STRANGER HARASSMENT: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PROTECTIVE ROLE OF FEMINISM AND WOMANISM

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Graduate Faculty at The University of Akron

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Megan J. Yetzer

August, 2016

STRANGER HARASSMENT: AN INVESTIGATION OF THE PROTECTIVE ROLE OF FEMINISM AND WOMANISM

Megan Yetzer

Dissertation

Approved:

_____
Advisor
Dr. Dawn Johnson

_____
Committee Member
Dr. Kathryn Feltey

_____
Committee Member
Dr. Suzette Speight

_____
Committee Member
Dr. David Tokar

_____
Committee Member
Dr. Ingrid Weigold

Accepted:

_____
Department Chair
Dr. Paul Levy

_____
Dean of the College
Dr. John Green

_____
Dean of the Graduate School
Dr. Chand Midha

_____
Date

ABSTRACT

Stranger harassment is a specific line of sexism research that documents women's experiences of harassment in public spaces perpetrated by men that they do not know. These experiences can lead to many negative outcomes for women such as higher rates of body shame, body surveillance, depression, disordered eating, and increases in fear of rape (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). The negative impacts of stranger harassment necessitate identifying what factors might be protective for women and reduce psychological distress. Data was collected from a total of 503 university students and community members. Path analysis revealed that none of the models demonstrated adequate model-data fit. Individual paths were examined in an effort to clarify trends within the data. Racial identity of the participants was observed to have a consistent impact on stranger harassment within all of the original and post hoc models. One additional finding observed with one model indicated that stranger harassing experiences did indeed result in high rates of psychological distress. It also became apparent that women experience stranger harassment often, as 90% of participants answered yes when they were asked if they had ever experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger. Overall, between 25.8% - 90.1% of the women in the current study experienced some form of stranger harassment, ranging from sexist remarks or behaviors from a stranger (83.3%) to direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger (25.8%). Thus preliminary evidence adds support to the literature base that stranger harassment is phenomenon warranting further study separate from more general sexual harassment

research, and that a woman's racial identity is likely to impact her experience of stranger harassment. It also points to the necessity for future research to investigate protective factors for reducing psychological distress.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sexism is not a new phenomenon and has been studied, researched, and labeled extensively in the psychological literature (i.e., Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Stangor, Sechrist, & Swim, 1999; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Sexist discrimination has been defined by Landrine and Klonoff (1997) as "discriminatory acts or events that happen to women because they are women" (p. 22). As evidenced by its prolific study, it seems clear that expressions of sexism in the form of discriminatory acts continues to be a problem for many women today (Swim, Eyssell, Murdoch, & Ferguson, 2010; Swim et al., 2001). The results of three daily diary studies conducted by Swim et al. (2001) demonstrated that sexist incidents occur on average about 1-2 times a week for many women. These events included things such as comments referring to traditional gender role expectations, degrading remarks, and sexually objectifying commentary (Swim et al., 2001). Incidents such as these led the participants to experience decreased well-being, increased anger and depression, and lowered self-esteem (Swim et al., 2001).

These sexist incidents not only make women uncomfortable in the moment, but lead to decreases in their overall functioning after the sexist incident has passed. Swim and colleagues (2001) also sampled men in one of their diary studies in order to determine if men have similar experiences of sexist incidents. The male participants

reported a significantly lower number of personally encountered sexist events, suggesting that men in general are less impacted by this phenomenon (Swim et al., 2001). Therefore the focus will be on women's experiences of sexist incidents.

The purpose of this study will be to explore sexism and sexist incidents in greater detail by focusing specifically on stranger harassment which has received little attention in the sexual harassment and sexism research literature to date despite its negative impact on the women who become its targets (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Wesselmann & Kelly, 2010). The protective role that identification as a feminist or adherence to feminist and womanist values may serve in combatting the harmful impact of stranger harassment will be explained. Stranger harassment has been defined as receiving unwanted sexual attention perpetrated by strangers (most often men) in public spaces (Wesselmann & Kelly, 2010; See Appendix A).

Stranger harassment differs from sexual harassment, which has its focus on perpetrators mainly in the educational system or workforce who often have clearly defined institutional power over women who are its victims (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). In contrast, the perpetrators of stranger harassment tend to be anonymous to the women they are victimizing. As will be described in further detail, stranger harassment can also be challenging to remediate due to the brief and often anonymous nature of the incidents (Bowman, 1993; Nielsen, 2000). Given these noted differences, stranger harassment is a separate phenomenon from sexual harassment with its own negative consequences and challenge and has been somewhat neglected in the literature, thus warranting a specific focus (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

Importance to the Field of Counseling Psychology

Conducting prevention work, defined as "efforts to enhance personal and collective well-being as well as initiatives that create social and political change aimed at improving environments where people live, learn, and work" (Hage, Romano, Conyne, Kenny, Matthews, Schwartz, & Waldo, 2007, p. 497) has been a value of the counseling psychology field since its inception (Roman & Hage, 2000). This definition has been expanded to encompass aspirational guidelines recommended for counseling psychologists to incorporate into their work, such as stopping a harmful phenomenon before it occurs, delaying the potential onset of a harmful phenomenon, reducing the negative impact of the phenomenon, bolstering the knowledge, perception, and actions that promote overall well-being, and supporting institutional systems, communities, and government policies that strive to promote overall well-being of the individual (Hage & Romano, 2000).

Hage et al. (2007) emphasize that counseling psychologists' prevention work should target those who are victims of oppression who, due to their marginalization, do not have power in society. These groups include those who have been discriminated against based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, religion, etc. (Hage et al., 2007). Thus prevention work should be guided by the value of social justice.

Social justice has been defined as "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which "the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure" (Bell, 1997, p. 3). Enacting social justice can be as simple as donating one's time or money to agencies that support underserved populations, promoting policies that are in favor of increasing opportunities to those who

are marginalized, or outreaching to communities (Vera & Speight, 2003). Counseling psychologists must utilize skills aimed at producing societal level change in order to have a more healthy society and healthy individuals within that society (Vera & Speight, 2003).

Based on the principles of prevention and social justice work imbedded in the field of counseling psychology, the current research will strive to impact the field in ways beyond solely contributing to the literature base. Once more information is gathered on stranger harassment and what constructs might be protective for a woman which would increase her likelihood to have higher rates of critical consciousness and empowerment (i.e., less internalization of the harassment) , this information could be disseminated as an outreach program via utilization of consciousness raising techniques targeting communities of women. This approach would lead to greater awareness of this phenomenon outside of clinicians and researchers and would serve to decrease and ultimately eliminate the harmful consequences of stranger harassing events.

Stranger Harassment Research & Impact of Stranger Harassment

In an attempt to address harassment that is perpetrated by strangers, several researchers have coined the term "everyday stranger harassment" (Gardner, 1995; Bowman, 1993; Nielsen, 2000). Thus far the research literature has focused on providing descriptions of stranger harassing encounters. Experiences of stranger harassment have been described as including aspects of both verbal and nonverbal behavior, such as wolf whistling, leering, winking, physically grabbing or pinching the individual, and making catcalls, which tend to be sexualized or objectifying in nature (Bowman, 1993). Harassment from strangers tends to be a commentary on either a woman's physical

appearance or simply her presence in a public space (Bowman, 1993). These behaviors can occur on the street, on a campus, at a bar, etc. (Fairchild, 2010). A similar term, street harassment, is visible in the literature as well (Nielson, 2000; Kissling, 1991). Street harassment and stranger harassment have many overlaps (i.e., perpetrators are strangers, harassment occurs in public). In addition stranger harassment's definition has been expanded to include harassment in any public space by an unknown perpetrator, not just on the street/bus station/train station, and also incorporates obscene phone calls into its varied expressions. Even though it seems that there are some differences between these terms, they are often used interchangeably, however stranger harassment appears to be more inclusive of the varied contexts in which harassment can occur and thus more representative (Fairchild, 2010).

Sexual harassment and stranger harassment are specific lines of sexism research that document the location of the sexist event and the association of the perpetrator to the target. Stranger harassment has been conceptualized as a specific type of sexual harassment (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Wesselmann & Kelly, 2010), while both of these concepts would fall under the umbrella of sexism, as these are specific types of discrimination that happen to women because they are women (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997).

After detailed analyses of the comparison between stranger and sexual harassment, several authors have determined that stranger harassment is concerning for individuals as there is no legal recourse in place for combatting this type of behavior (Bowman, 1993; Nielsen, 2000). It would likely prove difficult confront an incident of harassment when the victim does not know the individual and the individual could

quickly blend into a crowd and disappear (Bowman, 1993; Nielsen, 2000). If legal recourse was to be pursued, it's probable the defense would describe the incident as a freedom of speech issue, which could be dismissed by the courts (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

Research to date has indicated that even though there are legal protections in place for women who experience sexual harassment at either their workplace or educational institution, very few women end up reporting these incidents (Wasti & Cortina, 2002). If women are reluctant to report incidents enacted by perpetrators they are acquainted with when the law is in support of them doing so, it seems that they would be even less likely to report harassment by a stranger when no legal recourse is available. Due to the constraints that are working against women who experience stranger harassment, it warrants the same amount of attention in the psychological literature that has previously been applied to sexual harassment.

Several studies have made more recent attempts to document stranger harassment in order to increase awareness of this issue. Questions from the Violence Against Women Survey were completed by Canadian women in order to gauge the frequency of experiences of sexual harassment and stranger harassment (VAWS; Johnson & Sacco; Macmillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000). Data analysis revealed that 85% of the participants indicated having experienced stranger harassment events whereas 51% reported having experienced non-stranger sexual harassment (Macmillan et al., 2000). In addition to frequency, stranger harassment seems to be an international problem, citing reports of these incidents spanning from Syria, West Germany, Taiwan, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Kissling, 1991). Stranger harassing incidents may serve

a larger purpose, reminding women that men are in control and women are sexual objects existing for men's perusal, manifesting itself into a kind of "sexual terrorism" (Kissling, 1991; p. 456).

And finally, Nielsen (2001) examined rates of offensive public speech, including sexist speech, with 100 male and female participants. Sixty one percent of the female participants reported being the target of sexually suggestive public speech either "often" or "everyday". In comparison, 86% of her male participants indicated hearing sexually suggestive remarks in public either "sometimes", "rarely", or "never" (Nielsen, 2000). In addition, all of the women in this study reported hearing sexually suggestive public speech at least once in her life, and women of color in this study reported experiencing higher rates of this type of speech compared to the white women. Nearly one quarter of the women of color who participated indicated hearing offensive or sexually suggestive speech from strangers in public places every day (Nielsen, 2000). In comparison, only 14% of white women who participated reported hearing offensive or sexually suggestive speech every day.

Thus, women are encountering stranger harassment on a more frequent basis than they are sexual harassment (non-stranger). It has been posited that stranger harassment may occur more often due to the ability of the perpetrator to retain his anonymity. Stranger harassment is a phenomenon that warrants more attention and action on the part of counseling psychologists in terms of research and education.

There are important psychological consequences associated with the aftermath of a stranger harassing incident. One harmful outcome of these experiences is that women can begin to engage in self-objectifying behaviors (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). After

being treated as a sexual object by others women may begin to objectify themselves, thus thinking of themselves as a sexual object (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). This can lead women to experience body shame and body surveillance, which contributes to higher rates of depression and disordered eating behaviors. This is called internalized sexism (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997).

Fairchild and Rudman (2008) surveyed 228 college students via the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire, the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, and included questions relating to fear and risk of rape, and restriction of movement (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Forty one percent of their participants reported experiencing stranger harassing events at least once a month. Furthermore, 31% of their participants reported experiencing sexual harassment every few days (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Their findings add evidence to support the frequency of these experiences and again suggest that greater attention to these occurrences is warranted. Additionally, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) found that stranger harassment encounters positively predicted the participants' rates of self-objectification suggesting that stranger harassment may indirectly lead to increased fear of rape. Fear of rape might then cause women to restrict their movement (i.e., not going out alone at night; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). This finding was similar to that stated previosly by Kissling (1991) which stated that women experience fear of rape because it is not possible for them to reliably predict which interaction with a harasser will escalate and which one will not.

Coping with Stranger Harassment

In addition to examining how frequently these stranger harassing experiences occur and the negative consequences that women commonly experience after the

harassing event has taken place, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) also examined how their female participants coped after the event. Research that has been conducted prior to 2008 has consistently demonstrated that a majority of women tend to use passive, or non-assertive, coping strategies after experiencing gender harassment (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Passive coping can include ignoring or avoiding the harasser (Gruber, 1989). Other types of coping that have been noted less frequently include confronting the perpetrator (an active strategy), engaging in self-blame for the incident's occurrence, or viewing the harassing experience as a compliment (Fitzgerald, 1990). One other method that has been identified is denial of the experience, this involves either treating the situation as a joke, maintaining that nothing remarkable has occurred, or claiming that the harassing experience was nonthreatening or gratifying (Wasti & Cortina, 2002). Less often utilized is active coping (i.e., assertive coping strategies/problem-focused), described as a process that entails taking active steps in an attempt to remove or elude the stressor or reduce its impact (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). This can include acting directly against the stressor, increasing one's efforts against the stressor, and implementing a coping attempt through a series of actions (Carver et al., 1989).

Furthermore, Wasti and Cortina (2002) found that the women in their study tended to resort to avoidance coping or negotiation strategies (i.e., moving away, frowning, failing to engage) as their encounters with sexual harassing experiences increased. This finding transcended the cultural backgrounds of their participants (Anglo, Mexican American, and Turkish). The type of coping a woman engages in can impact the after-effects of the harassment experience. Thus far coping strategies have been identified

for sexual harassment but have been limited in their application for stranger harassment specifically (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

In order to further examine if similar coping responses are seen for stranger harassment as have been identified for sexual harassment, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) borrowed items from the Coping with Sexual Harassment Questionnaire and utilized items that seemed most applicable to stranger harassment (questions that did not specify workplace or school). They predicted that women who utilized more active strategies of coping (i.e., confronting the perpetrator, discussing the incident with a friend, reporting the incident, etc.) would indicate lower rates of self-objectification compared to women who engaged in passive coping (i.e., ignored, avoided) or self-blame. Generally women were most likely to use passive coping as opposed to active coping. They also found that women who engaged in passive coping or self-blame showed more self-objectifying attitudes. In addition, perceiving the incident as complimentary was positively related to objectification. These results suggest that passive coping, self-blame, or viewing the event as a compliment may increase the likelihood that the women will engage in self-objectification and potentially other harmful behaviors. Fairchild and Rudman's (2008) findings correspond with other studies which have found that seeking social support after a perceived sexist incident was uniquely related to lower rates of helplessness and greater action-taking strategies (Foster, 2000). In contrast, coping with sexist discrimination via avoidance strategies was significantly related to higher rates of helplessness behavior (Foster, 2000).

Identification as a Feminist and/or Womanist

Given that passive coping strategies are related to harmful consequences after encountering stranger harassment, it seems prudent to identify protective factors that may ameliorate the impact of a harassing experience. This paper posits that a woman's identification as a feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will increase her level of critical consciousness and personal empowerment, which will increase her likelihood to externalize the harassment (reducing self-blame) and reduce her levels of psychological distress. It follows that if a woman identifies/adheres with either of these two philosophical ideologies, she will likely have more awareness of the existence of sexism and will be able to label stranger harassment as such. Feminist psychological practice emphasizes consciousness raising as one of its tenants, which focuses on increasing awareness of societal barriers that are in place, one of those being sexism (Worell & Remer, 2003). It follows that as one becomes more aware of sexist discrimination, one may be more likely to identify as feminist (as one definition of feminism is the goal of empowering women and creating equality between men and women; hooks, 1984), therefore those who identify as feminist are more likely to identify sexist discrimination (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). Similarly to consciousness raising and empowerment is critical consciousness which has been conceptualized as the ability to think critically about social interactions and take action against the negative impact of oppression (Thomas, Barrie, Bruner, Clawson, Hewitt, Jeremie-Brink, & Rowe-Johnson, in press). It seems likely that those who identify as feminist or adhere to feminist or womanist beliefs would also have higher rates of critical consciousness which is postulated to protect individuals against the negative outcomes of oppression.

Examinations of feminism have focused on the ideology or beliefs of women, the ownership of the label, and in a few cases both beliefs and label (Fitz, Zucker, & Bay-Cheng, 2012; Yoder, Tobias, & Snell, 2011; Moradi & Subich, 2002). Womanist is being included as an ideology in order to give attention to the intersection of racial/ethnic identity and feminist values that are likely relevant for many women of color (Moradi & DeBlaere, 2010). Womanist has been defined as "a consciousness that incorporates racial, cultural, sexual, national, economic, and political consideration" (Brown, 1989, p. 613) and has evolved in reaction to the primarily white middle class women's movement that gained prominence. A study conducted by King (2003) found that the womanist construct correlated with feminist and ethnic awareness, lending support to the conception that womanism is the intersection of gender and racial/ethnic identities (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013).

Adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs or identification as being part of either group could increase the woman's likelihood of then using active coping strategies in the face of sexism. Foster (2000) found that certain beliefs and world views may increase the likelihood that a woman will confront her harasser, thus engaging in an active coping style that produces less harm to self. These factors include being the only woman present in a group of individuals, adhering to a personal commitment to confront sexism, believing that confronting a sexist incident will reduce sexism in general, and identifying sexism as being a universal issue that has negative ramifications along with the view that the incident is not one's own fault (Foster, 2000).

In support of this reasoning, other studies have found that recognizing events as sexist may serve as a protective factor for women's psychological health due to the

application of external attributions for the sexist event rather than internal (personal/self-blame) attributions (Moradi & Subich, 2002). Brooks and Perot (1991) found that women's adherence to feminist ideology was positively associated to those women reporting events as sexual harassment, giving the event an external attribution. Furthermore, holding feminist beliefs has been demonstrated to be related to higher levels of self-esteem (Fischer & Good, 1994), self-efficacy (Eisele & Stake, 2008), and academic achievement (Valenzuela, 1993). Identifying as a feminist has also been found to be linked with increased activism, such as voting for women's issues (Yoder et al., 2011). In addition, another study found that feminism was utilized as a coping mechanism for more than 75% of their sample when their participants were confronted with discrimination, and 81% of their sample stated that feminism had helped them cope with discrimination throughout their lives (Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975).

