

Sexual Harassment Across the Color Line: Experiences and Outcomes of Cross- Versus Intraracial Sexual Harassment Among Black Women

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

The current study examined differences in appraisal, harassment, and severity of posttraumatic stress symptoms among 105 Black women who were sexually harassed by either a White (cross-racial sexual harassment) or a Black man (intraracial sexual harassment). Analyses revealed that women appraised cross-racial more negatively than intraracial harassment, despite there being no significant differences in the likelihood of experiencing gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion. Further, cross-racial harassment was more likely to include racialized sexual harassment (harassing behaviors combining race and gender simultaneously) and higher status perpetrators. Finally, cross-racial sexual harassment had an indirect (but not direct) mediated effect on posttraumatic stress via participants' appraisals of their harassment. Specifically, the more negative appraisal associated with cross-racial sexual harassment was associated with increased posttraumatic stress symptoms. In light of these findings, consideration of perpetrator race and racially sexualized behaviors could prove significant additions to current models of sexual harassment.

Keywords: sexual harassment, racialized sexual harassment, Black women, perpetrator race, posttraumatic stress

Approximately half of all women will experience sexual harassment over the course of their working lives (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003) resulting in a myriad of negative health, work, and psychological outcomes (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Although sexual harassment has been studied in both academic and work settings, few researchers have simultaneously considered the role race plays in these contexts and experiences. Because of the history of sexual mistreatment of Black women by White men during slavery (Adams, 1997; Collins, 2000) and the persistence of social taboos against romantic relationships between Black women and White men (Romano, 2003), the race of the perpetrator may affect the type of harassment directed toward Black women as well as Black women's perceptions of the sexual harassment (Shelton & Chavous, 1999). To explore these issues, the current study examined the appraisals, experiences, and outcomes of cross-racial versus intraracial sexual harassment among Black women. Specifically, the following research questions were addressed: (a) Are cross- and intraracial sexual harassment appraised differently by Black female targets? (b) Can cross- and intraracial sexual harassment be distinguished on the basis of perpetrator characteristics (i.e., race and status) and event charac-

teristics (e.g., types of harassing behaviors)? (c) Do cross- and intraracial sexual harassment differentially affect posttraumatic stress (PTS) symptoms? (d) Does subjective appraisal mediate the relationship between cross- versus intraracial sexual harassment and PTS symptoms?

Sexual harassment has been defined as both a psychological and a legal phenomenon (Gutek & Done, 2001). Psychologists define *sexual harassment* as unwanted behavior of a sexual nature that the victim appraises as offensive, exceeds his or her resources, and/or threatens his or her well-being (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). There are three broad categories of sexually harassing behaviors: *gender harassment* (comments and behaviors that discriminate based on gender, e.g., comments that women are less intelligent), *unwanted sexual attention* (verbal and nonverbal sexual behaviors, e.g., touching or repeated requests for dates), and *sexual coercion* (promises or threats of job or academic consequences contingent on a target's compliance with sexual demands; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995).

Legal definitions of sexual harassment address two forms: *quid pro quo* and hostile environment. *Quid pro quo* is the legal equivalent of sexual coercion and addresses any attempt to coerce sexual interactions by threatening one's employment. A *hostile work environment* is created when unwanted gender-based behaviors become sufficiently pervasive that an employee perceives the general work environment to be hostile and/or his or her job performance has been negatively affected (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], 1980). In many cases, hostile environment charges result from behaviors that would fall under the psychological definitions of gender harassment or unwanted sexual attention.

Sexual harassment is associated with a variety of negative outcomes for targets (Gutek, 1985; Willness et al., 2007). For example, sexual harassment can negatively affect one's satisfaction with teachers and supervisors, academic achievement, work in

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

This research was funded in part by a Michigan State University Enrichment Fellowship awarded to Krystle C. Woods and a grant awarded to Nicole T. Buchanan from Michigan State University's Assistant Provost and Assistant Vice President for Academic Human Resources (Creating a More Diverse and Connected Community program). We thank Alytia Levendosky for her helpful comments on earlier versions of this article.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Krystle C. Woods, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, 26 Psychology Building, East Lansing, MI 48824-1116. E-mail: woodskry@msu.edu

general, and commitment to one's school or organization (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Cortina, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 2002; Ragins & Scandura, 1995; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). It has been associated with health concerns, including increased illness and injury (Rospenda, Richman, Ehmke, & Zlatoper, 2005), and increased rates of depression, anxiety, and PTS symptoms (see Avina & O'Donohue, 2002; Munson, Hulin, & Drasgow, 2000; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000). Further, the negative effects of sexual harassment may persist for years post-harassment (Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999), especially when the harassment is severe (Langhout et al., 2005). Despite the plethora of evidence documenting the negative effects of sexual harassment on women's outcomes, the results of these studies are limited because they were primarily based on the experiences of White women. For this reason, it is unclear whether results from previous studies would apply similarly to women of color. The present study seeks to address this limitation by extending this body of research to Black women and incorporating perpetrator variables (e.g., perpetrator race and status) that may influence psychological perceptions of the sexually harassing event.

Are Cross- and Intra-racial Sexual Harassment Appraised Differently by Black Female Targets?

Black women may appraise harassment from in-group and out-group members differently due to their perceptions of the event, differences in social and formal power, and suspected motives of the perpetrator. Studies show that participants are more likely to label unsolicited sexual behavior as sexual harassment or assault when it is cross- rather than intra-racial harassment (George & Martinez, 2002; Guiffre & Williams, 1994), and vignettes of sexually harassing behaviors targeting a Black woman were rated as more upsetting when the perpetrator was White than when he was Black (Shelton & Chavous, 1999). The findings from studies using hypothetical scenarios may similarly apply to the real-world experiences and reactions of harassed women, resulting in cross-racial harassment being more upsetting. In addition, differences in social power and status between Black women and White men, as compared to the difference between Black women and Black men (Collins, 2000), may also impact women's appraisal of the harassment. In previous studies of sexual harassment, larger differences in organizational status between the perpetrator and target were associated with more negative appraisals of the harassment by the target (e.g., Langhout et al., 2005). Similarly, because White men have more social power and status than Black men or women, cross-racial harassment is likely to be appraised more negatively than intra-racial sexual harassment.

