TAKIN' IT TO THE STREETS: AN EXAMINATION OF STREET HARASSMENT'S

IMPACT ON WOMEN'S WORKPLACE OUTCOMES

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on a critical yet understudied aspect of many working women's lives within organizational research —street harassment—and how such experiences affect work outcomes for women. To address this overlooked experience, the researcher examines women's perceptions of street harassment during their commutes to and from work and its effects on their occupational well-being (i.e., job satisfaction and work fatigue). She hypothesizes that more frequent experiences of street harassment during women's commute to and from work predict lower occupational well-being and that this relationship is moderated by individual differences (e.g., race, attractiveness) of the harasser. To conduct this study, a sample of working women who commute to work by walking, cycling, or public transit in large urban areas at least three days a week were recruited to participate in a cross-sectional, online survey administered via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). To test the hypotheses, she used hierarchical linear and moderated hierarchical regression analyses. Although there were significant correlations between street harassment and both work fatigue and job satisfaction, the effect of street harassment above and beyond workplace sexual harassment was significant for only work fatigue. Only two of the eight hypothesized moderated relationships were supported (i.e., race and attractiveness of the perpetrator moderated the effect of street harassment on job satisfaction). These findings contribute to our understanding of women's lived experiences by identifying gender-related barriers and how they affect women's work lives.

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INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment in the workplace is a topic that receives copious attention. Numerous academics and legal scholars have worked to identify, define, and reduce the occurrences of sexual harassment and its detrimental consequences (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Furthermore, because of the #MeToo Movement, there is a resounding and continued public interest to explore ways to eliminate sexual harassment. In addition to bringing attention to the number of women impacted by sexual harassment, the #MeToo Movement has enlightened many about the lives and experiences of women. While the movement has mostly centered on the topic of sexual harassment, the conversation is starting to expand to the other gender-based inequities that women experience in their day-to-day lives. However, there are aspects of women's lives that continue to go understudied, especially within the field of organizational psychology.

To my knowledge, organizational researchers have yet to investigate a common aspect of many women's work lives—street harassment—and how it influences outcomes for working women. *Street harassment* refers to both verbal and non-verbal behaviors in public spaces[1] from people (i.e., perpetrators) who have no role relationship with the target. These behaviors range from car honks, wolf-whistles, and remarks (i.e., catcalls) to physical sexual assault from a

[1] For the purpose of this thesis, public space represents any place within a community that is freely available to all within that community and private space refers to any place where only members or invitees are welcomed (Goffman, 1963). So, private places control who can enter and they also have formal rules and expectations regarding behaviors within and use of the space (Low & Smith, 2013). A caveat to this distinction is that there are public spaces with established and expected roles (e.g., libraries), and there are people who work in public spaces who have established and expected roles (e.g., police officers). As these individuals work in public spaces and they have a known, established relationship to the public (e.g., to protect and serve), harassment experienced while on or as a result of the job (e.g., being harassed by someone being arrested) is not considered street harassment. Street harassment occurs when there is a lack of role expectations among people.

stranger; research shows that these are usually perpetrated by men (Bowman, 1993; Macmillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000).

Moreover, street harassment is referred to as stranger harassment (Fairchild, 2010; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Logan, 2015; Saunders, Scaturro, Guarino, & Kelly, 2017), catcalling (Fisher, Lindner, & Ferguson, 2017; Logan, 2015; Saunders et al., 2017), and public incivility (Bastomski & Smith, 2017). The remarks and behaviors aimed at women are mostly sexual and in reference to the target's physical appearance or public presence (Bowman, 1993). Street harassment also occurs quickly, without a purpose for the interaction (e.g., to ask for directions), and although the exchange is between two or more people, it is often one-sided; or in other words, there is no expectation for the target to respond or comply (Saunders et al., 2017). Despite the inattention given to this phenomenon, it is important to study as it is frequently experienced by women. For example, in one study 61% of women sampled had received daily unwanted sexual remarks in public places (Nielsen, 2000).

I will address this gap in the literature by examining women's perceptions of street harassment during the workday and its effect on their occupational well-being (e.g., job satisfaction, work fatigue). Further, the investigation of the incidence and impact of street harassment on working women will provide insight into the gender-related barriers that affect women's work lives and help identify possible interventions to reduce such barriers. In short, the proposed research aims to extend previous research that has examined street harassment generally by examining the effects of street harassment specifically for women during their workday. I utilize feminist standpoint theory (Hartsock, 1983) as my primary theoretical lens. The premise of this theory is that the perspective of people in subordinated positions (e.g., women) provides for a more complete understanding of human behavior and experiences

because it allows for researchers to learn and understand different experiences usually not represented with the sciences. Because each subordinate social group is in a position that those with power (e.g., men) do not occupy, they come to know a world that remains invisible for other, more powerful groups. Therefore, each unique social position has a perspective that other groups do not share. In order to give a voice to this group, I will investigate street harassment as an issue exclusive to women (i.e., a women's issue) and thus, from the perspective of women. In so doing, this study will bring awareness to and provide a better understanding of women's unique experiences commuting to and from work.

The purpose of the present study is to examine how frequently women experience street harassment during their commute to and from work and how street harassment is related to women's occupational well-being. Additionally, I investigate the extent to which aspects of the street harasser (e.g., race, attractiveness) moderate the relationship between women's experiences of street harassment and their well-being. In the following sections, I review research that suggests a connection between street harassment and well-being outcomes. I begin by reviewing organizational literature regarding sexual harassment, a related but distinct topic from street harassment because it might provide insight into how street harassment relates to women's well-being.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment has been a topic of organizational research for over 35 years (Pina & Gannon, 2012). The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines define sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination that includes two categories: *quid pro quo* (i.e., sexual coercion) and *hostile environment harassment* (i.e., unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment) (EEOC, 1980; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). Essentially, sexual

harassment is an infraction of various Titles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (as amended in 1980; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2017). Sexual harassment also represents a psychological construct: the "unwanted sex-related behavior at work that is appraised by the recipient as offensive, exceeding her resources, or threatening her well-being" (Fitzgerald et al., 1997, p. 15). Researchers have identified sexual harassment as an obstacle to many women's career success and satisfaction (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). For example, negative workplace outcomes associated with sexual harassment include decreased job satisfaction, organizational commitment, productivity as well as increased job and work withdrawal (Willness et al., 2007).

Although anyone can experience sexual harassment and any type of person can perpetrate sexual harassment (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009) many people have argued that it is a gendered phenomenon and therefore, is most often experienced by women because of their gender and because of social power and hierarchies (Berdahl, 2007; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2017). Sexual harassment is a way for people who occupy powerful positions in social hierarchies to maintain their power through the continued oppression of people in subordinate positions (Armstrong, Gleckman-Krut, & Johnson, 2018; Berdahl, 2007; Fitzgerald, 2017). In terms of gender and the workplace, sexual harassment is a way for men (i.e., the powerful) to dominate women (i.e., the subordinated) within the workplace by enforcing societal power relations. While men do experience sexual harassment, it is at not at the same rate as women (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Willness et al., 2007). Furthermore, if and when men are harassed, it is commonly due to nonconformity to traditional, heteronormative masculine roles (e.g., non-traditional, weak, gay, feminine; Berdahl et al., 1996; Funk & Werhun, 2011; Konik & Cortina, 2008). This harassment of men due to being "not man enough" highlights the complexity of the socio-sexual power structures in society. Similarly, intersectional identities

further reflect societal power structures, resulting in women of color facing additional mistreatment compared to white women. Women of color experience racial and sexual harassment more frequently than white women because of their intersecting identities; and consequently, experience worse occupational and psychological outcomes (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008).

Nevertheless, women experience sexual harassment because of their gender. Consequently, researchers have found that sexual harassment is most prominent in male-dominated industries (e.g., the military) (Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2017; Pina & Gannon, 2012; Willness et al., 2007). Additionally, because sexism is woven into the fabric of society and social life, most men are indoctrinated with societal norms that dehumanize women, leading men to perceive and treat women as sexual objects; as such, there is no one type of sexual harasser (Pina et al., 2009). Organizational factors, such as organizational climate, skewed gender ratios (i.e., more men than women), and traditionally masculine job tasks or duties, also contribute to sexual harassment (Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2017; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Pina & Gannon, 2012; Willness et al., 2007). In fact, organizational climate is the best predictor of sexual harassment (Quick & McFadyen, 2017).

The effects of sexual harassment are damaging not just to the target, but to their peers, bystanders, and organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Richman-Hirsch & Glomb, 2002). As sexual harassment is a psychological stressor (O'Neil, Sojo, Fileborn, Scovelle, & Milner, 2018; Siuta & Bergman, 2019), like other forms of stress, it can lead to many negative occupational, psychological, and physiological outcomes. For women who have experienced sexual harassment, researchers have found that their psychological well-being decreases and symptoms of post-traumatic stress increases (Avina & O'Donohue, 2002; Reed,

Collinsworth, Lawson, & Fitzgerald, 2016; Sojo, Wood, & Genat, 2016; Willness et al., 2007).