As the studies described above have focused on feminist ideology or identification as a feminist, this study will seek to incorporate both ideology and identification in the same study with both white women and women of color. It seems that self-identification as feminist is important. Yoder et al. (2011) have identified that adherence to feminist beliefs tend to examine different outcomes (individual and interpersonal) compared to identification with the label of feminist (activism). It was suggested that those identifying with the label are more likely to not accept the status quo, have a greater commitment to feminist activism, and have more engagement in feminist actions (Yoder et al., 2011). Agreement or disagreement with the statement "I identify as a feminist" predicted feminist activism, this was found to be true regardless of feminism beliefs for those who identified with the label. This finding suggests that for

women who identified as feminist, their actions followed "a core tenet of feminism in which the person is political" (Yoder et al., 2011, p. 16; Taylor & Whittier, 1997).

Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010), sought to determine if women who self-identified as feminist differed from those who did not use the label ("non-labelers") and those who were classified as non-feminists. Non-labelers' ratings of universalism, conformity, and tradition were equivalent to those of nonfeminists, whereas feminists rated universalism as higher and conformity and tradition lower than the other two groups (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). Feminists were also found to be the least endorsing of a social dominance orientation (i.e., an individual's belief that social hierarchies are acceptable and warranted, and thus preferable to status equality) and meritocracy (i.e., belief that individual achievement is based on personal merit outside of social bias or privilege). Non-labelers were similar to nonfeminists in these beliefs (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). In addition, feminists indicated the least agreement with hostile sexism compared to non-labelers and nonfeminists. Interestingly, non-labelers had the highest support of benevolent sexism. These findings suggest that non-labelers (despite their endorsement of feminist beliefs) have many shared views with nonfeminists, as opposed to more common ground with self-identified feminists (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010).

Given the results of the studies by Yoder et al. (2011) and Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010) it is hypothesized that identification with the label of feminist will target those women who espouse feminist values. According to one study, it appears that women who do not use the label of feminist but state they have feminist beliefs (I'm not a feminist but…) are likely to be more similar to nonfeminists than feminists (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). This study will also be incorporating the label of womanist, as it seems

identification with this label has not been addressed in the research. However, it can also be seen from the above studies that adherence to an ideology of feminism or beliefs consistent with feminism have also served a protective role for women (see more in Chapter 2; Brooks & Perot, 1991; Foster, 2000). Given the sometimes confusing and conflicting messages in the literature regarding beliefs versus identification, both will be incorporated in this study in order to examine which might have a stronger relationship to critical consciousness and empowerment.

Conclusion

Stranger harassment is an under-researched area that warrants more attention given the harmful effects that women often experience. It seems reasonable to expect that a woman who identifies as a feminist or adheres to feminist or womanist ideology might be more empowered and might have higher rates of critical consciousness, thus being less likely to internalize the harassing event, and subsequently having less negative impacts from the harassing experience. Therefore, the purpose of this project will be to investigate whether identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs is protective (making one more likely to have higher rates of critical consciousness and personal empowerment) against the negative consequences associated with stranger harassment.

The next chapter will provide a detailed literature review of the main constructs mentioned here in chapter one. It will review in depth the research that has been conducted to date on sexism, feminism/womanism, and stranger harassment. Chapter two will end with a discussion of the purpose of the present study and the related hypotheses.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter 1 established that stranger harassment is a unique form of sexism, separate from sexual harassment, which has its focus primarily on known perpetrators in the workplace or school environment. It also ascertained that the manner in which a victim, most often a woman, views a harassing experience is important to her overall level of distress. Chapter 1 concluded with the supposition that identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will lead to higher rates of critical consciousness/empowerment in response to stranger harassment, which have been linked to lowered psychological distress.

This chapter will provide a detailed review of the literature relevant to the present study. First, a close look at the literature pertaining to sexism and its evolution through our culture will be presented, including an examination of specific terms and their relation to one another. Next an investigation on feminist and womanist identification and beliefs, and their connection to reduced psychological distress will be reviewed. And finally, an assessment of the literature relating to stranger harassment will be assessed with a focus on the prevalence and detriments of stranger harassment specifically.

Sexism Literature Overview

The examination of sexism is not a new phenomenon. However, much work has been done in an effort to understand the contexts in which sexism occurs and the

individual differences of the victims and how they respond to sexist events. In order to examine the contexts in which sexism occurs, it is necessary to have an understanding of the different expressions of sexism that have been defined in the literature. Sexist incidents lead to increased rates of psychological distress, increased anger and rates of depression, and lowered self-esteem in individuals who are victims of sexist behavior (Swim et al., 2001).The display of sexist views and behavior has adapted as individuals have received messages that it is not "okay" to be overtly sexist, similar to the expressions of racism (Swim et al., 1995). As the various conceptualizations of sexism are described below, it seems that these are likely existing on a continuum rather than being discrete categories.

Old-fashioned sexism (See Appendix A for definitions) is considered to be the expressed desire for traditional gender roles, treating men and women differently on the basis of their gender expression, and endorsing stereotypes that place women in an unfavorable light (i.e., diminished competence; Swim et al., 1995). It has been hypothesized that expressions of old-fashioned sexism have decreased, not because it no longer exists, but rather because it has evolved to fit with the current state of our societal climate (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). Modern sexism is considered to be its replacement and espouses an ideology that gender discrimination no longer exists, and includes resentment towards women's requests for fair treatment and compensation, and a lack of voter support for issues that are considered to be in favor of women (i.e., equal pay for equal work; Swim et al., 1995).

Swim and colleagues (1995) conducted several studies in order to shed light further on the differences between old-fashioned and modern sexism. Two rounds of

confirmatory factor analytic studies strongly suggest that these two concepts are in fact distinct from each other. While they each exhibit distinct views (women's competence vs. responses towards women's issues) these two types of sexism have also been found to be positively correlated (Swim et al., 1995). Thus endorsing modern sexist beliefs increases one's likelihood of also endorsing traditional gender role beliefs (i.e., old fashioned sexism). As will be discussed further below, it is alleged that modern sexism could be representative of covert and subtle sexism whereas old-fashioned sexism could be synonymous to overt sexism (Swim et al., 1995).

Overt sexism (also known as blatant sexism) has been defined as negative behavior and harmful treatment towards women that is outwardly observable by others (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). This type of sexism is blatantly damaging towards women and, as stated above, seems to present itself similarly to old-fashioned sexism. These types of beliefs have traditionally been assessed via the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS). Those who perpetrate stranger harassment often do so in a manner that could be classified as overt sexism (i.e., commenting on women's bodies, propositioning them, escalating to threats if the woman does not respond in the desired way. Covert sexism is an extension of overt and old-fashioned sexism in that it shares similar damaging beliefs about women but it does so in a hidden manner (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). Whereas overt and old-fashioned sexism are observable behaviors, covert sexism is not and for that reason could be more difficult to identify. These individuals may outwardly project an appearance of support for gender equality but then may engage in secretive behaviors that serve to undermine women's progress in some capacity (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995.

Subtle sexism, on the other hand, has been described as openly harmful treatment towards women that goes unnoticed due to the perception that this type of behavior is normal and thus acceptable (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). This type of individual could believe him or herself to be in support of egalitarian principles and could score low on endorsement of old-fashioned/covert sexism, however, the individual's actions serve to perpetuate gender inequality (Benokraitis & Feagin, 1995). Furthermore, the individual's unequal gender promoting actions could exist outside of the individual's awareness, making these beliefs more challenging to identify. According to Benokraitis & Feagin (1995), individuals who endorse subtle sexist behaviors might believe that their behaviors are not indicative of prejudice and could believe that gender discrimination is no longer an issue (i.e., modern sexism beliefs, might vote against Affirmative Action policies due to the belief that it would support a system that is biased against White males). Stranger harassing behaviors share some similarities with subtle sexism in that the behavior directed toward women (catcalling, whistling, commentary on her body, etc.) is often viewed by many as normal and acceptable interactions between men and women (Kissling & Kramarae, 1991; Kissling, 1991).

Benevolent sexism is yet another type of sexism that has been recognized and seems to share some qualities with subtle and everyday sexism. Benevolent and hostile sexism comprise ambivalent sexism, coined by Glick and Fiske (2001; 1996). Benevolent sexism has been described as a set of beliefs that view women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but appear to be positive in tone (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). The belief system underlying benevolent sexism stems from traditional stereotypes about women and men (i.e. the woman as dependent and the man as provider, similar to modern sexism

beliefs; Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). Because patriarchy transcends many societies, benevolent sexism is commonplace and characterizes itself in the philosophy that women are pure and must be protected, they are romantic objects who are necessary to make a man's life complete, they are less competent than men, and they are the weaker sex and therefore best suited to domestic roles and duties (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). Although benevolent sexism may come across as positive on the surface in some opinions, the concept requires women to maintain traditional gender roles or risk falling out of benevolent favor, thus it seems positive yet demeaning (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996; Becker & Swim, 2012). Again it seems that aspects of stranger harassment overlap with this category as some men who engage in stranger harassing experiences expect women to take their catcalls as complementary, likely due to the assumption that women appear in public and dress a certain way to garner the attention of men (Kissling & Kramarae, 1991; Kissling, 1991).

Hostile sexism is the other component to ambivalent sexism and is similar to old-fashioned or overt sexism in that it is a display of outwardly sexist behavior towards women (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). These behaviors seem to stem from the belief that women are attempting to compete with men in various arenas and are thus disrupting the gender hierarchy that is currently in place (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). This ideology manifests itself in the beliefs that women should be controlled by men, that men are better than women (usually served through negative stereotypes about women), and viewing women as sexual objects with the fear that women may use their sex appeal in order to gain control over men (Glick & Fiske, 2001; 1996). Stranger harassing experiences have been noted to escalate into the realm of hostile sexism. At times this

occurs when a remark thought to be complementary by the harasser is taken as an insult by the victim, and the harasser's commentary intensifies into increasingly vulgar comments and even threats of bodily harm (Kissling, 1991; Barak, 2005).

And finally, everyday sexism seems in some ways to be even more concealed than some of the other types and similar to benevolent sexism due to its embedded nature in daily interactions. It seems to represent actions that many men may be inoculated against, viewing these incidents as harmless or a joke (Fairchild, 2010; Quinn, 2002). Everyday sexism is described as the everyday incidents that women experience that are indicative of being viewed as less than equal to men (Swim et al., 2001). Everyday sexist events are discriminatory and prejudicial in nature and can contain statements that are consistent with traditional gender role expectations or beliefs, demeaning or derogatory behavior, and sexually objectifying comments. These incidents can occur anywhere from inside an individual's home, at work, or even on the street (Swim et al., 2001). It seems that stranger harassment is a specific type of everyday sexism, as the harassment can be objectifying, often containing discriminating comments, and tends to be a commentary on women's presence in a public space which is considered nontraditional for them (i.e., woman's place is in the home; Kissling, 1991; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

From the examination of the different conceptualizations of sexism conducted above, it seems clear that stranger harassment cuts across many different definitions of sexism (i.e., overt, benevolent, hostile, every day, etc.) and fits in multiple categories. Given the complexity of stranger harassment, it seems necessary for it to be studied on its own, as a distinct entity. Stranger harassment is shown to straddle the line of sexism and sexual harassment and therefore may have unique consequences associated with it. Also

due to its neglect in the literature thus far, there are likely aspects of stranger harassment as a phenomenon that are not known. The negative impact of sexism in general and stranger harassment specifically will be documented below.

Sexism Frequency and Negative Impacts

Acknowledging that there are many different expressions of sexism that exist and serve to undermine women's place in the world, it is important then to understand when the sexist events occur, their negative impact on victims, and how women cope with these events. One study wanted to determine how often everyday sexist events actually transpire, and is the frequency observed different for women compared to men (Swim et al., 2001). The authors also sought to understand how these sexist events impact the victims in their daily lives and overall well-being. Three diary studies were run and analyzed in order to address the above. The first two (n = 40 female students, and n= 20 female students and n=20 male students, respectively) studies required participants to describe any sexist incidents they had experienced and then indicate the degree to which they felt the incident was prejudicial (Swim et al., 2001). The third study asked participants (n = 53 women and n = 37 men) to rate the sexist incidents via a checklist which displayed a range from sexist to nonsexist events. The participants in all three studies also completed questionnaires regarding attitudes towards women and adherence to sexist beliefs.

Through the results of the three studies the authors concluded that sexist events are quite common for their female participants with most of them experiencing, on average, 1-2 sexist incidents a week (Swim et al., 2001). These incidents included traditional gender role stereotypes ("you're a woman, so fold my laundry") and biases

("girls aren't into that stuff"), demeaning and shaming remarks and behaviors ("Yo bitch, get me some beer!"), and sexual objectification ("forget the belt, look at her rack"; Swim et al., 2001, p. 36-37). These sexist experiences decreased male and female participants' overall well-being and led to increases in feelings of anger and depression and decreases in the participants' reported self-esteem and comfort. The male participants indicated less reported anxiety after a sexist experience compared to women and reported experiencing fewer sexist incidents compared to the female participants, thus the authors conclude that men are less negatively impacted by sexist discrimination compared to women.

The authors note that there are several limitations to their study. The first limitation being that they gathered participants from study 1 and 3 from a psychology of gender class. These students might hold more feminist leanings than the student population, thus skewing the number of sexist incidents identified. However, they note that this did not seem to be an issue because the women from study 2 identified more sexist incidents and were not from the gender class. Taking it a step further, the authors also controlled for feminist beliefs in study 3 and maintained similar outcomes as the first two. However, it should still be mentioned that the sample consisted of college students and the findings may not generalize to members of the community. Another limitation is with the nature of diary study in general. The students were instructed to look for prejudicial events, perhaps priming them to see events as sexist or increasing an awareness that they would not have had otherwise. However, the last limitation does not appear to be a large detriment on the grand scheme of things. Acknowledging an event as sexist seems to be a personal, subjective exercise in reality, one that can often be impacted by individual differences. It seems to matter less if everyone agrees the same

event is sexist and it matters more the impact that event has on one's psychological distress. It also seems like if one unintentional outcome of this study is that participants have greater awareness of sexist events and heightened sensitivity to spotting those incidents, it could point other professionals in directions of education and prevention.

After determining if an event is sexist, it is important to investigate the impact said event has on an individual's well-being and sense of self. Calogero and Jost (2011) sought to shed light on the impact of exposure to benevolent and complementary sexism. A large portion of their study was also to determine if the need for cognitive disclosure (NfCC) is a moderator on the relationship between sexist ideology and self-objectification. The NfCC is measured via a self-report measure, and it has been found that those that score higher on this measure tend to prefer predictability and tend to display more rigidity of thought and preference for conformity (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). Comparatively, those scoring low on NfCC have a greater tolerance for ambiguity and are more flexible in their thinking. Given that those scoring high on the NfCC tend to hold more traditional beliefs, it is thought that they would also display more impact by exposure to benevolent and complementary (both hostile and benevolent) sexism whereas those scoring lower on the measure might be more protected from sexism (Calogero & Jost, 2011). They also hypothesized that women scoring higher on the NfCC would be more likely than women scoring low to have heightened ratings of self-objectification following exposure to benevolent and complementary sexism (Calogero & Jost, 2011). This is due to both types of sexism being an ideology that would be consistent with conservative/traditional beliefs. In contrast, those women scoring lower may be more likely to think critically about the event and would be less likely to internalize the

message (Calogero & Jost, 2011). It was predicted that there would be less variability for men.

This study consisted of three separate experiments in which participants were presented with sexist ideology which was then measured on self-objectification and appearance management. The authors used a proof reading task to manipulate the presentation to sexism by which they would remind the participants about existing sexist beliefs (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Experiment one tested the authors' hypothesis that benevolent and complementary sexism would increase self-objectification, body surveillance, and body shame among female participants but not male participants (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Experiment two examined whether exposure to sexism and its effect on body surveillance and shame transfers over to public self-consciousness or self-esteem (Calogero & Jost, 2011). And the third experiment explored the role of the NfCC on the participants' self-objectification after being presented with sexism (Calogero & Jost, 2011).

In study one, participants consisted of a total of 200 (gender split evenly) British university students. Most of the students identified as British with a small portion identifying as Nigerian (5.1%). The experimenters conducting the study were all female. During the proof reading task, some students received statements to proof read that contained prevalent sexist ideologies; they then had to rate the degree to which they agreed with the statements before rating the statements on clarity (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Results revealed that being exposed to benevolent and complementary sexism led to increases in women's ratings of self-objectification, body surveillance and shame, while men's scores were shown to be consistently low and seemed to be unaffected by

sexism (Calogero & Jost, 2011). This gave support for benevolent sexism being a powerful trigger of self-objectification despite its less obvious approach.

In study two, participants consisted of 200 (gender split evenly) British university students. Again, most of the participants identified as White British with 18% identifying as another ethnicity (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Materials used for experiment two were identical to experiment one with the exception of three additional scales. Participants were asked to additionally answer the Public Self-Consciousness subscale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975) and thought task instructions (Lane and Wegner, 1995) which asked participants to think about the coming week and describe any plans, feelings, tasks, etc. Coders were looking for items which referenced appearance, diet, weight loss, hair style, body feelings, etc. This second experiment provided further support that asking women to read about prevalent sexist stereotypes is sufficient to increase their body monitoring efforts and increased their concerns about their appearance (Calogero & Jost, 2011). The effects of benevolent sexism and complementary sexism did not extend to public self-consciousness or self-esteem (Calogero & Jost, 2011). The male participants were found again to have lower ratings of body surveillance. The findings reveal that women tended to direct more attention to their body and appearance after encountering benevolent sexism as they were anticipating the week to come.

In the final experiment, participants consisted of 200 (gender split evenly) British university students. This was the most diverse sample with the majority still identifying as white British, and the remaining participants identifying as Asian (11.8%) or African (7.9%). Items used were the same as those used in experiment one with the addition of the NfCC scale (Roets & van Heil, 2007) which was completed earlier in the semester as

part of a mass testing (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Results indicated that differences in NfCC did in fact moderate the effects of sexism. Participants who scored lower on the NfCC had significantly less body surveillance and shame for women who were presented with benevolent and complementary sexism (Calogero & Jost, 2011). For men, higher scores on the NfCC were associated with less body surveillance and shame after exposure to complementary sexism only. It is suggested that those higher in NfCC (like the male participants in this study) respond to sexist stereotypes in ways that support gender inequalities.

