale ($\alpha=.75$; Raver & Nishii, 2010). In this study Cronbach’s alpha was .93 for the female sample and .94 for the male sample.

Not Man Enough Harassment

In order to compare the antecedents and outcomes of not woman enough harassment for women to the antecedents and outcomes of not man enough harassment for men, not man enough harassment was measured using a parallel scale to the one developed for not woman enough harassment for this study. Respondents were asked to identify the frequency with which they have received harassment ranging from comments to suggestions to teasing in regard to the femininity of their physical and non-physical traits. A sample item is “During the past two years at work, have any of your supervisors or co-workers suggested or advised you to change your hairstyle to be more masculine?” Perception of harassment was also measured with a single item that assesses how harassed a man has felt from being the recipient of not man enough harassment.

Item Generation

Items were created from a review of the extant literature on female stereotypes and stereotype violations. Indicators of not woman enough harassment that assessed both physical (e.g., hair, makeup) and non-physical (e.g., assertiveness, sense of humor) traits were used in developing the scale. In addition to assessing physical and non-physical dimensions, the scale also examines the intensity of harassment, by assessing which behaviors were suggestions, which behaviors were comments, and which behaviors were teasing. For example, in assessing not woman enough harassment pertaining to a target’s hair style, the scale measures suggestions that the target change her hair to be more feminine, comments about her hair style being masculine, and teasing her about her masculine hair style. Comments, suggestions, and teasing are actions commonly used in popular harassment scales. In this scale, comments are considered the lowest

intensity behavior, as a comment's attribution is largely left to the interpretation of the recipient, and could thus be interpreted as positive, negative, or neutral. Suggestions are of medium intensity, as while the target could interpret the attribution as positive (i.e., the speaker wishes to assist the target), it is also clearly conveying that the target's trait is not valued. Finally, teasing is the highest intensity behavior in this scale, as it is a degrading behavior that also conveys a lack of value for the target's trait. The response scale assesses the frequency with which each behavior is experienced, and ranges from 1 (never) to 5 (most of the time). As a result of sampling from the literature on female stereotypes and harassment intensity, 45 items were generated for the scale. Faculty and graduate students familiar with the workplace mistreatment literature reviewed the items for face validity.

Analyses

Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale Data Reduction and Factor Structure

In order to retain only the most robust items from the initial not woman enough harassment scale, I examined inter-item correlations and exclude items that failed to correlate .40 or higher with more than three other items, following the suggested guidelines of Hinkin (1998). Additionally, any items that are endorsed by less than 5% of the sample were also dropped due to inadequate variance. The items that remain were used for the subsequent analyses.

As the scale was developed in order to assess physical and non-physical trait-related not woman enough harassment and the intensity of the harassment, I expected the scale to represent one of three competing factor structures. The first was a 2-factor structure of physical and non-physical traits. The second was a 3-factor structure of low intensity behaviors (comments), medium intensity behaviors (suggestions), and high intensity behaviors (teasing). The third was a

combination of the two prior structures: a 6-factor structure of low intensity physical trait harassment, medium intensity physical trait harassment, high intensity physical trait harassment, low intensity non-physical trait harassment, medium intensity non-physical trait harassment, and high intensity non-physical trait harassment. See Tables 1, 2, and 3 for the proposed structures.

Table 1. 2-factor (Physical and Non-Physical) Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale Proposed Factor Structure

Factor 1: Physical Traits	Factor 2: Non-physical Traits
<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made</u> comments to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made</u> comments to you about:</i>
Having a short or masculine haircut.	Not having feminine traits or displaying feminine behaviors.
Not being pretty enough.	Not being sensitive enough.
Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Being too assertive or aggressive.
Being too tall to be considered feminine.	Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”
Being too muscular to be considered feminine.	Not being admired because you are too masculine.
Not wearing enough makeup.	Being like “one of the guys.”
Your attire at work not being feminine enough.	Your sense of humor being too masculine.
Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made</u> suggestions to you about:</i>
<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made</u> suggestions to you about:</i>	Displaying more feminine traits and behaviors at work.
Changing your hair to something longer or more feminine.	Displaying more sensitivity.
Being admired more if you were prettier.	Being less assertive or aggressive.
Wearing more jewelry to work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Changing your mannerisms or style of speech to be more feminine.
Concealing your height, for example not wearing high heels.	Being admired more if you acted more feminine.
Concealing your muscles to be considered more feminine.	Becoming “one of the girls.”

Factor 1: Physical Traits	Factor 2: Non-physical Traits
Wearing more makeup to work.	Adopting a more feminine sense of humor.
Your attire at work, for example suggesting that you should wear skirts rather than pants.	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>teased</u> you about:</i>
Concealing your body piercings or tattoos in order to be more feminine.	Not being admired because you are too masculine.
<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>teased</u> you about:</i>	Being “butch” or a “dyke” or some other name implying that you are not feminine enough
Having a short or masculine haircut.	Not being sensitive enough.
Not being pretty enough.	Being a “bitch” or otherwise being too assertive or aggressive.
Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”
Being too tall to be considered feminine.	Being like “one of the guys.”
Being too muscular to be considered feminine.	Your sense of humor being too masculine.
Not wearing enough makeup.	
Your attire at work (i.e., pants versus skirts).	
Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.	

Table 2. 3-factor (Intensity) Not Woman Enough Harassment Proposed Factor Structure

Factor 1: Low Intensity (Comments)	Factor 2: Medium Intensity (Suggestions)	Factor 3: High Intensity (Teasing)
<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made comments</u> to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>made suggestions</u> to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers <u>teased</u> you about:</i>
Having a short or masculine haircut.	Changing your hair to something longer or more feminine.	Having a short or masculine haircut.
Not being pretty enough.	Being admired more if you were prettier.	Not being pretty enough.
Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Wearing more jewelry to work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.
Being too tall to be considered feminine.	Concealing your height, for example not wearing high heels.	Being too tall to be considered feminine.

Factor 1: Low Intensity (Comments)	Factor 2: Medium Intensity (Suggestions)	Factor 3: High Intensity (Teasing)
Being too muscular to be considered feminine.	Concealing your muscles to be considered more feminine.	Being too muscular to be considered feminine.
Not wearing enough makeup.	Wearing more makeup to work.	Not wearing enough makeup.
Your attire at work not being feminine enough.	Your attire at work, for example suggesting that you should wear skirts rather than pants.	Your attire at work (i.e., pants versus skirts).
Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.	Concealing your body piercings or tattoos in order to be more feminine.	Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.
Not having feminine traits or displaying feminine behaviors.	Displaying more feminine traits and behaviors at work.	Not being admired because you are too masculine.
Not being sensitive enough.	Displaying more sensitivity.	Not being sensitive enough.
Being too assertive or aggressive.	Being less assertive or aggressive.	Being a “bitch” or otherwise being too assertive or aggressive.
Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”	Changing your mannerisms or style of speech to be more feminine.	Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”
Not being admired because you are too masculine.	Being admired more if you acted more feminine.	Being “butch” or a “dyke” or some other name implying that you are not feminine enough?
Being like “one of the guys.”	Becoming “one of the girls.”	Being like “one of the guys.”
Your sense of humor being too masculine.	Adopting a more feminine sense of humor.	Your sense of humor being too masculine.

Table 3. *6-factor (Intensity and Physical and Non-Physical) Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale Proposed Factor Structure*

Factor 1: Low Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 2: Medium Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 3: High Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 4: Low Intensity Non-Physical Traits	Factor 5: Medium Intensity Non-Physical Traits	Factor 6: High Intensity Non-Physical Traits
<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers made comments to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers made suggestions to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers made comments to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers made suggestions to you about:</i>	<i>Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased you about:</i>

Factor 1: Low Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 2: Medium Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 3: High Intensity Physical Traits	Factor 4: Low Intensity Non-Physical Traits	Factor 5: Medium Intensity Non-Physical Traits	Factor 6: High Intensity Non-Physical Traits
Having a short or masculine haircut.	Changing your hair to something longer or more feminine.	Having a short or masculine haircut.	Not having feminine traits or displaying feminine behaviors.	Displaying more feminine traits and behaviors at work.	Not being admired because you are too masculine.
Not being pretty enough.	Being admired more if you were prettier.	Not being pretty enough.	Not being sensitive enough.	Displaying more sensitivity.	Not being sensitive enough.
Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Wearing more jewelry to work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Not wearing jewelry at work, such as necklaces or earrings.	Being too assertive or aggressive.	Being less assertive or aggressive.	Being a “bitch” or otherwise being too assertive or aggressive.
Being too tall to be considered feminine.	Concealing your height, for example not wearing high heels.	Being too tall to be considered feminine.	Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”	Changing your mannerisms or style of speech to be more feminine.	Your mannerisms or style of speech being “manly.”
Being too muscular to be considered feminine.	Concealing your muscles to be considered more feminine.	Being too muscular to be considered feminine.	Not being admired because you are too masculine.	Being admired more if you acted more feminine.	Being “butch” or a “dyke” or some other name implying that you are not feminine enough?
Not wearing enough makeup.	Wearing more makeup to work.	Not wearing enough makeup.	Being like “one of the guys.”	Becoming “one of the girls.”	Being like “one of the guys.”
Your attire at work not being feminine enough.	Your attire at work, for example suggesting that you should wear skirts rather than pants.	Your attire at work (i.e., pants versus skirts).	Your sense of humor being too masculine.	Adopting a more feminine sense of humor.	Your sense of humor being too masculine.
Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.	Concealing your body piercings or tattoos in order to be more feminine.	Your body piercings or tattoos not being feminine.			

These three competing models were tested for model fit through a maximum likelihood confirmatory factor analysis using Amos Graphics v. 23 (Arbuckle, 2006). Model fit was evaluated using the chi-square statistic (χ^2), confirmatory fit index (CFI), non-normed fit index (NNFI), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Although it was included in the analyses, chi square statistics are heavily influenced by sample size, and thus CFI, NNFI, and RMSEA are more appropriate estimates of fit in this sample. CFI and NNFI values that are greater than .95 are indicative of good-fitting models (Hu & Bentler, 1999). A value of .06 or less for RMSEA is indicative of acceptable model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Reliability and Validity of the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale

Upon establishment of the factor structure of the scale, I conducted analyses of the reliability and validity. Coefficient alphas were examined for each subscale and for the total scale, and correlations among the subscales were assessed. In order to establish construct validity for not woman enough harassment, discriminant validity was assessed in order to establish the distinctiveness of not woman enough harassment from other forms of gender-based and general forms of mistreatment at work. More specifically, correlations were examined between not woman enough harassment and sexual harassment and not woman enough harassment and general workplace harassment. I expected to find positive, moderately significant correlations, demonstrating that not woman enough harassment is related to, but distinct from other forms of workplace mistreatment.