Targets also report depression and anxiety (Ho, Dinh, Bellefontaine, & Irving, 2012; McDermut, Haaga, & Kirk, 2000; Reed et al., 2016; Willness et al., 2007) and increased risk of eating disorders (Harned & Fitzgerald, 2002) with some of these symptoms being actual diagnosable psychological disorders. There are also physiological consequences of sexual harassment. Women who experience sexual harassment often complain of physical symptoms such as headaches, trouble sleeping, nausea, and weight loss/gain (De Haas, Timmerman, & Höing, 2009; Piotrkowski, 1998; Willness et al., 2007).

In addition to their mental and physical health, sexual harassment can harm women's work life. Organizational consequences of sexual harassment include reduced job satisfaction, organizational commitment, productivity, and performance as well as increased work withdrawal (e.g., absenteeism, tardiness, neglect of assignments) and job stress (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Lim & Cortina, 2005; Merkin, 2008; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997; Munson, Hulin, & Drasgow, 2000; Willness et al., 2007; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2005). Such outcomes are not only harmful to the target, but to her peers and organization. For example, sexual harassment increases team conflict, decreases team financial performance, and damages team relationships (Raver & Gelfand, 2005). Furthermore, the negative occupational outcomes associated with sexual harassment increase a woman's likelihood of leaving the organization (Willness et al., 2007). If and when a target of sexual harassment leaves a company, the organization will have to shoulder the financial loss of turnover and recruitment.

According to cognitive appraisal theory, people vary in their understanding of and reaction to stressful events like sexual harassment (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). These differences among individuals are due to the underlying cognitive processes that take place when people

categorize (appraise) an event that impacts their reaction to the event (stressor) (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Furthermore, how one categorizes an event depends on their personal characteristics and environmental factors. There are three types of cognitive appraisal: primary (i.e., the extent to which an event is appraised as irrelevant, benign-positive, or as a stressful threat/challenge), secondary (i.e., outcome and efficacy expectations of coping mechanisms), and reappraisal (i.e., reevaluation of event and change in appraisal) (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Thus, people vary in their outcomes in response to sexual harassment, even when experiencing similar behaviors in similar frequency, because they have different coping mechanisms to manage their responses.

As Fitzgerald and co-authors (1997) proposed in their theoretical model of sexual harassment and in alignment with cognitive appraisal theory (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), it is the target's evaluation of the situation or behavior that affects the impact of the stressor (i.e., sexual harassment; Langhout et al., 2005). They maintain that the appraisal of the situation or behavior as a stressor is dependent on three factors: stimulus (i.e., the behavior), contextual (i.e., the organization), and individual (i.e., the target). More specifically, stimulus factors refer to the location, type, frequency, duration, and intensity of the behavior in question. Contextual factors refer to the previously mentioned organizational factors that are predictive of sexual harassment. Lastly, individual factors include the target's personal, social, economic, and organizational power and resources. When women have greater levels of these factors, they are less likely to experience sexual harassment and less likely to be negatively affected by those experiences. Other influences include the target's perception of the event or behavior, the amount of control they have over the situation, and their personal attitudes and belief systems (e.g., feminist ideology) (Brooks & Perot, 1991; Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1995).

In alignment with the conceptualization of sexual harassment within the social science literature and law, many researchers focus on sexual harassment as occurring within a workplace or school setting (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). For example, the most common measure for assessing sexual harassment, the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ), assesses people's experiences regarding sexual harassment within a workplace context (e.g., "Have you ever been in a situation where a *supervisor or co-worker* (italics added for emphasis) habitually told suggestive stories or offensive jokes?"; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). As Fairchild and Rudman (2008) point out, the questions asked in the SEQ can be applied to many situations or experiences, yet most researchers limit their research to organizations. By primarily focusing on harassment within brick-and-mortar organizational settings, scholars have overlooked other mistreatment experiences that could also influence women's well-being at work.

What Differentiates Street Harassment from Sexual Harassment?

Street harassment shares some features with sexual harassment, such as they both include unwanted sexual acts and both negatively affect the targeted person. However, they are different in a number of other ways, which I summarize in Table 1 in Appendix B and describe in the following.

Sexual harassment occurs in the workplace or educational settings (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1995). As such, sexual harassment, by definition, only occurs in private spaces (i.e., professional organizations or colleges and universities) between people who know each other's established roles (i.e., colleagues, subordinates and supervisors, professors and students). Even within the context of sexual harassment from a customer or client, there is an established relationship between the two parties because of role expectations.

In comparison, street harassment occurs in public places by a harasser unknown to the target (Bowman, 1993; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008) and who does not have an established, role expectation (e.g., to fulfill coffee order) or relationship with the target (e.g., colleague). Moreover, in public, it is not socially acceptable or expected that strangers interact with one another without reason (e.g., asking for directions; Goffman, 1963). However, there are some individuals who remain "open" persons in public; or, in other words, there are people who hold social positions that make them available to engagement with unknown others because of their established role expectations (e.g., salespeople or police officers; Goffman, 1963). Goffman (1963) argues that women are considered open persons in public spaces because of their gender and not based on whether or not they hold occupations that would make them open. Put differently, people believe that it is socially acceptable to approach women with or without reason. To illustrate, Goffman (1963) likens the presence of women in public to dogs in public. That is, it is socially acceptable for one to approach a stranger's dog by smiling, waving, or even petting the dog without the owner's consent and, essentially, for no reason. Likewise, it is socially acceptable to approach women by waving, speaking to (e.g., "hey beautiful"), or even touching them without their consent and for no reason. In short, women are viewed the same way as a pet in public. Consequently, street harassment targeted toward women is viewed as a normal and acceptable part of being a woman in public (Mellgren, Andersson, & Ivert, 2017).

Like sexual harassment, street harassment occurs because of the societal gender hierarchy with men as the dominant group and women as the subordinate group. As a result of the societal degradation of women, women are routinely vulnerable to (the possibility of) sexual violence (Gardner, Cui, & Coiacetto, 2017; Mellgreen et al., 2017; Sheffield, 1987). The occurrence of both sexual harassment and street harassment serve to reinforce women's subordinate position

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within society (Bastomski & Smith, 2017). Similar to work and job withdrawal as a result of sexual harassment (Chan, Chow, Lam, & Cheung, 2008; Willness et al., 2007), women must restrict their use of public spaces in order to avoid street harassment (Gardner et al., 2017) and consequently, making the effects of street harassment particularly ubiquitous and far-reaching. Public spaces, in theory, are for everyone within the community to utilize for various aspects of their life or the city (Gardner et al., 2017). For example, using public spaces allows people to buy groceries at their local grocery store, view a movie at their local theater, or travel to and from work to support themselves financially. Thus, street harassment forces women to restrict their access to public space and therefore many aspects of their social life.

Another critical difference between sexual and street harassment is that U.S. federal policies and laws have been created to define and penalize sexual harassment (e.g., Civil Rights Act, 1964; EEOC, 1980). Additionally, many organizations have implemented trainings and policies to reduce and eliminate sexual harassment within the workplace and universities. No such policies, laws, or trainings exist to reduce or punish street harassment (Bowman, 1993). That is, while certainly extreme forms of any type of harassment (i.e., sexual assault and rape) are illegal, other more common aspects of street harassment (e.g., offensive sexual comments) are not punishable under the law and are protected under the First Amendment (Bowman, 1993). While some states and cities have begun to address the pervasiveness of street harassment by criminalizing associated behaviors (e.g., verbal harassment, stalking, recording or filming, and obstruction of pathways; Hagerty, Kearl, Mason, & Ripplinger, 2013), the majority of the United States has not; without federal sanctions in place to criminalize or penalize such harassment, many women in the United States are left unprotected from street harassment by the law.

Targets of street harassment also have fewer resources to respond to or cope with their harassment compared to women who experience sexual harassment. To begin, as street harassment is perpetrated by a stranger, it is difficult for women to identify their perpetrator (O'Leary, 2016). Women sexually harassed often know their perpetrator (e.g., someone who had access to the breakroom during a particular timeframe) and can therefore often identify them for disciplinary purposes. In terms of resources, women experiencing sexual harassment within their organization have access to their leadership (e.g., supervisors or human resources), interpersonal relationships (e.g., co-workers), and bystander intervention (Quick & McFadyen, 2017). These resources can be used to either make formal complaints against the perpetrator or to informally disclose and receive interpersonal support. However, it is important to note that reporting sexual harassment in the workplace is not easy or always the best option for women because negative experiences often follow a report of harassment (Bergman, Langhout, Palmieri, Cortina, & Fitzgerald, 2002; Firestone & Harris, 2003; Foster & Fullagar, 2018).