Surprisingly, NfCC was not found to moderate self-objectification, suggesting that the NfCC influences the level of commitment women have to adhering to sexist beliefs however, it may not affect the impact of sexist beliefs of the individual's sense of self (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Still, the three experiments provided evidence that exposure to sexism in the form of benevolent and complementary influences women to attend more on their appearance and physical presentation compared to men, thus maintaining the status quo that women's physical appearance is necessary for approval (Calogero & Jost, 2011). A limitation of this study is the primarily white samples that were used and how the findings perhaps might have looked different had the sample consisted of more racial/ethnic diversity. It is also impossible for us to know if the findings would generalize to a North American sample. And finally, the authors focused their attention on benevolent and hostile sexism, whereas it is possible that questions pertaining to everyday sexism or multiple types of sexism might have been more relevant to more participants.

After establishing that exposure to sexism has negative consequences for its victims, it seemed appropriate to examine how women think about and respond to sexist events. Sechrist and Swim (2008) conducted their study in order to determine if there are any consequences to failing to label an event as discriminatory after receiving adverse comments. They maintain that the failure to label an event as discrimination can lead to reduced self-esteem, internalization of the negative message, and failure to utilize protective coping strategies (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). Overall, failure to label an event as discrimination, or in the case of this study labeling the event as sexist, leads to preservation of the status quo. The authors used three information processing stages as a lens to organize the possible outcomes an individual may engage in following a potential discriminatory event. These include the asking stage (*was this discrimination?*), the answering stage (initial interpretation of the event, assigning an attribution), and the announcement stage (public statement regarding the individual's attribution; Sechrist & Swim, 2008).

The authors hypothesized that women who did not ask if the event was discriminatory would be less likely to have thoughts related to sexism, and women who did not label the experience as discrimination (answering stage: fail to answer yes) would endorse fewer thoughts about sexism (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). The authors also hypothesized that participants in either of the above two groups would also endorse lower levels of psychological well-being, and would be more likely to make excuses for the negative interaction (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). And lastly, those participants in the fail-to-announce condition would have more negative attitudes toward the evaluator/confederate than women in the other two conditions (Sechrist & Swim, 2008).

Participants were 100 female undergraduate students for study one at The Pennsylvania State University and 80 white female students at the University at Buffalo (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). Eighty-seven percent of the sample in the first study identified as Caucasian. Three conditions were set up to simulate the three information processing stages described above and the participants received feedback that was pertinent to the stage (i.e., failure-to-ask if an incident was discriminatory condition gave participants feedback that they failed the exam due to their traditional thinking where creative thinking was more appropriate). The authors found that participants who did not privately perceive the conditions as sexist were more likely to endorse that someone else experienced sexism, be in a less positive mood state overall, and have more positive attitudes toward the evaluator (Sechrist & Swim, 2008).

In order to extend these findings, the authors designed a second study that more explicitly asked about sexism. The participants were questioned about their thoughts of sexism as it relates to themselves and other women, and they were asked to evaluate if discrimination had occurred during several provided scenarios involving a man and a woman (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). The participants were also given a well-being questionnaire and were asked about their feelings towards the evaluator/perpetrator. The results of this study were similar to the first in that failure to label an event as discrimination leads to lowered psychological well-being and these same participants were more likely to make excuses for the negative comments, perhaps as a self-protective measure (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). For the participants who asked themselves if they had experienced discrimination and failed to answer yes, they had increased thoughts of sexism and greater likelihood of believing that other women have experienced

discrimination, even in ambiguous scenarios. Participants who did not publicly announce that an event was discriminatory were more likely to have thoughts about sexism activated than those in the fail to answer yes condition discussed previously (Sechrist & Swim, 2008). This finding lends support to existing literature that women continue to think about sexist events even if they do not confront it and believe that they should.

One glaring limitation in this study is that study one consisted of primarily white students and study two was composed of all white students. It would also be interesting to have surveyed how many of the participants identified as feminist, as existing literature suggests that feminist identification may lead women to be more conscious of sexism and potentially more willing to confront it (Foster, 2000). This could be a potential confound of the study considering they did not control for feminist identification. However, it does expand the knowledge of what can occur when women do not question the event, label the event as sexist, or fail to verbalize their perception of sexism.

Another study evaluated women's struggle with confronting sexism and the societal pressures that encourage them not to respond (Swim & Hyers, 1999). The authors sought to shed light on this issue because women are forced to deal with sexist interactions often. Women might respond to these events for a variety of reasons and, similarly, may choose not to confront the perpetrator for a number of reasons (i.e., pressure against identifying as a feminist, fear of retaliation from the perpetrator, etc.). Johnston, Swim, and Stangor (as cited in Swim & Hyers, 1999) allege that if a woman closely identifies as being part of a larger group of women and caring about other women and women's issues, then that might increase the likelihood that she will label the incident as sexist and perhaps then publicly respond to the perpetrator. These views

correspond to those of feminism. Negative effects from experiencing sexist incidents have been cited in the literature above and elsewhere. It has also been posited that one may be protected from such negative outcomes if she is able to confront the perpetrator.

Study one was interested in examining the public and private responses that women attain when combating sexist incidents. The authors posited that those women who are more gender conscious and who espoused more feminist oriented beliefs would be more likely to publicly confront a perpetrator. In conjunction, the authors predicted that women who experience these incidents alone rather than with a group of women would be more likely to confront, as a result of less diffusion of responsibility that happens in a group setting.

Participants were 108 female students. The students were asked to complete questionnaires regarding attitudes towards women, sexism, and gender identity scales. The women were taken into a room with three confederates who were either all men or two women and one man. The participants were told that they were supposed to select several men and several women from a list of occupations who would be best skilled to survive on a desert island. During the procedure, the male confederate either made three sexist remarks or no sexist remarks. At the close of this exercise the participants were asked to fill out another questionnaire regarding the behaviors of the confederates, and one that asked them to rate how they felt about themselves during the procedure.

The results of this first study indicated that 16% of the women verbally confronted the male confederate; however, 45% of the participants expressed some displeasure upon hearing the comments even if they did not directly confront the individual. Ninety-one percent of the women who did not directly confront felt that

privately the remarks were sexist and did not hold the perpetrator in high favor. The authors found that having a personally committed stance toward fighting sexism was more predicative of confronting the perpetrator than identifying with one's gender or having certain feminist beliefs. This seemed to serve a protective function for women's ratings of themselves after the interaction with the sexist confederate.

Study two was designed to assess whether the participants tended to be overconfident in their estimation of how likely they would be to confront a perpetrator. The second study also aimed to determine what kind of decision making occurs when women choose how to confront a perpetrator. This could be especially true if displaying assertive behavior is considered to be going against traditional gender roles. The participants were 113 female students. They were given a description of the scenarios from study one, they were asked to rate if they found the situation to be offensive, and then indicate if and how they would respond to the sexist remarks.

Results of this second study demonstrated that the participants were confident in their likelihood to verbally confront the perpetrator. The number of participants who stated they would respond was greater than the number of those women who actually verbally responded in study one, and few women thought that they would not respond at all. The results of both studies overall display that women are not outwardly responding as often as they would like, and when they do their response tends to be framed in a polite manner. Again those most likely to respond were those who felt dedicated to fighting sexism, this suggests that a feminist identity can be conducive to taking an active stance against sexist incidents. Thus, it seems that labeling an incident as sexist and having a private desire to respond is not enough to predict actual confronting.

Additionally, Swim, Eyssell, Murdoch, and Ferguson (2010) were interested in another potential explanation for women not confronting their harasser. The authors wanted to examine how a traditional gender role belief (i.e., other's voices are more important than my own) impacted women's likelihood of confronting a sexist event (Swim, Eyssell, Murdoch, & Ferguson, 2010). Swim et al. (2010) posit that while most women experience incidents of sexism, only some of them will confront these incidents. The authors hypothesize that reasons women may choose not to confront sexism could be due to self-silencing, which has been defined as the discrepancy between wanting to say something and not saying anything (Swim et al., 2010).

Self-silencing occurs when individuals choose not to verbally respond to an incident even when internally they desire to confront. This may not necessarily be thought of as a completely voluntary decision as self-silencing generally occurs in a context of social norms and rules (Swim et al., 2010). These social norms include gender roles (i.e., be submissive to others) that are considered appropriate for women, and through which women could meet with disapproval if they behave in a contrary manner, sounding very much like benevolent sexism. The purpose of the study was to determine if the internalization of self-silencing beliefs impacted the rate at which women confront everyday sexist events.

The authors examined the four potential reasons that women may be likely to self-silence when experiencing everyday sexism. These include externalized self-perception (i.e., self-silencing because women are judging themselves based on external information as opposed to internal feelings), divided self (i.e., the propensity for women to accept inconsistency between one's external self and one's inner feelings), conflict avoidant

(i.e., desire to restrain one's thoughts or feelings in order to avoid discord in a relationship), and care as self-sacrifice (i.e., the tendency for women to put others' needs and beliefs before their own; Swim et al., 2010). The authors predict that the more women adhere to self-silencing beliefs the less likely they are to verbally confront experiences with everyday sexism (Swim et al., 2010). These four beliefs are consistent with traditional gender roles.

One-hundred and thirteen women participated in the above study; these women were either college students or members of the community (Swim et al., 2010). Ninety-two percent of the sample was Caucasian. The participants were asked to fill out the self-silencing scale and then they were asked to write in a diary once each day for seven days which would keep track of sexist incidents. With the use of multilevel modeling the authors concluded that their participants did not verbally respond to a substantial number of incidents even if they personally labeled the incidents as sexist (Swim et al., 2010). This was especially true for those women who reported self-silencing beliefs. This pattern was not found for incidents that were not deemed sexist, even if the women had self-silencing beliefs they were more likely to speak out against the incident. Thus although women were able to categorize an event as sexist, the more they adhered to self-silencing beliefs (consistent with traditional gender roles) the less likely they were to verbally confront the sexist incident.

The main theme that one can take away from the above literature reviews is that sexism seems to be harmful to those who are its victims. It is also fairly evident that when women fail to label an event as sexist and discriminatory, they often experience decreased psychological well-being, increased psychological distress, and continue to

think about the event in question. And finally, as can be seen from the literature review above, it is often challenging for victims to confront the perpetrators of sexist encounters. The difficulty of confronting a perpetrator of sexism can be heightened if the woman also adheres to certain traditional gender stereotypes (i.e., self-silencing). It is posited that an examination of feminist theory and feminist psychological practice can be used to explain why these negative impacts exist and also potentially guide directions for interventions (i.e., consciousness raising).

Feminist Theory and Psychological Practice

The theoretical underpinnings of this project are derived from principles of feminist psychological practice. The principles of feminist psychological work include firstly, paying attention to the diversity of women's identities; this includes their personal identity and their identity as part of society (Worell & Remer, 2003). These aspects of a woman's identity may be conscious or unconsciously experienced and are explored in order to determine how these intersecting identities are impacting the client's behavior and her experiences of both privilege and oppression (Worell & Remer, 2003). The second principle is consciousness-raising. This work entails enhancing the client's awareness of sexist, racist, or heterosexist structures that are present in society and operate on a political level (Worell & Remer, 2003). Additionally, expectations for women in terms of gender roles, expectations placed on them by society, and institutionalized sexism, racism, and heterosexism are examined (Worell & Remer, 2003). These constructs are examined in how they negatively impact women's daily functioning. The third principle encompasses decreasing the power differentials between the therapist and the client, this principle sends the message of inherent trust in the

woman's experience and her right to make choices in and outside of therapy (Worell & Remer, 2003). And lastly, the final principle is concerned with valuing women and validating their experiences. Written another way, this principle seeks to value those qualities that are often associated with traditional views of women which are frequently seen as failings, such as interdependence, cooperation, and emotional expression (Worell & Remer, 2003).

These four principles exist within a model of empowerment. Empowerment is the ultimate goal of feminist psychological practice and seeks to enable individuals, families, and communities to exercise their power over the negative interactions that threaten their well-being, be they personal, interpersonal, or institutional forces (Worell & Remer, 2003). This goal encourages women to be empowered in how they handle their day to day challenges in terms of utilizing their skills and strengths, and also encourages them to identify and challenge other experiences external to themselves that seek to devalue them as women or as members of another minority group, such as sexist discrimination (Worell & Remer, 2003).

Thus, consciousness-raising is important work for helping women increase their awareness of sexist events and labeling them as such. As was demonstrated above, failing to label an event as discriminatory can lead to lowered psychological well-being and higher rates of distress. Empowerment is an extension of consciousness-raising in that it emphasizes naming interactions as sexist, as these interactions seek to keep women in a place of oppression. These goals of feminist therapy align closely with definitions of feminism. *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* (2014) defines feminism as "the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes". hooks (1984) defined

feminism as the goal of empowering women and creating equality between men and women. Worell and Remer (2003) state that they would take these definitions a step further by also including a statement about equality between women as well as equality between women and men. They state this new piece is important as it acknowledges the differences that exist between women of color and other minority statuses. Being consciously aware of inequalities between individuals and within society, and empowered to challenge those differences make it likely that one would also identify as feminist based on the definitions above. Thus a feminist identity or adherence to feminist beliefs may be protective as one would likely be more aware of discrimination and externalize the event. Some research has been conducted to expand on this point.

Landrine and Klonoff (1997) worked extensively on this theory. In their goal to measure sexist discrimination, they theorized that having a feminist consciousness is an aspect of personality that would mediate the negative impact of sexist events. Specifically, they theorize that feminist consciousness should serve as a cognitive framework for understanding sexism in that a feminist consciousness would likely decrease the perceptions that a sexist incident is the woman's fault, increase utilization of active coping strategies, and decrease the overall negative impact of this event (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997).

In order to test this cognitive framework for understanding sexism, Landrine and Klonoff (1997) examined appraisal versus frequency of sexist discrimination in women's symptoms. In this study, 652 women were assessed. They had three hypotheses: the first was that the frequency of sexist discrimination, regardless of appraisals and responses, contributes to women's negative symptomology. The second hypothesis was that sexist

events would have a greater negative impact on the physical and mental health of women of color in comparison to White women because women of color experience sexist discrimination at a greater frequency (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). And the third hypothesis, based on their cognitive framework, suggests that nonfeminists will likely interpret the sexist event as a response to them as individuals and internalize the event. Given this, sexist discrimination will likely have a greater negative impact on the health of nonfeminists compared to feminists (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997).

Results for hypothesis one found that frequency of sexist events best predicted women's symptoms rather than appraisal of the event (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). Endorsement of recent experiences with sexism was identified as the best predictor for negative symptoms. The second hypothesis was supported by the data; women of color experienced more frequent sexist discrimination and thus experienced greater negative impact (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). And finally, hypothesis three was supported in that sexist discrimination accounted for a significantly larger percentage of variance in the symptoms of those who did not identify as feminist compared to those who did identify as feminist (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997).

Feminists in this study did report more frequent lifetime and past-year encounter with sexist events compared to nonfeminists, they also viewed the events as more stressful compared to nonfeminists, and had a similar number of negative symptoms (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). Therefore, it seems that alternative hypotheses for these results that can be ruled out include: nonfeminists reported more sexist events, nonfeminists find these events as more stressful, and nonfeminists have more symptoms than feminists. Since these three alternative hypotheses can be ruled out given the above

findings, the authors conclude that their cognitive framework is applicable. This study serves as evidence that feminist identification mediates and reduces the negative influence of sexist discrimination on women (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997).

Expounding on the findings of hypothesis three further, the authors contend that nonfeminists likely lack a feminist schema for understanding sexist interactions that maintain the status quo in a patriarchal society, and thus may be more likely to internalize the event (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). Feminists likely find these events as stressful due to their knowledge of an unjust society (externalization), and this knowledge serves to mediate and reduce the negative impact from the event. Based on this finding, Phyllis Bronstein (1997) offers some suggestions for coping with sexist discrimination. One of these is educating women about sexism, which brings us full circle back to feminist psychology. Bronstein (1997) interviewed therapists and found that most of them stressed the importance of bringing the discussion of sexism into the therapy room. Part of this work can also involve helping women reclaim their voices, an important piece of work especially as the negative impact of self-silencing was noted in a study above (Swim et al., 2010).

In a similar vein, a study conducted around the same time as Klonoff and Landrine (1997) sought to determine what factors might lead one to more often identify themselves as victims of discrimination. The authors specifically wanted to ascertain if individual differences predict personal awareness of discrimination, discrimination against men, and discrimination against women (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997). Additionally, they wanted to examine if these predictors were different for men and women. Three specific individual difference variables were inspected: need for approval,

assertiveness, and feminist ideology (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997). Feminist ideology was considered to be one personal predictor as it has been suggested that having a feminist consciousness may increase one's sensitivity to the occurrence of gender discrimination (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). Additionally, development of a feminist consciousness is thought to involve the understanding that women have been oppressed as a group (Bargad & Hyde, 1991).

Participants in this study were 138 white women and 157 white men from a large Midwestern university. The participants were first asked to endorse to what degree they feel they have personally experienced discrimination and were then instructed to endorse to what degree both gender groups have experienced discrimination in addition to answering several questionnaires (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997).

Initial results revealed low rates of personal discrimination, with men reporting less personal discrimination compared to women. Low self-esteem was associated with perceptions of personal discrimination against men as a group and women as group by the male participants. Additionally, high rates of personal assertiveness were related to increased perception of personal discrimination by the male participants. Men as a group perceived less discrimination against their own group and more discrimination towards women as a group (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997). In contrast, perceptions of personal experiences of discrimination for women as a group and self-reported experiences of discrimination revealed that those perceptions were associated with higher rates of depression. Thus providing more support for the negative outcomes of sexist discrimination.

The need for approval was also found to be negatively related to reports of personal discrimination for women. The authors posit that this finding is due to the social desirability influences which would make one less likely to report personal discrimination. Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997) argue that the need for approval finding implies that feminist consciousness does not lead to women being more aware of discrimination (as feminism was not significantly related to personal reports of discrimination for women in this study). And yet they conclude that a strong identification with one's gender group might predict perceptions of discrimination for women.

Regression analysis revealed that feminism was the most significant predictor for perceiving discrimination against women as a group by the male participants. Men who were more feminist tended to perceive more discrimination against women as a group. This finding also held true for women's perception of discrimination against women as a group, with more perceived discrimination against women linked to higher feminism scores (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997). The findings highlight that the more one endorses attitudes similar to feminism the more one is likely to be aware of discrimination against women as a group.