Results

Item Analyses

Before examining the factor structure, the 45 items written for the not woman enough harassment scale were examined for initial acceptability. The 13 items that participants endorsed as “not applicable” were dropped from the scale to ensure that the final items were applicable to a broad range of women. The remaining 33 items demonstrated acceptable inter-item correlations with none falling below .40. Further, all 33 items were endorsed by at least 5% of the sample. Thus, all remaining items met the suggested guidelines set by Hinkin (1998).

The same criteria were applied to the 42 items of the not man enough scale. The 15 items for which participants responded “not applicable” were excluded from the final scale. The remaining 27 items demonstrated acceptable inter-item correlations with none falling below .40, and all were endorsed by at least 5% of the sample.

Not Woman Enough Harassment Factor Structure

To test the proposed factor structures, I tested a two-factor model (physical and non-physical), a three-factor model (low intensity, medium intensity, and high intensity), and a six-factor model (trait by intensity). The two-factor model demonstrated poor fit to the data ($\chi^2(494) = 3612.51, p < .001$), RMSEA = .15, CFI = .66, NNFI = .64). Similarly, the three-factor model ($\chi^2(492) = 3115.56, p < .001$), RMSEA = .14, CFI = .72, NNFI = .69) and the six-factor model ($\chi^2(480) = 2409.88, p < .001$), RMSEA = .12, CFI = .79, NNFI = .77) also demonstrated unacceptable model fit. Given that none of the factor structures proposed a priori were supported by the data, additional factor structures were explored. I first explored a model in which all 33 not woman enough harassment items reflected a single factor, but this model demonstrated poor

fit ($\chi^2(495) = 4054.56, p < .001$), RMSEA = .16, CFI = .61, NNFI = .59). Next, a series of single-factor models were tested that examined items at each level of intensity (i.e., a model testing low intensity, a model testing medium intensity, and a model testing high intensity). The single-factor low intensity ($\chi^2(44) = 398.25, p < .001$), RMSEA = .16, CFI = .78, NNFI = .71), medium intensity ($\chi^2(44) = 491.66, p < .001$), RMSEA = .19, CFI = .83, NNFI = .78), and high intensity models ($\chi^2(44) = 507.99, p < .001$), RMSEA = .18, CFI = .86, NNFI = .82) demonstrated unacceptable fit. I next examined two-factor models within each intensity level, with the two factors reflecting physical and non-physical items. The two-factor low intensity model demonstrated improved fit over the single-factor low intensity model ($\chi^2(43) = 308.42, p < .001$), RMSEA = .14, CFI = .85, NNFI = .80), but still did not reach adequate fit. The two-factor medium intensity model similarly fit better than the single-factor model ($\chi^2(43) = 277.95, p < .001$), RMSEA = .14, CFI = .91, NNFI = .88), but this model still fell below the cutoffs for acceptable model fit. The last model tested, a two-factor model that retained high intensity items, showed adequate fit ($\chi^2(43) = 318.09, p < .001$), RMSEA = .12, CFI = .93, NNFI = .90).

The two-factor high intensity model demonstrated the best model fit and loading, and was thus retained. While the RMSEA is higher than recommended cutoffs, the value is consistent with prior findings in the area of workplace mistreatment (Nye, Brummel, & Drasgow, 2010; Nye & Drasgow, 2011). As Nye and colleagues (2010; 2011) point out, responses to mistreatment scales tend to concentrate at the lower end of the scale, which may inflate RMSEA scores. This model likely emerged with best fit due to the lack of ambiguity in the interpretation of teasing behaviors as harassment, as opposed to comments or suggestions. Hence, the 11 items representing high intensity harassment (i.e., teasing) were retained, and the 22 items representing

medium intensity (i.e., suggestions) and low intensity (i.e., comments) were dropped. Of the 11 retained items, four reflected harassment based on physical traits and six reflected harassment resulting from non-physical characteristics. All subsequent analyses were performed using the final 11 items. Item factor loadings are presented in Table 4. Cronbach’s alpha was .95 for the overall scale, .94 for the physical factor, and .92 for the non-physical factor.

Table 4. *Not Woman Enough Harassment Items and Factor Loadings (Study 1)*

Item	Physical Factor	Non-Physical Factor
“Have any of your supervisors or co-workers ever teased or made fun of you for”:		
...Having a masculine hairstyle?	.93	
...Not being pretty enough?	.83	
...Your attire at work being masculine?	.81	
...Not wearing enough makeup?	.87	
...Displaying masculine traits and behaviors at work?		.92
...Not being sensitive enough?		.67
...Being too assertive or aggressive?		.69
...Your mannerisms or style of speech being masculine?		.88
...Being “one of the guys”?		.85
...Your sense of humor being masculine?		.93

Note: $N=287$

Not Man Enough Harassment Factor Structure

The factor structure for the not man enough harassment scale showed a similar pattern of results. The proposed two-factor (physical and non-physical) ($\chi^2(323) = 3162.46, p < .001$, RMSEA = .18, CFI = .61, NNFI = .58), three-factor (intensity) ($\chi^2(321) = 1862.21, p < .001$, RMSEA = .13, CFI = .79, NNFI = .77), and six-factor models ($\chi^2(309) = 1717.23, p < .001$, RMSEA = .13, CFI = .81, NNFI = .79), all demonstrated unacceptable model fit. Similar to the not woman enough harassment scale, additional factor structures were explored. The first model tested all 27 items loading onto a single factor. This model demonstrated poor fit ($\chi^2(324) =$

3200.73, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .18, CFI = .61, NNFI = .58). The single-factor low intensity items only model ($\chi^2(27) = 166.62$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .14, CFI = .91, NNFI = .89), single-factor medium intensity items only model ($\chi^2(27) = 228.64$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .16, CFI = .93, NNFI = .88), and the single-factor high intensity items only model ($\chi^2(27) = 204.19$, $p < .001$), RMSEA = .15, CFI = .92, NNFI = .90) all showed inadequate fit. When testing two-factor (physical and non-physical) models within each intensity level, results showed that the two-factor low intensity model ($\chi^2(26) = 134.55$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .12, CFI = .93, NNFI = .91) and the two-factor medium intensity model ($\chi^2(26) = 214.11$, $p < .001$), RMSEA = .16, CFI = .91, NNFI = .88) showed moderate fit. The two-factor high intensity items only model demonstrated the best fit ($\chi^2(26) = 189.19$, $p < .001$), RMSEA = .15, CFI = .93, NNFI = .90). As with the not woman enough harassment models, the RMSEA values did exceed the recommended cutoffs for determining model fit. However, I again note that this is consistent with prior findings in the area of workplace mistreatment (Nye, Brummel, & Drasgow, 2010; Nye & Drasgow, 2011). Thus, the 9 items representing high intensity harassment regarding teasing were retained (3 physical items and 6 non-physical items), and the 18 items representing comments and suggestions were dropped. All subsequent analyses were performed using the final 9 items. Item factor loadings are presented in Table 5. Cronbach's alpha was .94 for the overall scale, .81 for the physical factor, and .94 for the non-physical factor.

Table 5. *Not Man Enough Harassment Items and Factor Loadings (Study 1)*

Item	Physical Factor	Non-Physical Factor
“Have any of your supervisors or co-workers ever teased or made fun of you for”:		
...Having a feminine hairstyle?	.69	
...Being too pretty?	.74	
...Your attire at work being feminine?	.87	
...Displaying feminine traits and behaviors at work?		.92
...Being too sensitive?		.78
...Not being assertive or aggressive enough?		.77
...Your mannerisms or style of speech being feminine?		.90
...Being “one of the girls”?		.89
...Your sense of humor being feminine?		.87

Note: $N=274$

Validity

In order to further establish the validity of the not woman/man enough harassment scales, I additionally assessed discriminant validity in order to establish the distinctiveness of not woman/man enough harassment from other forms of gender-based and general forms of mistreatment. The correlations between not woman enough harassment and sexual harassment ($r = .40, p < .01$), and generalized workplace harassment ($r = .33, p < .01$) suggest that these forms of mistreatment are related but distinct constructs representing unique forms of harassment. In the male sample, not man enough harassment was moderately positively correlated with sexual harassment ($r = .46, p < .01$), and generalized workplace harassment ($r = .40, p < .01$), which also suggests that not man enough harassment is distinct from other forms of harassment.

Incidence Rates

In the female sample, results demonstrated that 32.8% of women reported experiencing at least one form of not woman enough harassment. Non-physical harassment was reported by more women (26.5%) in comparison to harassment based on physical characteristics (16.7%).

The most commonly endorsed item was “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased or made fun of you for being too assertive or aggressive?” which was endorsed by 16.4% of respondents. However, only 5.2% of respondents endorsed the item regarding teasing for not being pretty. Further, not woman enough harassment was experienced by 33.3% of racial majority participants, and 32.2% of racial minority participants, 33.6% of heterosexual respondents and 26.5% of non-heterosexual respondents. Therefore, not woman enough harassment was relatively equal across demographic groups. In exploring the sources of not woman enough harassment, 23.4% of women reported that it came primarily from co-workers, 9.6% reported that it came primarily from supervisors, and 7.4% reported that it came equally from both co-workers and supervisors. Further, 20.2% of respondents reported that the perpetrators were primarily female, 11.7% reported that the perpetrators were primarily male, and 12.8% reported that they received not woman enough harassment from both females and males evenly. Together, this demonstrates that co-workers and females appear to perpetrate not woman enough harassment more than supervisors and males.