In contrast, women experiencing street harassment do not have access to similar forms of leadership, as those with authoritative public leadership capabilities (e.g., police officers) may not be present at the time or may believe it legal, and thus, view it as unnecessary to intervene. Targets of street harassment also do not have close interpersonal relationships with the other strangers around them. As such, bystanders may witness street harassment, but are unlikely to intervene because they may not interpret the behavior as harassment, the relationship between the harasser and target is unknown, or may perceive the behavior as flirtatious (e.g., see Ashburn-Nardom, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008). In short, there is a lack of protection regarding sex-based discrimination in public spaces that (at the very least) signifies street harassment as unacceptable and punishable.

Lastly, due to the unforeseeable, inescapable nature of street harassment, researchers propose that women may experience negative outcomes that go beyond those associated with sexual harassment (Macmillan et al., 2000). Indeed, some outcomes of street harassment are similar to those associated with sexual harassment, such as eating disorders, anxiety, and trouble sleeping (Ho et al., 2012). However, beyond these outcomes, street harassment has also been linked to reduced perceptions of safety (Davidson, Butchko, Robbins, Sherd, & Gervais, 2016), fear of crime (Macmillan et al., 2000), behavioral adjustments (e.g., limiting or rearranging one's schedule or route; Graham, Bernards, Abbey, Dumas, & Wells, 2016), poor body image (Fisher et al., 2017), and shame (Ho et al., 2012). One study that compared harassment from a stranger to harassment from a co-worker even found that participants rated stranger harassment as more severe and produced more negative emotions (McCarty, Iannone, & Kelly, 2014). Furthermore, in a study conducted by the nonprofit organization Stop Street Harassment (2014), researchers found that almost half of respondents who reported experiencing street harassment revealed that the harassment had changed their life in some form. Such changes ranged from being extremely vigilant about their surroundings to quitting their job in order to avoid street harassment. Thus, street harassment has negative outcomes for targets that may go beyond those associated with sexual harassment.

These differences between street and sexual harassment illuminate street harassment's unique elements and speak to why it is important to conduct and advance research on the specific phenomenon and, more specifically, how it may impact women's occupational well-being even beyond workplace sexual harassment. Furthermore, I bring attention to these differences and unique outcomes of street harassment to emphasize that street and sexual harassment are distinct constructs. I also emphasize the differences to provide a rationale for why street harassment may

uniquely impact organizational and occupational outcomes and thus, why organizational researchers should investigate this phenomenon. To be clear, it is not my intention to imply that street harassment is worse than sexual harassment or vice versa considering that they are a) both harassment, b) used to oppress women, and c) produce negative outcomes. However, I propose that by studying street harassment, researchers can broaden their understanding of how social gender inequities impact women in the workplace, above and beyond what is predicted by sexual harassment. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

> *Hypothesis 1*: Experiences of street harassment during the workday are negatively related to job satisfaction for women, even after controlling for women's experiences of sexual harassment at work.

> *Hypothesis 2*: Experiences of street harassment during the workday is positively related to work fatigue for women, even after controlling for women's experiences of sexual harassment at work.

Harasser Individual Differences as Moderators

Street harassment is not viewed as harassment by all targets across situations (Fairchild, 2010). The interpretation of the situation is dependent on the target's perception of the behavior. Perceptions, or appraisal, of the behavior may be impacted by a number of different factors including the harasser's characteristics. Attribution theory (Kelley, 1973) explains how perceptions impact a person's causal explanation for behavior. In the case of street harassment, the more positive attributes (e.g., physical attractiveness) the perpetrator has, the less their behavior is viewed as harassing (Kelley, 1973). In other words, certain positive characteristics create a halo effect, or positive judgment about a person's behavior or characteristics based on limited information (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; Thorndike, 1920). The opposite is also true of this

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effect, such that a negative characteristic or evaluation (e.g., physical unattractiveness) will result in a negative judgment of a person (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). In this study, I examine four harasser individual differences that may impact the interpretation of harassing behaviors: physical attractiveness, age, race, and perceived socioeconomic status. I chose these four individual differences based on research that suggests that these differences may impact how targets perceive harassment (Black & Gold, 2003; Cartar, Hicks, & Slane, 1996; Fairchild, 2010; Kearl, 2010). Additionally, as feminist standpoint theory conceptualizes street harassment as a way for men to oppress women, I operationalize targets as women and men as perpetrators of street harassment.

Only one quantitative study to my knowledge has specifically assessed how different factors impact perceptions of street harassment. Fairchild (2010) investigated how certain harasser individual differences (e.g., age) and contextual factors (e.g., time of day) influence women's perceptions of street harassing behaviors. In the first study, women participants rated harasser individual differences and contextual factors that may make a hypothetical street harassment experience more or less frightening or enjoyable. The second study used vignettes to assess women's anticipated emotional responses to street harassment with varied harasser individual differences and contextual factors. She found that participants reported an increase in fear of rape/harassment and negative emotional responses to street harassment as a function of various factors, such as an unattractive, older, or a different race harasser.

A disadvantage of Fairchild's (2010) research is that hypothetical vignette studies do a poor job of capturing actual perceptions and reactions to harassment (Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2001). Thus, while insightful about the various characteristics that may affect appraisals of a potential street harassment event, her research failed to capture what and if such factors impact

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women in their real and actual experiences of street harassment. The current study will address this by asking women about their actual experiences of street harassment, including aspects of their most recent harasser.

Physical attractiveness. Research on physical appearance suggests that people associate attractiveness with positive personal attributes, such as friendliness and intelligence (Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991). Within the sexual harassment literature, research shows that women perceive harassing behaviors from attractive men less negatively than from unattractive men (Cartar et al., 1996). Fairchild (2010) found that the attractiveness of a hypothetical perpetrator influenced women's perception of harassment. Specifically, she found that women who viewed the perpetrator as attractive appraised the experience as more enjoyable than distressing (Fairchild, 2010).

> *Hypotheses 3 & 4:* A harasser's physical attractiveness will moderate the effects of street harassment on job satisfaction (H3) and work fatigue (H4), respectively, such that as the unattractiveness of the harasser increases, so will the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being (i.e., decreased job satisfaction, increased work fatigue).

Age. Findings within the ageism literature suggest that older individuals are often seen as unhappy, disagreeable, and unattractive (Kite, Stockdale, Whitley, & Johnson, 2005; Kite & Wagner, 2002). Furthermore, many people view elders as low status and incompetent (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002; Kite & Wagner, 2002). In essence, there is a bias against older adults. Especially germane to the present study, Fairchild (2010) found that the age of a hypothetical perpetrator affected women's view of street harassment, such that harassment received from older men evoked more fear than harassment from younger men.

Hypotheses 5&6: A harasser's perceived age will moderate the effects of street

harassment on job satisfaction (H5) and work fatigue (H6) , respectively, such that as the

age of the harasser increases, so will the negative effect of street harassment on

occupational well-being (i.e., decreased job satisfaction, increased work fatigue).

Race. In Fairchild's (2010) vignette study examining street harassment, she found that

street harassment received from men of a different race evoked more fear in women than

harassment from men of the same race as the target (Fairchild, 2010). For example, Kearl (2010)

theorized that stereotypes about and internalized racism against men of color may impact how

white women interpret and react to harassment from men of color. Similarly, within the sexual

harassment literature, it has been documented that women of color, specifically black women,

who experience sexual harassment from white men appraise the behavior more negatively than

intra-racial harassment (Woods, Buchanan, & Settles, 2009). Most research to date has

investigated research between white-black or minority- non-minority dyads and thus, leaving

little known about other racial or ethnic minority groups (e.g., Latina, Asian) reactions to sex-

based harassment from different racial-ethnic groups. However, theory would suggest that they

would have similar results compared to Black women, or women of color more generally.

Moreover, the diminishing act of negativity of intra-racial harassment may be due to ingroup

favoritism (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999). In other words, people are more likely to attribute

positive characteristics to their in-group (i.e., same race) than to the out-group (i.e., different

race) (Brewer, 1999). Consequently, women should view harassing behaviors less negatively

from men of the same race than men of another race.

Hypotheses 7&8: A harasser's perceived race will moderate effects of street harassment

on job satisfaction (H7) and work fatigue (H8), respectively, such that when the harasser

is viewed as a different race from the target, the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being will increase (i.e., decreased job satisfaction, increased work fatigue).

Social class. Like ageism and racism, classism occurs at the interpersonal level. Thus, I propose that perceived socioeconomic status will also impact how women interpret harassing behaviors. High social class is associated with high status and power, whereas low social class is associated with low status and power (Bullock, 1995). Furthermore, poor individuals are perceived as unintelligent, dishonest, incompetent, and lazy, but rich individuals are viewed as smart, competent, and hardworking (Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001). Such stereotypes about socioeconomic status likely impact how women appraise harassing behavior. In line with this proposition, Gardner (1995) reported that women in her qualitative study of street harassment stated that they would be more accepting of harassing behaviors from men of their own or higher social class than from men of a lower class. Ergo, I hypothesize that:

Hypotheses 9 & 10: A harasser's perceived social class will moderate the effects of street harassment on job satisfaction (H9) and work fatigue (H10), respectively, such that as the perceived social class of the harasser decreases, the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being will increase (i.e., decreased job satisfaction, increased work fatigue).