One limitation of this study is that the authors used a scale, created by Smith, Ferree, and Miller (1975) that is designed to assess attitudes towards feminism. This scale pinpoints beliefs on feminism as opposed to attitudes towards advocates of the feminist movement (Banziger & Hooker, 1979). This could be the reason that Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997) did not find that feminism was a predictor of discrimination against self. Klonoff and Landrine's (1997) study, cited above, used feminist identification rather

than beliefs about feminism or attitudes towards feminists. As will be clarified by research below, identification as feminist, feminist beliefs, and attitudes towards feminism measure different but related constructs (Yoder et al., 2011).

Kobrynowicz and Bransombe (1997) also posited that perceptions of personal discrimination for women and of discrimination against women as a group are associated with experiencing higher rates of depression. They suggest that perceptions of discrimination being associated with higher rates of depression is due to the theory that devalued group members could evade admitting any discrimination has occurred because this is painful for them and concluded that feminism does not lead to greater awareness of discrimination (Kobrynowicz & Branscombe, 1997). Perhaps this finding could be better explained by examining the women's feminist identity development. A more recent study found that women whose feminist identity matched the revelation stage in Downing and Roush's (1975) model of feminist identity development (discussed in detail below) were associated with increased anger/distress (Fischer & Good, 2004). It is possible that this may better explain the finding by Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997) rather than discounting the role that feminism plays in personal perceptions of discrimination altogether. Moreover, Fischer and Good (2004) controlled for social desirability in their study whereas Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997) did not, which may have confounded their results.

Again, in contrast to the study conducted by Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997), Fischer and Good (2004) hypothesized that where a woman is located in terms of feminist identity development may predict her awareness of sexist discrimination. It is possible that women whose beliefs are consistent with passive acceptance may be less

likely to be aware of sexist discrimination whereas women whose identity would tie in more closely with later stages of Downing and Roush's (1975) model might be aware of even subtle sexist discrimination when it occurs (Fischer & Good, 2004). This highlights the limitation in Kobrynowicz and Branscombe's (1997) study as they did not examine the stages of feminist identity development and how that might impact awareness of sexist discrimination. Thus it seems like their conclusion that feminism or feminist beliefs are not a predictor of personal perceptions of discrimination could be premature.

Expanding on this further, feminist identity development was found to be a significant predictor in how college women view their campus environment (Fischer & Good, 1994). Specifically, women who had developed a various amount of feminist identity were more conscious of a gender bias in the curriculum (lack of women's representation) and in the classroom (perceptions of sexual harassment) (Fischer & Good, 1994). Additionally, in Swim et al.'s (2001) diary studies described in detail above, they noted that after asking participants to answer the Gender Feminism Scale (questions pertain to beliefs that are likely aligned with feminism) the results revealed that the more one adhered to beliefs associated with feminism the more sexist incidents were reported by those individuals (both women and men).

Based on the research cited above, it seems likely that feminist identity makes one more likely to identify sexist discrimination when it occurs, often facilitated through consciousness raising and empowerment. It also seems probable that any difference in this finding is potentially a product of the measurement used to assess feminism. Additionally, another piece missing from the above studies is the lack of attention given to critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is thought to be a protective factor

against discrimination due to its externalization of negative events (Quintana & Seguara-Herrera, 2003; Watts, Abdul-Adil, & Pratt, 2002), and has been conceptualized as a careful reflection upon societal interactions and taking action against the negative impact of discrimination (Thomas et al., in press). It appears to operate similarly as consciousness raising (awareness of inequalities) and empowerment (acting against inequalities). Based on what has been identified in terms of feminism being associated with identifying and naming events as discriminatory via consciousness raising and empowerment, it is possible that critical consciousness would have a comparable pattern.

The Protective Role of Feminism

This section will examine feminism as a protective factor against sexist discrimination, with the proposition that women who identify as feminists are more likely to have higher rates of critical consciousness/empowerment (described in chapter 1) and will be less likely to internalize the harassment, thus encountering less psychological distress. The literature linking feminism with identification of discrimination will be examined, and then research will be presented which has either examined self-identification as feminist, feminist beliefs, or both, and how either of these combinations might be protective to women in the face of discrimination.

The first noted study involves feminism's role in identification of discrimination. Specifically, the authors were interested in investigating personal identification as feminist and personal perceptions of discrimination (Klonis, Endo, Crosby, & Worell, 1997). The sample of choice consisted of those who teach psychology courses and who are members of the American Psychological Association (APA; Klonis et al., 1997). This project consisted of two studies. The first involved 77 self-identified professors of

psychology; they were questioned on their adherence to feminist goals while teaching at educational institutions (Klonis et al., 1997). This was a secondary analysis of the data collected earlier from the Feminist Teaching Project. The second study consisted of sending the original participants a follow-up questionnaire regarding their judgments about the connections they have observed between feminism and discrimination. They hypothesized that the women professors in their sample would have experienced discrimination based on their self-proclaimed feminism.

Findings from the two studies indicated that this sample of feminist professors had experienced gender discrimination, in study one 87% of the participants mentioned discrimination spontaneously, and when asked directly about gender discrimination 97% of the sample reported having experienced this (Klonis et al., 1997). Furthermore, about 75% of the participants stated that they felt their experiences of discrimination had a direct link to the development of their feminist identity. The results of this study indicate that feminism has helped women cope with experiences of gender discrimination across colleges and universities.

This study had a few limitations, the first of which being that they operated from a nearly all white sample of participants (only four were women of color). Another limitation is that their participants were women who held professorships at either colleges or universities (i.e., highly educated). These two factors decrease the generalizability of their study given that it might not apply to women who are not white and who do not teach at colleges or universities where there is generally more privilege to be found. These limitations notwithstanding, the authors identified that one's self-proclaimed feminism may result from experiences of discrimination and help the women cope with

said discrimination through externalizing the blame, seeking support from others, and taking action (Klonis et al., 1997).

Existing research studies seem to demonstrate the link between sexism and psychological distress, however, it is not clear if this would apply to a self-identified lesbian and bisexual sample of women (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). The authors' hypothesized that recent heterosexist and sexist events will have direct and unique links to psychological distress (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). Furthermore, they hypothesized that lesbian and bisexual women (sense of community) and feminist coping (involvement in feminist activism) will moderate the relationship between recent heterosexist and sexist events and psychological distress (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). The sample was comprised of 282 women who either self-identified as lesbian (71%), bisexual (25%), or not sure (4%). The participants mainly self-identified as white (87%). The participants were asked to fill out surveys pertaining to sexist and heterosexist events they had experienced, their level of feminist activism and involvement, and their psychological well-being.

The results of the analysis indicated that both heterosexist and sexist events are positively and uniquely related to psychological distress (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). This finding lends support to the theory of multiple oppressions, that each type of oppression experienced by an individual is important and impactful. The moderating effects that the authors expected to find regarding lesbian and bisexual women's sense of community and feminist activism did not moderate the heterosexist events and distress relationship, nor did lesbian and bisexual women's sense of community moderate the sexist events and distress relationship (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). These results imply

that sexist events and heterosexist events are negatively related to one's mental health regardless of one's connection with the lesbian and bisexual community or feminist activism (for moderating heterosexist events).

The authors did find support for feminist coping (activism) as a moderator between recent sexist events and psychological distress. Specifically, those who identified as having high involvement in activism may be protected from the negative impact of sexist events provided that they do not experience a large amount of sexist events (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). This effect with involvement in activism disappears when the women reported experiencing a larger number of sexist events. This finding is consistent with existing literature which posits that feminism contributes positively to women's mental health (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). It may also point to the importance of active group-level coping (participating in feminist activities) over social support group-level coping (spending time with one's community) for mitigating distress (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). This feminist group-level coping was also positively related to heterosexist events as well as sexist events.

Due to the findings, it seems prudent that psychologists assess both heterosexist and sexist events potentially experienced by their clients, as well as raising their consciousness surrounding multiple oppressions and the protective role that feminist activism can serve. Several limitations were noted regarding this study, the sample was primarily white and consisted of those individuals willing to "out" themselves as either lesbian or bisexual. It is also not clear how many sexist events experienced would be considered low and how many would be considered high. Despite the limitations the take

home message seems clear, feminist activism can be protective against sexist events and the psychological distress that follows.

In consideration of the previously cited studies that feminism may help women cope with sexist discrimination (Klonis et al., 1997; Szymanski & Owens, 2009), Moradi and Subich (2002) sought to identify what aspects of feminism specifically seem to be protective against discrimination. The authors defined sexist events as "gender-specific, negative life events or stressors" (Moradi & Subich, 2002, p. 45) that "happen to women, because they are women" (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995, p. 441). They posit further that research has indicated that recognizing events as sexist may protect women against psychological distress as they would be less likely to internalize the event (Moradi & Subich, 2002). Finally, the authors state that the various operationalizations of feminism have been found to be related to recognizing and labeling events as sexist (Schneider, 1982; Brooks & Perot, 1991; Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975). The authors conclude that while it seems an identification as feminist is protective, the previous studies do not delineate specifically which aspects of feminism are protective.

The authors propose that women's psychological distress could be a function of both their experiences of sexist events and their feminist identity development attitudes (i.e., *passive acceptance* is denial of discrimination against self and other women, *revelation* involves anger towards a sexist society and one's contribution to the status quo, *embeddedness and emanation* of women's culture and community, *synthesis* is positive self-concept of one as a woman, and *active commitment* to working toward societal-wide change; Downing & Roush, 1985). They hypothesize that experiencing sexist events is related to psychological distress, greater passive acceptance of sexist

events is related to increases in psychological distress, and the perception of the sexist event and the resultant distress is impacted by where one falls on the feminist identity development attitudes.

Their participants included 106 undergraduate women and 85 faculty and staff at the same Midwestern University. Eighty percent of the sample identified as white. The multiple regression analysis yielded results which indicated that feminist identity development and experience of sexist events accounted for a significant amount of variance in women's reported psychological distress (Moradi & Subich, 2002). Their results also provided tentative support that denial (passive acceptance) of discrimination against women may be related to increases of one's psychological distress in response to experiences of sexism. And finally, the authors found, provisionally, that the internalization of feminist ideology (high embeddedness and emanation, synthesis, and active commitment) did not seem to protect the participants from psychological distress.

This study had several limitations, one being that their sample was mainly white and thus cannot adequately generalize to women of color as there may be different rates of perceptions of sexist events (Moradi & Subich, 2002). Furthermore, the study operated on a correlational design as opposed to a causal one. Also, the authors stated that there are some methodological issues with the feminist identity development attitudes (low internal consistency reliability for several of the variables; Moradi & Subich, 2002). And lastly, the authors' results might be different from previously published studies because their focus was on feminist attitudes as opposed to identification with the feminist label, which has been shown to assess different types of outcomes (Yoder et al., 2011). Regardless of the limitations, the authors did provide support that passively accepting

being the target of a perceived sexist incident is related to increases of women's reported psychological distress.

Leaper and Arias (2011) were striving to examine the protective role of feminist identity in the face of sexist discrimination; this discrimination was observed as forms of sexual harassment specifically. The first purpose of the study was to further consider and examine the many aspects of feminist identity. One model that has been utilized previously theorizes that feminist identity emerges in stages which span first acknowledging the existence of sexism to the final stage of engaging in feminist activism (Downing & Roush, 1985). The authors chose to use a model that attends to the various dimensions that inspire feminist identity (Leaper & Arias, 2011). They state that their take on feminist identity is based on social identity theory which places its emphasis on the impact of being part of a group and how that piece of social identity affects attitudes and behaviors (Turner, 2000; Leaper & Arias, 2011).

Expanding on this theory, the authors decided to include three components that they propose will culminate in a feminist identity, those being gender-related experiences (sexist events and exposure to feminism), gender-related cognitions (social gender identity, gender-egalitarian attitudes, and awareness of sexism), and stereotypes regarding feminists (Leaper & Arias, 2011). The second aim of the study was to determine how the different aspects of feminist identity described above are related to women's coping in response to sexist events (Leaper & Arias, 2011). They hypothesize that those women who self-identify as feminists would be more likely to utilize proactive coping strategies in response to sexist events. The authors operationalized proactive coping to consist of

confronting the harasser and seeking support from others, similar to Carver et al.'s (1989) conceptualization (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

The final sample for the study consisted of 169 college women, 54% identified as white, and 160 participants identified as heterosexual (Leaper & Arias, 2011). Hierarchical regression analysis indicated that feminist identity significantly predicted the participant's cognitive appraisals of coping in response to sexual harassment. In terms of the three dimensional model of the factors that underlie feminist identity, the authors found that experiences with sexism and exposure to feminism significantly predicted self-identification as feminist (Leaper & Arias, 2011). However, only exposure to feminism remained significant in the final regression model, indicating that this might be the more robust contributor to feminist identity.

All three gender related cognitions were shown to be associated with feminist identity via bivariate correlations, however, when the regression was examined only social gender identity and gender egalitarian attitudes were retained (leaving out awareness of sexism; Leaper & Arias, 2011). Even though these were retained, the authors maintain that these two constructs are not sufficient to manifest feminist identity as there are some women who hold egalitarian attitudes but do not identify as feminist (see Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). Extending this point, stereotypes regarding feminists significantly predicted the participants' self-identification as a feminist suggesting that negative stereotypes about feminists contributes to the "I'm not a feminist but…" occurrence (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

The second aim of the study (coping) was supported by the results which indicated that identification as a feminist privately and publicly increased the woman's

likelihood to seek support after experiencing a sexist event, although this finding was only demonstrated with the participants who identified as white (Leaper & Arias, 2011). The participants were more likely to have a positive cognitive appraisal of confronting their harasser if they identified with women as a social group, did not stereotype feminists, and could publicly identify as a feminist. Public self-identification was a more substantial factor in the analyses compared to private identification, perhaps being indicative of a stronger dedication to feminist identity (Leaper & Arias, 2011). Public self-identification also predicted likelihood to confront the harasser regardless of the woman's ethnicity, perhaps implying that public identification works to strengthen a woman's determination to confront her harasser.

There were some limitations noted in this study, the first of which being that the population sampled consisted of mainly heterosexual women who attended a socially progressive university (Leaper & Arias, 2011). Therefore the findings may not generalize to other women outside of this university. The authors cite using a sample of women as a limitation to their study and suggest in future it may be helpful to extend studies on feminism to include men. The authors state also that they did not discriminate between the different types of feminism and that this could have been a detriment to the women of color in their study as they might not identify with the feminist label (Leaper & Arias, 2011). Another limitation was the restricted definition of proactive coping that the authors used as there are other methods of coping that could be considered proactive such as engaging in activism and attempting to report the incident (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). And finally, in the study the authors did not distinguish between what type of sexist event they were evaluating. Assessing a sexually harassing event, which has

consistently examined sexist experiences in the workplace or in educational settings (Gelfand et al., 1995), may apply to fewer women compared to assessing stranger harassment which is more inclusive of public spaces. In conclusion, the authors have added to the existing literature base regarding feminist identity and coping, their main finding surmises that self-identification as feminist led to more positive evaluation of confronting the perpetrator. The authors argue that these results indicate that feminist identity could therefore act as a shield against gender discrimination (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

As can be seen from the research examined above, there have been numerous authors who have sought to examine feminism and its role in well-being/psychological distress, and how feminism has been operationalized has relied on those conducting the study. In light of the numerous definitions of feminism that exist, more recently there has been movement towards providing consistency among the literature. The authors aimed to achieve this through multivariate definitions of feminist beliefs and well-being with liberation. Part of this coherence seeks to understand if feminism does provide women with positive outcomes, again given that there has been some inconsistency in the literature (Yoder, Snell, & Tobias, 2012).

The sample consisted of 215 college women. Eighty five percent of the women identified as white and 86% identified as exclusively heterosexual (Yoder et al., 2012). Initial analyses revealed that feminist beliefs and well-being with liberation are significantly related and this relationship appears complex (Yoder et al., 2012). This initial conclusion is supportive of pre-existing literature which has highlighted the connection between feminist beliefs and positive outcomes. Rather than identifying a

continuum between feminism and antifeminism, the analyses identified differences between passive nonfeminism and active antifeminism along with awakening feminism and woman-identified traditionalism (Yoder et al., 2012).

Another interesting pattern developed regarding feminist beliefs and well-being, these are established feminism and woman-centered traditionalism. Specifically for established feminism, the more the participants adhered to those beliefs, the higher their reported ratings of personal empowerment, egalitarianism, personal growth well-being, and collective member esteem (Yoder et al., 2012). Additionally, established feminism was also associated with autonomy well-being, self-acceptance well-being, sexual refusal, global self-esteem, and collective identity esteem (Yoder et al., 2012). Consistent with research, the authors note that there does not seem to be much at risk with endorsing established feminism.

Regarding woman-identified traditionalism, this category appeared to combine passive acceptance of the status quo along with the acknowledgement of the common fate that ties women together as a group (Yoder et al., 2012). This category had relatively positive outcomes such as self-esteem, collective esteem, personal empowerment, etc. However, it also contained the potential threats to autonomy well-being and non-relationships with important variables in both the personal (personal growth well-being) and relational (egalitarianism, sexual refusal) spheres (Yoder et al., 2012). It seems that this category has some positive outcomes and carries the potential for more negative outcomes in comparison to established feminism (Yoder et al., 2012).

Awakening feminism constituted beliefs of personal entitlement and justice entitlement. In addition, in this category there are threats to well-being with liberation

which make this category more threatening to one's psychological functioning compared to the others (Yoder et al., 2012). This is consistent with other theories of feminist identity (Yoder et al., 2012; Moradi & Subich, 2002). It is also viewed as a necessary step towards reaching established feminism, thus it seems this category is quite normative and can be navigated, especially with the aid of counseling psychologists (Yoder et al., 2012).

Possibly unsurprisingly, the most negative outcomes for well-being were found with the antifeminist group (Yoder et al., 2012). This group's beliefs are impacted by nonfeminists' passive acceptance of the status quo and also by actively rejecting key elements of established feminism (understand that gender roles can be transcended and meaningful action toward gender equality). This function demonstrated negative associations with all the indicators of well-being with liberation that are seen with established feminism (Yoder et al., 2012).

Yoder et al., (2012) conclude their study by explaining how an understanding of these four categories can help us as counseling psychologists assess where our clients might be and guide interventions to help move clients toward established feminism. They argue that we need to take on the roles of not only prevention and remediation, but also consultant on prevention and change agent, as these four roles work to increase functioning and implement social justice. Feminist psychology principles seem to have a natural fit with Yoder et al.'s (2012) recommendations. They also stated that labeling alone predicted feminist activities (Yoder et al., 2011) which highlights the importance of self-identifying as feminist to bring about social change (Yoder et al., 2012). Limitations included a primarily white, heterosexual, sample of college students. As such, their

research provides more understanding of what it means to be feminist as well as what it means to not be a feminist.