For the male sample, 40.1% of males reported experiencing at least one form of not man enough harassment. Non-physical forms of harassment were reported by more men (24.5%) than harassment related to physical characteristics (17.5%). The most commonly endorsed item for males was “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased or made fun of you for not being assertive or aggressive enough?,” which was endorsed by 17.9%. However, only 7.3% of respondents endorsed the item regarding teasing for having a feminine sense of humor. Further, not man enough harassment was experienced by 40.0% of racial majority participants, and 40.3% of racial minority participants, 40.4% of heterosexual respondents and 37.5% of non-

heterosexual respondents. As with not woman enough harassment, not man enough harassment is experienced by a similar number of men in each demographic group. When considering the source of not man enough harassment, 29.1% of men reported that it came primarily from co-workers, 5.8% reported that it came primarily from supervisors, and 9.3% reported that it came equally from both co-workers and supervisors. 15.1% of respondents reported that the perpetrators were primarily female, 23.3% reported that the perpetrators were primarily male, and 9.3% reported that they received not man enough harassment from both females and males evenly. This supports the notion that this form of harassment is most commonly enacted by one's co-workers. However, unlike not woman enough harassment, not man enough harassment appears to be predominantly perpetrated by other males.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY TWO

Participants and Procedure

Participants were students at a large southeastern university who were at least 18 years of age and employed at least part-time. Participants were given experimental credit in exchange for their participation. Data collection took place online through a survey form. Prior research has indicated the online surveys are effective in the collection of data for psychological studies (e.g., Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2003; Knapp & Kirk, 2003; Lonsdale, Hodge, & Hargreaves, 2006; McCabe, Boyd, Couper, Crawford, & D'Arcy, 2002; McCabe, 2004) and are possibly superior to paper and pencil questionnaires when the items are about sensitive topics such as discrimination and harassment (Schonlau, Fricker, & Elliott, 2002). Participants were guided to the survey after signing up for the study, where they read an informed consent letter before proceeding. Female participants completed a survey related to not woman enough harassment, while male participants completed a survey related to not man enough harassment. Both samples received identical measures of antecedents, moderators, and outcomes.

A total of 526 females and 731 males responded to the survey. The average time it took to complete the survey was 30.58 minutes for females and 29.72 for males. Three quality check items were included in the survey and participants who failed to correctly answer these quality check items were excluded from the final analysis. Additionally, participants who indicated that they were unemployed or of the incorrect sex for the survey were also excluded.

The final female sample consisted of 437 participants. The average age was 21.64 years ($SD=5.65$). 50.1% of the sample was Caucasian, 24.7% were Hispanic, 13.5% were African-

American, 3.9% were Asian, and 7.8% identified as “other.” 87.9% of the sample identified as heterosexual, 8.0% identified as bisexual, 1.8% identified as homosexual, and 2.3% identified as “not sure” regarding their sexual orientation. 79.2% of the sample was employed part-time, and 20.8% were employed full-time. The average tenure at current position was 19.75 months ($SD=30.27$), and the average lifetime tenure was 50.88 months ($SD=60.38$).

The final male sample consisted of 543 participants. The average age was 19.98 ($SD=4.20$). 56.2% of the sample was Caucasian, 21.7% were Hispanic, 8.8% were African-American, 7.0% were Asian, and 6.3% identified as “other.” 90.6% of the sample identified as heterosexual, 4.6% identified as homosexual, 2.8% identified as bisexual, and 2.0% identified as “not sure” regarding their sexual orientation. 89.0% of the sample was employed part-time, and 11.0% were employed full-time. The average tenure at current position was 14.03 months ($SD=24.97$), and the average lifetime tenure was 32.20 months ($SD=49.07$).

Measures

Not Woman Enough Harassment

Not woman enough harassment was measured using the 11-item Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale developed for this study, in which respondents were asked to identify the frequency with which they had received harassment in the form of teasing in regard to the masculinity of their physical and non-physical traits. A sample item is “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased you for having a masculine hairstyle?” Perception of harassment was also measured with a single item that assesses how harassed a woman has felt from being the recipient of not woman enough harassment. Cronbach’s alpha was .93 for the overall scale, .90 for the physical factor, and .90 for the non-physical factor.

In addition to the measure developed for this study, not woman enough harassment was also be measured with the previously developed 5-item scale (Dhanani, Wolcott, & Joseph, 2014) that this study sought to improve upon in order to compare the predictive validity of the two measures. A sample item from the original scale is “During the past 2 years at work, have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased you for being a “bitch” or for being too assertive or aggressive?” In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .77.

Antecedent Variables

Discomfort with gender-role conformity was measured as an antecedent to masculine expression using the 24-item Comfort and Conformity of Gender Expression Scale (Spencer, 2007). This scale assesses participant agreement on affective and behavioral components of four dimensions of comfort with conformity and non-conformity: discomfort with non-conformity, resentful conformity, active-physical comfort with conformity, and comfort with conformity-appearance. The Comfort and Conformity of Gender Expression Scale has demonstrated good test-retest reliability, and convergent and discriminant validity with other popular scales of gender norm conformity. A sample item from the discomfort with non-conformity dimension is “I feel uncomfortable if I do not conform to gender expectations in social situations.” A sample item from the resentful conformity dimension is “It upsets me that gender norms influence my behaviors in public.” A sample item from the active-physical comfort with conformity is “I feel comfortable using diet/nutrition in order to have my body appear to others as conforming to my gender.” A sample item from the comfort with conformity – appearance dimension is “I feel most comfortable getting my hair cut in a way that most people perceive to clearly match my gender.” In this study, Cronbach’s alpha for the overall scale was .82 for the female sample and

.81 for the male sample. By dimension, Cronbach's alpha for females and males respectively was .79 and .75 for discomfort with non-conformity, .77 and .75 for resentful conformity, .83 and .80 for active-physical comfort with conformity, and .75 and .78 for comfort with conformity – appearance.

Masculine expression was measured as an antecedent to not women enough harassment using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), and the Physical Presentation of Gender Scale (Moore, 2006). The Bem Sex Role Inventory assesses how people identify themselves on a continuum of masculinity and femininity in terms of gender roles. Participants responded to how they view themselves on 60 traits with a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (almost always true). A sample masculine trait is “assertive” and a sample feminine trait is “sensitive to others’ needs.” Bem (1974) reported high internal consistency reliabilities in her samples of masculinity $\alpha = .86$, .86, and femininity $\alpha = .80$, .82. High test-retest reliability was also reported of masculinity $r = .90$, and femininity $r = .90$. In this study, Cronbach's alpha for females and males respectively was .82 and .81 for femininity, and .84 and .88 for masculinity. The Physical Presentation of Gender Scale assesses how feminine or masculine participants view five of their physical attributes on a 5-point scale from “very masculine” to “very feminine.” A sample attribute is “your hair.” In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .88 for the female sample and .90 for the male sample.

Moderator Variables

In order to examine whether the gender context of women's jobs affect their likelihood of being victimized by not woman enough harassment, job gender context was measured using a 3-item scale developed by Gutek, Cohen, and Konrad (1990). In this scale, participants were asked

about the gender composition of their organization, work group, and the gender of their supervisor.

Outcome Variables

To assess the impact that not woman enough harassment has on women who experience it, several indicator of job attitudes and job behaviors were measured. *Job satisfaction* was measured by five items used in previous research (Brayfield & Rothe, 1951; Judge, Bono, & Locke, 2000) that tap global job satisfaction. Participants responded on a 5-point scale how much they agree or disagree with each of the statements. A sample item is “I feel fairly satisfied with my present job.” In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .90 for the female sample and .83 for the male sample. *Affective commitment* was measured by the 8-item Affective subscale of the Organizational Commitment Scales (Allen & Meyer, 1990), which assesses the extent to which participants feel committed to their organizations. Participants responded on a 5-point scale how strongly they agree or disagree to each item. A sample item is “I do not feel like ‘part of the family’ at my organization.” The Affective subscale of the Organizational Commitment scales has demonstrated high reliability and validity in past research (Allen & Meyer, 1990). In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .82 for the female sample and .77 for the male sample. *Task performance* was measured by the 7-item In-Role Performance Scale (Williams & Anderson, 1991), which asks participants to report the extent to which they perform the tasks that are mandated by their job. A sample item is “I fulfill the responsibilities specified in my job description.” Williams and Anderson (1991) reported a Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .91 for this scale. In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .80 for the female sample and .85 for the male sample. *Contextual performance* was measured by the 16-item Organizational Citizenship

Behavior Scale (Lee & Allen, 2002), which assesses the frequency with which participants engage in extra-role citizenship behaviors aimed at the organization and at individuals in the organization. A sample item is “I show genuine concern and courtesy toward co-workers, even under the most trying business or personal situations.” Lee and Allen (2002) reported high reliabilities for the subscales of $\alpha = .83$ for individual-directed organizational citizenship behaviors, and $\alpha = .88$ for organization-directed organizational citizenship behaviors. In this study, Cronbach’s alpha for the overall scale was .92 for the female sample and .91 for the male sample. By dimension, Cronbach’s alpha for females and males respectively was .87 and .86 for individual-directed organizational citizenship behaviors, and .91 and .89 for organization-direction organizational citizenship behaviors. *Withdrawal behaviors* were measured by a 19-item scale developed by Hanisch (1990) that assesses both job and work withdraw behaviors, such as being absent from work or intending to leave one’s job. Participants responded with the frequency they engage in withdrawal behaviors. A sample item is “Making excuses to go somewhere to get out of work.” Participants were also asked about how often they think about resigning from their job, the likelihood that they will soon resign, the desirability of resignation, and the difficulties of resignation. In this study, Cronbach’s alpha for the overall scale was .76 for the female sample and .67 for the male sample. By dimension, Cronbach’s alpha for females and males respectively was .68 and .66 for job withdrawal and .72 and .60 for work withdrawal. *Job stress* was measured by the 15-item Stress in General Scale (Stanton, Balzer, Smith, Parra, & Ironson, 2001) that ask participants how frequently each of the words or phrases describe their job. A sample item is “irritating.” For this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .93 for the female sample and .91 for the male sample.

Not Man Enough Harassment

In order to compare the antecedents and outcomes of not women enough harassment for women to the antecedents and outcomes of not man enough harassment for man, not man enough harassment was measured using a parallel scale to the one developed for not woman enough harassment for this study. Respondents were asked to identify the frequency with which they received harassment in the form of teasing in regard to the femininity of their physical and non-physical traits. A sample item is “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased or made fun of you for having a feminine hairstyle?” Perception of harassment was also measured with a single item that assessed how harassed a man has felt from being the recipient of not man enough harassment. Cronbach’s alpha was .94 for the overall scale, .80 for the physical factor, and .93 for the non-physical factor.