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

An *a priori* power analysis with an effect size of .02 and power of .80 determined that 395 participants were needed for this study. Participants were recruited to participate in an IRB approved cross-sectional survey administered via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an online labor market platform used by researchers to find and solicit individuals to participate in research, including academic research (Sheehan & Pittman, 2016). In comparison to using a traditional university participant pool, using MTurk increases the likelihood of obtaining a diverse sample, targets the specific population needed for the study, and collects data efficiently (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011).

In alignment with feminist standpoint theory, this study required that all participants identify as a woman. Additionally, they must have been a United States resident, at least 18 years old, and employed at least 20 hours a week at the same job for the last three months. Additionally, as street harassment is most prevalent in large, metropolitan cities (Bowman, 1993), participants had to live in either (a) the District of Columbia, (b) one of the ten most populous cities in the United States, which are New York, New York; Los Angeles, California; Chicago, Illinois; Houston, Texas; Phoenix, Arizona; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; San Antonio, Texas; San Diego, California; Dallas, Texas; and San Jose, California (United States Census Bureau, 2017), or (c) one of the top seven cities (beyond those listed above) with the highest percentage of public transit commuters, which are Jersey City, New Jersey; San Francisco, California; Boston, Massachusetts; Chicago, Illinois; Newark, New Jersey; Seattle, Washington; and Oakland, California (Wallace, 2018). The last inclusion criterion was that participants had to commute to work at least 3 days a week by using public transit, walking, or cycling. Participants

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were paid for completing the survey and passing at least two out of the three attention checks if they met the inclusion criteria. Based on the estimated survey completion time (15 minutes) we provided an initial payment of $1.80. However, after realizing that the survey was taking participants longer than expected (23 minutes), we revised the initial amount to $2.77 to align with federal minimum wage. Unfortunately, due to issues with MTurk, I am unable to know the number of participants per each payment amount. Lastly, participants had the right to discontinue taking the survey at any time.

Five-hundred and eighty-six people clicked on the survey. However, after removing those who did not meet the inclusion criteria or failed 2 or more of the manipulation checks, 411 participants remained. Additionally, 46 participants were removed from the analysis as they indicated that they did not live in the locations required for inclusion when answering the demographic questions at the end of the survey. Lastly, I conducted listwise deletion for missing data and removed any participants when they had more than 1 value missing for the variables of interest in order to obtain standardized coefficients (Hayes, 2018).

The remaining 355 women ranged in ages from 19-63 with a mean age of 32 years ($SD =$ 7.53). The majority of the women identified as white (55.5%), heterosexual (77.5%), cis-women (95.2%). On average, the participants had been employed with the same organization for 5 years ($SD = 4.29$) and worked approximately 37 hours per week for pay on average ($SD = 10.32$). The respondents indicated the different forms of transportation they used during their commute, including public transportation (57.4 %), walking (20.7%), cycling (10.5%), and driving (11.4%). Participants averaged 38.32 minutes (roundtrip) commuting to and from work ($SD =$ 36.24).

Measures

The survey instrument appears in Appendix A. All measures were adapted to ask participants about their experiences and outcomes during the past three months unless otherwise noted.

Street Harassment Experiences. To measure the frequency of experienced street harassment while commuting to and from work over the past three months, participants completed an adapted version of the Stranger Harassment Experiences questionnaire (α = .94; SHE; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). In addition to the time-frame adaptation, a 7-point Likert-type response scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 6 (*every day*) instead of the original 5-point scale was used. The 9-item measure uses a common stem ("Have you experienced…") and includes behaviors such as "catcalls, whistles, or stares?" and "unwanted touching or stroking?" This measure does not include questions about rape or label the behaviors as harassment.

Occupational Well-being. Two occupational well-being outcomes were measured: (a) job satisfaction and (b) work fatigue. Both measures asked participants to assess their respective types of well-being over the past three months.

To assess job satisfaction, participants rated how satisfied they were with their current job using a 3-item measure with a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) (α = .81; adapted from Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablynski, & Erez, 2001). Items included "I have been satisfied with my job," "I have not liked my job (reverse-coded)," and "I have not liked working here (reverse-coded)."

An 18-item adapted version of the Work Fatigue Inventory (α = .97; 3D-WFI; Frone & Tidwell, 2015) was used to measure physical, mental, and emotional fatigue participants may be experiencing at work. Participants rated the items on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 4

(*every day*) in response to the question, "During the past three months, how often did you feel...?" Example items from the three subscales include "Physically worn out at the end of the workday?" (physical fatigue), "Have difficulty thinking and concentrating at the end of the workday?" (mental fatigue), and "Want to avoid anything that took too much emotional energy at the end of the workday?" (emotional fatigue).

Individual Differences Moderators. Participants described the most recent stranger that harassed them while commuting to and from work during the last three months by answering questions regarding the attractiveness, age, race, and social class of their most recent harasser. Participants indicated the stranger's attractiveness on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*far below average*) and 7 (*far above average*) in response to the question, "What was the attractiveness of the most recent stranger?" Similarly, for social class, participants described the perceived social class of their most recent harasser using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1(*low class or poverty*) to 5 (*upper class*). For age, participants were asked to enter the perceived age of their most recent harasser. Lastly, for race, participants indicated the harasser's perceived race using a multiple-choice scale that was similar to typical demographic self-report questions about race (see Appendix A).

Control Variables. Experiences of sexual harassment were used as a covariate in the analyses. Participants completed Berdahl and Moore's (2006) shortened 14-item version of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire ($\alpha = .97$; SEQ; Fitzgerald et al., 1995). In response to the prompt, "During the past three months at work, have you been in a situation where anyone…," participants indicated the frequency in which they experienced items such as "Tried to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters," "Attempted to establish a romantic or sexual relationship despite your efforts to discourage it," and "Treated you badly for refusing to have sexual

relations with them?" on a scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 6 (*every day*). Like the stranger

harassment measure, this version of the SEQ does not ask about rape or label the behaviors as

harassment.

RESULTS

Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the study variables (shown in Appendix B). Experiences of street harassment (independent variable) and the control variable, experiences of sexual harassment, had positive, strong correlations with each other (r = .84). Despite the high correlation between the two variables, their variance inflation factor (VIF) was 1, which indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern. Furthermore, both experiences of stranger harassment and sexual harassment had strong, negative correlations with the dependent variables, job satisfaction (r = - .49 and -.54, respectively) and positive correlations with work fatigue (r = .42 and 33, respectively). Moreover, street harassment and sexual harassment had strong, positive correlations with the moderators, attraction (r = .39 and .44, respectively) and social class (r = .32 and .37, respectively). Conversely, they both had small, negative correlations with the moderators, age (r = -.14 and -.16, respectively) and race (r = -.29 and -.29, respectively).

Hypotheses 1-2

Hypothesis 1 stated that street harassment would predict job satisfaction above and beyond the well-established negative effect of sexual harassment on job satisfaction. A hierarchical regression evaluated this hypothesis (Table 3 shown in Appendix B), with Model 1 including only SEQ as a predictor of the occupational well-being outcomes and Model 2 adding SHE as an additional predictor. Model 1 replicated the well-known effect that the SEQ predicts job satisfaction and while Model 2 was significant, the addition of the SHE did not significantly increase the prediction of job satisfaction, R_2 = .18, $F(1, 352)$ = 37.95, $p < .001$; adjusted R_2 = .17. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Similarly, hierarchical regression was used to test Hypothesis 2 (Table 3), which predicted that street harassment would incrementally predict work fatigue beyond the effect of sexual harassment. Model 1 demonstrated that sexual harassment predicted work fatigue. Model 2 included both the SEQ and SHE and was statistically significant. Additionally, the change in R^2 from Model 1 to Model 2 was significant, indicating that street harassment added incremental prediction to work fatigue, $R^2 = .18$, $F(1, 352) = 37.95$, $p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .17$. The regression weight for the SHE was .48. Surprisingly, the addition of SHE caused the regression weight for the SEQ to be non-significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported.

Hypotheses 3-10

To test Hypotheses 3-10 (Table 4 shown in Appendix B) that individual differences in the perpetrator (i.e., attraction, age, race, and social class) will moderate the proposed negative relationship between experiences of street harassment and occupational well-being, I conducted separate, moderated regression analyses using Model 1 within the PROCESS macro for SPSS with workplace sexual harassment as a covariate (i.e., control) for all analyses. Additionally, for all the moderation models, missing data were removed from the analysis, all continuous variables were mean-centered, and a 95% confidence level was chosen to apply a p-value of 0.05 with a bootstrapping of 1,000.