And finally, similarly to Leaper and Arias' (2011) study which examined feminist beliefs and sexual harassment, this study aspired to also examine sexual harassment and feminism, however, they did so through the use of feminist self-identification and activism. The authors posit that there are both positives and negatives of feminism. One negative being that public self-identification could lead the individual to experience an increase in sexual harassment due to the perpetrator (in their study, a man) feeling that feminism threatens the power he holds in society (Holland & Cortina, 2013). Given that there have been three types of sexual harassment identified by Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow (sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention, gender harassment; 1995), the authors chose to combine the first two types under the heading sexual-advance harassment (SAH; Holland & Cortina, 2013). Their stated reason for doing so is that the two types of harassment are similar in nature and are typically made distinct for legal purposes (Holland & Cortina, 2013). Gender harassment (GH) is kept separate from SAH due to the fact that it does not express a sexual interest in the victim, but rather is hostile towards women as a group and typically manifests as an insult (Holland & Cortina, 2013).

Holland and Cortina (2013) hypothesize that women who either publicly self-identify as a feminist and/or engage in feminist activism will encounter sexual harassment more frequently that those women who do not. They also hypothesize that women who identify as a feminist and/or engage in feminist activism will be more likely to label an event as sexual harassment compared to women who do not identify as a

feminist and/or do not engage in activism. And finally, they hypothesize that identification as a feminist and engagement in feminist activism will moderate the link between sexual harassment experiences and psychological distress and negative occupational outcomes (Holland & Cortina, 2013).

The final sample used for analyses consisted of 424 women working in the greater Detroit metropolitan area. The final sample ranged in age from 22 to 67, 55% of the sample identified as white, and 83% identified as heterosexual. The results of the study first suggest that women experience sexual harassment more frequently that has previously been reported, with 79% of the sample endorsing having experienced sexual harassment within the past year (Holland & Cortina, 2013). Despite this high number, the rate of labeling sexual harassment was low, with only 8% of the sample reporting sexual harassment experiences. The others theorize that this low rate could be due to the fact that a large portion of their sample reported experiencing GH only and not SAH. The authors stated further that past research has found women to be less likely to identify GH as sexual harassment (Holland & Cortina, 2013).

In terms of feminism and sexual harassment, the authors state that over half their sample of women identify as feminists with about 40% of their sample engaging in feminist activism (Holland & Cortina, 2013). Holland and Cortina (2013) found that those women who engaged in feminist activism reported higher rates of both GH and SAH. Unexpectedly, their results also found that women who self-identified as feminist reported less GH than those who did not identify as a feminist (Holland & Cortina, 2013). The authors suggest that this unexpected result could be due to the fact that feminism is often a hidden identity unless one engages in activism, therefore women who are visibly

engaging in feminist activities would potentially experience more harassment compared to those that do not "out" themselves. Another theory they present is that perhaps women who "out" themselves as feminists come across as more powerful than those who do not, thus perpetrators of sexual harassment would be more likely to target seemingly "weaker" victims (Holland & Cortina, 2013).

In terms of labeling an event as sexual harassment, the results indicated that identifying as a feminist did relate to labeling the perpetrator's behavior as harassment (Holland & Cortina, 2013). However, multivariate analyses (which controlled for type of harassment) later revealed that neither identification nor activism were related to labeling harassing experiences. The authors postulate that this result indicates that GH may often be overlooked as harassment due to greater availability of SAH as harassment in many individuals' schemas (Holland & Cortina, 2013). This finding adds support for studying the two categories of sexual harassment separately as there does not seem to be universal awareness of both.

Even though women may be less likely to label GH as sexual harassment, the authors found that experiencing GH in their sample (as well as SAH) continues to lead to psychological distress and also leads to decreased job satisfaction (Holland & Cortina, 2013). The authors also found that women who engaged in activism and experienced high levels of GH did not report an increase in work withdrawal, providing some evidence for feminist activism's protective role. In addition, they found that women who engaged in activism and identified as a feminist did not experience intentions to leave their occupation. This finding did not hold true for those women who self-identified as a feminist but did not engage in activism (Holland & Cortina, 2013). Based on their

findings, the authors suggest that perhaps activism is a coping mechanism to sexual harassment whereas identifying as a feminist is not given that activism provides women with a sense of control over their environment (Holland & Cortina, 2013).

Given that the sample of women used for this study worked in a variety of occupations, it is not clear how common sexual harassment experiences were at each job and how that might have impacted the results described here. The authors also used one measure of well-being and state that in doing so their results were not able to examine other facets of well-being that exist. It is possible that feminist identity and activism are protective to women in other ways than were measured in this study. Their study also utilized the label feminist and did not offer a similar label such as womanist for the women of color in their sample to use, potentially alienating significant groups of individuals. And finally, the authors examined harassment in the workplace specifically with feminism which resulted in not addressing the many other arenas in which women may experience harassment and find identification as a feminist or feminist activism to be protective. Similarly, the authors used intention to leave the job or job dissatisfaction as evidence that identification and/or activism was not serving a protecting role, this seems to be an assumption that cannot be verified through paper and pencil surveys.

In this section feminism has been identified by a group of women professors to have helped them cope with discrimination and discrimination had in fact played a role in their identification as a feminist (Klonis et al., 1997). In a sample of self-identified lesbian and bisexual women feminist activism was recognized as a moderator between recent sexist events and psychological distress, serving a protective role against the negative impact from sexist events (Szymanski & Owen, 2009). Moradi and Subich

found tentative support that denial (passive acceptance) of discrimination against women and oneself may increase one's psychological distress in response to experiences of sexism. Leaper and Arias (2011) found support that identification as a feminist in public and private venues increased the Caucasian women's likelihood of seeking support after a sexist event. Yoder et al. (2012) found indications that if one is an established feminist she is also more likely to endorse higher ratings of empowerment, egalitarianism, personal growth well-being, and collective member esteem. And finally, Holland and Cortina (2013) found preliminary support for identification as feminist and labeling the perpetrator's behavior as harassment. Additionally, those women who identified as feminist/engaged in activism and experienced harassment did not report work withdrawal or intentions to leave their occupation. These findings culminate in the tentative conclusion that feminist identification often serves as a protective function for women when they experience sexist discrimination.

The Feminist Label vs. Feminist Beliefs and Attitudes

In light of Moradi and Subich's (2002) finding that certain expected stages of feminist identity development were not protective against psychological distress and that this finding could be impacted by the methodological issues associated with the identity model, Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010) sought to clearly delineate the difference between feminist attitudes and feminist identity. Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010) state that this difference between attitudes and identity has been neglected in the research literature to date, and what has been discussed has left the distinction still unclear with others confusing assessments geared towards attitudes for examining identification. They seek to make clear the difference between being feminist minded (i.e., espousing feminist

values/belief systems while not identifying as a feminist, “non-labelers”; Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010, p. 1896) and being a self-proclaimed feminist.

Their final sample consisted of 276 undergraduate women at a mid-Atlantic private university. Sixty-nine percent of their sample identified as Caucasian and had an average age of 19 years old (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). Results of the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) found that non-labelers ratings of universalism, conformity, and tradition were equivalent to those of nonfeminists, whereas feminists rated universalism as higher and conformity and tradition lower than the other two groups (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). Feminists were also found to be the least endorsing of a social dominance orientation (i.e., an individual’s belief that social hierarchies are acceptable and warranted, and thus preferable to status equality) and meritocracy (i.e., belief that individual achievement is based on personal merit outside of social bias or privilege). Non-labelers were similar to nonfeminists in these beliefs (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). In addition, feminists indicated the least agreement with hostile sexism compared to non-labelers and nonfeminists. Interestingly, non-labelers had the highest support of benevolent sexism.

In summary, it appears that non-labelers have many shared views with nonfeminists, as opposed to more common ground with self-identified feminists (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). This provides support for pursuing women’s identification as feminists as opposed to only looking at adherence with feminist ideology given the significant differences shown here between those who identify as feminists and those who do not but state they espouse feminist beliefs.

Extending the findings provided by Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010), the authors in this study sought to shed more light on how self-identifying as a feminist impacts women's behavior. They examined the phenomenon of self-identification independently and in conjunction with feminist beliefs (Yoder et al., 2011). Yoder et al. (2011) then assessed how self-identification and feminist beliefs affected the participants' self-ratings of well-being, interpersonal egalitarian attitudes, and sociopolitical activism.

The authors' predicted their MANOVA would suggest that self-labeling is related to activism efforts, assuming that those women who self-identify as feminists would be more engaged in feminist activism compared to non-feminists (Yoder et al., 2011). Furthermore, they predicted that self-labeling would be more predictive of an individual's engaging in activism beyond feminist beliefs. Additionally, they posited that activism would be limited to self-identified feminists and would not extend to those who do not self-identify but espouse feminist beliefs (egalitarians). This relationship was expected to exist above and beyond feminist beliefs (Yoder et al., 2011).

Two hundred and fifty three undergraduate women were recruited from their university to participate in this study (Yoder et al., 2011). Of the final sample, 96% were 25 years old or younger with 85% of the sample identifying as white. The results of this study indicated that self-identification with the label of feminist is best portrayed as a yes/no choice, which will either link or not link a woman to feminists as a social group (Yoder et al., 2011). Given this binary, the authors found that self-labeling was related to increased activism, separate from feminist beliefs. The authors state that these findings provide further support for the binary operationalization of being feminist as a valid approach to measuring being a feminist, as the other existing measures serve to muddle

and confuse the true findings (Yoder et al., 2011). The authors stress the important point to remember is that self-labeling and beliefs are not created equal, they do not result in the same outcomes.

Limitations of this study include a mainly white and heterosexual sample of participants which restricts the generalizability of findings to other individuals. The authors also state that their results have only captured a single point in time, therefore is it impossible to know the longevity of these results. Despite the limitations, the authors maintain that Zucker's (2004) cardinal beliefs in addition to the binary check-box of identification as a feminist represents an advance in how feminism is assessed. The authors do not discount the importance of feminist beliefs on individual well-being and empowerment. However, they conclude that self-labeling is vital, as feminism is a social movement and the only way that movement can take momentum and make changes is through sociopolitical activism.

Provided that several studies have offered some clarification on the women who self-identify as feminist, Fitz et al., (2012) wanted to provide clarification for the group of women who were termed non-labelers by Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010).Results from previous research studies have indicated that a large portion of women tend to subscribe to feminist attitudes while rejecting feminism as part of their identity (Fitz et al., 2012). In fact, it appears that it is more common for women to endorse beliefs consistent with feminism (i.e., equality between genders) while refusing to self-identify as feminist (Fitz et al., 2012). The women who fit this description are referred to as non-labelers (Fitz et al., 2012; Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010).

This group of non-labelers has also been depicted as either quasi-feminists (i.e., not subsuming the label of feminist due to fear of stigmatization) or as neoliberals (i.e., the belief that an equal social system can be attained though unconstrained competition and personal responsibility, belief in meritocracy; Fitz et al., 2012). This idea of diversity within the group of non-labelers has yet to be examined empirically and is the purpose of Fitz et al.'s (2012) study. They hypothesized that those non-labelers who fit in the quasi-feminist description would more closely resemble feminists and endorse stronger feminist beliefs and weaker sexist beliefs compared to neoliberals who were hypothesized to endorse the opposite pattern. Secondly, they hypothesized that neoliberals would have higher scores on measures that assessed meritocratic beliefs compared to quasi-feminists and feminists (Fitz et al., 2012).

The authors recruited undergraduate women for two different samples at the same mid-Atlantic private university (Fitz et al., 2012). The final number of participants for the first sample consisted of 211 women (69% white; 92.4% heterosexual) and the second sample consisted of 301 women (68.4% white; 95.7% heterosexual). Cluster analysis revealed that the group of non-labelers does in fact contain diversity, with some non-labelers endorsing levels of sexist beliefs that were similar to those of the feminist participants and lower than those of neoliberals and nonfeminists (the quasi-feminists), while other non-labelers reported higher scores on measures of meritocracy compared to quasi-feminists and feminists (the neoliberals; Fitz et al., 2012). These findings were consistent across the two samples. It is suggested that given the neoliberals' higher endorsement of benevolent sexism and strong support of egalitarianism/meritocracy, they might have more difficulty identifying gender discrimination as such and instead

internalize the incident and feel personally responsible for its occurrence, which of course can take its toll on their psychological well-being and lead to greater rates of distress (Fitz et al., 2012).

One limitation of this study was that the samples consisted of college-educated women, most of whom identified as white, higher socioeconomic status (SES), and heterosexual. It is therefore possible that these findings would not extend to other groups of individuals. It is not clear if women of color or lower SES would encompass a third category of non-labelers due to their belief in feminist values but possibly not identifying as feminist due to the movement's cultural history of exclusion. The results highlight the importance of not assuming that women who are refusing to take on the label of feminism share similar belief systems and an understanding of the impact of psychological distress they might encounter. It is also important to recognize the diversity within this category of women as a researcher and how their varied beliefs could impact one's data. Not all non-labelers are created alike.

In a similar vein of exploring the diversity that exists among the category of non-labelers, what kinds of factors might impede one from identifying as a feminist and more likely falling into that non-labeler category? The goal of the study conducted by Robnett, Anderson, and Hunter (2013) was to examine the relationship between gender-traditional attitudes and feminist identity, furthermore, it was suspected that negative stereotypes about feminists may instigate the said relationship. The authors stated that they wanted to examine these constructs as they have observed feminism receiving criticism despite its documented positive outcomes for individuals (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

Specifically, the authors proposed that holding negative stereotypes against feminists would mediate the association between gender-traditional attitudes and feminist identity and that this relationship would be visible via a path model. This relationship has been proposed due to the pre-established link between the tendency to stereotype feminists and feminist identity (Leaper & Arias, 2011). Similarly, support for the relationship between gender traditional attitudes and the propensity to hold negative stereotypes against feminists has been demonstrated solidly through work produced by Glick and Fiske (1996).

Allowing for the existing literature, Robnett et al. (2012) hypothesized that each of the three constructs that make up gender-traditional attitudes (i.e., hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and hostility towards men) would lead to increased stereotyping against feminists, which would then lead to lower self-reported feminist identity. The authors also sought to determine if the participants' ethnicity would moderate the above mediational relationship. They predict specifically that the mediational relationship would be less robust among African American participants compared to Latina and European American participants (Robnett et al., 2012).

Participants consisted of 1163 undergraduate students from a large university in the South West, and the actual study consisted of a subsection of the entire sample (Robnett et al., 2012). The sample was limited to include those who identified as African American, European American, or Latina (the largest group). Results of the path analysis yielded a significant fit when the ethnicity of the participants was allowed to differ. The similarities that were found between the three different ethnic groups are as follows: hostile sexism predicted an increased likelihood to possess negative stereotypes against

feminists for all three ethnic groups. The second similarity that was flushed out was that hostility toward men predicted stronger endorsement of feminist identity for participants regardless of ethnic background. This finding was driven by the resentment of paternalism subscale which is part of the hostility towards men measure (Robnett et al., 2012).

Several differences were discovered across the three ethnic groups after results were analyzed. The likelihood of holding negative stereotypes against feminists either fully or partially mediated hostile sexism and hostility towards men on feminist identity for African American women and Latinas, but not for European American women (Robnett et al., 2012). The authors posit that this could be due to a lack of statistical power as the size of European American women was smaller than the other two.

The authors' second hypothesis predicting that the mediational relationship would be less robust for African American participants was not supported. They did find that the model accounted for less variance with the African American and Latina participants, suggesting that a different set of predictors may be more appropriate in assessing feminist identity among women of color (Robnett et al., 2012).

There were also specific path differences between the three ethnic groups. For European American women, greater benevolent sexism was indicative of less feminist identification which was consistent with the authors' hypothesis. However, this was not found to be a significant path for the African American women participants, suggesting the benevolent sexism may function differently as a predictor of feminist identity and may have cultural implications (Robnett et al., 2012). The second path, which investigated hostility toward men and negative stereotypes about feminists, also showed

differences between ethnic groups. The assumption was that women who had strong hostility toward men would negatively stereotype feminists due to their lack of dependence on men (Glick, Lameiras, Fiske, Eckes, Masser, Volpato, et al., 2004). This path was not significant for the European American participants, among the African American women participants higher endorsement of hostility predicted less stereotyping, and among Latinas, higher levels of hostility did predict greater stereotyping (Robnett et al., 2012). The authors conjecture that this may be due cultural differences such as the value of marianismo which stresses personal sacrifice for the sake of family duty (Robnett et al., 2012).

Some limitations were noted at the conclusion of this study, the first being that there were not enough Asian women in the sample in order to include them for analysis (Robnett et al., 2012). Therefore more effort should be taken to sample individuals from a broad range of ethnic backgrounds. Another limitation that stands out is the authors' decision to measure feminism along a continuum as opposed to a dichotomous choice. This impedes the authors from accurately knowing which women might have self-identified as feminist. They defend their position by stating the continuum might have allowed inclusion of women of color who may not identify with the feminist label, although they make no mention of why they did not also include a label that could potentially be more pertinent to women of color. While this study clearly had limitations, the authors have provided more information on the importance of ensuring that the manner in which one measures a construct is appropriate for the given population of study, which in this case would be ethnic identity. They also added to the literature base by finding that hostile sexism predicted more stereotypes of feminists across groups and

that stereotypes of feminists predicted less feminist identity among African American and Latina participants (Robnett et al., 2012).

In this section, it has been suggested that non-labelers (those who do not self-identify as feminist) have many shared views with nonfeminists in comparison to those who do self-identify as feminist; providing some support for utilizing the feminist label in research (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). Yoder et al. (2011) found support for the link between self-identified feminism and activism efforts; this was found separate from feminist beliefs. Fitz et al. (2010) determined that there is some diversity within the category of women who are classified as non-labelers with some of them endorsing beliefs similar to self-identified feminists and others scoring more similarly to nonfeminists. And lastly, Robnett et al. (2012) found that hostile sexism across several ethnic groups predicted more negative stereotypes of feminists and stereotypes of feminists predicted less feminist identity among African American and Latina participants. These studies provide further support for using the label of feminism in research and how this varies across ethnic groups.