Black women may also be less likely to cognitively reframe unwanted sexual behavior as courting or flirting when the perpetrator is an out-group member, causing them to appraise cross-racial harassment as more upsetting. Historically, the relationship between Black women and White men has been marked by Black women being sexually exploited, and perhaps as a result, strong taboos against romantic relationships between White men and Black women have emerged (Adams, 1997). During slavery and for many decades following the end of slavery, there were no laws or legal recourse protecting Black women from sexual mistreatment or assault by White men (White, 1999). This historical

injustice has contributed to the persistence of strong taboos against Black women having romantic relationships with White men (Romano, 2003). Of the four million Black women that wed in 2004, only 4% of these marriages were to an out-group male (U.S. Census Bureau, Department of Commerce, 2004), suggesting that there continues to be limited acceptance of, or limited opportunities for, cross-racial romantic relationships among Black women. If Black women are less likely to perceive the behaviors of out-group members as a misguided attempt to create a romantic partnership, they may instead perceive the behaviors as offensive and demeaning. Thus, there may be differences in the perception and meaning attached to the harassing experience based on the perpetrator's race, such that Black women may appraise cross-racial sexual harassment more negatively than intra-racial harassment.

Can Cross- and Intra-racial Sexual Harassment Be Distinguished on the Basis of Perpetrator and Event Characteristics?

Experiences of cross- and intra-racial sexual harassment may also differ depending on other factors, such as the status of the perpetrator, the type of sexually harassing behaviors involved, and the content of the offensive comments and gestures. Because organizational status is often confounded by race (*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education [JBHE]*, 2000), an examination of the effect of race on sexual harassment would be remiss not to consider the role of the perpetrator's status within the institution or organization. Many predominantly White universities are racially stratified and self-segregated (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarth, 2000), with a relatively small percentage of professors who are Black (fewer than 7% nationwide; African Americans in Faculty Posts, 2000). In the workplace, this pattern also exists with the majority of those in managerial and supervisory positions being White (Maume, 1999). Thus, Black women may be more likely to encounter Black people that are their friends and peers and White people that are their supervisors or professors. Mecca and Rubin (1999) theorize that cross-racial harassment is more likely to be perpetrated by a man of higher organizational status. Therefore, for Black women, the perpetrator of cross-racial sexual harassment may be more likely to be a man of higher status than a peer.

Cross-racial sexual harassment may also differ from intra-racial harassment in the types of sexually harassing behaviors typically experienced. Research has shown that Black women experience more severe and physical forms of sexual harassment, such as unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion, than White women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Buchanan, Settles, & Woods, in press; Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald, & Waldo, 1998; Kalof, Eby, Matheson, & Kroska, 2001). Further, Mecca and Rubin (1999) suggested that cross-racial harassment was more likely to be perpetrated by a higher status man, and empirical studies have shown that higher perpetrator status and power was associated with more severe harassing experiences as compared to harassment from perpetrators of lower status (e.g., Cortina et al., 2002; Gutek, Morasch, & Cohen, 1983). Given the greater likelihood that cross-racial harassment will be perpetrated by a higher status man, it should be associated with more severe sexual harassment (i.e., more likely to include incidents of unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) than intra-racial sexual harassment.

Cross-racial sexual harassment may also be more likely than intraracial harassment to include racialized sexual harassment—harassing behaviors that combine race and gender simultaneously (Buchanan, 2005b; Texeira, 2002). Racialized sexual harassment is distinct from both racial harassment and sexual harassment and draws on sexualized stereotypes of Black women (i.e., being called a “Black whore”) and physical features thought to vary by race (i.e., commenting on her “large Black behind”; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002). Although racialized sexual harassment can be perpetrated by both in- and out-group members, during cross-racial sexual harassment, racial differences that exist between the perpetrator and the target may be accentuated, resulting in an increased use of these types of behaviors.

Do Cross- and Intraracial Sexual Harassment Differentially Affect PTS Symptoms, and Does Subjective Appraisal Mediate This Relationship?

Although researchers have hypothesized that Black women’s psychological outcomes would differ depending on perpetrator race (Shelton & Chavous, 1999), this relationship has not been studied empirically. The current study seeks to fill this gap by examining whether actual experiences of cross-racial sexual harassment are associated with greater PTS symptomology than intraracial sexual harassment. Also, cognitive theories of stress suggest that differences in the subjective appraisal of similar situations can produce differences in the level of distress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Consistent with this, sexual harassment appraisals have been shown to mediate the relationship between harassment and psychological and work-related consequences (Langhout et al., 2005; Swan, 1997). Past findings that witnesses perceived the harassment of Black women by Black men as less severe than harassment by White men (Shelton & Chavous, 1999) suggested that cross-racial sexual harassment would be appraised more negatively by targets and, as a consequence, result in more psychological distress than intraracial sexual harassment.

Based on the existing theoretical and empirical literature, we proposed the following hypotheses:

H1: Cross-racial sexual harassment will be appraised more negatively than intraracial harassment.

H2: Cross-racial harassment will be more likely than intraracial harassment to involve perpetrators with higher organizational status and intraracial harassment is more likely to involve peers (Hypothesis 2a). Further, cross-racial sexual harassment will be more severe (i.e., more likely to include incidents of unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion; Hypothesis 2b) and will include more racialized sexual harassment (Hypothesis 2c) than intraracial sexual harassment.

H3: Cross-racial sexual harassment will be associated with greater PTS symptomology than intraracial sexual harassment (Hypothesis 3a), and this relationship will be mediated by subjective appraisal (Hypothesis 3b).

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were drawn from a larger sample of Black women who completed a survey about their interpersonal experiences and interactions ($N = 576$). Participants were included in the current study if they reported experiencing at least one sexually harassing behavior ($n = 278$) and went on to complete additional questions regarding their most significant experience of harassment ($n = 107$) in the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire—Significant Experience (SEQ—SE; Mazzeo, Bergman, Buchanan, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2001). Two outliers, one participant that was lesbian and one woman whose perpetrator was neither Black nor White, were excluded from the current study leaving data from 105 heterosexual Black women available for analysis.

The college sample ($n = 90$) included undergraduate students at a large predominantly (82%) White Midwestern university, recruited through the psychology department subject pool and campus organizations with large ethnic minority membership (e.g., the campus multicultural center, Black student governance organizations, predominantly Black sororities). Students were invited to complete the survey either online or by paper and pencil; the latter were administered by a research assistant in small groups of 10 to 25 participants. The working sample ($n = 15$) was recruited through an online participant recruitment company, Survey Sampling International (SSI). The company sent an email to participants meeting the predetermined criteria (employed, adult, Black, female, American citizen), inviting them to follow a hyperlink to participate in the online study. Informed consent was obtained from participants immediately prior to participation in the study, and participants were compensated with research credit (subject pool student participants), \$5 and pizza (student organization participants), or \$10 (working participants).