Attraction. Hypotheses 3 and 4 predicted that a harasser's physical attractiveness would moderate the relationship between job satisfaction and work fatigue, such that as the unattractiveness of the harasser increased, so would the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being. For job satisfaction, the results indicated that an interaction between experiences of street harassment and attraction predicted job satisfaction ($B = .02$). Specifically, when the harasser was viewed as low in attractiveness, job satisfaction decreased as street

harassment increased (B = -.08) but there was no statistically significant relationship between street harassment and job satisfaction when the harasser was viewed as average (B = -.04) or high in attractiveness (B = -01; see Figure 2 in Appendix C). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was supported. Attraction was also found to significantly moderate the relationship between street harassment and work fatigue (B = .10), such that as street harassment and attractiveness increased, so did work fatigue. This moderation was significant when the harasser was viewed as unattractive (B = .56); average (B = .71); and attractive (B = .86; see Figure 3 in Appendix C). However, the relationship was in the opposite direction as expected because as attractiveness increased, so did the negative effect between street harassment and work fatigue. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Age. Hypotheses 5 and 6 predicted that a harasser's perceived age would moderate the relationship between job satisfaction and work fatigue, such that as the age of the harasser increased, so would the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being. The interaction between experiences of street harassment and age did not predict job satisfaction (B = .00). Thus, Hypothesis 5 was not supported. Likewise, the interaction between experiences of street harassment and age did not predict work fatigue (B = .00). Thus, Hypothesis 6 was also not supported.

Race. Hypotheses 7 and 8 predicted that a harasser's perceived race would moderate the relationship between job satisfaction and work fatigue, such that when the harasser is viewed as a different race from the target, the negative effect of street harassment on occupational well-being would increase. To analyze race, the harasser's race was coded as either different from the target or the same as the target. In order to acknowledge the racial groups that bi- or multi-racial individuals might identify with, the harasser was coded as the same race as the target when the

harasser was perceived as belonging to at least one of the racial identities that the target

identified as and, if not one of those groups, then the harasser was coded as a different race from

the target. I also explored how coding the bi- or multi-racial identity as its own racial category

and excluding bi- or multi-racial participants from the analyses impacted the results, but these

alternatives did not alter the findings. For job satisfaction, the results indicated that an interaction

between experiences of street harassment and race predicted job satisfaction ($B = -.09$).

Specifically, there was a significant effect on job satisfaction when the harasser was a different

race from the target ($B = -.10$), such that job satisfaction decreased as street harassment

increased. Conversely, there was no significant effect on job satisfaction when the harasser was

the same race as the target ($B = .00$; see Figure 4 in Appendix C). So, Hypothesis 7 was

supported. For work fatigue, an interaction between experiences of street harassment and race

did not predict work fatigue ($B = .25$). Therefore, Hypothesis 8 was not supported.

Social Class. Hypotheses 9 and 10 predicted that a harasser's perceived social class

would moderate the relationship between job satisfaction and work fatigue, such that as the

perceived social class of the harasser decreased, the negative effect of street harassment on

occupational well-being would increase. The results indicated that an interaction between

experiences of street harassment and social class did not predict job satisfaction ($B = .02$). Thus,

Hypothesis 9 was not supported. However, the results indicated that an interaction between

experiences of street harassment and social class did predict work fatigue ($B = .19$), such that as

street harassment and social class increased, so did work fatigue. This moderation was

significant when the harasser was viewed as low class ($B = .50$); middle class ($B = .68$), and high

class ($B = .85$; see Figure 5 in Appendix C). However, as social class increased so did the

negative effect between street harassment and work fatigue; therefore, the relationship was in the

opposite direction as expected and Hypothesis 10 was not supported.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to examine a) how street harassment experienced during women's commutes to and from work relates to women's occupational well-being; and, b) if the harasser's individual differences moderated the relationship between women's experiences of street harassment and their well-being. Using feminist standpoint theory as my theoretical rationale, I conducted an online cross-sectional survey with women participants regarding their experiences of street harassment. I found that street harassment did not predict decreased job satisfaction above and beyond the known effects of sexual harassment (Hypothesis 1), but it did predict increased work fatigue (Hypothesis 2). Furthermore, the addition of street harassment not only incrementally predicted work fatigue, but it also made the effect of sexual harassment non-significant.

I also found that the harasser's attractiveness and relative race did moderate the relationship between street harassment and job satisfaction, such that when the unattractiveness of the harasser increased or when the harasser was a different race from the target, respectively, the negative effect of street harassment on job satisfaction increased (Hypotheses 3 & 7, respectively). Oddly, however, when the attractiveness and the social class of the harasser increased, so did the participants' work fatigue (Hypotheses 4 & 10, respectively). Yet, social class did not moderate the relationship between street harassment and job satisfaction (Hypothesis 9) and relative race did not moderate the relationship between street harassment and work fatigue (Hypothesis 8). Additionally, the harasser's age did not moderate the relationship between street harassment and job satisfaction (Hypothesis 5) or work fatigue (Hypothesis 6). In sum, only two of the eight proposed moderating effects were supported.

Implications

These findings contribute to the literature in many ways. First, the results indicate that when evaluating their satisfaction with their job, women distinguish between their harassment experiences during their commutes and in their workplaces, as street harassment experienced during work commutes did not impact their job satisfaction when accounting for sexual harassment. Yet, the opposite effect was found for work fatigue in that street harassment did significantly predict work fatigue when controlling for sexual harassment, which will later be discussed. Furthermore, the results of the moderation analyses suggest that under some conditions (i.e., when the harasser is a different race or unattractive) street harassment experiences do impact women's job satisfaction while controlling for sexual harassment.

More specifically, support for one of the two hypotheses regarding relative race as a moderator was supported. This initial finding regarding race supports research that suggests racism, prejudice, and in-group favoritism impacts how street, and sexual, harassment impacts women's well-being (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1999; Fairchild, 2010; Kearl, 2010; Woods et al., 2009). Even so, it is important to recognize that this is one of the first studies to examine street harassment within organizational research; more research is needed to examine if there are other theoretical explanations for the results. For example, is also possible that for women of color, there are additional historical factors that may impact how street harassment is appraised from a different-race harasser and particularly some specific races (e.g., the Jezebel stereotype for Black women; Bowman, 1993; Cho, 1997; Fogg-Davis, 2006; Kearl, 2010; Woods et al., 2009). The small sub-samples of minority women made it impossible to reliably examine specific racial dyads (e.g., White harasser, Black target; Hispanic harasser, Black target; etc.), but future research should examine how different dyadic combinations might have different effects on women target's well-being.

Future research should also examine whether the race effect found in this study is due to the street harassment experienced by women from people of a different race, or if this is a proxy for commuting through or working in an environment where many of the residents are a different race from them. In other words, women, or possibly any person, may be uncomfortable working in a geographic location with a large number of individuals of a different race from themselves and thus, are less satisfied with their job; in such situations, street harassment is perpetrated by people from a different race because those are the people who are present in the area. Thus, future research would need to explore how an organization's geographic racial demography impacts employees' occupational outcomes.

Moreover, the attraction finding supports research that suggests the attractiveness of the harasser impacts the target's perception of the behavior (Cartar et al.,1996; Fairchild, 2010). Like race, only one of the two hypotheses regarding attraction was supported. I also want to be cautious in the interpretation of these results; I am in no way suggesting that it is ok for attractive people to harass others because it is less harmful to the target. In fact, it is important to point out that the harasser being more attractive did not meaningfully improve job satisfaction or decrease work fatigue when examining the simple slopes of the moderation analyses. The interaction was significant between street harassment and attraction on job satisfaction, specifically when the harasser was viewed as less attractive. Thus, the results suggest that the negative (positive) qualities associated with being less (more) attractive are used to evaluate the potential harm of the behavior. When the target views the harasser as unattractive, they have more negative outcomes compared to women who view the harasser as average or more attractive. Future research should investigate this claim as well as other underlying cognitive processes that may impact how targets of harassment perceive the behavior. It could be that targets appraise the

behavior as more stressful and consequently, have lower occupational well-being. It could also be that street harassment from less attractive people sends a signal about one's own attractiveness (e.g., the matching hypothesis; see Berscheid, Dion, Walster, & Walster, 1971), so believing that someone has indicated that you are ugly is stressful. There may be other mechanisms to explain this as well. However, with so little evidence on this topic to date, it is impossible to know why this effect happened or even if this effect will hold in additional samples.