In addition, not man enough harassment was measured using the 5-item scale developed by Berdahl and Moore (2006) in order to compare the predictive validity of the two scales. Participants responded on a 5-point scale how frequently their supervisors or co-workers engage in not man enough harassment behaviors. A sample item is “during the past two years at work, have any of your supervisors or co-workers called you a wimp, sissy, chicken, or some other name implying that you are not courageous enough?” In this study, Cronbach’s alpha was .86.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

The previously identified factor structures were tested in the full sample through a maximum likelihood confirmatory factor analysis using Amos Graphics v. 23 (Arbuckle, 2006). Model fit was evaluated using the chi-square statistic (χ^2), confirmatory fit index (CFI), non-

normed fit index (NNFI), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Although it was included in the analyses, chi square statistics are heavily influenced by sample size, and thus CFI, TLI, and RMSEA are more appropriate estimates of fit in this sample. CFI and NNFI values that are greater than .95 are indicative of good-fitting models (Hu & Bentler, 1999). A value of .06 or less for RMSEA is indicative of acceptable model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The previously identified 2-factor high intensity model for the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale once again demonstrated acceptable fit ($\chi^2(43) = 276.28, p < .001$), RMSEA = .11, CFI = .94, NNFI = .92) and factor loadings (Table 6). The same pattern of results were identified for the Not Man Enough Harassment Scale in terms of both fit ($\chi^2(26) = 221.11, p < .001$), RMSEA = .12, CFI = .95, NNFI = .93) and factor loadings (Table 7).

Table 6. *Not Woman Enough Harassment Items and Factor Loadings (Study 2)*

Item	Physical Factor	Non-Physical Factor
“Have any of your supervisors or co-workers ever teased or made fun of you for”:		
...Having a masculine hairstyle?	.85	
...Not being pretty enough?	.73	
...Your attire at work being masculine?	.89	
...Not wearing enough makeup?	.83	
...Displaying masculine traits and behaviors at work?		.90
...Not being sensitive enough?		.61
...Being too assertive or aggressive?		.68
...Your mannerisms or style of speech being masculine?		.85
...Being “one of the guys”?		.82
...Your sense of humor being masculine?		.93

Note: $N=437$

Table 7. *Not Man Enough Harassment Items and Factor Loadings (Study 2)*

Item	Physical Factor	Non-Physical Factor
“Have any of your supervisors or co-workers ever teased or made fun of you for”:		
...Having a feminine hairstyle?	.67	
...Being too pretty?	.80	
...Your attire at work being feminine?	.84	
...Displaying feminine traits and behaviors at work?		.86
...Being too sensitive?		.82
...Not being assertive or aggressive enough?		.68
...Your mannerisms or style of speech being feminine?		.87
...Being “one of the girls”?		.89
...Your sense of humor being feminine?		.87

Note: $N=543$

Incidence Rates

Results demonstrated that 32.5% of the female sample reported experiencing at least one form of not woman enough harassment. Of these women, 17.2% reported experiencing at least one form of harassment related to physical characteristics and 25.6% reported at least one incident of harassment related to non-physical characteristics. The most commonly endorsed item was “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased or made fun of you for being too assertive or aggressive?” which was endorsed by 16% of respondents. However, only 5% of respondents endorsed the item regarding teasing for not being pretty. Further, not woman enough harassment was experienced by 35.6% of racial majority participants, and 29.4% of racial minority participants, 32.8% of heterosexual respondents and 30.2% of non-heterosexual respondents. Of women who indicated that they had experienced not woman enough harassment, 69.3% reported that it came primarily from co-workers, 16% reported that it came primarily from supervisors, and 14.7% reported that it came equally from both co-workers and supervisors. 37.1% of respondents reported that the perpetrators were primarily female, 33.7% reported that

the perpetrators were primarily male, and 29.2% reported that they received not man enough harassment from both females and males evenly.

For the male sample, 33% of males reported experiencing at least one form of not man enough harassment. Of these men, 17.3% reported experiencing at least one form of harassment related to physical characteristics and 26.7% reported at least one form of harassment related to non-physical characteristics. The most commonly endorsed item for males was “Have any of your supervisors or co-workers teased or made fun of you for not being assertive or aggressive enough?” which was endorsed by 20.1%. However, only 7.4% of respondents endorsed the item regarding teasing for having a feminine sense of humor. Further, not man enough harassment was experienced by 32.5% of racial majority participants, and 33.6% of racial minority participants, 30.9% of heterosexual respondents and 52.9% of non-heterosexual respondents. Of men who indicated that they had experienced not man enough harassment, 67.9% reported that it came primarily from co-workers, 15.1% reported that it came primarily from supervisors, and 17% reported that it came equally from both co-workers and supervisors. 20.3% of respondents reported that the perpetrators were primarily female, 59.3% reported that the perpetrators were primarily male, and 20.3% reported that they received not man enough harassment from both females and males evenly.

Hypotheses Testing

All formal tests of hypotheses were performed using linear regression in IBM SPSS 23. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables are reported in Table 8.

Table 8. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study Variables by Gender

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
1. Discomfort with Gender Norm Conformity		.14**	.27**	.09*	.08	-.09*	-.09*	-.14**	-.06	.04	.09	
2. Gendered Expression (Non-Physical)	.11*		.00	-.08	-.05	.12**	.10*	.15**	.31*	-.12**	-.09*	
3. Gendered Expression (Physical)	.36**	-.09		.09*	.18**	-.12**	-.06	-.14**	-.07	.16**	.16**	
4. Job Gender Context	.07	-.01	.08		.12**	-.10*	-.13**	-.12**	-.12**	.15**	.06	
5. Not Woman/Man Enough Harassment	-.01	-.12*	.28**	.05		-.10*	-.00	-.30**	.038	.13**	.12*	
6. Job Satisfaction	.01	.11*	-.08	-.09	-.13**		.60**	.26**	.40**	-.55**	-.36**	
7. Affective Organizational Commitment	-.06	.08	-.09	-.05	-.10*	.69**		.07	.43**	-.46**	-.17**	
8. Task Performance	.10*	.11*	-.07	-.02	-.33**	.23**	.13**		.27**	-.33**	-.12**	
9. Contextual Performance	-.02	.21**	-.09	.02	-.06	.49**	.58**	.27**		-.40**	-.02	
10. Withdrawal	-.07	-.16**	.09	.04	.20**	-.68**	-.61**	-.35**	-.56**		.23**	
11. Job Stress	.01	-.07	.09	.06	.10*	-.52**	-.32**	-.06	-.14**	.34**		
Females	Means	3.19	4.85	1.98	2.41	1.14	3.38	3.09	4.53	3.29	2.27	2.91
	SD	0.49	0.68	0.73	1.10	0.39	1.06	0.86	0.58	0.78	0.46	0.77
Males	Means	2.28	4.53	1.70	2.79	1.28	3.27	3.02	4.33	3.06	2.40	2.74
	SD	0.47	0.68	0.70	1.08	0.60	0.93	0.76	0.71	0.75	0.39	0.69

Note: Females ($N=437$) below diagonal, males ($N=543$) above diagonal; ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$; Gendered Expression = Masculine for Female Sample, Feminine for Male Sample; Not Woman Enough Harassment for Female Sample, Not Man Enough Harassment for Male Sample

Antecedents of Not Woman Enough Harassment

Hypothesis 1 predicted that higher feelings of discomfort with gender role conformity would be associated with higher levels of masculine expression. Regression analyses (Table 9) revealed that discomfort with gender norm conformity significantly predicted masculine physical trait expression ($R^2 = .13$) and masculine non-physical trait expression ($R^2 = .01$). Thus, Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Table 9. *Regression Predicting Outcomes of Discomfort with Gender Norm Conformity (Female Sample)*

Outcome	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Masculine physical expression	.540	.066	.364	8.145	.000
Masculine non-physical expression	.147	.066	.107	2.240	.026

Note: $N=437$

Hypotheses 2 posited that higher levels of masculine expression would be associated with higher levels of not woman enough harassment. Regression analyses (Table 10) demonstrated that masculine physical trait expression accounted for significant variance in not woman enough harassment ($R^2 = .08$). Masculine non-physical trait expression also accounted for significant variance in not woman enough harassment ($R^2 = .01$), however it was in the opposite direction of what was expected. Hence, Hypothesis 2 is partially supported.

Table 10. *Regression Predicting Not Woman Enough Harassment (Female Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Masculine physical expression	.151	.025	.283	6.145	.000
Masculine non-physical expression	-.067	.027	-.116	-2.435	.015

Note: $N=437$

Hypothesis 3 stated that job gender context would moderate the relationship between masculine expression and not woman enough harassment such that, in masculine-typed jobs, masculine expression will result in more not woman enough harassment than in feminine-typed

jobs. Results (Tables 11 and 12) demonstrated that the interaction of job gender context and masculine physical expression explained a significant increase in variance in not woman enough harassment ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 433) = 11.21$, $p < .001$), where women who work in more feminine job contexts and display masculine physical expression receive more not woman harassment. The interaction of job gender context and masculine non-physical trait expression also explained a significant increase in variance in not woman enough harassment ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $F(1, 433) = 9.01$, $p < .01$), where women who work in more feminine job contexts and display masculine non-physical traits receive less not woman enough harassment. However, Hypothesis 3 was not supported, as for both physical and non-physical masculine trait expression, being in a low feminine (masculine) job context did not affect the amount of not woman enough harassment experienced.