Conclusions Regarding Feminism's Protective Role and Labeling vs. Beliefs

The literature reviewed here regarding feminism, beliefs, self-labeling, and the protective role it can serve is varied and rather challenging to interpret. One point that has been demonstrated consistently is that feminist beliefs and feminist self-identification are actually measuring different constructs, which might be why the results from these studies have differed from each other. The other consistent outcome is that measuring self-identification as a feminist strongly predicts if the woman will engage in feminist activism, an active coping strategy. It seems that many studies have chosen to measure

beliefs (Moradi & Subich, 2002; Yoder et al., 2012) or self-identification (Leaper & Arias, 2011), with only a few measuring both. Measuring both self-identification and beliefs seems to be a prudent way to ensure accurately capturing feminism and perhaps adding some clarity to these two often confused constructs. The studies were also consistently limited regarding their sampling of primarily white women, and when they did include women of color, they did not utilize a label that might be more representative of this group of women. And finally, a few of the studies examined sexist incidents with feminism, and those were found to be limited in the venues they examined (Holland & Cortina, 2013) or they did not mention the location in which the sexist experience occurred (Leaper & Arias, 2011).

The Inclusion of the Womanist Label

A brief glance at the limitations of the studies referenced above regarding feminism is enough for it to seem evident that women of color are continually being disregarded or under-sampled, despite a more recent call to increase feminism's inclusivity. As women of color have started voicing their discontent with underrepresentation, there has been a shift in focus with attention being paid to multiple/intersecting identities (Worell & Remer, 2003). This has become present in the counseling psychology field as a whole with the creation of multicultural psychology and counseling (Sue & Sue, 1999). However, even with the creation of numerous multicultural divisions within the American Psychological Association and the blatant message that multiculturalism is a value in psychology, racial/ethnic minority women's voices continue to be absent in the research literature. In an attempt to begin rectifying this deficiency, the present study seeks to include the label of womanism in addition to

feminism. It is arguably just as important, if not more important, that women of color are examined in terms of the sexist discrimination they encounter and what factors may be protective due to their experiencing sexist discrimination at a higher frequency than white women in their lifetime and in the past year (Klonoff & Landrine, 1997). Adding womanist feminism in addition to the traditional conception of feminism is a suggestion recommended by Zucker (2004) as she stated that it is possible the feminist label might not be representative for women of color.

Womanist identity development was created by Helms (1990) and posits that women's healthy gender identity development involves movement from societal based definitions of what it means to be a woman into an internal, self-created, definition. She appropriated the term *womanist* from Black feminist writers, and it is often used with women of color (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). Brown (1989) defined womanist as "a consciousness that incorporates racial, cultural, sexual, national, economic, and political consideration" (p. 613). It is meant to describe the phenomenon of self-definition of womanhood that transcends racial and other realms (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). This is different from feminism whose origins represent white women's equality struggle with white men. Like other feminist or racial identity models, the womanist identity model also contains stages of a developmental process. The first stage is *Preencounter* in which the woman in question holds societal based views on gender and women's roles and conforms to these expectations (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). It is during this stage that women will act in ways that devalue women and esteem men as a group. The second stage is *Encounter* in which the woman begins to question her societal based beliefs on gender. *Immersion-Emersion*, the third stage, often involves the rejection

of male-created definitions of what it means to be a woman (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). This stage also includes the search for a positive definition of womanhood and often involves fostering close relationships with other women (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). And finally, *Internalization* is the fourth stage which often shows the woman finalizing her definition based on personal values, and views of other women and their shared experience as a group (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992).

The womanist identity model differs from Downing and Roush's (1985) feminist identity model in several ways. The first difference is that the feminist identity model takes the position that a healthy identity requires that the woman adopt a specific political orientation (feminism) and that she embody commitment to social change (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). The womanist model emphasizes flexibility that may or may not mean acknowledging feminist beliefs or activism (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). Another difference is that the womanist model places the most value on how the woman values herself as woman, in contrast, the feminist identity model places stronger emphasis on changing the woman's definition of women in relation to men (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992). However, both models are centered around an increase in consciousness on the oppression of women (Parks, Carter, & Gushue, 1996). This similarity is accentuated by studies involving African American women and white women which found moderate to strong correlations between the two models (Parks et al., 1996). True to its theory, womanist identity development has been found to be similar across diverse groups of women. Furthermore, white and black women did not differ in intercorrelations of the subscales (Parks et al., 1996).

Similar to the psychological ramifications that have been identified with feminist identity development, womanist identity development has been associated with self-esteem and self-efficacy, which have been negatively related to pre-encounter, encounter, and immersion-emersion and positively with internalization (Parks et al., 1996). Other studies have indicated the link between womanism and race for black/African American women but not white women. Specifically, womanist and racial identity encounter and internalizations scores loaded positively using a canonical correlation with African American/black women (Parks et al., 1996). And finally, a last study conducted by Hoffman (2006) found that revelation, embeddedness-emanation, and active commitment feminist identity scores and immersion-emersion womanist identity scores each correlated positively with ethnic identity exploration and commitment. This led the author to conclude that in a sample of women with diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, the feminist identity attitudes and womanist identity attitudes were related to heightened exploration and commitment to one's ethnic identity (Hoffman, 2006). This conclusion highlights the importance of attending to women's intersecting identities, particularly race/ethnicity and gender.

In acknowledgment of intersecting identities, a more recent study sought to examine the possible moderating role of feminism with sexual minority women of color and how this variable relates with sexist events and the corresponding psychological distress. In order to be inclusive of intersecting identities that are often relevant for women of color, the authors chose to examine womanism as opposed to feminism as the moderating variable (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). Specifically, they examined the participants' perceived lifetime of sexist events and recent sexist events with

corresponding psychological distress and how endorsement of womanist beliefs may moderate this relationship.

The sample consisted of 182 self-identified sexual minority women of color (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). Results from questionnaires indicated that both lifetime of experiencing sexist events and recently experienced sexist events were related significantly to psychological distress (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). This result alone implies that experiencing sexist events are harmful to sexual minority women of color as well as to white heterosexual women, thus women of color should be included in these studies and prevention efforts. The authors also found that womanist beliefs moderated the relationship between lifetime experiencing sexist events and the resulting psychological distress (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). This finding is similar to what has been found with beliefs consistent with feminism with a predominantly white sample of women (Sabik & Tylka, 2006; Klonis et al., 1997; Szymanski & Owen, 2009). However, womanism beliefs did not moderate the relationship between recent sexist events and psychological distress. As this is contrary to findings in existing literature, the authors posit that their finding could be due to the uniqueness of their sample (sexual minority women of color) (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013).

Furthermore, they found that womanist beliefs correlated positively with lifetime experiences of sexist events and recent sexist events, inferring that greater levels of womanist beliefs allowed women to be more likely to label an event as sexist, which can increase the likelihood that she will not internalize the event but will rather externalize it and acknowledge its role in the larger sociocultural context (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). The summary of the authors' findings lend further support that professionals need to pay

attention to sexist experiences that women may bring in to therapy and also point to utilizing a framework for therapy that encompasses womanism (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). Similarly, they suggest directing clients to outlets of activism and communities of similar others may be beneficial for sexual minority women of color clients who have experienced sexist events (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013).

While this study added to the sexism and psychological distress literature base, there are several limitations. This study in particular did not specify what types of sexist events were being targeted. Given the use of the SSE, it seems that they were likely asking the women to identify experiences of sexual harassment, however, this may be excluding experiences of harassment that have been perpetrated by strangers. Secondly, the study examined beliefs that correspond to womanism rather than looking at identification as a womanist. Given that Zucker & Bay-Cheng (2010) found that self-identifying as a feminist alone is discriminating enough between those that have similar beliefs but do not label and those who are described as antifeminist, it would be interesting to determine if identifying as womanist would operate the same way. In summary, it appears that the womanist label seems to often be complementary to the feminist label, and may also be more a more salient label for women of color. It seems like it would be prudent then to include the label of womanist along with feminist when examining stranger harassment. The next section will include a closer look at stranger harassment.

Implications of Stranger Harassment

As was mentioned previously in chapter 1, stranger harassment is a type of sexual harassment; however it is a focus that has been neglected until recently. The research

conducted on sexual harassment is limited in the contexts they explore (i.e., mainly educational settings and the workplace; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Fairchild and Rudman's (2008) study is one of the first that attempted to explicitly study this phenomenon. They found that stranger harassing encounters positively predicted the participants' rates of self-objectification (see chapter 1). Engaging in self-objectification can lead women to experience body shame and body surveillance, which consequently can lead to higher rates of depression, sexual dysfunction, and disordered eating behaviors (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Additionally, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) found that stranger harassment may indirectly lead to increased fear of rape through women's self-objectification. Thus being a victim of stranger harassment can be very harmful.

A handful of other studies have examined stranger harassment and its negative consequences while others have sought to understand the underlying motivation and context that arises between harasser and victim. Ultimately, research on stranger harassment seeks to understand the broader contexts in which gender harassment occurs, why it might be occurring, and how women cope with the incidents.

In order to more completely examine the effects of sexual harassment on women's perceptions of safety, the next authors sampled data from a national sample of Canadian women. Macmillan et al. (2000) were interested in exploring harassment involving strangers as they hypothesized that stranger harassment would be implicated more strongly than sexual harassment in perceptions of safety. They have defined stranger harassment as including any unwanted physical contact, verbal comments, ogling, stalking, and even obscene phone calls (Macmillan et al, 2000). One factor that

separates stranger harassment from sexual harassment is that the perpetrator is unknown therefore it is impossible to predict and avoid. The final sample consisted of 12,300 women who identified as 18 years of age or older.

The results of the study indicated that 85% of the women in their sample experienced some form of stranger harassment compared to 51% who experienced nonstranger sexual harassment (Macmillan et al, 2000). In terms of nonstranger harassment, having someone stand too close was the most common experience (35.7%) and having one's job threatened was the least common (4.7%; Macmillan et al, 2000). Regarding stranger harassment, the most frequently encountered form was obscene phone calls (66%) followed closely by receiving unwanted attention (60%). Less common was being followed (32%) and having someone indecently exposing themselves (18%; Macmillan et al, 2000).

Of those participants who reported experiencing nonstranger sexual harassment, approximately 18% of that sample experienced two types of sexual harassment and 13.4% experienced three types (Macmillan et al, 2000). Those who reported stranger harassing experiences seemed to encounter harassment on a more frequent basis. Nearly 30% indicated having experienced two types of stranger harassment and more than 20% reported experiencing three types (Macmillan et al, 2000). It seems evident that in this study stranger harassment occurred more frequently relative to nonstranger sexual harassment, and thus deserves attention in the research literature similarly to the effort that has been extended to understand non-stranger sexual harassment.

The second half of Macmillan et al.'s (2000) study looked at stranger harassment's implications for women's perceptions of safety. The results demonstrated

that nonstranger sexual harassment had less impact on women's fears; only one context examined was shown to be significant, previous sexual harassment by a perpetrator known to them made them feel less safe while walking alone in parking garages (Macmillan et al, 2000). In contrast, stranger harassment was shown to have significant negative effects across all the contexts (i.e., walking alone at night, using public transportation, walking alone in a parking garage, and while home alone at night) studied. For those women who experienced stranger harassment, each time a harassing experience occurred it decreased the odds of feeling safe between 17 and 23 percent (Macmillan et al, 2000). Generally speaking, the more often a woman encounters stranger harassment the less safe she feels in a number of social contexts. The effects of stranger harassment were shown to be typically four to five times as great as the effects of nonstranger harassment in this study (Macmillan et al, 2000).

In summary the research conducted by Macmillan e al. (2000) adds to the literature base by increasing awareness of how prevalent stranger harassment is. One concern is that since they have limited their study to only looking at four possible contexts, they could be restricting some of the reporting that they received. They have also demonstrated that even though some stranger harassment experiences have been "normalized" in our society, there is clear evidence that those harassing experiences culminate to make women feel less safe in public and in their home. They end with a suggestion of increasing community policing in order to increase prevention efforts. One limitation of this study is that it is not clear how well their findings would generalize to a United States sample of women provided that there are different cultural norms and

expectations. In this study there was also no mention of Canadian women of color and how their experiences of stranger harassment might differ from those of white women.

The next examination of stranger harassment focused on the effect of power and how it can influence outward behavior and perceptions of that behavior during interactions between men and women (Gonzaga, Keltner, & Ward, 2008). In order to gain clarity to this phenomenon, the authors examined the approach-inhibition theory of power and theories behind gender and power (Gonzaga et al., 2008). Gonzaga et al. (2008) defined power as "the capacity to modify others' states by resource- and punishment-related actions" (p. 1556). Essentially, power equates to a sense of control over self and others. The approach-inhibition theory posits that more power leads to approach tendencies while less power leads to increased vigilance towards potential threats and assess personal resources for dealing with those threats (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Gonzaga et al., 2008).

Furthermore, those individuals who have power have been observed to behave in more impulsive ways, have positive emotions, and tend to be less observant of others and thus have a greater likelihood of misinterpreting others' actions and emotions (Keltner et al., 2003; Gonzaga et al., 2008). On the other hand, those who do not hold power are more likely to behave more cautiously, may feel more self-conscious and anxious, and will be more likely to correctly interpret the actions of others due to their vigilance (Gonzaga et al., 2008).

The authors used the above theoretical basis for exploring specifically the interactions between power and gender. One theory states that gender differences only exist when there is an imbalance of power, if the power held is equal then the effects of

gender will disappear (Gonzaga et al., 2008). Another theory alternatively proposes that power and gender build on each other and are actually separate entities (Gonzaga et al., 2008). In order to tease out the competing theories, the authors designed their study in which participants existed in mixed-gender pairs and were then assigned to either an unequal power condition or the equal power control condition (Gonzaga et al., 2008). The authors predicted that those who had elevated power would behave more assertively, have more positive emotions, and to also judge their partners with less accuracy. In contrast, those participants with less power were predicted to display more cautious behavior and endorse symptoms of embarrassment and anxiety (Gonzaga et al., 2008). In addition, they hypothesized that given no power roles, the male participants would continue to behave as if they had more power compared to the female participants.

The participants consisted of 118 undergraduates (gender split evenly), with 92% of the sample identifying as European American. They were randomly assigned to either the woman powerful condition, man powerful, or equal power control group. Results of the study were consistent with previous findings, men with high power behaved more assertively and low power women behaved with more restraint. The participants who were low in power reported increases in self-awareness (Gonzaga et al., 2008). Moreover, those women in the low power condition demonstrated greater accuracy in judging their partner's emotions; this effect was not found to be significant with the male participants (Gonzaga et al., 2008). It is suggested that given that men live in a world where more social power is automatically attributed to them, they are then less likely to expend additional effort at attempting to decipher their partner's emotions. The authors did find that the difference between high power women and low power women on a self-

report measure of power was greater than those between high and low power men (Gonzaga et al., 2008). Several suggestions for this finding include that women are more sensitive to power change than are men, and being in a position of power may have been unusual for women.

This study did not yield results consistent with the theory that high power individuals exhibit more positive emotions, with the authors surmising that the initial test was not powerful enough to elicit this variable. In terms of exploring what happens when power is equal, in the control condition, the male and female participants reported similar rates of anxiety, self-awareness, and positive emotion; and they were more accurate at gauging each other's emotions (Gonzaga et al., 2008). And finally, regarding if power and gender are separate entities or dependently related, the results showed that the differences between high power men and low power women were greater than the differences between high power women and low power men. This finding supports the additive model that the constructs indeed are separate and there is more to gender than only power (Gonzaga et al., 2008).

Gonzaga et al.'s (2008) study generated important findings in that it demonstrated the importance of power plus gender in interactions between men and women. This provides a foundational basis from which to examine stranger harassment, men are socially endowed with power compared with women, thus making them more likely to act assertively towards women (i.e., harass) and less likely to accurately gauge the woman's feelings about the situation. Conversely, the women are more likely to be vigilant in their surroundings and act cautiously given that they do not have power in the event. One glaring limitation of this study is that nearly all the participants identified as

European American, it is worth noting that these interactions might have had different or larger effects if race/ethnicity were taken into account, given that the authors found there is more to gender than power.

Kissling's (1991) aim was to demonstrate how pervasive street harassment was around the world, and similar to Gonzaga et al. (2008), hypothesize a theoretical underpinning for the occurrence of harassment. She began by exploring the different ways that women viewed the harassing experiences. She reported that some viewed the harassment, described as anything from saying "hello baby" to explicit threats, as compliments and urged other women to do the same (Kissling, 1991). Some of the men that have been interviewed by other authors on this subject maintain the same view point; their comments were meant to be complimentary. Other men that have been questioned remain under the assumption that women are asking for this kind of attention from men because of the way they have chosen to dress themselves (Kissling & Kramarae, 1991). Yet another view point of street harassment is that remarks made regarding one's person is an invasion of privacy or even embarrassing.

An exploration of the purpose of street harassment has yielded several suppositions. The first is that the function of street harassment is to reinforce public boundaries and remind women that public arenas are men's territory while private/home arenas are acceptable spheres for women to occupy. Thus the harassment serves as a punishment to the women who dare to cross those invisible boundaries and remind women that entering into public space puts them at risk for violence and sexual assault (Kissling, 1991). Most men, however, will not openly acknowledge that this is their goal.

Some theorists have stated that the harassment purported by men is actually akin socialization practices, teaching women how to use self-restraint while teaching men to how handle rejection (Gardner, 1980). Another researcher decided to analyze these patterns with individuals from black communities. He maintains that the phenomenon termed rapping occurs when a man decides he finds a woman attractive and chooses to rap or hit on her (Kochman, 1981). Kochman (1981) states that this is a socially normative interaction between men and women and it could lead to a relationship or it could simply be a brief interaction. Typically, the nuances of the rapping contain the man's sexual desires and his attraction to the woman in general (Kochman, 1981). This expression is thought to be another socialization practice that prepares men for rejection by some theorists and propels the notion that women exist to be admired.

Kissling (1991) suggests that all of these actions culminate as a method of social control through sexual terrorism. She argues that even remarks that are perceived as complimentary remind women of their status as women and sexual objects to be evaluated. Previous research has documented the threats that men will sometimes make to women, it is not uncommon for the threats to quickly escalate if the women did not respond in an ideal way to the man's initial comment (Kissling, 1991). Of course hearing commentary and threats directed at oneself, or hearing other women's stories of harassment, leads many women to restrict their public movements or create special plans that revolve around not getting assaulted, such as refraining from walking down the street after dark (Kissling, 1991). When women disclose these extra measures of precaution, it is not unusual for them to be scoffed at for their fear (Kissling, 1991). Nevertheless, women must treat harassing commentary at threatening because they are unable to predict

when a comment might transition into an assault, and commentary alone can feel very intimidating (Stanko, 1985).