To determine if the samples could be merged, we compared them on several demographic variables and on all of the study variables. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 43 years. Analyses revealed that on average, working women were older (working $M = 34.13$, $SD = 6.08$; college $M = 20.28$, $SD = 1.56$); $t(105) = -18.61$, $p < .001$ and more likely to be married (working = 26.7%; college = 1.1%); $\chi^2(3, N = 103) = 37.69$, $p < .05$) than were the college students; however, these variables were unrelated to the variables used in this study. Chi-square and t tests comparing the two samples on the study variables revealed no significant differences between the two groups (all $ps > .05$). Therefore, the two samples were combined to provide sufficient power for the study analyses. Nevertheless, as an additional precaution, all analyses included sample group (*college* = 0; *working women* = 1) as a control variable.

Measures

Unless stated otherwise, measures were coded such that higher scores indicated greater endorsement of the construct. See Table 1 for means, standard deviations, ranges, and correlations.

Sexual Harassment History. To assess characteristics of participants’ 12-month history of sexual harassment and most significant sexual harassment experience, they first completed a 19-item version of the SEQ (Fitzgerald et al., 1988, 1995) and then pro-

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Correlations for Predictor and Outcome Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Sample (college vs. working)	—							
2. Group membership	-.18 ^a	—						
3. Perpetrator status	-.18 ^a	.32 ^{**a}	—					
4. Behavior type	.05 ^a	-.13 ^a	-.19 ^{*a}	—				
5. Sexual harassment history	.09 ^b	.07 ^b	.03 ^b	.51 ^{**b}	—			
6. Racialized sexual harassment	-.05 ^b	-.30 ^{**b}	-.10 ^b	-.24 [*]	.37 ^{**}	—		
7. Subjective appraisal	.05 ^b	-.31 ^{**b}	-.15 ^b	-.18	.06	.31 ^{**}	—	
8. Posttraumatic stress	.13 ^b	-.13 ^b	.12 ^b	-.35 ^{**}	.48 ^{**}	.45 ^{**}	.32 ^{**}	—
<i>M</i>	—	—	—	.54	4.99	12.32	10.56	10.60
<i>SD</i>	—	—	—	.60	5.23	8.59	13.06	13.38
Range	0 to 1	0 to 1	0 to 2	0 to 4	0 to 28	0 to 28	0 to 68	0 to 68

Note. Sample is categorized as follows: *college* = 0 and *working* = 1; Group membership is categorized as follows: *cross-racial sexual harassment* = 0 and *intraracial sexual harassment* = 1; Perpetrator status is categorized as follows: *authority figure* = 0, *peer* = 1, *subordinate* = 2; Behavior Type is categorized as follows: *sexual coercion* = 0, *unwanted sexual attention* = 1, *gender harassment* = 2; All values are Pearson correlations unless otherwise specified.

^a Cramer's *V*. ^b Point-biserial correlations.

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

vided more detailed information about their most significant sexual harassment experience (SEQ-SE; Mazzeo et al., 2001). The SEQ measured how often participants experienced a variety of behaviors that constitute sexual harassment using a scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*; full scale $\alpha = .97$) across three subscales (gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion). Items are behaviorally based and do not require that participants label them as sexual harassment. Sample gender harassment items (7 items; $\alpha = .92$) included, "Referred to people of your gender in insulting or offensive terms?" and "Displayed, used, or distributed sexist materials?" Unwanted sexual attention (5 items; $\alpha = .95$) sample items included, "Made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?" and "Made unwanted attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?" Sample items from the sexual coercion subscale (7 items; $\alpha = .91$) included, "Made you feel like you were being bribed with some sort of reward or special treatment to engage in sexual behavior?" and "Made you feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative?" Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, and Waldo (1999) reported the SEQ reliability coefficient to be .94.

Significant Sexual Harassment Experience. Those who endorsed at least one item on the SEQ were then prompted to "pick the situation that had the *greatest effect on you*" and "mark those things that happened to you *during this situation only*" using the same questions and response scale as the SEQ-SE (Mazzeo et al., 2001). Thus, the most significant experience of sexual harassment was one that occurred in the past 12 months, and may reflect experiences constituting gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and/or sexual coercion. Participants also reported more detailed information regarding this experience, such as the race, gender, and status of the perpetrator, their appraisal of the experience, and PTS symptoms specific to this experience (see below).

To assess the likelihood of experiencing one of the three sexually harassing behavior subtypes during cross- or intraracial sexual harassment, participants' responses to the 19 items on the SEQ-SE were then used to place women into one of three mutually exclusive sexual harassment categories. The categories reflected the most "severe" type of sexually harassing behaviors reported during

the significant sexual harassment experience, as determined from previous studies of sexual harassment severity (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2001; DeSouza & Fansler, 2003; Gruber, Smith, & Kauppinen-Toropainen, 1996), such that sexual coercion was ranked as the most severe, followed by unwanted sexual attention, and then gender harassment. Specifically, if a woman endorsed some sexual coercion on any of the items in the sexual coercion subscale, she was placed into the sexual coercion category (*harassment behavior type* = 0; $n = 28$), even if she also reported unwanted sexual attention or gender harassment. If a woman reported some harassment on any of the items in the unwanted sexual attention scale, and did not report any sexual coercion experiences, she was placed into the unwanted sexual attention category (*harassment behavior type* = 1; $n = 39$). Finally, if a woman reported some harassment on any of the gender harassment subscale items, and did not report experiencing any unwanted sexual attention or sexual coercion, she was placed into the gender harassment category (*harassment behavior type* = 2; $n = 38$).

Race and Gender of the Perpetrator. When reporting their most significant sexual harassment experience, participants indicated the perpetrator's gender and race (African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, White, Latino, Biracial/Multiracial, or Other). All of the participants reported a male, rather than female, perpetrator and all reported either a Black or White perpetrator except one woman who was omitted from analyses as an outlier. Those with a White perpetrator ($n = 61$) were classified as having cross-racial harassment for their most significant experience (coding = 0); those with a Black perpetrator ($n = 44$) were classified as having intraracial harassment for their most significant experience (coding = 1).

Status of the Perpetrator. Participants reported the position of the perpetrator involved in their significant experience of sexual harassment. Response options included: *authority figure* = 0 (supervisor for working women; teacher or advisor for college women; $n = 27$); *peer* = 1 (coworker for working women; classmate for college women; $n = 65$); or *subordinate* = 2 (supervisee for working women; their student for college women working as undergraduate teaching assistants; $n = 13$).