Table 11. *Regression of Masculine Physical Expression by Job Gender Context Interaction in Predicting Not Woman Enough Harassment (Female Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Masculine physical expression	-.026	.058	-.049	-.449	.654
Job Gender Context	-.128	.044	-.363	-2.906	.004
Interaction	.069	.021	.551	3.349	.001

Note: $N=437$

Table 12. *Regression of Masculine Non-Physical Expression by Gender Context Interaction in Predicting Not Woman Enough Harassment (Female Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Masculine non-physical expression	.108	.064	.189	1.688	.092
Job gender context	.355	.114	1.00	3.116	.002
Interaction	-.070	.023	-1.01	-3.002	.003

Note: $N=437$

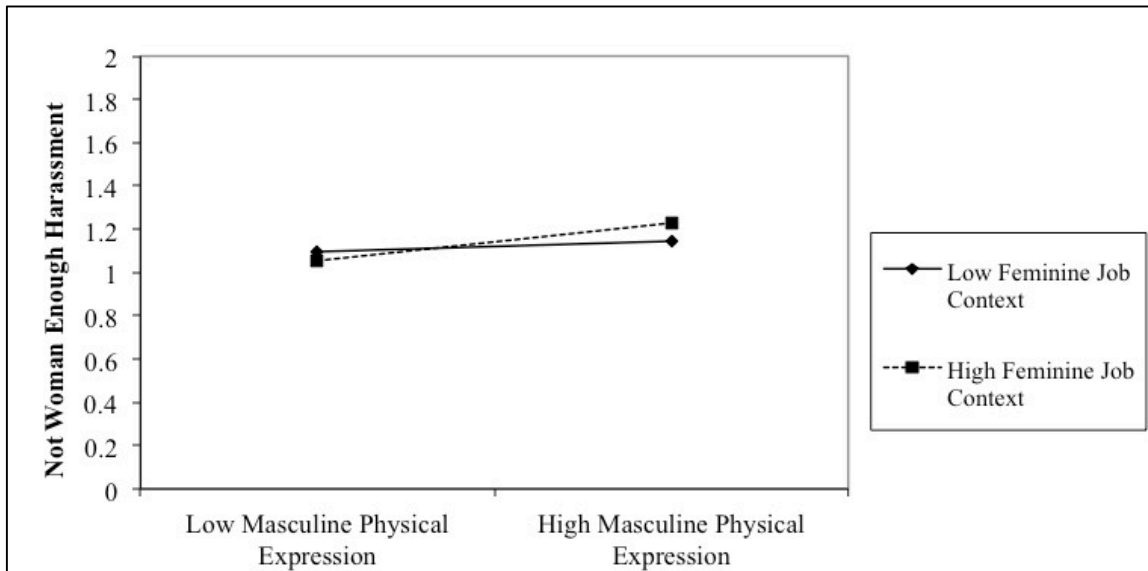


Figure 2. *Interaction Between Masculine Physical Expression and Job Gender Context (Female Sample)*

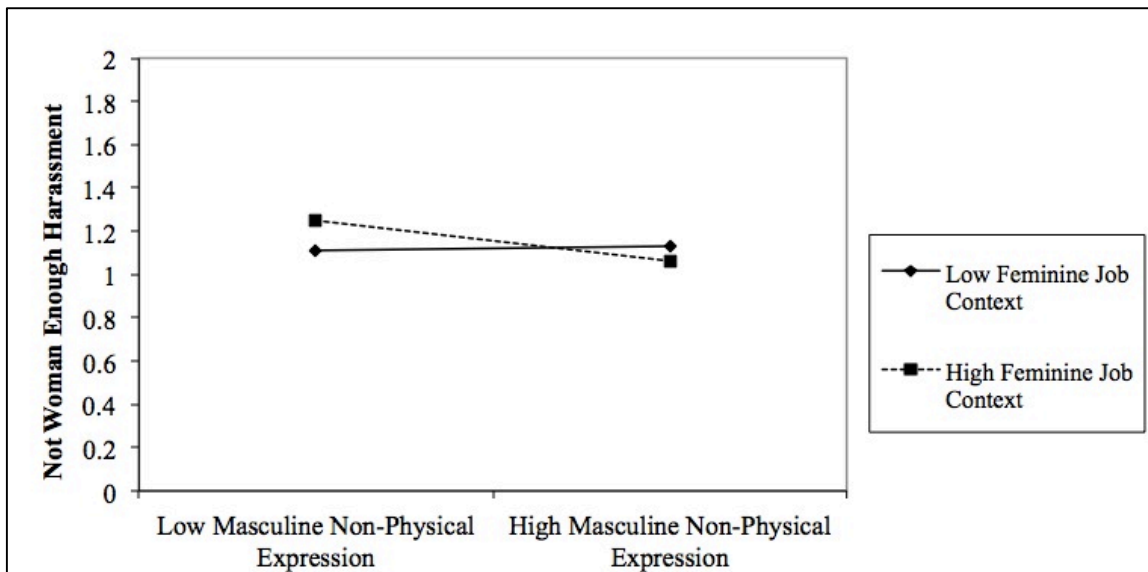


Figure 3. *Interaction Between Masculine Non-Physical Expression and Job Gender Context (Female Sample)*

Outcomes of Not Woman Enough Harassment

Hypothesis 4 stated that not woman enough harassment would be negatively related to job attitudes, as represented by job satisfaction and affective commitment. Results (Table 13) indicated that not woman enough harassment significantly predicted both affective organizational commitment ($\beta = -.10, p < .05; R^2 = .01$) and job satisfaction ($\beta = -.13, p < .01; R^2 = .02$), supporting Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5 posited that not woman enough harassment would be negatively related to behavioral engagement, as represented by task performance, contextual performance, and positively related to withdrawal. Results (Table 13) demonstrated that not woman enough harassment significantly predicted task performance ($\beta = -.33, p < .001; R^2 = .11$) and withdrawal ($\beta = .20; p < .001; R^2 = .04$), but not contextual performance ($\beta = -.06; n.s.; R^2 = .00$). Together, this provides partial support for Hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that not woman enough harassment would be positively related to job stress. Results of a regression analysis (Table 13) demonstrate that not woman enough harassment significantly predicted job stress ($\beta = .10; p < .05; R^2 = .01$), supporting Hypothesis 6.

Table 13. *Regression Predicting Outcomes of Not Woman Enough Harassment (Female Sample)*

Outcome	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Affective commitment	-.208	.105	-.095	-1.984	.048
Job satisfaction	-.362	.129	-.133	-2.794	.005
Contextual performance	-.129	.096	-.064	-1.348	.178
Task performance	-.486	.067	-.330	-7.281	.000
Withdrawal	.235	.056	.198	4.216	.000
Job stress	.186	.087	.102	2.137	.033

Note: *N*=437

Hypothesis 7 stated that the relationship between not woman enough harassment and job behavioral engagement will be partially mediated by job attitudes. Simple mediation analyses were performed using ordinary least squares analysis with the PROCESS extension software for SPSS (version 2.16.3, released 1 December 2016) developed by Dr. Andrew F. Hayes (Hayes, 2013).

To begin, the mediation of job satisfaction in the relationship between not woman enough harassment and task performance was tested. Results indicated that not woman enough harassment influenced task performance both directly and indirectly through its effect on job satisfaction (Table 14). Those who experienced more not woman enough harassment also experienced lower job satisfaction ($b = -.361, p < .01, 95\% CI -.592 \text{ to } -.131$), and lowered job satisfaction was positively related to decreased task performance ($b = .101, p < .001, 95\% CI .052 \text{ to } .150$). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F(1, 435) = 33.34, p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = -.036, SE = .017$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.078 \text{ to } -.014$, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not woman enough harassment on task performance. A direct effect between not woman enough harassment and task performance was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = -.450, SE = .092$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.631 \text{ to } -.269$ which indicated that there was a significant direct effect of not woman enough harassment on task performance.

Table 14. Relationship Between Not Woman Enough Harassment and Task Performance, Mediated by Job Satisfaction (Female Sample)

	Job Satisfaction			Task Performance		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.787	.144	26.246**	4.699	.157	29.993**
Not Woman Enough Harassment	-.361	.118	-3.077**	-.450	.092	-4.875**
Job Satisfaction				.101	.025	4.082*
	$R^2 = .018$			$R^2 = .143$		
	$F(1, 435) = 9.469^{**}$			$F(2, 434) = 28.450^{**}$		

Note: *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients. *N* = 437, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Next, the mediation of job satisfaction on the relationship between not woman enough harassment and withdrawal was tested. Results indicated that not woman enough harassment influenced withdrawal both directly and indirectly through its effect on job satisfaction (Table 15). Those who experienced more not woman enough harassment also experienced lower job satisfaction ($b = -.361, p < .01, 95\% CI -.592 \text{ to } -.131$), and lowered job satisfaction was negatively related to increased withdrawal ($b = -.289, p < .001, 95\% CI -.322 \text{ to } -.256$). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F(1, 435) = 12.723, p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = .104, SE = .037$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was .044 to .188, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not woman enough harassment on withdrawal. A direct effect between not woman enough harassment and withdrawal was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = .131, SE = .054$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was .024 to .238, which indicated that there was a significant direct effect of not woman enough harassment on withdrawal.

Table 15. *Relationship Between Not Woman Enough Harassment and Withdrawal, Mediated by Job Satisfaction (Female Sample)*

	Job Satisfaction			Withdrawal		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.787	.144	26.246**	3.092	.093	33.260**
Not Woman Enough Harassment	-.361	.118	-3.077**	-.450	.092	-4.875**
Job Satisfaction				.131	.054	2.400*
	$R^2 = .018$			$R^2 = .471$		
	$F(1, 435) = 9.469^{**}$			$F(2, 434) = 162.736^{**}$		

Note: *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients. *N* = 437, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Affective organizational commitment was also examined as a mediator of the relationship between not woman enough harassment and task performance. Results indicated that not woman enough harassment influenced task performance both directly and indirectly through its effect on affective commitment (Table 16). Those who experienced more not woman enough harassment also experienced lower affective commitment ($b = -.208, p < .01, 95\% CI -.345 \text{ to } -.071$), and lowered affective commitment was positively related to decreased task performance ($b = .069, p < .05, 95\% CI .011 \text{ to } .126$). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F(1, 435) = 33.34, p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = -.014, SE = .010$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.038 \text{ to } -.030$, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not woman enough harassment on task performance. A direct effect between not woman enough harassment and task performance was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = -.472, SE = .087$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.642 \text{ to } -.302$ which indicated that there was a significant direct effect of not woman enough harassment on task performance.