The Impact of Sex-based Harassment in Women's Non-Work Lives. Second, the results of this study contribute to the scant literature available on how sex-based discrimination impacts women in and outside of work. These findings align with findings outside of organizational research that show that street harassment impacts women's mental, physical, and emotional wellbeing (Davidson et al., 2016; Fisher et al., 2017; Graham et al., 2016; Ho et al., 2012; Macmillan et al., 2000; Stop Street Harassment, 2014). However, the results of this study indicate that these effects are not limited to women's non-work lives, but also extend to their work lives as well. Hence, the findings suggest that there is a spillover effect of sex-based harassment outside of work impacting women's occupational well-being. More specifically, even when controlling for sexual harassment, street harassment is negatively related to women's work fatigue, which is associated with physical and mental health, inability to relax after work, organization commitment, and turnover intentions (Frone & Tidwell, 2015). Consequently, it is imperative for researchers and practitioners to consider street harassments' impact on employees in the workplace. While an organization may be unable to control its employees experiencing street harassment outside of work, there are other ways that organizations can work to reduce other predictors (e.g., role ambiguity, job autonomy; Frone & Tidwell, 2015) of work fatigue.

Additionally, organizations may consider revising policies and procedures that would allow time for women to recover from their work commutes. Another option, while unlikely, could be for organizations to provide transportation stipends that would allow for employees to take private transportation to and from work in order to reduce their experiences of street harassment. Even more, public-serving organizations (e.g., transportation services, retail shops) could implement training regarding proper and improper ways to interact with customers, which would help to decrease the amount of harassment experienced by women on their way to work.

  The Relationship between Street and Sexual Harassment. When examining correlations only, both street harassment and sexual harassment were related to job satisfaction (negatively) and work fatigue (positively). The third contribution of this study is the surprise finding that the inclusion of street harassment made sexual harassment no longer a significant predictor of work fatigue in the hierarchical regression model. This was a surprising finding leads to several future research questions. The primary question that this raises is the extent to which people differentiate between on-the-job and to-the-job experiences when they are asked about their "work experiences." It is possible that people consider their commute to work as part of their work experience. Aforementioned, this significant effect was only for work fatigue and not job satisfaction. This suggests that people may distinguish between job satisfaction (i.e., satisfaction with the job itself) in terms of street harassment (non-work) and sexual harassment (work), but other outcomes, like work fatigue, have carry-over effects from non-work domains because of the number of resources exerted before work that impact or deplete the resources needed to perform their job (see Hobfoll, 1989). This finding also suggests that when not prompted to differentiate between the two, people included their commute experiences as part of their work experience. This might account for both the high correlation between street

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harassment and sexual harassment in this study and the effect of street harassment reducing the effect of sexual harassment to zero when both are in a regression predicting work fatigue. Thus, in the short term, it might be important for researchers to define what "work" is within the contexts of their survey. In the long term, researchers should investigate how people conceptualize their commute relative to their work, such as whether people see them as the same thing and how the commute-as-part-of-work is understood relative to different work outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction vs work fatigue).

It is also possible that in previous studies those who worked in public spaces were reporting their experiences with strangers as sexual harassment when completing the SEQ. Within organizational research, researchers have conceptualized sexual harassment from clients and customers as client sexual harassment (CSH; Gettman & Gelfand, 2007) and have found that CSH predicted job and occupational outcomes above and beyond sexual harassment from coworkers and supervisors (Gettman & Gelfand, 2007). Similarly, Deery, Walsh, Guest (2011) found that among nurses, verbal harassment from patients or their relatives (i.e., strangers in the known, established role of client) had a greater effect on job burnout (i.e., an outcome of work fatigue) than verbal harassment from their supervisors or colleagues. However, unlike my study, harassment from colleagues was still a significant predictor of burnout when considering client harassment (Deery et al., 2011). Together, these results indicate that being harassed by a customer or stranger creates a unique stressor. As such is the case, it is important for researchers to distinguish between sex-based harassment from colleagues, clients, and strangers in future studies. Interesting next steps would be to investigate what differences, if any, exist among street harassment, client sexual harassment, and sexual harassment with women employed in public places (e.g., taxi drivers, park landscapers, parking enforcers). Further, research is needed to

better understand how women perceive their relationships and interactions with others in different roles. For example, is a customer (known, established role) viewed as a stranger (unknown, unestablished role)? These perceptions might shed light on how the different types of harassment impact occupational well-being.

Limitations and Future Directions

Like any research study, there are limitations to this research. The first limitation is that the study was underpowered for the analysis. According to the *a priori* power analysis, the study needed at least 395 women for an effect size of .02 and power of .80. However, only 355 women were included in the analysis. In a *post-hoc* power analysis, with the same effect size of .02, the current study's power was .76; so, the study was not underpowered by much. Nevertheless, future research should aim to collect an adequate number of participants in order to not be underpowered.

The second limitation is that the data comes from single-source, self-report measures; and, thus could be influenced by common method bias. To address these concerns, future researchers can collect organizational and occupational well-being information from multiple sources. For example, a future research study could have participants wear wearable devices, such as body cameras, to collect information regarding the frequency and type of street harassment women experience while commuting to and from work. Participants could also wear heart rate monitors or have blood taken daily in order to measure heart rate and cortisol levels, respectively, as a proxy for stress. Lastly, researchers could collect data regarding the person's job performance via performance appraisals.

The third limitation of the study is that it was cross-sectional; and thus, causality cannot be inferred. It's important to conduct a longitudinal analysis to determine if there is a cause and

effect relationship between street harassment and occupational well-being outcomes and if the results of this study are spurious. Further, we do not know if the effects of street harassment impact women over time. Considering the topic, it is seemingly unethical to conduct an experimental study on this phenomenon. So, to address this limitation, future researchers can conduct longitudinal studies using experience sampling methods, in which women record their daily street harassment experiences and their wellbeing. This would provide a better picture of how the effects of street harassment unfolds over time.

The fourth limitation of this study is that multiple regressions were conducted without correcting for family-wise error (Type 1 error). Thus, it is possible that some of the significant findings are due to conducting multiple hypothesis tests and not the phenomenon--street harassment – itself. Although this could have been addressed in this study by conducting a correction, I believe leaving the data as is for other researchers to interpret and explore is a better option for a number of reasons. First, correcting for Type 1 error increases the likelihood of Type 2 error (Perneger, 1998); it's unclear if this trade-off is worthwhile in the early stages of a research topic. This leads me to my second point which is that any false positives due to Type 1 error can be corrected via replication; conversely, false negatives can't be or most likely won't be replicated (Fiedler, Kutzner, & Krueger, 2012). Consequently, this would limit future research on a novel topic within the organizational literature that might have considerable insights into work experiences, especially for women. To address the potential concern of such error, future researchers should conduct replication (and extension) studies to ensure that these results did not capitalize on chance.

The fifth and final study limitation is that the sample lacked diversity in regards to trans-women, lesbians, and women of color. This is a limitation in that these three groups, individually

or collectively, have been documented to experience harassment more frequently than cis, heterosexual, white women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Bergman & Drasgow, 2003; Cho, 1997; Cortina, Swan, Fitzgerald, & Waldo, 1998; Kearl, 2010; Logan, 2015; Nielsen, 2000). In studying any phenomenon, it is important to understand how it impacts different people. In this case, it is important to understand how street harassment impacts all women in order to truly understand its overall impact on women, how its effects differ across groups (i.e., racial-ethnic, lesbian, and trans women), and eventually, how to eradicate such an issue. Future studies could also examine how street harassment impacts men, particularly men within the LGBTQ+ community. Like women, current social power structures oppress queer men, except that they are oppressed for not conforming to traditional, hegemonic masculinity and as a result, they may be experiencing street harassment at higher rates than non-queer men and negative work outcomes. Thus, future research should focus on gathering data from these specific populations.

In addition to the aforementioned future research ideas, researchers can investigate whether the commute to or from work, if not both, impacts well-being outcomes. Additionally, researchers can examine how the individual differences of the targets of street harassment affect how they perceive street harassment and the harasser based on their individual differences. Potential moderators that can be investigated include the target's ideological beliefs, race, social class, age, attractiveness, and self-esteem. Moreover, organizational researchers can go beyond the major, metropolitan cities used in this study to test the frequency of street harassment and its impact on women in less populated or rural areas.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study fills a void within the organizational literature by examining women's experiences of street harassment during the workday and its effect on their occupational well-being. Moreover, the findings assessing moderators (i.e., the harasser's attractiveness, age, race, and social class) of the relationship between street harassment and occupational outcomes suggest street harassment is a complicated phenomenon impacting the workplace and should receive more research attention. Furthermore, this study provides several theoretical and practical implications and future directions that can be considered by both researchers and practitioners.

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Job Satisfaction (α = .81; Mitchell et al., 2001)
Items are rated on a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Instructions: Please respond to each of the following items using the 7-point scale below.
1. Over the past three months, I have been satisfied with my job.
2. Over the past three months, I have not liked my job. (R)
3. Over the past three months, I have not liked working here. (R)

Work – Fatigue Inventory (α = .97; Frone & Tidwell, 2015)
Items are rated on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (every day).