Subjective Appraisal. Participants completed the seven-item Feelings Scale (Swan, 1997), which assessed subjective appraisal of the most significant sexual harassment experience. Respondents indicated the degree to which they found their most significant experience of sexual harassment to be annoying, offensive, disturbing, threatening, embarrassing, upsetting, and frightening. Participants responded on a scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). Previous studies report reliability coefficient alphas of .91 and .93 (Langhout et al., 2005; Swan, 1997). The alpha in the current study was .92.

Racialized Sexual Harassment. The Racialized Sexual Harassment Scale (RSHS; Buchanan, 2005a) assessed participants' experience of seven harassing behaviors that focused on their race and gender simultaneously during their most significant experience of harassment (e.g., "said things to insult people of your gender and ethnicity [e.g., Black women are rude]," "made comments about your body that emphasized your gender and ethnicity [e.g., for Black women, comments about one's "Black ass]"). Participants were asked to indicate how often they experienced each of these behaviors, "during this significant experience only" on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*many times*). Buchanan reported the RSHS reliability coefficient to be .86; reliability in the current study was .89.

PTS Symptoms. The PTSD Checklist (PCL; Weathers & Ford, 1996) is a 17-item self-report measure of the severity of PTS symptoms as defined by the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV;* American Psychiatric Association, 1994). The scale instructions were modified slightly to inquire about how often participants' were bothered by PTS symptoms in the past month (e.g., repeated, disturbing memories, thoughts, or images of the experience; feeling very upset when reminded of the experience; avoiding thinking or talking about the experience). Participants were instructed to only respond to symptoms related to the significant experience of sexual harassment reported during the SEQ-SE. Participants used a 5-point response scale ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 4 (*extremely*). The PCL has strong reliability ($\alpha = .94$), test-retest reliability, discriminant validity, and convergent validity with other measures of PTSD (Ruggiero, Del Ben, Scotti, & Rabalais, 2003). The reliability coefficient in the current study was .96.

Data Analysis

To facilitate analysis, missing data were imputed through LISREL using the hot deck imputation method (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1997). This method imputes data based on the responses of participants that most closely match the participants with incomplete data. The missing values were imputed using the most highly correlated scores on other variables. In total, 92 data points were imputed out of the total possible of 1,649. This resulted in 105 participants with complete data for all variables. Means before and after imputation and participants with complete data versus participants with incomplete data were compared on each variable using *t*-tests and no significant differences were found. Correlations between incomplete data and all original independent and dependent variables were either nonsignificant or moderate in size ($r < .30$).

Results

Appraisals of Cross- Versus Intraracial Sexual Harassment

Our first hypothesis, that cross-racial harassment in the most significant experience would be appraised more negatively than intraracial sexual harassment, was tested using a two-way analysis of covariance using participants' history of sexually harassing behaviors (SEQ total score) as a covariate and treating sample group (college vs. working women) as a second factor to reduce error variance (Fox, 2008). After controlling for these factors, there was a significant, medium-sized effect ($r = .32$) for type of sexual harassment (intraracial or cross-racial), $F(1, 101) = 10.57$, $p = .002$. The adjusted marginal means indicated that cross-racial harassment in the most significant experience ($M = 14.49$, $SD = 8.50$) was appraised more negatively than intraracial harassment ($M = 9.06$, $SD = 7.82$). Supporting Hypothesis 1, women experiencing cross-racial sexual harassment reported that the event was more upsetting, embarrassing, and threatening than women experiencing intraracial sexual harassment.

Distinguishing Characteristics of Cross- Versus Intraracial Sexual Harassment

Analyses were conducted to determine whether cross- and intraracial sexual harassment in the most significant experience could be distinguished on the basis of perpetrator and event characteristics (Hypothesis 2). A sequential logistic regression analysis was performed to assess the prediction of two categories of outcome, cross- and intraracial sexual harassment. Sample (college vs. working women) and history of sexually harassing behaviors were first entered as control variables. Prediction was then based on perpetrator status (subordinate, peer, or authority figure), the type of sexually harassing behavior (gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion), and the frequency of racialized sexual harassment in the significant experience. Logistic regression assumes that there is a linear relationship between continuous predictors and that each of the cells formed by the categorical predictors includes an adequate number of participants. Using the Box-Tidwell approach, we confirmed that there was no violation of linearity in the logit for the two continuous predictors, frequency of racialized sexual harassment and history of sexually harassing behaviors. The expected frequencies for the categorical predictors (perpetrator status and behavior type) revealed no need to restrict model goodness-of-fit tests.

A test of the full model with all four predictors against a constant-only model was significant, $\chi^2(7, N = 105) = 30.40$, $p = .000$, indicating that the predictors, as a set, reliably distinguished between cross- and intraracial sexual harassment in the significant experience. The predictors accounted for a moderate amount of variance in group membership, with Nagelkerke's pseudo $R^2 = .34$. Prediction success was good, with 61% of the intraracial harassment and 74% of the cross-racial harassment cases correctly predicted (overall successful prediction rate = 69%).

Table 2 shows regression coefficients, odds ratios, and 95% confidence intervals for each of the three predictors. The status of the perpetrator and the frequency of racialized sexual harassment were both significant predictors of cross- versus intraracial sexual

Table 2
Logistic Regression Odds-Ratios and Confidence Intervals for Individual Predictors of Cross-Versus Intraracial Sexual Harassment

Variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	OR	95% CI
Sample (college or working)	-1.30	.75	.27	.06 to 1.18
Sexual harassment history	.78	.49	2.18	.83 to 5.69
Perpetrator status				
Authority figure	-1.59	.87	.20*	.04 to 1.12
Peer	-.04	.71	.96	.24 to 3.87
Behavior type				
Sexual coercion	.60	.73	1.82	.44 to 7.59
Unwanted sexual attention	.53	.55	1.70	.58 to 5.05
Racialized sexual harassment (Constant)	-.20	.06	.82**	.73 to 0.93
	.31	.78	1.37	

Note. The reference category is intraracial sexual harassment. For perpetrator status and behavior type, the two omitted reference groups are subordinate and gender harassment, respectively. OR = odds ratio; CI = confidence interval.