Table 16. *Relationship Between Not Woman Enough Harassment and Task Performance, Mediated by Affective Commitment (Female Sample)*

	Affective Commitment			Task Performance		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.322	.093	35.764**	4.855	.150	32.457**
Not Woman Enough Harassment	-.208	.070	-2.983**	-.472	.087	-5.457**
Affective Commitment				.069	.029	2.357*
	$R^2 = .090$			$R^2 = .345$		
	$F(1, 435) = 8.898^{**}$			$F(2, 434) = 20.866^{**}$		

Note: *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients. *N* = 437, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Affective organizational commitment was also examined as a mediator of the relationship between not woman enough harassment and task withdrawal. Results indicated that not woman enough harassment influenced withdrawal both directly and indirectly through its effect on affective commitment (Table 17). Those who experienced more not woman enough harassment also experienced lower affective commitment ($b = -.208, p < .01, 95\% CI -.345 \text{ to } -.071$), and lowered affective commitment was related to increased withdrawal ($b = -.323, p < .01, 95\% CI -.363 \text{ to } -.282$). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F(1, 435) = 12.723, p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = .067, SE = .025$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was .027 to .125, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not woman enough harassment on withdrawal. A direct effect between not woman enough harassment and withdrawal was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = .168, SE = .059$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was .052 to .285, which indicated that there was a significant direct effect of not woman enough harassment on withdrawal. Thus, Hypothesis 7 is supported.

Table 17. *Relationship Between Not Woman Enough Harassment and Withdrawal, Mediated by Affective Commitment (Female Sample)*

	Affective Commitment			Withdrawal		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.322	.093	35.764**	3.070	.101	30.496**
Not Woman Enough Harassment	-.208	.070	-2.983**	.168	.059	2.834**
Affective Commitment				-.323	.021	-15.579*
	$R^2 = .090$			$R^2 = .391$		
	$F(1, 435) = 8.898^{**}$			$F(2, 434) = 132.018^{**}$		

Note: *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients. *N* = 437, * *p* < .05, ** *p* < .01

Comparison with Not Man Enough Harassment

To enable comparisons between not woman enough harassment and not man enough harassment, the same model was also tested for the male sample.

Antecedents of Not Man Enough Harassment

Similar to the results for not woman enough harassment, regression analyses (Table 18) revealed that discomfort with gender norm conformity significantly predicted feminine physical trait expression ($R^2 = .07$) and feminine non-physical trait expression ($R^2 = .02$).

Table 18. *Regression Predicting Outcomes of Discomfort with Gender Norm Conformity (Male Sample)*

Outcome	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Feminine physical expression	.398	.061	.268	6.469	.000
Feminine non-physical expression	.197	.061	.138	3.240	.001

Note: *N* = 543

Also similar to the results in the female sample, results (Table 19) demonstrated that feminine physical expression significantly predicted not man enough harassment ($R^2 = .11$). However, unlike in the female sample, feminine non-physical expression did not account for significant variance in not man enough harassment ($R^2 = .00$).

Table 19. *Regression Predicting Not Man Enough Harassment (Male Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Feminine physical expression	.212	.027	.324	7.971	.000
Feminine non-physical expression	-.046	.029	-.068	-1.590	.112

Note: *N*=543

Similar to the female sample in not woman enough harassment, results (Table 20) indicate that men who work in more masculine contexts and display feminine physical expression receive more not man enough harassment. Results demonstrated that the interaction of job gender context and feminine physical expression explained a significant increase in variance in not man enough harassment ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F(1, 539) = 4.03$, $p < .05$), where men who work in more masculine contexts and display feminine physical expression receive more not man harassment.

Table 20. *Regression of Feminine Physical Expression by Job Gender Interaction in Predicting Not Man Enough Harassment (Male Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Feminine physical expression	.044	.084	.066	.521	.603
Job gender context	-.021	.048	-.048	-.430	.667
Interaction	.053	.027	.345	.345	.045

Note: *N*=543

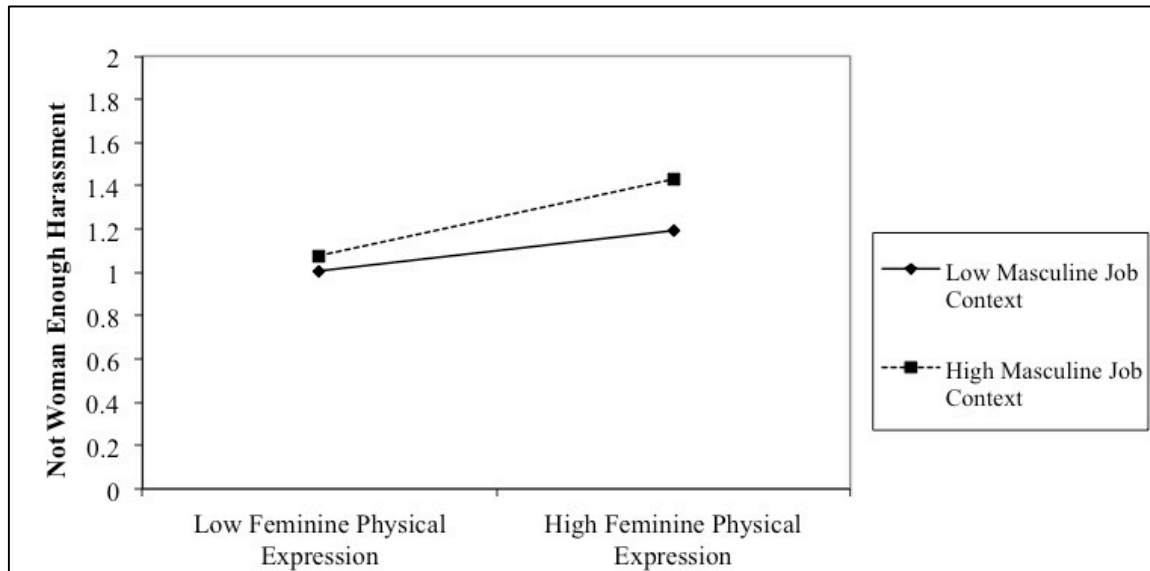


Figure 4. *Interaction Between Feminine Physical Expression and Job Gender Context (Male Sample)*

However, the interaction of job gender context and feminine non-physical trait expression (Table 21) did not explain a significant increase in variance in not man enough harassment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F(1, 539) = 2.53$, *n.s.*), hence there was no support for the moderating effect of job gender context between feminine non-physical expression and not man enough harassment.

Table 21. *Regression of Feminine Non-Physical Expression by Job Gender Context Interaction in Predicting Not Man Enough Harassment (Male Sample)*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Feminine non-physical expression	.071	.074	.105	.965	.335
Job gender context	.256	.112	.597	2.281	.023
Interaction	-.039	.024	-.435	-1.592	.112

Note: $N=543$

Outcomes of Not Man Enough Harassment

Overall, the pattern of relationships for outcomes of not man enough harassment (Table 22) were similar to those of not woman enough harassment. Not man enough harassment significantly predicted job satisfaction ($\beta = -.10$, $p < .05$; $R^2 = .01$). However, contrary to the

findings for not woman enough harassment, not man enough harassment did not predict affective organizational commitment and accounted for no significant variance ($\beta = -.10, n.s.; R^2 = .00$).

Not man enough harassment showed the same pattern of relationships with behavioral engagement outcomes as the female sample. Not man enough harassment significantly predicted decreased task performance ($\beta = -.32, p < .001; R^2 = .10$), and increased withdrawal ($\beta = .23, p < .001; R^2 = .07$), but did not significantly predict contextual performance ($\beta = .04, n.s.; R^2 = .00$).

Also similar to the results of the female sample, not man enough harassment significantly predicted increased job stress ($\beta = .11, p < .05; R^2 = .01$).

Table 22. *Regression Predicting Outcomes of Not Man Enough Harassment (Male Sample)*

Outcome	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Affective commitment	.048	.071	.029	.681	.496
Job satisfaction	-.208	.086	-.104	-2.423	.016
Contextual performance	.064	.070	.040	.926	.355
Task performance	-.496	.063	-.322	-7.907	.000
Withdrawal	.193	.035	.229	5.483	.000
Job stress	.158	.064	.106	2.473	.014

Note: *N*=543

As in the female sample, simple mediation analyses were performed using ordinary least squares analysis with the PROCESS extension software for SPSS (Hayes, 2013) in order to test the mediating effect of job attitudes on the relationship between not man enough harassment and behavioral outcomes. Affective commitment was not tested as a mediator, as it was not significantly predicted by not man enough harassment.

To begin, the mediation of job satisfaction in the relationship between not man enough harassment and task performance was tested. Results indicated that not man enough harassment influenced task performance both directly and indirectly through its effect on job satisfaction (Table 23). Those who experienced more not man enough harassment also experienced lower job

satisfaction ($b = -.160, p < .01, 95\% CI -.265 \text{ to } -.055$), and lowered job satisfaction was positively related to decreased task performance ($b = .177 p < .001, 95\% CI .118 \text{ to } .236$). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F (1, 541) = 28.45, p < .001$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = -.028, SE = .010$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.0052 \text{ to } -.011$, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not man enough harassment on task performance. A direct effect between not man enough harassment and task performance was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = -.324, SE = .064$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was $-.450 \text{ to } -.198$ which indicated that there was a significant direct effect of not man enough harassment on task performance.

Table 23. *Relationship Between Not Man Enough Harassment and Task Performance, Mediated by Job Satisfaction (Male Sample)*

	Job Satisfaction			Task Performance		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.474	.084	41.483**	4.171	.149	28.031**
Not Man Enough Harassment	-.160	.054	-2.986**	-.324	.064	-5.055**
Job Satisfaction				.177	.030	5.883*
	$R^2 = .011$			$R^2 = .141$		
	$F (1, 541) = 8.918**$			$F (2, 540) = 39.850**$		

Note: b = unstandardized regression coefficients. $N = 543, * p < .05, ** p < .01$

Next, the mediation of job satisfaction on the relationship between not man enough harassment and withdrawal was tested. Results indicated that not man enough harassment influenced withdrawal both directly and indirectly through its effect on job satisfaction (Table 24). Those who experienced more not man enough harassment also experienced lower job satisfaction ($b = -.160, p < .01, 95\% CI -.265 \text{ to } -.055$), and lowered job satisfaction was

negatively related to increased withdrawal ($b = -.228$ $p < .001$, 95% CI -.258 to -.199). The overall model was found to be significant, ($F(1, 541) = 5.253$, $p < .05$). A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect ($b = .037$, $SE = .012$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was .015 to .062, which indicated that there was a significant indirect effect of not man enough harassment on withdrawal. A direct effect between not man enough harassment and withdrawal was also found. A bias-corrected bootstrap 95% confidence interval for the direct effect ($b = .050$, $SE = .034$) using 5,000 bootstrap samples was -.017 to .116, which indicated that there was no significant direct effect of not man enough harassment on withdrawal.