Kissling (1991) concludes her report by demanding that people start naming the phenomenon when it occurs, as this will encourage others to take women's fear seriously. She states that this emphasis on naming the experience for what it is comes from another author who explained that before terms such as sexism and sexual harassment existed, it was women's behavior that was viewed as the issue and the variable needing to change (Spender, 1985). The first label given to street harassment was actually street remarks and has been defined as comments that are evaluative of women in nature that are directed at women when they are unescorted by men in urban areas (Gardner, 1980).

Other terms that have been bandied about include public harassment (emphasizing context), peer harassment (emphasizing harassment that is directed at one with equal power as opposed to professor-student), and sexual harassment (which emphasizes the similarities between the two, however sexual harassment is usually reserved for workplaces or institutions where there is a clear power differential; Kissling, 1991). In order to further complicate matters, other terms for street harassment exist outside of the United States. It seems clear that there is awareness of the phenomenon and it is not limited to geographical boundaries, but no clear agreement on how it should be labeled. It is important that women do label their harassing experience in order to remain empowered and decrease the risk of internalizing the encounter. It seems that stranger harassment is an appropriate term that accomplishes what all of the above suggestions are attempting to achieve, it emphasizes the context and is a similar term to sexual harassment. Stranger harassment is also more encompassing as this type of harassment is

not only reserved for the street, but can also manifest through lewd phone calls (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Macmillan et al., 2000).

The motivating factors that encompass stranger harassment and the negative impact it causes to women have been identified, the next section examines context effects of stranger harassment. Fairchild (2010) explored under what circumstances one is likely to name a gendered interaction as stranger harassment. She argues that being able to note some consistency between descriptions of harassment is important in gauging whether harassment has actually occurred (Fairchild, 2010). After an evaluation on the literature on context effects, Fairchild (2010) designed two studies to identify and categorize context effects that make attention enjoyable versus harassing (study one), and how altering certain aspects of a context might change how threatening women view the interaction (study two).

More specifically, study one was an exploratory study which assessed elements that may be present in a stranger harassing experience. A list of varied elements was compiled by the researchers based on personal experiences of stranger harassment and those of their acquaintances (Fairchild, 2010). The final sample consisted of 1,277 internet users who identified their gender as female. A large portion of the sample identified as white (87.2%) and heterosexual (74.2%).

Results of study one signified that stranger harassment is a common experience as 29% of the sample reported they were victims of a stranger harassing experience at least once a month and 28% reported experiencing stranger harassment every few days (Fairchild, 2010). In terms of the context effects, 27% reported that an attractive harasser would make the harassing experience more enjoyable while 20% reported that an

unattractive harasser would make the experience more fearful. Fairchild (2010) stated that this finding is similar to sexual harassment research in that attractive harassers tend to obtain more latitude for their harassing behaviors. Similarly, age was found to be an important factor, with 18% of participants reporting that a younger harasser would be more enjoyable and 33% reporting that an older harasser would be more fearful. Other factors inducing fear included being along (72%), nighttime (75%), harassment occurring on the street (35%), on public transportation (32%), and in parks/gardens (22%). Lastly, when asked what factors would make the situation more enjoyable, 46% of the sample answered "none" (Fairchild, 2010). Regarding what factors would be most likely to lead a woman to verbally confront her harasser, 53% of women stated they would be more likely to confront if they were with a group of girlfriends and 28% stated they would confront if they were in the company of another man (Fairchild, 2010).

The second study asked participants to take the viewpoint of the target of the stranger harassing behaviors and make a prediction about how she would feel in the target's place (Fairchild, 2010). The participants were shown one of eleven vignettes and were asked to guess how the woman in each scenario would feel emotionally, how great her fear of rape would be, and how she would most likely cope with the harassment (Fairchild, 2010). Fairchild (2010) predicted that participants would predict greater negative emotional reactions, greater fear of rape, and more passive coping strategies (i.e., ignoring) if the harasser was unattractive and older, if the target was alone, it was at night, and if the harasser was alone.

The final sample of women consisted of 464 participants, 82.1% identified at white and 83% identified as heterosexual. Of this sample, 24% reported that they

experience stranger harassment at least once a month and 27% reported that they experience stranger harassment every few days. Results revealed that the target woman in each condition was predicted to be equally fearful and to use passive coping strategies (Fairchild, 2010). This finding suggests that the specific contextual factors did not significantly impact a woman's rating of fear or instinct to attempt to ignore the event. A less surprising finding is that being targeted by an attractive, young, harasser when with friends had less reported negative emotion (Fairchild, 2010). An unexpected finding was that participants guessed the target woman would be more likely to view the harassment as harmless or a joke when the harasser was younger than the target, it seems that age plays an important role in determining level of threat (Fairchild, 2010).

Correlations revealed that more negative emotion was positively associated with greater fear of rape and seeing the situation as threatening. Predicted negative emotions also positively correlated with passive and active coping strategies, however, findings indicated that active coping strategies were utilized less often in favor of attempting to ignore the harasser (Fairchild, 2010). Other correlations revealed that the more fear experienced and perceived severity of the situation the more likely the woman is going to think that she is at fault for the harassment.

Exploratory analyses implied that women who reported higher frequencies of stranger harassment predicted that the target woman in each scenario would be more fearful of possible rape and harassment. Those women also predicted that the target woman would be more likely to respond to the harassment with passive coping strategies (Fairchild, 2010). These findings potentially point to the fact that women placed their own experiences on the target, and thus they themselves were more likely to fear and

cope passively. Lastly, exploratory analyses were run comparing the female participants in the study to a small sample of men that responded to the study. Similar to existing sexual harassment research, women were shown to view the harassing situation as generating more negative emotions and predicted the target would be more likely to use passive coping. On the other hand, the male participants predicted the target woman to have less negative emotions, be more likely to use active coping, and be more likely to view the interaction as harmless or a joke (Fairchild, 2010). Another correlation demonstrated that tolerance and self-blame are related with men believing that the woman has either provoked or in some way encouraged the harassment (Fairchild, 2010).

Several limitations exist for this study in that the sample was primarily composed of white women, thus reducing the ability to generalize these findings to women of color. This is especially detrimental as women of color are likely to encounter harassment based on race and gender, and the contexts that create fearful situations might be vastly different for them. Women of color may also have differed on their ratings of fear of rape given that they navigate the world as members of more than one minority group. Ideally, it would have also been beneficial to create more vignettes with other contextual factors regarding locations, as stranger harassment is more pervasive than the streets, gardens, and public transportation. If the women did indeed place their own experiences on the target in the vignettes, if they had experienced stranger harassment in a context that was not represented they might have had a challenging time predicting how the target would have felt.

Despite these limitations, the study did provide a greater understanding of the different factors that might heighten a woman's fear of harassment and rape. Perhaps it

also brings some awareness that individuals might be more likely to excuse stranger harassment from attractive, young men. Given that negative emotions were consistent across vignettes, this description of harasser should not be ignored or go unpunished. It also provided more evidence that stranger harassment is a frequent experience for many women and deserves greater attention.

Conclusions of Stranger Harassment Literature

Throughout this section stranger harassment has been examined in detail, including the prevalence, frequency, and harmful impact that stranger harassing experiences have on women who become its targets. One theme identified among these studies is that they surveyed primarily white samples of women and generally limited the contexts they presented to the participants in which stranger harassment occurs. Given the harm that these experiences inflict upon women, stranger harassment necessitates further study in which contexts are not limited and the diversity of women who experience stranger harassment is represented.

The Present Study

Examining the literature for feminist theory and psychology, sexism, feminist identification and beliefs, womanist beliefs, and stranger harassment has laid the groundwork for the current study. In light of the information above, it seems clear that stranger harassment is a phenomenon that is worthy of continued study, especially given its wide prevalence and many outlets in which it can manifest (street, telephone, campus, etc.). Given that specific negative consequences occur for the women who are its victims, it is necessary to investigate what factors might reduce women's likelihood to internalize the sexist event and increase their psychological distress. The purpose of this study also

involves incorporating the principles of prevention and social justice work, which is imbedded in the field of counseling psychology. The investigation of stranger harassment will seek to impact the field beyond adding to the literature base. The results of the research will ideally be implemented into outreach/prevention formats aimed at reducing psychological distress for women, and could ultimately impact social policy.

The literature reviewed here suggest that a feminist identity may increase the likelihood of women identifying the interaction for what it is (i.e., sexism) which would translate into those women having higher rates of critical consciousness and empowerment. This prediction has been observed through Klonoff & Landrine's (1995) study on sexist events and feminism which added support that those identifying as feminist more likely to name an interaction as sexist compared to those who do not, leading to reduced psychological distress, thus it follows that a similar pattern would be observed with stranger harassment. Given the often contradicting and confusing literature regarding feminist beliefs versus identification, beliefs in addition to identification will be assessed in the current study in order to hopefully provide some clarity on their role in ameliorating distress and leading to active coping. Womanist beliefs will also be included.

Feminist theory posits that increased empowerment can result from adherence to feminist beliefs (Worell & Remer, 2003) via consciousness raising which involves increasing awareness of discrimination targeted at minority groups. Thus feminist theory would suggest that women who adopt feminist or womanist beliefs will be more attuned to discrimination and more empowered to confront the discrimination. More empowered women are more likely to exercise their power over the negative interactions that threaten

their well-being (Worell & Remer, 2003). Although little research exists on the protective nature of identifying as a womanist, the core components of womanist and feminist beliefs are similar and it seems likely that that womanism may play a similar protective role for women of color. Therefore this research seeks to extend research on the protective role of feminism by also assessing for womanist beliefs. Akin to the protective role of feminism and womanism via consciousness raising and empowerment, this study seeks to explore if critical consciousness would operate in a similar fashion as it has been conceptualized as a critical reflection on societal oppression and then acting against said oppression (Thomas et al., in press).

The proposed relationships discussed above have been combined to create several conceptual models (see Figures 1 - 3), described briefly here. Ultimately, it is proposed that feminist identity (Figure 1), feminist beliefs (Figure 2), and womanist beliefs (Figure 3) will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and psychological distress, in that women who identify as feminist or adopt feminist or womanist beliefs will exhibit less distress in response to stranger harassment than do women who do not identify as feminist or adopt feminist or womanist beliefs. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the reduced distress experienced by women with feminist identity or feminist and womanist beliefs will result via increased empowerment (see Figures 1-3) that literature suggests results from adopting feminist beliefs (Worell & Remer, 2003; Foster, 2000; Brooks & Perot, 1991; Leaper & Arias, 2011). Additionally, it is hypothesized that the reduced distress will also result via increased ratings of critical consciousness, which has been conceptualized as protective against oppression (Quintana & Seguara-Herrera, 2003; Watts, Abdul-Adil, & Pratt, 2002) The models depicted in Figures 1 - 3 will be evaluated

for fit via path analysis. The assumptions presented here have been generated into individual hypotheses:

H_1: Similar to Fairchild and Rudman (2008) it is predicted that the path between stranger harassing experiences and ratings of distress will be significant, with greater frequency of stranger harassment leading to increases in distress (figures 1-3)

H_2: Identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and distress, with identification or greater adherence to beliefs leading to decreased distress

H_{2a}: Identification as feminist will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and distress (figure 1)

H_{2b}: Adherence to feminist beliefs will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and distress (figure 2)

H_{2c}: Adherence to womanist beliefs will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and distress (figure 3)

H_3: Identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will be associated with higher rates of critical consciousness

H_{3a}: There will be a significant path between identification as feminist and critical consciousness (figure 1)

H_{3b}: There will be a significant path between adherence to feminist beliefs and critical consciousness (figure 2)

H_{3c}: There will be a significant path between adherence to womanist beliefs and critical consciousness (figure 3)

$H_{4:}$ There will be a significant path between critical consciousness and psychological distress, in that higher rates of critical consciousness decreases one's distress (figures 1-3)

H_5: Critical consciousness and empowerment will be significantly related, in that higher rates of critical consciousness will be associated with higher rates of personal empowerment, and higher rates of personal empowerment will be associated with higher rates of critical consciousness (figures 1-3).

$H_{6:}$ There will be a significant path between empowerment and psychological distress, in that higher rates of personal empowerment decreases one's distress (figures 1-3)

H_7: It is expected that differences between women of color and Caucasian women will be identified on reported rates of stranger harassment and identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs.

Chapter two has covered in detail the main psychological constructs to be tested in the current study. It also discussed the aims of the present study and listed the hypotheses to be tested. Chapter three will provide the reader with information regarding the methodology of the study. This includes the participants to be sampled, procedures for collecting data, and the data analytic techniques to be used.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This chapter will provide details regarding the participants, methods, procedure, and statistical analyses that are proposed for the current study. First the population sampled will be presented followed by the procedures that were used to collect data. And finally, the measures that were proposed to be utilized will be discussed including their reliability and validity.

Participants

Data was collected from a diverse sample of 641self-identified women age 18 or over. This number was generated via the rule of thumb suggested by Kline (2011) in which sample size depends on the ratio between the number of cases (N = 20) to the number of model parameters which will require statistical estimation (4). An additional guideline is that minimally, the sample size should be at least 200 (Kline, 2011; Weston & Gore, 2006). Given the number of models being tested and the goal of gathering data from equivalent groups of women of color and Caucasian women, a conservative approach will was taken and a minimum of 600 participants were recruited with the goal being to retain at least 500 usable participants. While 641 participants began the study, 130 participants were removed for not having completed at least one survey beyond the informed consent. An additional 10 participants were removed for not meeting inclusion

criteria (identifying as a woman) and one was removed after being identified as a multivariate outlier. Therefore, the final usable sample consisted of 503 participants (see Chapter IV, table 1 for demographic information about the sample).

Data was collected from students at the University of Akron and they were offered class credit for their participation if applicable. Data was also collected from women outside of the university setting as Fairchild (2010) reported that she found similar prevalence rates using an internet sample with no age restrictions compared to students from a college campus (see chapter IV for sample description). Community sampling took place through social media outlets via the use of snowball sampling (i.e., contacting public listserves, posting access to the study on Facebook, etc.). In addition to white women, participation from women of color was an objective in sampling (see below). The participants' ages, race/ethnicity with which they identify, who the participant is sexually attracted to, relationship status, socioeconomic status, current job, and if she is a university student or community member, was also sampled to provide demographic information.

Procedures

All of the proposed measures were available to students and community members through the use of Qualtrics, online survey software that is typically utilized by research conducted at the University of Akron. A copy of these measures can be viewed in the Appendices. Any identifying information that was obtained from the students (for purposes of issuing extra credit points) was kept in a separate file from their data. Once IRB approval was received, the study was posted on Qualtrics and notifications were sent to listservs and/or social media outlets inviting individuals to participate in the study. In

addition to introduction to psychology courses, groups/departments that serve students of color were sought out in order to sample a larger number of women of color. Groups that were contacted included African Students Association, Hispanic Organization Leading Akron, Multicultural Honors Society, Multicultural Student Association, and Student African American Sisterhood. I also contacted the Office of Multicultural Development. Social media outlets comprised primarily of Facebook and groups housed within that site that pertain to women and women of color including Everyday Feminism, African American Women's Giving Circle, Latina Things, and Womanism. Additionally, one online forum from Reddit (another social media outlet) was utilized for data collection, Two X Chromosomes. Two different links to the study were utilized in order to track data that was being collected from university students versus community members.

Initial to beginning the study, a short message was shown to the students on Qualtrics indicating about how much time it would take to complete the study and a brief statement about what they could expect from the study and its purpose. Clicking the "yes" button was taken as the participants' informed consent. The participants were asked to complete several questionnaires in addition to demographic information including the Stranger Harassment Questionnaire (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995), the Hopkins Symptom Checklist – 21 (Green, Walkey, McCormik, & Taylor, 1988), Feminist Beliefs (Zucker, 2004), the Personal Progress Scale – Revised (Johnson, Worell, & Chandler, 2005), the Critical Consciousness Inventory (Thomas et al., in press), the Women of Color Perspective subscale (Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy, & Sockloskie, 1998), and a forced yes/no choice asking participants if they identified as feminist (see below for a description of the measures utilized). The measures

were presented to participants in a random order in an effort to prevent one measure having greater amounts of missing data. At the conclusion of study, the students were shown a debriefing paragraph discussing the aim of the study and how the information they provided will hopefully be beneficial to others who have been victims of stranger harassment. They were also provided with resources should they wish to contact the researcher.

Measures

Demographic sheet. This was an author-derived 12-item questionnaire (see Appendix C) that asked participants to disclose various pieces of personal information including: age, gender, race, ethnicity, country of residence, sexual orientation, relationship status, employment status, personal income, highest educational level, year in college (if applicable), and job category (if applicable).

Stranger Harassment. Stranger harassment was measured by using a modified version of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ; Fitzgerald et al., 1995) as described by Fairchild and Rudman (2008). The questions that were retained from the original scale include those that do not specify that the harassing behavior is occurring in the workplace or educational institution. This modified version first asked participants if they had ever experienced several different stranger harassing behaviors that gradually increased in terms of severity ("Have you ever experienced unwanted sexual attention or interaction from a stranger?"; "Have you ever experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger?"; etc.). Next the participants were shown the same behaviors and asked to respond in terms of the frequency with which they have experienced each stranger harassing behavior (1 = within the past year, 2 = once a month, 3 = 2-4 times a week, 4 =

every few days, 5 = every day). The SEQ has been described as the standard for which sexual harassment should be assessed and has been used successfully regarding measuring stranger harassment (Tyner & Clinton, 2010; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Fairchild, 2010). To provide an overall score the participant's answers from the street harassment portion and the frequency portion of the scale were multiplied and then the total items were added together (i.e., [1a x 1b] + [2a x 2b] + [3a x3b]…). This then created a scale of stranger harassing experiences rated from 0-45, with a higher score indicating more frequent experiences (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

The original version of the SEQ was created in 1988 with some amendments in 1995 in order to update the measure in a way that allowed it to assess sexual harassment across occupations and genders (Tyner & Clinton, 2010). The first validation study of the original measure was conducted using a sample size of 3,804 female and male college students. The initial version of the measure consisted of 28 questions that were unevenly split among several areas including: gender harassment, seductive behavior, sexual bribery, sexual coercion, and sexual assault (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Tyner & Clinton, 2010). This first study yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .92, suggesting good internal consistency (Fitzgerald et al., 1988). Test-retest reliability was initiated after two weeks which resulted in a .86 stability coefficient (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

As mentioned previously, the SEQ was updated once again in 1995 and reduced the subcategories from five (described above) down to three. Those three subcategories are gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). With this update, the number of questions was also reduced, going from 28 to 20. The authors found support of a three-factor model for this updated

measure and noted that it retained a goodness of fit index of .983 (Fitzgerald et al., 1995). The three scales were determined to be reliable with Cronbach's alphas of .82 for the gender harassment subscale, .85 for the unwanted sexual attention subscale, and .42 for the sexual coercion subscale (Fitzgerald et al., 1995).