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

harassment in the significant experience, consistent with Hypotheses 2a and 2c. As predicted, cross-racial sexual harassment was more likely to involve an authority figure (38% of cross-racial cases) than intraracial sexual harassment (9% of intraracial cases). Conversely, intraracial harassment was more likely to involve a peer (73% vs. 54%) or a subordinate (18% vs. 8%), than was cross-racial harassment. As predicted in Hypothesis 2c, racialized sexual harassment was more likely to occur during women's most significant experience of cross-racial harassment ($M = 6.31$, $SD = 5.51$) rather than intraracial harassment ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 4.23$). Contrary to Hypothesis 2b, behavior type (gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion) was not a reliable predictor of cross- versus intraracial sexual harassment. For cross versus intraracial sexual harassment, rates of unwanted sexual attention (33% vs. 43%) and sexual coercion (25% vs. 30%) were similar. Rates of gender harassment were somewhat different between cross- and intraracial sexual harassment (43% vs. 27%), but remained nonsignificant, perhaps due to low power.

Group Membership, PTS, and Subjective Appraisal as a Mediator

The last research questions (Hypothesis 3) concerned the relative effects of cross- versus intraracial harassment on PTS symptoms and the ability of subjective appraisal to mediate this relationship (see Figure 1), controlling for participants' history of sexually harassing behaviors and sample. Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, the direct effect of group membership on PTS symptoms only approached significance, $\beta = 4.05$, $t(100) = 1.76$, $p = .08$, indicating that there was a trend toward cross-racial harassment ($M = 11.98$; $SD = 14.22$) being associated with more symptoms of PTS than intraracial harassment ($M = 8.59$; $SD = 11.10$).

Mediation analyses to examine subjective appraisal as a mediator of the relationship between cross- versus intraracial harassment and PTS symptoms (Hypothesis 3b) proceeded using two approaches. First, according to Baron and Kenny (1986), a mediation model is tested by demonstrating that: (a) the independent variable (IV; group membership) significantly predicts the depen-

dent variable (DV; PTS symptoms), (b) the IV significantly predicts the mediator (subjective appraisal), and (c) the mediator significantly predicts the DV while controlling for the IV. Using Baron and Kenny's method, the lack of a significant direct effect of group membership on PTS symptoms (criterion A) precludes further tests of mediation despite fulfilling the requirements for the remaining steps—there was a significant effect of group membership on the proposed mediator, subjective appraisal, $\beta = 5.43$, $t(100) = 3.25$, $p < .01$; subjective appraisal was also correlated with PTS while controlling for group membership, $\beta = 0.42$, $t(100) = 3.16$, $p < .01$; and the direct effect of group membership on PTS symptoms was attenuated when controlling for subjective appraisal, $\beta = 1.79$, $t(100) = 0.77$, $p = .44$.

However, Shrout and Bolger (2002) argued that criterion A of the Baron and Kenny model "should not be a requirement when there is a priori belief that the effect size is small or suppression is a possibility" (p. 422). When the causal process is temporally distal, as in characteristics of a harassing experience occurring in the past year and PTS symptoms reported for the past month, the size of the effect is frequently attenuated (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). In such cases, Shrout and Bolger recommended that a bootstrapping procedure in which a 95% confidence interval is created for the size of the indirect effect is a more appropriate method for assessing mediation. If the confidence interval does not contain zero, then the indirect effect is significant and a mediational effect can be concluded. Therefore, our analyses proceeded with a formal test of the indirect effect, the nonparametric bootstrapping procedure using SPSS macros and syntax provided by Preacher and Hayes (2007).

Subjective appraisal was a significant mediator as indicated by the bootstrapping procedure, whereby zero fell outside the 95% confidence interval around the indirect effect (range = 0.73 to 5.15). This mediational model represented a medium sized effect ($R^2 = .32$). These results provide convergent evidence that group membership (cross- vs. intraracial sexual harassment in the significant experience) affects PTS symptoms indirectly through subjective appraisal. That is, the more negative appraisal associated with cross-racial harassment, compared with intraracial harassment, was related to more severe symptoms of PTS.

Discussion

The current study examined the appraisals and outcomes related to cross- and intraracial sexual harassment among Black women for their most significant experiences of harassment. Specifically, we considered the following research questions: (a) Do women appraise cross- and intraracial sexual harassment differently?, (b) Can cross- and intraracial sexual harassment be distinguished on the basis of perpetrator and event characteristics?, (c) Does group membership (cross- vs. intraracial sexual harassment) affect PTS symptoms?, and (d) Is this relationship mediated by subjective appraisal? Our results indicated that cross- and intraracial sexual harassment are experienced and appraised differently, leading to varying levels of psychological stress as a result of these differences in appraisal.

Consistent with earlier theoretical and empirical work, cross-racial sexual harassment in the most significant experience was appraised more negatively than intraracial sexual harassment (Hypothesis 1). Women experiencing cross-racial sexual harassment

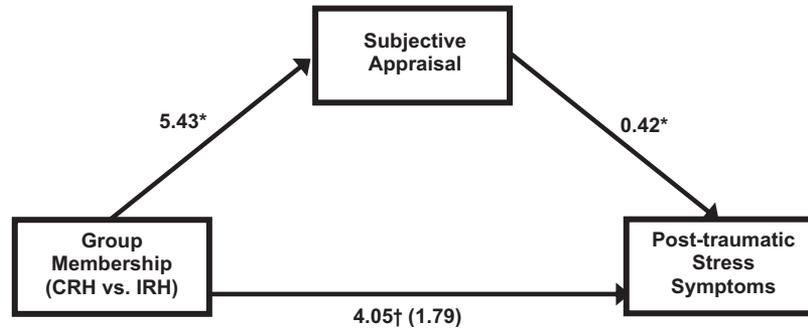


Figure 1. Subjective appraisal as a mediator for the relationship between group membership and posttraumatic stress symptoms. For group membership, 0 (intraracial sexual harassment) and 1 (cross-racial sexual harassment). Coefficients are unstandardized. Mediating effect is in parentheses. * $p < .01$. † $p < .10$.

reported that they found the situation to be more offensive, frightening, and disturbing than women experiencing intraracial sexual harassment. These results support earlier findings that participants appraise cross-racial sexual harassment more negatively than intraracial harassment (Shelton & Chavous, 1999). However, whereas past studies have analyzed participant responses to sexual harassment and assault vignettes (George & Martinez, 2002; Shelton & Chavous, 1999) and qualitatively described the experiences of White sexually harassed women (Giuffre & Williams, 1994), the present paper extends these studies by providing the first empirical examination of cross-racial harassment with Black women who personally experienced sexual harassment. Our results support the powerful role that perpetrator race alone plays as a predictor of sexual harassment appraisal.