Physical fatigue involves extreme physical tiredness and an inability to engage in physical activity.
During the **past three months**, how often did you…
1. Feel physically exhausted at the end of the day?
2. Have difficulty engaging in physical activity at the end of the workday?
3. Feel physically worn out at the end of the workday?
4. Want to physically shut down at the end of the workday?
5. Feel physically drained at the end of the workday?
6. Want to avoid anything that took too much physical energy at the end of the workday?

Mental fatigue involves extreme mental tiredness and an inability to think or concentrate.
During the **past three months**, how often did you…
1. Feel mentally exhausted at the end of the workday?
2. Have difficulty thinking and concentrating at the end of the workday?
3. Feel mentally worn out at the end of the workday?
4. Please select at least once a week.
5. Want to mentally shut down at the end of the workday?
6. Feel mentally drained at the end of the workday?
7. Want to avoid anything that took too much mental energy at the end of the workday?

Emotional fatigue involves extreme emotional tiredness and an inability to feel or show emotions.
During the **past three months**, how often did you…
1. Feel emotionally exhausted at the end of the workday?
2. Have difficulty showing and dealing with emotions at the end of the workday?
3. Feel emotionally worn out at the end of the workday?
4. Want to emotionally shut down at the end of the workday?
5. Feel emotionally drained at the end of the workday?
6. Want to avoid anything that took too much emotional energy at the end of the workday?

Stranger Harassment Experiences (α = .94; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008)
Items are rated on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 0 (never) to 6 (every day).

The questions in this scale ask you about your experiences when **commuting to and from work**.
Please indicate how often you have ever experienced any of the following behavior
from **strangers** during your commute to and from work in the past three months. During the **past
three months** during your **commute to and from work**, have you experienced...
1.   staring or leering?
2.   catcalls or whistles?
3.   unwanted sexual attention?
4.   crude or offensive sexual jokes?
5.   sexist remarks or behaviors?
6.   seductive remarks or "come-ons"?
7.   unwanted touching or stroking?
8.   subtle pressure to cooperate sexually?
9.   direct pressure to cooperate sexually?
10. fondling or grabbing?

Stranger Harassment Demographics
Think about your **most recent experience** when a stranger or strangers displayed the behavior
previously asked about (i.e., made crude comments, made unwanted attempts to touch or go out
with you, etc.) during **your commute to AND from work** during **the past three months.** Think
about the most recent experience and what the stranger or strangers looked like. You will be
asked to describe their characteristics to the best of your ability.

Most recently, was it one stranger or a group of strangers?

- Individual
- Group

[If respondents answered group, then they answered the following demographic question, but for
a group. Group instructions: For the following questions, please provide an estimated average or
describe the majority of the group to the best of your ability.]

What was the race/ethnicity of the most recent stranger?
- African American/Black/African
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Indian/ Southeast Asian
- Latina/Latino/Hispanic
- Middle Eastern
- Native American/American Indian
- White/Caucasian/European
- If not listed, please specify _____

What was the age of the most recent stranger?

_____

What was the social class (e.g., education and income level) of the most recent stranger?
- Low class or Poverty
- Low end of middle class
- Middle of middle class
- Upper end of middle class
- Upper class

What was the attractiveness of the most recent stranger?

- Far below average
- Moderately below average
- Slightly below average
- Average
- Slightly above average
- Moderately above average
- Far above average

What was the gender of the most recent stranger?

- Man
- Woman
- Non-binary
- If not listed, please specify _____

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (α = .97; Berdahl & Moore, 2006)
The questions in this scale ask you about your experiences when **at work**. Please indicate how often **someone at work** has done any of the following during the past three months. During the **past three months at work**, have you been in a situation where anyone:

1. Tried to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?
2. Told sexual stories or jokes?
3. Displayed, used, or distributed sexual materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography)?
4. Made sexist comments or jokes?
5. Gave you sexual attention?
6. Attempted to establish a romantic or sexual relationship despite your efforts to discourage it?
7. Pressured you to "play along" with sexual jokes and behavior?
8. Made you feel you needed to flirt with them to be treated well?
9. Touched your face, butt, thigh, or another "private" part of your body?
10. Exposed a private part of their body to you?
11. Forced themselves on you sexually?
12. Indicated there might be some reward or special treatment if you agreed to engage in sexual behavior?

13. Made you afraid that you would be penalized if you did not agree to engage in sexual behavior?
14. Treated you badly for refusing to have sexual relations with them?
15. Please select never.

Demographic Section

What is your job title?

_____

What is your occupation?

_____

Which of the following best describes your occupation industry?

- Accommodation and Food Services
- Administrative and Support Services
- Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting
- Art, Entertainment, and Recreation
- Construction
- Educational Services
- Finance and Insurance
- Government
- Health Care and Social Assistance
- Information
- Management of Companies and Enterprises
- Manufacturing
- Mining, Quarrying, and Oil and Gas Extraction
- Other Services (Except Public Administration)
- Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services
- Real Estate and Rental and Leasing
- Retail Trade
- Self-Employed
- Transportation and Warehousing
- Utilities
- If not listed above, please specify

_____

What is your age?

_____

Are you transgender?

- Yes
- No

How would you describe your sexual orientation?
- Bisexual
- Heterosexual
- Lesbian
- I don't identify with the sexual orientations listed. (Please specify)

  _____

Have you ever experienced sexual assault?
- Yes
- No

Your race/ethnicity (please check all that apply):
- African American/Black/African
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Indian/Southeast Asian
- Latina/Latino/Hispanic
- Native American/American Indian
- Middle Eastern
- White/Caucasian/European
- I don't identify with the races or ethnicities listed. (Please specify):

  _____

Marital Status:
- Single
- In a relationship, but not living together
- In a relationship and living together
- Married
- Divorced/Separated
- Widowed

Current level of education
- Less than high school diploma
- High school diploma
- Some college/technical school
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Some graduate school
- Masters degree
- More than a masters degree
- Doctoral degree

How many years have you worked in your current organization?
_____
_____
About how many hours per week do you work for pay?
_____

What is the social class you CURRENTLY identify with?
- Low Class or Poverty
- Low end of middle class
- Middle of middle class
- Upper end of middle class
- Upper class

What is your level of income?
- Less than 20,000
- Between 20,000 and 33,000
- Between 34,000 and 49,000
- Between 50,000 and 99,000
- Between 100,000 and 150,000
- Between 151,000 and 250,000
- Over 250,000

How is your position classified for pay?

- Hourly/Wage
- Salary

What worker classification are you?

- Full-time
- Part-time
- Seasonal/Temporary

Which state or territory do you live in?

- Alabama (AL)
- Alaska (AK)
- Arizona (AZ)
- Arkansas (AR)
- California (CA)
- Colorado (CO)
- Connecticut (CT)
- Delaware (DE)
- District of Columbia (DC)
- Florida (FL)
- Georgia (GA)
- Hawaii (HI)
- Idaho (ID)
- Illinois (IL)
- Indiana (IN)
- Iowa (IA)
- Kansas (KS)
- Kentucky (KY)
- Louisiana (LA)
- Maine (ME)
- Maryland (MD)
- Massachusetts (MA)
- Michigan (MI)
- Minnesota (MN)
- Mississippi (MS)
- Missouri (MO)
- Montana (MT)
- Nebraska (NE)
- Nevada (NV)
- New Hampshire (NH)
- New Jersey (NJ)
- New Mexico (NM)
- New York (NY)
- North Carolina (NC)
- North Dakota (ND)
- Ohio (OH)
- Oklahoma (OK)
- Oregon (OR)
- Pennsylvania (PA)
- Rhode Island (RI)
- South Carolina (SC)

- South Dakota (SD)
- Tennessee (TN)
- Texas (TX)
- Utah (UT)
- Vermont (VT)
- Virginia (VA)
- Washington (WA)
- West Virginia (WV)
- Wisconsin (WI)
- Wyoming (WY)
- American Samoa (AS)
- Guam (GU)
- Northern Mariana Islands (MP)
- Puerto Rico (PR)
- Virgin Islands (VI)

What is your residential zip-code?

_____

Which state or territory do you work in?
- Alabama (AL)
- Alaska (AK)
- Arizona (AZ)
- Arkansas (AR)
- California (CA)
- Colorado (CO)
- Connecticut (CT)
- Delaware (DE)
- District of Columbia (DC)
- Florida (FL)
- Georgia (GA)
- Hawaii (HI)
- Idaho (ID)
- Illinois (IL)
- Indiana (IN)
- Iowa (IA)
- Kansas (KS)
- Kentucky (KY)
- Louisiana (LA)
- Maine (ME)
- Maryland (MD)
- Massachusetts (MA)
- Michigan (MI)
- Minnesota (MN)

- Mississippi (MS)
- Missouri (MO)
- Montana (MT)
- Nebraska (NE)
- Nevada (NV)
- New Hampshire (NH)
- New Jersey (NJ)
- New Mexico (NM)
- New York (NY)
- North Carolina (NC)
- North Dakota (ND)
- Ohio (OH)
- Oklahoma (OK)
- Oregon (OR)
- Pennsylvania (PA)
- Rhode Island (RI)
- South Carolina (SC)
- South Dakota (SD)
- Tennessee (TN)
- Texas (TX)
- Utah (UT)
- Vermont (VT)
- Virginia (VA)
- Washington (WA)
- West Virginia (WV)
- Wisconsin (WI)
- Wyoming (WY)
- American Samoa (AS)
- Guam (GU)
- Northern Mariana Islands (MP)
- Puerto Rico (PR)
- Virgin Islands (VI)

What is your job's zip-code?