Table 24. *Relationship Between Not Man Enough Harassment and Withdrawal, Mediated by Job Satisfaction (Male Sample)*

	Job Satisfaction			Withdrawal		
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
Constant	3.474	.084	41.483**	3.087	.072	43.163**
Not Man Enough Harassment	-.160	.054	-2.986**	.050	.034	1.460
Job Satisfaction				-.228	.015	-15.16**
	$R^2 = .011$			$R^2 = .471$		
	$F(1, 541) = 8.918**$			$F(2, 540) = 162.736**$		

Note: b = unstandardized regression coefficients. $N = 543$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Supplemental Analyses

Incremental Predictive Validity of Harassment Scales

Incremental validity analyses were conducted to assess whether the not woman enough and not man enough harassment scales explain unique variance in the outcomes after accounting for sexual harassment (Table 25) and generalized workplace harassment (Table 26). Not woman enough harassment demonstrated significant incremental predictive validity above traditional sexual harassment for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 =$

.01), task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$), and withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .03$), although not for contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$) or job stress ($\Delta R^2 = .00$). Not woman enough harassment also demonstrated significant incremental predictive validity above generalized workplace harassment for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .11$), and withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .03$), although not for affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$) or job stress ($\Delta R^2 = .01$).

Table 25. *Incremental Predictive Validity of Not Woman Enough Harassment Over Sexual Harassment*

Outcome	Sexual Harassment				Not Woman Enough Harassment			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.10	.10	-.05	-9.6	-.31	.14	-.12	-2.26*
Commitment	-.02	.08	-.01	-2.4	-.20	.11	-.09	-1.76*
Task performance	-.05	.05	-.05	-1.02	-.51	.07	-.35	-7.16**
Contextual performance	.04	.08	.03	.49	-.15	.10	-.07	-1.43
Withdrawal	.02	.04	.03	.56	.22	.06	.19	3.73**
Job stress	.25	.07	.17	3.34**	.01	.10	.01	.09

Note: Note: $N=437$; * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$

Table 26. *Incremental Predictive Validity of Not Woman Enough Harassment Over Generalized Workplace Harassment*

Outcome	Generalized Workplace Harassment				Not Woman Enough Harassment			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.34	.10	-.18	-3.51**	-.23	.13	-.09	-1.83*
Commitment	-.11	.08	-.07	-1.41	-.13	.10	-.06	-1.21
Task performance	-.07	.05	-.07	-1.46	-.52	.07	-.35	-7.38**
Contextual performance	.09	.07	.06	1.23	-.17	.10	-.08	-1.67
Withdrawal	.06	.04	.08	1.51	.21	.06	.18	3.53**
Job stress	.59	.07	.42	9.02**	.15	.09	.08	1.63

Note: Note: $N=437$; * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$

I also examined the incremental predictive validity of the newly developed Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale over the previously-developed 5-item scale (Table 27). The new scale did not explain significant variance above the 5-item scale for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), or stress ($\Delta R^2 = .00$). However, the new scale did demonstrate significant incremental predictive validity over the prior scale for task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .06$).

Table 27. *Incremental Predictive Validity of New Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale Over Previous Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale*

Outcome	Previous Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale				New Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.35	.12	-.17	-2.90**	-.16	.14	-.06	-1.12
Commitment	-.17	.10	-.10	-1.80	-.10	.12	-.04	-.78
Task performance	-.08	.06	-.07	-1.37	-.43	.08	-.29	-5.55**
Contextual performance	.07	.09	.05	.81	-.18	.11	-.09	-1.57
Withdrawal	.21	.05	.22	4.03**	.09	.06	.09	1.54
Job stress	.33	.09	.21	3.80**	.10	.11	-.05	.93

Note: Note: $N=437$; * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$;

Not man enough harassment demonstrated significant incremental predictive validity above traditional sexual harassment (Table 28) for task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .03$), although not for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), or job stress ($\Delta R^2 = .00$). Not man enough harassment also demonstrated significant incremental predictive validity over generalized workplace harassment (Table 29) for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .06$), and withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .01$), although not for affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$) contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), or job stress ($\Delta R^2 = .00$).

Table 28. *Incremental Predictive Validity of Not Man Enough Harassment Over Sexual Harassment*

Outcome	Sexual Harassment				Not Man Enough Harassment			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.13	.09	-.07	-1.40	-.11	.07	-.07	-1.52
Commitment	.00	.08	.00	.05	-.01	.06	-.00	-.07
Task performance	-.47	.05	-.40	-9.66**	-.15	.05	-.13	-3.04**
Contextual performance	.00	.08	.00	.03	.05	.06	.04	.77
Withdrawal	.22	.04	.26	5.65**	.01	.03	.01	.29
Job stress	.18	.07	.13	2.64**	.05	.06	.05	.94

Note: Note: *N*=543; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Table 29. *Incremental Predictive Validity of Not Man Enough Harassment Over Generalized Workplace*

Outcome	Generalized Workplace Harassment				Not Man Enough Harassment			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.08	.08	-.05	-.99	-.13	.07	-.08	-1.77*
Commitment	-.01	.06	-.01	-.21	.00	.06	.00	.04
Task performance	-.11	.06	-.09	-1.90*	-.31	.05	-.26	-5.77**
Contextual performance	.17	.06	.13	2.82**	-.02	.06	-.02	-.40
Withdrawal	.08	.03	.12	2.53*	.05	.03	.08	1.76*
Job stress	.33	.06	.27	5.97**	.02	.05	.01	.31

Note: Note: *N*=543; **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

I also examined the incremental predictive validity for the newly developed Not Man Enough Harassment Scale over the previously developed 5-item scale (Table 30). The new scale did not explain significant variance above the 5-item scale for job satisfaction ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), affective organizational commitment ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), contextual performance ($\Delta R^2 = .00$), or stress ($\Delta R^2 = .00$). However, the new scale did demonstrate significant incremental predictive validity over the prior scale for task performance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$) and withdrawal ($\Delta R^2 = .01$).

Table 30. *Incremental Predictive Validity of Not Man Enough Harassment Scale Over Previous Not Man Enough Harassment Scale*

Outcome	Previous Not Man Enough Harassment Scale				New Not Man Enough Harassment Scale			
	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>
Job satisfaction	-.17	.07	-.11	-2.35*	-.09	.07	-.06	-1.21
Commitment	-.02	.06	-.01	-.27	.06	.08	.04	.72
Task performance	-.47	.05	-.40	-9.61**	-.51	.05	-.13	-3.04**
Contextual performance	.01	.06	.01	.21	.06	.08	.03	.69
Withdrawal	.15	.03	.24	5.07**	.09	.04	.11	2.22**
Job stress	.12	.05	.11	2.32*	.06	.05	.05	1.20

Note: Note: $N=543$; * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Results of the Current Study

This dissertation was designed to address the gap in the extant literature on workplace sex-based harassment that fails to capture mistreatment based on deviation from gender stereotypes for women. To that end, I first proposed the construct of not woman enough harassment, or mistreatment that occurs when women do not meet traditionally held stereotypes of femininity, in order to expand the conceptualization of harassment experienced by women in the workplace. In order to measure this construct, I created the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale, in which two dimensions of not woman enough harassment emerged: harassment based on physical characteristics (e.g., hair and attire) and harassment based on non-physical characteristics (e.g., assertiveness and humor). The results showed that not woman enough harassment is an issue faced by women in the workplace. In fact, it is likely a larger issue than the present data of university students captured, as full-time employment significantly predicted not woman enough harassment, and the majority of the present sample were part-time workers. It was also found that women who were uncomfortable conforming to gender norms were more likely to express masculine physical and non-physical traits. However, while masculine physical trait expression was significantly positively related to not woman enough harassment, masculine non-physical trait expression was significantly negatively related to not woman enough harassment, which will be discussed in the implications section. Job gender context also moderated the relationship between masculine expression and not woman enough harassment, demonstrating that where a woman works may play a role in her experience of this form of mistreatment.

Further, experiencing not woman enough harassment was shown to have a meaningful impact on important job outcomes, including job attitudes, task performance, withdrawal, and job stress.

Practical and Theoretical Implications

The findings of this dissertation have several important implications for both the extant literature and for real-world applications. Until now, sex-based harassment has focused on sexual harassment and sex discrimination, which are both based on one's sex and gender stereotypes. The introduction of not woman enough harassment expands the construct space to include women who are punished for violating those stereotypes, more fully capturing the full range of experiences women face in the workplace. This construct should inform future research into workplace harassment and mistreatment, and be integrated into interventions and policies aimed at reducing the occurrence of such.

The development of the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale contributes to both practical and theoretical applications. The newly developed scale improved upon the original measure through significant incremental predictive validity of task performance. Additionally, although the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale did not demonstrate incremental prediction above the Generalized Workplace Harassment Scale aside from task performance, job satisfaction, and withdrawal, that is to be expected as a general harassment scale would include all types of harassment. If researchers or practitioners are interested in a global construct of harassment, the general scale would be more applicable, whereas if a more finely grained analysis of harassment is desired, the Not Woman Enough Harassment Scale provides a measurement of harassment based on deviation from gender norms.

In identifying the antecedents of not woman enough harassment, it was not surprising to find that masculine physical expression significantly predicted not woman enough harassment, as physical trait expression is highly salient and indicative of non-conformity to prescribed gender norms. However, the unexpected finding that masculine non-physical trait expression was significantly negatively related to not woman enough harassment was surprising. There are several possible explanations for this result. The first is the nature of the self-report measurement of non-physical characteristics. While physical characteristics are somewhat more objective (i.e., you either typically wear pants or you typically wear skirts), non-physical characteristics are much more subjective. Individuals tend to have a more nuanced perception of themselves than observers do and it is possible that they do not have accurate perceptions of how others perceive them. Future research could explore this idea through the incorporation of observer reports or address this through experimental methods where the level of masculine expression could be manipulated. An alternative possibility could be found in the items of the Bem Sex Role Inventory that was used to measure masculine non-physical expression. Many of the items that represent masculinity in the scale (e.g., analytical, leadership ability, makes decisions easily) are characteristics that are associated with being an ideal worker. In support of this, supplemental analyses demonstrated that masculine non-physical characteristics significantly predicted task performance. Thus, it may be the case that women who deviate from gender norms in ways that are beneficial to the workplace do not elicit an increase in harassment.