Also as hypothesized, status of the perpetrator significantly predicted experiences of cross- versus intraracial sexual harassment in the most significant experience (Hypothesis 2a). In the cross-racial harassment group, 38% of the perpetrators were higher status than the participant, compared to only 9% in the intraracial harassment group. These differences may be due, in part, to the relative frequency of Blacks and Whites in positions of authority. Given the small proportion of Black college professors (JBHE, 2000), when Black college women come in contact with teachers and advisors they are far more likely to be White, therefore their chance of experiencing harassment from a Black professor is decreased. This same phenomenon of racial stratification occurs in the business world, where far fewer Blacks than Whites attain positions of high organizational status (Maume, 1999). Nevertheless, higher perpetrator status did not explain the more negative appraisals of cross-racial harassment in our sample, as status was not correlated with subjective appraisal (see Table 1). Although previous studies have found a relationship between perpetrator status and appraisal, they did not include the race of the perpetrator as we did here. Future studies could explore the interplay of race, status, and other contextual variables that influence sexual harassment appraisals.

Contrary to Hypothesis 2b, the type of sexually harassing behavior in the significant experience (gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion), did not reliably distinguish between cross- and intraracial sexual harassment. Our prediction was based on Mecca and Rubin's (1999) theory that Black women would be more likely to experience the more physical forms of

sexual harassment due to their lower social status as compared to their perpetrators. It is possible that the lack of statistical significance is an artifact of our sample. The vast majority of participants experienced harassment from a peer (62%) instead of an authority figure (26%) or subordinate (12%). The lack of significant differences is surprising, given that cross-racial sexual harassment was deemed more threatening and offensive by its targets, which, theoretically, should be associated with more severe harassment. Presuming there is a relationship between status and harassment severity, having relatively few authority figure perpetrators may have limited our statistical power needed to observe this effect.

Results indicated that more frequent racial content within sexually harassing words and gestures (i.e., racialized sexual harassment) was more common with cross- than intraracial sexual harassment in the significant experience, as predicted (Hypothesis 2c). Our results are consistent with earlier qualitative studies showing that Black women experience sexually harassing behaviors that intertwine both race and gender (Buchanan, 2005b; Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002), and may occur because racial differences between the perpetrator and target were more salient. The higher frequency of racialized sexual harassment behaviors associated with cross-racial harassment may also explain the more negative appraisals—perceiving the harassment to be more threatening and offensive, compared to intraracial sexual harassment. Consistent with this proposition, Black women's stress response was more severe for discrimination that infused race and gender, than for gender discrimination alone (King, 2005) and when multiple-salient identities were targeted (Settles, 2006). Research on racialized sexual harassment is in the early stages, and future research is needed to examine the relationship between race-based sexualized behaviors, appraisal, and outcomes.

Contrary to Hypothesis 3a, differences in the severity of PTS symptoms for women experiencing cross- versus intraracial sexual harassment in their most significant experience of harassment did not reach significance, although there was a trend in the predicted direction. This was surprising given that these experiences were appraised differently, which typically would predict the extent of their PTS symptomology. The power to detect significant differences in these analyses may have been limited by our sample size. Nevertheless, we did discover an indirect effect of cross- versus intraracial sexual harassment on PTS symptoms through subjective appraisal, supporting Hypothesis 3b. Specifically, the more nega-

tive appraisal associated with cross-racial compared to intraracial sexual harassment in the significant experience was associated with worsened PTS symptoms. These findings are consistent with past studies demonstrating the mediating effect of subjective appraisal on harassment and outcomes (Langhout et al., 2005). However, this study is the first to examine the mediating role of appraisal in the relationship between perpetrator race (indicated by cross- vs. intraracial harassment) and psychological distress. Thus, these results offer an explanation for why cross-racial harassment is associated with more negative psychological outcomes than intraracial harassment for Black women.

Strengths and Limitations

The current study is the first quantitative examination of the effect of perpetrator race on outcomes related to actual experiences of sexual harassment (as opposed to vignettes of hypothetical harassment) among Black women. By assessing specific details of participants' most significant experience of harassment (e.g., perpetrator race and status), we were able to empirically investigate many relationships between harassment, appraisal, and outcomes that had hitherto been hypothesized, but unexamined. This is a strong contribution to the literature to date. Despite these benefits, some limitations of this study should also be addressed. For example, participants were asked to provide retrospective reports of their harassment experiences over the past year that some argue may offer distorted accounts. However, others suggest that measures with adequate reliability and validity are robust to potential distortions (Miller, Cardinal, & Glick, 1997) and the SEQ measure used in the present study has been recommended as the best option for assessing experiences of sexual harassment retrospectively (Arvey & Cavanaugh, 1995). Further, due to the correlational and cross-sectional nature of this study, a cause-effect relationship cannot be established. As longitudinal methods are best suited for determinations of causal and temporal relationships, testing mediational models, and removing any retrospective reporting biases, the results presented here should be considered preliminary.

It is also important to note that these results are based only on women's most significant experience of sexual harassment and not their overall lifetime sexual harassment history. Thus, comparisons between cross- and intraracial sexual harassment do not necessarily reflect the nature of their sexual harassment experiences overall. We cannot presume that those who reported cross-racial sexual harassment as their significant experience had no history of intraracial sexual harassment, and vice versa. When looking at lifetime sexual harassment, cross-racial harassment may be appraised as more severe than intraracial sexual harassment, as theorized by Mecca and Rubin (1999). However, to be perceived as the most significant experience in the past year, both cross- and intraracial harassment may need to be severe. Such a possibility is consistent with the results we observed.

Similar to findings on relative status, differences in the social class of targets and perpetrators may influence outcomes (Tester, 2008). For example, targets may appraise the sexually harassing event as especially upsetting if the perpetrator's social class is higher than their own because they may perceive that they have less control or recourse in such situations. Although the current study did not ask participants to indicate their perpetrator's social class, future studies may benefit from considering how this addi-

tional variable influences perceptions of harassment and potentially interacts with race. Last, although we observed a relationship between perpetrator race, appraisal, and PTS symptoms among the Black women in our study, this model may not be generalizable to other groups of women. As preliminary evidence of this, similar relationships were not present for White women (Woods & Buchanan, 2006) who appraised cross- and intraracial sexual harassment similarly and their harassment did not differ by perpetrator or event characteristics. The present study used an emic (within group) design to permit a more focused and in-depth examination of the unique experiences of Black women. However, future studies might look at how race-related factors contribute to both similarities and differences in sexual harassment experiences of White women and other women of color.