_____

My physical appearance (i.e., physical attractiveness) is
- Far below average
- Moderately below average
- Slightly below average
- Average
- Slightly above average
- Moderately above average
- Far above average

How do you commute to and from work? (check all that apply)
- Walking
- Cycling
- Using public transportation
- Driving

Which mode of transportation was used the MOST within the last three months?
- Walking
- Cycling
- Public transportation
- Driving

How long is your commute to/from work (roundtrip) in minutes?
_____
During your commute to and from work (roundtrip), how many minutes do you spend [walking/cycling/public transportation/driving]?
_____

Please complete the captcha.

[Captcha Here]

What is your MTurk ID? (this will be used to ensure you receive payment - this information will be deleted after you receive payment)

MTurk Key:
24DVYJ

May we contact you regarding this study or subsequent studies? (If yes, we will not delete your MTurk ID after you receive payment so that we may contact you in the future).

- Yes
- No

Please use this space to input any comments or feedback regarding the study.
_____

Debrief
Thank You Thank you for completing the survey! We understand that answering some of the questions in this survey may have been difficult due to the sensitive topic of street harassment. Please know that there are resources available to provide you with assistance such as RAINN, a national sexual assault hotline, and the National Street Harassment Hotline. Their resources include support, information, advice, and referrals. RAINN can be reached at 1-800-656-HOPE or online at www.rainn.org. National Street Harassment Hotline at 1-855-897-5910 or online at https://hotline.rainn.org/ssh-en. To protect the authenticity of future data collection, we ask that you keep your experience in this study confidential. We are still in the process of data collection

and we do not want others to know about the nature of the study. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated. This concludes the survey. Should you have any questions about your participation, please contact the primary investigator, Elizabeth Jenkins, via email at elizabeth.jenkins@tamu.edu or Dr. Mindy Bergman via email at mindybergman@tamu.edu. Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX B

Table 1.

Similarities and Differences between Sexual Harassment and Street Harassment

Characteristic	Sexual Harassment	Street Harassment
Harasser	Known harasser (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1995)	Unknown harasser (Bowman, 1993; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008)
Location	Private spaces (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Goffman, 1963; Low & Smith, 2013)	Public Spaces (Bowman, 1993; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Goffman, 1963)
Laws & Policies	Preventative & punitive federal and organizational policies (Civil Rights Act, 1964; EEOC, 1980)	Limited legal protection (Bowman, 1993; Hagerty et al., 2013)
Resources	Resources for prevention reporting & support (Quick & McFadyen, 2017)	Scare resources for reporting and support (Ashburn-Nardom et al., 2008; O'Leary, 2016)

Table 2.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations for All Study Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. SHE	2.65	1.24							
2. SEQ	2.29	1.32	.84*						
3. Job Satisfaction	4.67	1.49	- .49**	- .54**					
4. WFI	3.25	.99	.42**	.33**	- .42**				
5. SHD: Attraction	3.39	1.51	.39**	.44**	-.25**	.09			
6. SHD: Age	33.23	8.97	-.14*	-.16**	.06	.09	-.27**		
7. SHD: Race	1.44	.50	-.29**	-.29**	.18**	-.12*	-.27**	-.01	
8. SHD: SC	2.46	.95	.32*	.37*	- .16**	.04	.56**	-.07	-.23**

Note. N = 333-365. SHE = Street Harassment Experiences. SEQ = Sexual Harassment Experiences. WFI = Work Fatigue Inventory. SHD = Stranger Harasser Demographics. Race: Same as target = 1, Different from target = 2. SC = Social Class. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3.

Hierarchical Regression Testing the Effect of Street Harassment Experiences on Outcomes

		Job Satisfaction				Work Fatigue			
		B	SE	t	R^2	B	SE	t	R^2
Model 1	SEQ	-.54*	.15	-12.04	.29	.33*	.68	6.61	.11
Model 2	SEQ	-.43*	.28	-5.22	.30	-.07	1.21	-.79	.18
	SHE	-.13	.30	-1.56		.48*	1.29	5.37	
ΔR^2		.00				.07			

Note. SHE = Street Harassment Experiences. SEQ = Sexual Harassment Experiences. * p < .001.

Table 4.

Street Harassment Experiences and Harassers' Demographics Interaction Moderation on Outcomes

Variable (*n*)	Job Satisfaction					Work Fatigue Inventory				
	B	*SE*	*t*	R^2	ΔR^2	*B*	*SE*	*t*	R^2	ΔR^2
SHE x Attraction	-.02*	.01	2.39	.31	.01	.10*	.04	2.23	.20	.01
SHE x Age	.00	.00	-1.87	.30	.01	.00	.01	-.40	.20	.00
SHE x Race	.-.09*	.04	-2.57	.31	.01	.25	.16	1.57	.19	.01
SHE x SC	.02	.02	1.18	.30	.00	.19*	.08	2.40	.20	.01

Note. SHE = Street Harassment Experiences. SHD = Stranger Harasser Demographics. SC = Social Class. * $p < 0.05$ level.
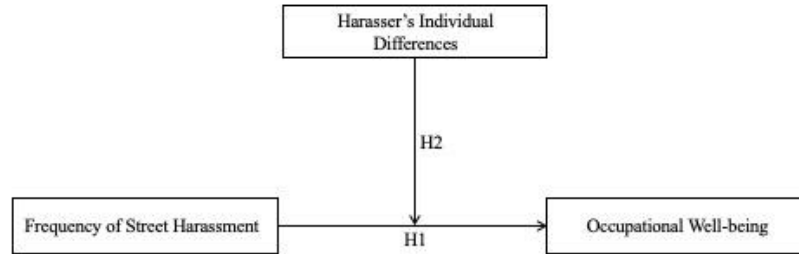
Figure 1. Proposed theoretical model and hypotheses

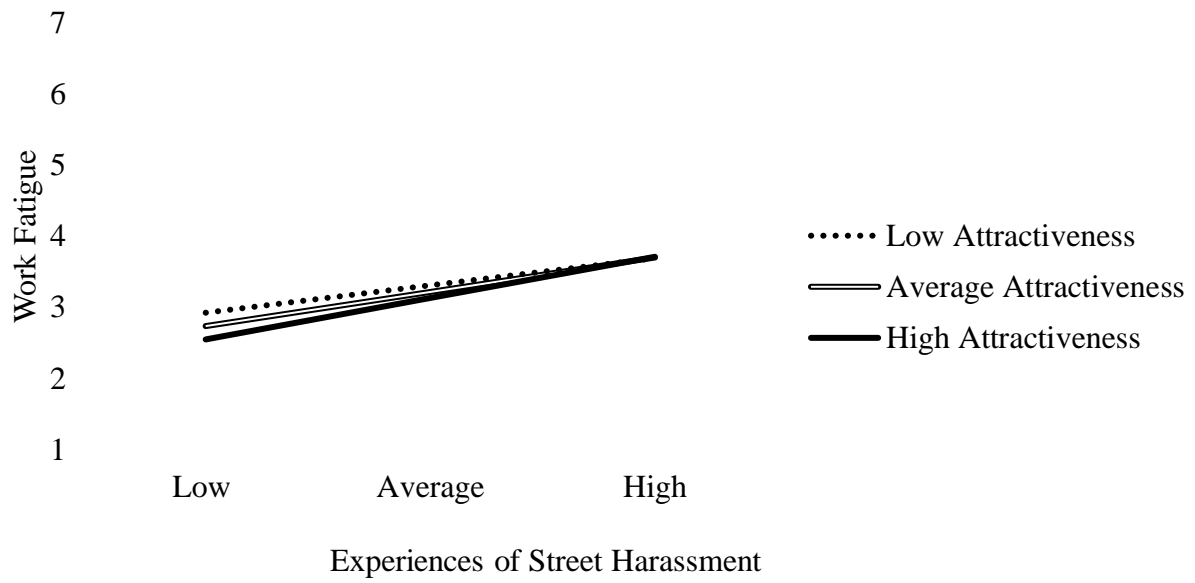*Figure 2.* The Interaction between Attraction and Experiences of Street Harassment on Job Satisfaction

Figure 3. The Interaction between Attraction and Experiences of Street Harassment on Work Fatigue

Figure 4. The Interaction between Race and Experiences of Street Harassment on Job Satisfaction

Figure 5. The Interaction between Social Class and Experiences of Street Harassment on Work Fatigue