Contrary to the expectations of Hypothesis 3, working in a male gendered job context does not influence the level of not woman enough harassment experienced by a woman. Given that the results for both the male and female samples demonstrated higher levels of harassment

when the trait expression did not match the gender context of the job, it is likely the case that women who display masculine characteristics in a masculine gendered job are not as salient in their gender norm deviation, as the gender of their expression matches the gender of their job. Another unexpected finding that emerged from the analyses of the moderating effect of job gender context was that women who work in feminine gendered jobs experience more not woman enough harassment when expressing masculine physical characteristics than women who work in masculine gendered jobs. It may be the case that, as there are more females in a feminine gendered job, the Queen Bee Syndrome (Staines, Tavis, & Jayatne, 1973) is being expressed, where women engage in belittling other women in order to legitimize their own roles in the workplace. In a workgroup that consists of mainly other women, not woman enough harassment provides ample opportunity for women to engage in harassment in order to solidify their own positions. In addition, women may engage in not woman enough harassment of their fellow female workers in order to highlight the target's lack of femininity and highlight their own femininity. Finally, it may simply be the case that displaying highly salient masculine physical traits in a feminine gendered environment makes those traits more noticeable and thus more prone for harassment than they would be in a masculine gendered environment. Also surprisingly, the findings revealed that women who display masculine non-physical traits and work in a feminine gendered job receive less not woman enough harassment. The supposition that these traits are indicative of an ideal worker and may not elicit as much harassment due to the benefit they provide the workgroup applies to this finding as well. Additionally, in a feminine environment with many female workers, a woman who displays non-physical masculine traits may be viewed as an exceptionally valuable team member, given the uniqueness of her approaches at work and

the aforementioned benefit that they provide the workgroup, and may thus be further insulated from harassment.

Regarding the outcomes of not woman enough harassment, the negative implications of decreased job satisfaction, affective organizational commitment, and task performance, and increased withdrawal are likely obvious to organizations looking to increase production and decrease turnover. However, increased job stress has important consequences that may not be immediately evident to companies. It has been estimated that job stress costs organizations \$300 billion per year (Rosch, 2001). These costs include absenteeism, reduced performance, increased healthcare costs, and turnover. In fact, healthcare costs are an average of 46% higher for workers with high stress levels in the United States (Goetzel, Anderson, Whitmer, Ozminkowski, Dunn, & Wasserman, 1998). Hence, it would be prudent for organizations to implement policies and interventions that target the reduction of this type of mistreatment in order to buffer themselves and their workers from the negative effects.

The final unexpected finding was that not woman enough harassment is not significantly related to contextual performance. By means of explanation, it may be the case that women who face this type of harassment feel pressure to engage in helping behaviors outside of their assigned job duties in an attempt to ameliorate the harassment, either through ingratiating themselves with their harassers or in an attempt to appear more feminine by engaging in helping behaviors, which are traditionally ascribed to women. Women may also be continuing to engage in high levels of contextual performance while experiencing not woman enough harassment in order to secure their jobs and careers. The extant literature demonstrates that organizational citizenship behaviors contribute to career success (Van Scotter, Motowidlo, & Cross, 2000; Podsakoff, Whiting,

Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009), and that while men engaging in these behaviors are viewed positively, women engaging in these behaviors are viewed as merely doing their job (Heilman & Chen, 2005). Thus, women who are worried about the security of their job due to their perceived gender norm violations likely feel pressure to engage in behaviors that reinforce their femininity and solidify their employment status.

Comparison of Not Woman Enough Harassment and Not Man Enough Harassment

The not woman enough model was also applied to a male sample using a not man enough harassment scale analogous to the not woman enough harassment scale in order to examine the similarities and differences of the experiences of men and women who violate gender norms. One noteworthy difference emerged when reviewing the incidence rates between men and women: the most commonly endorsed harassment item across both males and females was related to assertiveness and aggression. For females it was being teased for being too assertive or aggressive and for males it was being teased for not being assertive or aggressive enough. This suggests that assertiveness and aggression may be the most defining characteristic that separates gendered expression.

Males and females showed similar patterns and magnitudes of relationships for antecedents and outcomes of not woman/man enough harassment. The most notable difference was that for males, not man enough harassment was not a significant predictor of affective organizational commitment. This may be explained by prior research that shows that while interpersonal relationship climate is an important predictor of affective organizational commitment for women, it is not for men, whose affective organizational climate is best predicted by task-oriented organizational support (Stewart, Bing, Gruys, & Helford, 2007). Thus, it is likely

that the decrease in interpersonal relationships due to not man enough harassment do not affect males' commitment, as long as they are still receiving task-oriented organizational support.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the results of this study are encouraging from a research standpoint, they should be interpreted in the context of the studies' limitations. First, the cross-sectional nature of the data restricts the ability to make causal inferences. However, in examining prior longitudinal work on workplace mistreatment, I believe that there is support for the direction of the hypotheses and conclusions in this study. (Blau, Tatum, Ward-Cook, Dobria, & McCoy, 2005; Murrell, Olson, & Frieze, 1995). In spite of this evidence, future longitudinal research should be conducted in order to definitively determine the directionality of the model proposed in this study. Second, this study was only able to measure perceptions of not woman enough harassment, and not objective occurrences. However, scholars have argued that in terms of workplace mistreatment, perceptions are more important than objective occurrences when predicting outcomes (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Swanson & Wotike, 1997). In other words, harassment cannot affect an individual's job attitudes and behaviors and health outcomes if it is not perceived by the individual as harassment. Third, as the samples used in the study came from a student population, participants were generally young in age and did not have extensive work experience and/or opportunities to be exposed to not woman enough harassment. Future research should study not woman enough harassment in an organization setting in order to maximize the chance that participants have had the opportunity to experience this type of harassment.

Finally, the current study has a low response rate of sexual minorities and was thus unable to run specific analyses related to sexual orientation, however future research should explore the

relationship between sexual orientation and not woman enough harassment. There may be several reasons to expect sexual minorities (e.g., homosexual and bisexual) to report experiencing more not woman enough harassment than sexual minorities (e.g., heterosexual). First, sexual minorities are stigmatized in our society and stereotypes about these groups are widespread, including lesbians being masculine, aggressive, and sexually deviant (Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006), having relationships that are less serious than heterosexual ones (Testa, Kinder, & Ironson, 1987), and being dichotomized into a “butch/femme” dynamic mirroring male and female roles (Peplau, 1992). These stereotypes become even more pronounced for individuals high on homophobia (Brown & Groscup, 2009). Research has shown that traditionally masculine stereotypes such as agency are often attributed to lesbians (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Niedlich, Steffens, Krause, Settke, & Ebert, 2015). The extant literature demonstrates that lesbian women face more traditional gender based harassment than heterosexual women (Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald, & Waldo, 1998; Konik & Cortina, 2008), which has been ascribed to a violation of female gender stereotypes that mandate heterosexuality. As not woman enough harassment is conceptualized around women who do not embody traditional feminine stereotypes, it is reasonable to expect that lesbian women will report higher levels of not woman enough harassment than heterosexual women, especially in a sample composed of full-time employees.

Conclusion

Organizational scholars have become progressively more attentive to workplace mistreatment in recent years. However, in spite of the proliferation of constructs in this area, there has not yet been a construct that captures the mistreatment that women may experience when they do not conform to societally held stereotypes of femininity. It is for this reason that I proposed

the not woman enough harassment construct, which captures women's perceptions of unfavorable treatment based on their deviation from traditional views of femininity. The results of this study show that not woman enough harassment is a newly captured form of sexual harassment experienced by women that is distinct from other forms of workplace and sexual harassment, and that it has important negative consequences for both the targets of the harassment and the organizations in which they work. It is important for both researchers and practitioners to take note of this new construct in order to inform future research and implement policy that takes not woman enough harassment into account. For example, prior research has demonstrated that strong organizational climates demonstrating that sexual harassment will not be tolerated have been shown to reduce sexual harassment (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007), and these climates need to be expanded to cover not woman enough harassment. Organizations may also wish to take measures to increase workgroup identification for their members, which may override social categorization processes, and to engage in diversity training programs that include breaking down traditional gender norms.

In conclusion, this dissertation has made a novel contribution to the current literature by expanding the understanding of the types of harassment women may face at work. The results from this study can be used in future research, and to help inform policy and create and modify existing interventions in order to reduce the occurrence of not woman enough harassment.

APPENDIX A: IRB OUTCOME LETTER (FEMALE SAMPLE)



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
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Approval of Exempt Human Research

**From: UCF Institutional Review Board #1
FWA00000351, IRB00001138**

To: Amanda M. Wolcott

Date: December 17, 2015

Dear Researcher:

On 12/17/2015, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Exempt Determination
Project Title:	Not Woman Enough Harassment: Scale Validation
Investigator:	Amanda M. Wolcott
IRB Number:	SBE-15-11830
Funding Agency:	
Grant Title:	
Research ID:	N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the [Investigator Manual](#)

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joanne Muratori".

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 12/17/2015 02:20:25 PM EST

IRB Manager

APPENDIX B: IRB OUTCOME LETTER (MALE SAMPLE)



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Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: UCF Institutional Review Board #1
FWA00000351, IRB00001138

To: Amanda M. Wolcott

Date: April 10, 2016

Dear Researcher:

On 04/10/2016, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination
Project Title: Experiences of Men in the Workplace
Investigator: Amanda M. Wolcott
IRB Number: SBE-16-12195
Funding Agency:
Grant Title:
Research ID: N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the [Investigator Manual](#)

On behalf of Sophia Dziegielewski, Ph.D., L.C.S.W., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joanne Muratori".

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 04/10/2016 03:48:06 PM EDT

IRB Manager

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