Implications and Future Directions

Our conclusions have direct implications for organizations, therapists, and future research on sexual harassment and assault. Policies and procedures that (a) indicate that harassment will not be tolerated, (b) are widely disseminated, and (c) are implemented appropriately, reduce the incidence of harassment and limit an organization's liability (Paludi & Paludi, 2003). Sexual harassment policies might better serve students and workers by linking to policies on race and racial harassment as the current study finds that sexual harassment often has a racial component for Black women (and potentially other women of color). Although prevention programs can be expensive, they may greatly improve the well-being of students and employees and decrease the need for costly litigation.

Therapists would also benefit from an understanding of the unique feelings associated with sexual harassment from an out-group member. They could work to unpack the unique elements of the harassment experience (e.g., experiencing racially sexualized behaviors) by Black female clients and discuss concerns around the perpetrator's motives. Given the higher incidence of racially sexualizing behaviors involved in cross-racial sexual harassment, these targets are confronted with more sexualized stereotypes of their race and gender than targets of intraracial sexual harassment. Being confronted with these stereotypes may lead the women to integrate these denigrating messages, blaming themselves and their perceived sexuality for the event (West, 2004). Thus, therapists may need to help clients move beyond blaming themselves for their own mistreatment (Daniel, 2000).

Results from this study also point to future directions for models of sexual harassment, studies of the harassment of women of color, and research on interpersonal violence against women. Although current models of sexual harassment consider many of the factors discussed above (e.g., perpetrator status and behavior type), these models can be further developed by incorporating target and perpetrator race as well as racialized sexual harassment. The presence of racially sexualizing behaviors in the harassment experiences of our participants underscores the need to consider this intersection of race and gender whenever the sexual harassment of women of color is explored. To the extent that the content of these interactions differ, they may elicit different coping responses and there is evidence that Black women's method of coping with harassment influences

their psychological well-being (Buchanan, Settles, & Langhout, 2007). In addition, the finding that cross-racial interactions were more distressing may extend to other negative interpersonal experiences. For example, cross-racial sexual assault may be appraised more negatively than intraracial assault. As preliminary evidence of this, participants were more likely to blame the victim in cross-racial rape vignettes than in identical intraracial scenarios (George & Martinez, 2002). However, the question of whether differences would be seen in the appraisals made by actual victims of cross- or intraracial rape can only be answered by additional research on this topic.

Conclusions

Sexual harassment will be experienced by one out of every two American women during their lifetimes (Ilies et al., 2003) and has been associated with symptoms of psychological distress and PTSD symptomology (Willness et al., 2007). This study took a focused look at the experiences of Black women and found that harassment from an out-group member is indirectly associated with more PTSD symptoms than harassment from an in-group member because it is appraised more negatively. Further, cross-racial harassment was more likely to include racialized sexual harassment and higher status perpetrators. In sum, our study demonstrated how factors other than the frequency or type of sexually harassing behaviors, particularly the race of the perpetrator, can have a significant effect on psychological outcomes.

References

- Adams, J. H. (1997). Sexual harassment and Black women: A historical perspective. In W. O'Donohue (Ed.), *Sexual harassment: Theory, research, and treatment* (pp. 213–224). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- African Americans in Faculty Posts: Still tapping on the glass and hoping to get in. (2000). *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 28, 22–23.
- Allen, W. R., Epps, E. G., Guillory, E. A., Suh, S. A., & Bonous-Hammarth, M. (2000). The Black academic: Faculty status among African Americans in U.S. higher education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 112–127.
- American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Antecol, H., & Cobb-Clark, D. (2001). The sexual harassment of female active-duty personnel: Effects on job satisfaction and intentions to remain in the military. *Claremont Colleges Working Papers in Economics*, 35.
- Arvey, R. D., & Cavanaugh, M. A. (1995). Using surveys to assess the prevalence of sexual harassment: Some methodological problems. *Journal of Social Issues*, 51, 39–51.
- Avina, C., & O'Donohue, W. (2002). Sexual harassment and PTSD: Is sexual harassment diagnosable trauma? *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 15, 69–75.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173–1182.
- Berdahl, J. L., & Moore, C. (2006). Workplace harassment: Double jeopardy for minority women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 426–436.
- Bergman, M. E., & Drasgow, F. (2003). Race as a moderator in a model of sexual harassment: An empirical test. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 8, 131–145.
- Buchanan, N. T. (2005a, August). *Incorporating race and gender in sexual harassment research: The racialized sexual harassment scale (RSHS)*. Paper presented at the International Coalition Against Sexual Harassment, Philadelphia.
- Buchanan, N. T. (2005b). The nexus of race and gender domination: The racialized sexual harassment of African American women. In P. Morgan & J. Gruber (Eds.), *In the company of men: Re-discovering the links between sexual harassment and male domination* (pp. 294–320). Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Buchanan, N. T., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2008). The effects of racial and sexual harassment on work and the psychological well-being of African American women. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 13, 137–151.
- Buchanan, N. T., & Ormerod, A. J. (2002). Racialized sexual harassment in the lives of African American women. *Women & Therapy*, 25, 107–124.
- Buchanan, N. T., Settles, I. H., & Langhout, R. D. (2007). Black women's coping styles, psychological well-being, and work-related outcomes following sexual harassment. *Black Women, Gender and Families*, 1, 100–120.
- Buchanan, N. T., Settles, I. H., & Woods, K. C. (in press). Comparing sexual harassment subtypes for Black and White women: Double jeopardy, the Jezebel, and the cult of true womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Cortina, L. M. (2001). Assessing sexual harassment among Latinas: Development of an instrument. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 7, 164–181.
- Cortina, L. M., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (2002). Contextualizing Latina experiences of sexual harassment: Preliminary tests of a structural model. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 24, 295–311.
- Cortina, L. M., Swan, S., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Waldo, C. (1998). Sexual harassment and assault: Chilling the climate for women in academia. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 22, 419–441.
- Daniel, J. H. (2000). The courage to hear: African American women's memories of racial trauma. In L. C. Jackson & B. Greene (Eds.), *Psychotherapy with African American women: Innovations in psychoanalytic perspectives and practice* (pp. 126–144). New York: Guilford.
- DeSouza, E., & Fansler, A. G. (2003). Contrapower sexual harassment: A survey of students and faculty members. *Sex Roles*, 48, 529–542.
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (1980). Guidelines on discrimination because of sex. *Federal Regulations*, 43, 74676–74677.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Gelfand, M. J., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring sexual harassment: Theoretical and psychometric advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 17, 425–427.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Magley, V. J., Drasgow, F., & Waldo, C. R., (1999). Measuring sexual harassment in the military: The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD). *Military Psychology*, 11, 243–263.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Shullman, S. L., Bailey, N., Richards, M., Swecker, J., Gold, Y., et al. (1988). The incidence and dimensions of sexual harassment in academia and the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 32, 152–175.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Swan, S., & Magley, V. J. (1997). But was it really sexual harassment? Legal, behavioral, and psychological definitions of the workplace victimization of women. In W. O'Donohue (Ed.), *Sexual harassment: Theory, research, and treatment* (pp. 5–28). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Fox, J. (2008). *Applied regression analysis and generalized linear models* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- George, W. H., & Martinez, L. J. (2002). Victim blaming in rape: Effects of victim and perpetrator race, type of rape, and participant racism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 110–119.
- Glomb, T. M., Munson, L. J., Hulin, C. L., Bergman, M. E., & Drasgow, F. (1999). Structural equation models of sexual harassment: Longitudinal explorations and cross-sectional generalizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 84, 14–28.
- Gruber, J. E., Smith, M., & Kauppinen-Toropainen, K. (1996). Sexual harassment types and severity: Linking research and policy. In M. S. Stockdale (Ed.), *Sexual harassment in the workplace: Perspectives, frontiers, and response strategies* (pp. 151–173). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Guiffre, P. A., & Williams, C. L. (1994). Boundary lines: Labeling sexual harassment in restaurants. *Gender & Society, 8*, 378–401.
- Gutek, B. A. (1985). *Sex and the workplace*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gutek, B. A., & Done, R. S. (2001). Sexual harassment. In R. K. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook of the psychology of women and gender*. New York: Wiley.
- Gutek, B. A., Morasch, B., & Cohen, A. G. (1983). Interpreting sociosexual behavior in a work setting. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 22*, 30–48.
- Ilies, R., Hauseman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology, 56*, 607–631.
- Jöreskog, K. G., & Sörbom, D. (1997). LISREL 8: User's reference guide (2nd ed.). Chicago: Scientific Software International, Inc.
- Kalof, L., Eby, K. K., Matheson, J. L., & Kroska, R. J. (2001). The influence of race and gender on student self-reports of sexual harassment by college professors. *Gender & Society, 15*, 282–302.
- King, K. (2005). Why is discrimination stressful? The mediating role of cognitive appraisal. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11*, 202–212.
- Langhout, R. D., Bergman, M. E., Cortina, L. M., Fitzgerald, L. F., Drasgow, F., & Hunter Williams, J. (2005). Sexual harassment severity: Assessing situational and personal determinants and outcomes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35*, 975–1007.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer.
- Maume, D. J., Jr. (1999). Glass ceilings and glass escalators: Occupational segregation and race and sex differences in managerial promotions. *Work and Occupations, 26*, 483–509.
- Mazzeo, S. E., Bergman, M. E., Buchanan, N. T., Drasgow, F., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2001). Situation-specific assessment of sexual harassment. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 59*, 120–131.
- Mecca, S. J., & Rubin, L. J. (1999). Definitional research on African American students and sexual harassment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 23*, 813–817.
- Miller, C. C., Cardinal, L. B., & Glick, W. H. (1997). Retrospective Reports in Organizational Research: A Reexamination of Recent Evidence. *Academy of Management Journal, 40*, 189–204.
- Munson, L. J., Hulin, C., & Drasgow, F. (2000). Longitudinal analysis of dispositional influences and sexual harassment: Effects on job and psychological outcomes. *Personnel Psychology, 53*, 21–46.
- O'Connell, C. E., & Korabik, K. (2000). Sexual harassment: The relationship of personal vulnerability, work context, perpetrator status, and type of harassment to outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 56*.
- Paludi, C. A., & Paludi, M. (2003). Developing and enforcing effective policies, procedures, and training programs for educational institutions and businesses. In M. Paludi & C. A. Paludi (Eds.), *Academic and workplace sexual harassment: A handbook of cultural, social science, management, and legal perspectives* (pp. 175–198). Westport, CT: Praeger/Greenwood.
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2007). *Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Ragins, B. R., & Scandura, T. A. (1995). Antecedents and work-related correlates of reported sexual harassment: An empirical investigation of competing hypotheses. *Sex Roles, 32*, 429–455.
- Romano, R. C. (2003). *Race mixing: Black-White marriage in postwar America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rospenda, K. M., Richman, J. A., Ehmke, J. L. Z., & Zlatoper, K. W. (2005). Is workplace harassment hazardous to your health? *Journal of Business and Psychology, 20*, 95–110.
- Ruggiero, K. J., Del Ben, K., Scotti, J. R., & Rabalais, A. E. (2003). Psychometric properties of the PTSD Checklist–Civilian Version. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 16*, 495–502.
- Schneider, K. T., Swan, S., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1997). Job-related and psychological effects of sexual harassment in the workplace: Empirical evidence from two organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 82*, 401–415.
- Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles, 54*, 589–601.
- Shelton, J. N., & Chavous, T. M. (1999). Black and White college women's perceptions of sexual harassment. *Sex Roles, 40*, 593–615.
- Shrout, P. E., & Bolger, N. (2002). Mediation in experimental and non-experimental studies: New procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods, 7*, 422–445.
- Swan, S. (1997). *Explaining the job-related and psychological consequences of sexual harassment in the workplace: A contextual model*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Tester, G. (2008). An intersectional analysis of sexual harassment in housing. *Gender & Society, 22*, 349–366.
- Teixeira, M. T. (2002). "Who protects and serves me?" A case study of sexual harassment of African American women in one U.S. law enforcement agency. *Gender & Society, 16*, 524–545.
- U.S. Census Bureau, Department of Commerce. (2004). *Current population survey, annual social and economic suppl.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Weathers, F., & Ford, J. (1996). *Measurement of stress, trauma and adaptation. Psychometric review of the PTSD Checklist (PCL-C, PCL-S, PCL-M, PCL-PR)*. Lutherville, MD: Sidran.
- West, C. (2004). Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphire: Developing an "oppositional gaze" toward the image of Black women. In J. C. Chrisler, C. Golden, & P. D. Rozee (Eds.), *Lectures on the psychology of women* (3rd ed., pp. 220–233). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- White, D. G. (1999). *Ar'n't I a woman?: Female slaves in the plantation south*. New York: Norton.
- Willness, C. R., Steel, P., & Lee, K. (2007). A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of workplace sexual harassment. *Personnel Psychology, 60*, 127–162.
- Woods, K. C., & Buchanan, N. T. (2006, December). *The sexual harassment of African-American women: Experiences of cross- vs. intra-racial harassment*. Paper presented at the Categorical Data Analysis Course Conference, East Lansing, MI.