An investigation on the usefulness of the SEQ with people of color was explored using the original version of the SEQ. The sample consisted of 100 African American women who were attending one of two universities located in the southwest (Mecca & Rubin, 1999). The participants' ages ranged from 18-32 years old. Of the participants, the most common cited experience (48%) was noted to be gender harassment; this is similar to other studies that have used a primarily Caucasian sample (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Kearney and Gilbert (2012) sought to explore the role of sexual harassment with Mexican American students, as issues of sexual harassment often go unnoticed with women of color in comparison to white women. The sample included 372 participants who either identified as Mexican American or non-Hispanic White. Participants' age ranged from 17-52 years old and the sample was gathered from three southwestern universities (Kearney & Gilbert, 2012). The authors used the shortened version of the SEQ created by Fitzgerald et al., 1995). The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire-Latina (SEQ-L; Cortina, 2001) was also utilized in this study to determine if the Mexican American participants could possibly be underreporting with the original SEQ, it consists of sexist hostility subscale, sexual hostility subscale, and unwanted sexual attention (Cortina, 2001). Both the sexist and sexual hostility subscales are considered to be gender harassment from the original scale. Previous reliability estimates for the SEQ-L have been identified as .90 for the sexist hostility subscale, .90 for the sexual hostility subscale,

and .95 for the unwanted sexual attention subscale (Cortina, 2001). Results indicated that more than 80% of students reported experiencing harassing behaviors more than once while at one of the universities. Surprisingly, the authors noted that the Mexican American students reported fewer harassing incidents compared to the non-Hispanic White students, although the effect size was small (Kearney & Gilbert, 2012). They conclude that this difference could be due to greater tolerance of sexual harassment by Mexican American students in comparison to non-Hispanic White students. The authors conclude that the SEQ is a helpful tool to use with Mexican American students and stated that the differences between the two groups could be a cultural artifact (i.e., sexual silence for Latina women; Kearney & Gilbert, 2012).

Psychological Distress. Distress was assessed via the Hopkins Symptom Checklist-21 (HSCL-21; Green, Walkey, McCormik, & Taylor, 1998). The Hopkins Symptom Checklist-21 (HSCL-21; Green, et al., 1998) consisted of a 21-item Likert-type scale (1 = *not at all* to 4 = *extremely*) that evaluated psychological distress in terms of three factors (i.e., general feelings of distress, somatic distress, and performance difficulty) and yielded an overall sum score. The HSCL-21 is an abbreviated version of the original Hopkins Symptom Checklist that is comprised of 58 items (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth, & Covi, 1974). Participants were asked to indicate the level to which they were distressed by each symptom during the past week ("feeling lonely," "feeling others do not understand you or are unsympathetic," "feeling inferior to others," and "weakness in part of your body"). The items indicated are averaged and yield an overall index of psychological distress ranging from 0 to 4, with higher scores indicating greater psychological distress. The HSCL-21 yielded alphas ranging from .75 to .86,

indicating reliability of the individual scales (Green et al., 1988). The HSCL-21 and the original Hopkins Symptom Checklist has been used successfully in many studies assessing detriments of experiencing minority stress and discrimination (race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability, etc.; Brewster, Moradi, DeBlaere, & Velez, 2013; Velez, Moradi, & Brewster, 2013; Szymanski, 2009; Sanders Thompson, Noel, & Campbell, 2004). This assessment has also been used successfully in studies that sought to explore the detriments of sexism on participants (Corning, 2002; Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Szymanski, 2005).

More recently, the Hopkins Symptom Checklist -21 was assessed with several different ethnic groups of participants in order to determine if it would retain its validity with a diverse sample. The authors sample consisted of 514 European Americans, 154 African Americans, and 229 self-identified Latino college students (Cepeda-Benito & Gleaves, 2000). The authors found that the three factors of general feelings of distress, somatic distress, and performance difficulty were largely equivalent across the three groups of participants. They also reported that there were no substantial factor structure differences across the constricted models (Cepeda-Benito & Gleaves, 2000). These findings lend support for the construct validity of this measure across at least three different ethnic groups (Cepeda-Benito & Gleaves, 2000).

Feminist & Womanist Identification & Beliefs. Feminist identity was assessed using a check box option with a forced dichotomous choice, “I identify as a feminist” and “I do not identify as a feminist”. This design has been supported by Zucker (2004) and Yoder et al. (2011). Feminist beliefs were assessed via the Feminist Beliefs and Behavior (FBB; Zucker, 2004). This subscale consisted of three cardinal beliefs typically

associated with liberal feminists ("Girls and women have not been treated as well as boys and men in our society," "Women and men should be paid equally for the same work," and "Women's unpaid work should be more socially valued"). These questions exist in a forced yes/no choice format. Yoder et al. (2011) use evidence from their study to support the construct validity of Zucker's (2004) three cardinal beliefs. The FBB also includes a behavioral questionnaire which examines the degree to which women accept the label of feminist, specifically the questions assess whether women are willing to align themselves with feminists. The beliefs subscale consists of 38 items ("Feminism is non-inclusive," "Women can succeed on their own individual merit," "Feminism isn't interesting to me"). Participants are directed to this assessment after answering if they identify as feminist. For the purpose of this study only the cardinal beliefs measure and the forced choice for feminist identity were utilized in order to reduce participant fatigue.

The initial assessment of Zucker's (2004) FBB scale consisted of 333 women who had graduated from the University of Michigan. Of the 333 participants, 21 women identified as women of color. The cardinal beliefs were generated from the consistent view that feminim has an emphasis on equality between the sexes. In this study, women were considered feminist if they held feminist beliefs while also taking on the label of feminist. Results demonstrated that Zucker's (2004) feminist identity measure was positively correlated with existing measures such as Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger, 1994) and the Feminist Identity Scale (Rickard, 1989). This was true for all of the subscales except the synthesis subscale of the Feminist Identity Scale. Post hoc analyses revealed that egalitarians tended to score between feminists and nonfeminists. Feminists scored significantly higher than nonfeminists and

egalitarians on all four favorable conditions (feminists in family of origin, higher education, suffering, relationships with feminists; Zucker, 2004). Additionally, feminists tended to score significantly higher than nonfeminists and egalitarians on both the attitudinal and behavioral measures of feminist activism.

The authors conclude that the results show preliminary support for this new measure of feminist identity that is able to make distinct the categories of nonfeminists, egalitarians, and feminists. It also provides tentative evidence that heightened feminist consciousness is related to publicly self-identifying as a feminist (Zucker, 2004).

Womanist beliefs were assessed with the Women of Color Perspective (WOC) subscale taken from the Feminist Perspectives Scale created by Henley et al. (1998). The Women of Color Perspective subscale consisted of 10 items on a Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree,* 2 = *moderately disagree*, 3 = *somewhat disagree,* 4 = *undecided,* 5 = *somewhat agree,* 6 = *moderately agree,* 7 = *strongly agree*). The participants' scores were averaged and larger overall scores on this measure indicate agreement with womanist beliefs. Items included "Women of color are oppressed by White standards of beauty," "Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment," and "Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first." This measure was included in an effort to create a more inclusive study for women of color.

Two studies were conducted in order to create the Feminist Perspectives Scale. The original measure was created in order to attempt to increase inclusivity of feminist beliefs (i.e., conservative, liberal, radical, womanist) (Henley et al., 1998). A pool of items was created based on writings and research related to women's studies. The first

study was exploratory in nature and meant to examine item fit and appropriateness (Henley et al., 1998). This initial item pool was assessed via a sample of 92 participants (39 women, 51 men, and 2 unclassified) from an introduction to psychology course and 25 women from an advanced seminar for women's studies majors (Henley et al., 1998). Total sample size was 117 participants, 40% identified as European American, 25% Latin American, 18% as Asian American, and 6 % as African American (11% either chose "other" or did not respond to the question) (Henley et al., 1998). The scale was comprised of 306 items, 204 attitudinal items and 102 behavioral items. Order of the items was presented randomly. Initial Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each subscale are as follows: Conservative subscale, .92; Liberal Feminist subscale, .77; Radical Feminist, .94; Socialist Feminist, .92; Cultural Feminist, .91, Women of Color, .88. Item-subscale correlations of the behavioral items were not as strong as those for attitudinal items thus successive studies were conducted using only the attitudinal items (Henley et al., 1998). Correlations revealed that the items in the Conservative subscale correlated negatively with each of the five feminist subscales. The authors concluded that this initial study provided support for the reliability and validity of the developing scale. The limitations noted were that the intercorrelations between the five feminist subscales were too high for the ideal levels of independence, giving the authors directions for improvement for their next study.

The purpose of the second study was to revise and test a smaller version of the scale examined above (Henley et al., 1998). An additional goal was to increase the diversity of the participants. For this version, the three best correlating behavioral items for each perspective were combined to create one behavioral scale. Three rounds of

participants were used for investigating the revised measure. The first sample was comprised of 84 students (40 women, 42 men, and 2 unidentified). Of these, 69 participants were from introduction to psychology courses and 15 were from a graduate course of psychology of gender (Henley et al., 1998). The second sample was comprised of 94 individuals (55 women, 29 men, 10 unidentified) volunteered when approached by a student researcher (Henley et al., 1998). And the third sample consisted of 166 participants (104 women, 54 men, 8 unidentified) taken from the same university mentioned above (Henley et al., 1998). The non-student sample (the second study described above) was noted in being more ethnically and educationally diverse. After the items were revised from the first study, the measure for this study consisted of 78 items (Henley et al., 1998).

The internal consistency measure (Cronbach's alpha) and test-retest correlations for all the subscales and between the three samples ranged from .41-.92. The Liberal Feminist subscale had the lowest alpha coefficient and the Radical Feminist subscale had the highest. Additionally, the alpha coefficients tended to be higher for the student samples compared to the non-student sample. Alphas were also examined across ethnicities and the authors found that the alphas tended to be slightly smaller for participants of color compared to self-identified European Americans. And although noted as being smaller for the participants of color, alphas remained between .70 - .88 for all but three subscales (Liberal Feminist, Cultural Feminist, and Fembehave). The test-retest correlations for the students' samples at two weeks and four weeks were in the expected range with most of the subscales falling between .70-.90 with the exception of the Fembehave scale.

Validity was assessed via pertinent self-report information, self-identified religiosity, political self-identification, feminism, and if the participant had taken a women's studies course (Henley et al., 1998). For example, the highest positive correlation with a right-leaning political label was the Conservative subscale while the highest negative correlation for right-leaning political identification was the Liberal Feminist subscale. Self-identified feminism was examined by asking participants to endorse to what degree they label themselves as feminist. All correlations were positive except for the Conservative subscale (Henley et al., 1998). Additionally, the authors found that women of color tended to score higher compared to men of color, women not of color, and men not of color.

A Cronbach's alpha reliability estimate of .75, a two week test-retest reliability estimate of .85, and a four week test-retest reliability estimate of .80 were all obtained through the utilization of a racially and ethnically diverse sample of women (Henley et al., 1998; DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). Validity scores for the WOC include significant and positive correlations with degree of feminism (Henley et al., 1998; DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). In an effort to capture women of color in a more inclusive fashion, this study followed the amendment of a question used by DeBlaere and Bertsch (2013). This modification included changing the last question on the WOC from "The tradition of Afro-American women who are strong family leaders has strengthened the Afro-American community as a whole" to "the tradition of women of color who are strong leaders (e.g., Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks) has strengthened communities of color as a whole" (DeBlaere & Bertsch, p. 172).

Empowerment. The measure being used to assess empowerment was the Personal Progress Scale Revised (PPS-R; Johnson et al., 2005). This scale contains 21item Likert-type scale (1 = *Almost Never* to 7 = *Almost Always*). The PPS-R asked women to *answer each question in terms of any aspects of your personal identity that are important to you as a woman*. Items included "it is important for me to be financially independent," "I give in to others so as not to displease or anger them," and "I am aware of my own strengths as a woman" (Johnson et al., 2005). Appropriate items were reversed scored and participants' responses were averaged to yield a scaled score, higher scores were taken to indicate greater empowerment. This scale was implemented as it is based on Worell and Remer's (2003) principles of empowerment which emphasize awareness of sexism (along with other systems of oppression) and fighting against said discrimination. Following Worell and Remer's (2003) conceptualization, women who espouse feminist or womanist beliefs would be more cognizant of discrimination and be more likely to (through feelings of empowerment) exercise their personal power over sexist interactions, a key part of the proposed theoretical model.

The PPS-R is a revision of the Personal Progress Scale created by Worell and Chandler (Johnson et al., 2005). This scale was created to identify the outcomes of empowerment-centered interventions. The PPS was created based on the four principles of Worell and Remer's (2003) empowerment model and targets ten outcomes that are thought be associated with empowerment. The original version of the PPS yielded initial evidence of validity (*r's* = .57-.77) and reliability (α = .73). The PPS-R is conjectured to be an improvement on the PPS in that it utilizes a larger and more diverse sample of participants. The PPS-R was shown to have good reliability and validity among a sample

of 222 women ranging in age from 18 to 62 (Johnson et al., 2005). The 28 items of the PPS-R yielded an internal validity score of α = .88. Results from the factor analysis indicate that the PPS-R measures a construct that is consistent with the empowerment model from which it was developed (Johnson et al., 2005). However, some of the factors were comprised of four or less items which were deemed insufficient for a reliable and valid scale. The PPS-R was judged to be sufficient for assessing overall empowerment in participants (Johnson et al., 2005).

Critical Consciousness Inventory. The Critical Consciousness Inventory (CCI; Thomas et al., in press) is a nine item Guttman scale. A Guttman scale includes items that are written in a successive order and allows for better differentiation between the levels of critical consciousness (Thomas et al., in press). Each item is broken down into four sub-scales that range from pre-critical, beginning critical, critical, and post critical. Items included "I believe that the world is basically fair," "I believe that the world is basically fair but others believe that it is unfair," "I believe that the world is unfair for some people", and "I believe that the world is unfair, and I make sure to treat others fairly." Participants' responses were averaged and placed in the corresponding category (i.e., 1-precritical, 2 – beginning critical, 3 – critical, and 4 – post critical). This scale was created to assess individual levels of critical consciousness, as this construct has existed in theory but no assessment has been developed until recently (Thomas et al., in press). It is being included in this study as it seemed likely that feminist identity or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs would be associated with higher rates of critical consciousness, which had been described as a reflection of societal oppression and action taken against said oppression (similar to consciousness raising and empowerment).

In order to determine if the CCI was a reliable and valid measure, data was collected from 206 participants sampled from a predominantly White institution and from designated historically Black institutions (Thomas et al., in press). Self-identified race of the participants was broken down to 32.2% white, 11.2% Latino, 3.9% Asian/Pacific Islander, 40% African American, and 11.2% identified as multiracial (Thomas et al., in press). Sixty seven percent of the participants identified as women. Scale items were created by the lead investigator and other members of the research team. Items were developed to apply to both members of oppressed groups and members of dominant groups (Thomas et al., in press). In addition to the CCI, participants were also given questionnaires on social dominance orientation and social stigmatization.

The ordering of the categories was assessed, and analyses revealed that the ordering of the measures demonstrate that the scale was sound. This was determined because each of the average measures for each item increased with each increasing category (Thomas et al., in press). The authors determined that the measure thus seems to follow the Guttman scaling. The scale was also demonstrated to have goodness of fit as only one question (item number one) had a value higher than 1.5, however it was not high enough to harm the integrity of the scale (Thomas et al., in press). This suggests that items are clustered around the single structure of critical consciousness. A separation index revealed that the sample can be split into two levels of critical consciousness (low-high) and that the items can be split into three levels of difficulty (low-medium-high). Cronbach's alpha for this scale was 0.61 for persons and 0.87 for the items (Thomas et al., in press).

Next analyses were run to assess validity of the scale, this included assessing the instrument against social dominance beliefs (belief in the superiority of one group over another) and stigma consciousness (self-reported experience of stigmatization). Results revealed that participants' ratings on social dominance are positively related to pre critical consciousness and beginning critical consciousness and are negatively related to post critical consciousness. Analyses also demonstrated that stigma is negatively associated to pre critical attitudes and beginning critical consciousness and is positively associated with post critical consciousness. Critical consciousness did not show a significant relationship with either construct. The results provide tentative support for critical consciousness' protective role against oppression (Thomas et al., in press).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Data collection took place between 10/15/14 and continued until 5/1/15. Data was collected from a total of 641 participants. Of this, 432 participants identified as students and 209 identified as community members. Prior to conducting preliminary and main analyses, the data were cleaned and assessed for univariate and multivariate normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2011). The interaction between participants' self-identified race and feminist identity, feminist beliefs, and beliefs associated with womanism were examined via a MANOVA. Models 1-3 were assessed via path analysis.

Data Cleaning and Missing Data

The data were screened for missingness and practices for dealing with missing data were followed according to the best practices recommended by Scholmer, Bauman, and Card (2010) and Parent (2013). Accordingly, 10 participants were deleted for not meeting inclusion criteria, and another 130 (42 students and 88 community members) were deleted for failing to complete at least one entire measure beyond the informed consent. Exclusion to this was made if participants failed to answer yes or no to the feminist identity questionnaire or if they failed to complete the Stranger Harassment Index – Frequency subscale (this will be discussed more below). This resulted in a usable sample of 504 participants. Scale level missingness ranged from zero (Hopkins Symptom

Checklist-21 and Stranger Harassment Index – Experiences subscale) to 15.5% (Stranger Harassment Index – Frequency subscale; discussed further below).

Consistent with the recommendations of Schlomer et al. (2010) and Parent (2013), Little's 1988 test was conducted to determine the pattern of missingness in the data (i.e., whether the data were missing completely at random [MCAR]). A non-significant chi square value for Little's test indicates that the data are MCAR. Results of Little's test indicated that the data was MCAR for the Critical Consciousness Inventory (χ^2 = 17.443, p = .180), the Women of Color Perspective (χ^2 = 17.793, p = .769), Feminist Beliefs (χ^2 = 2.224, p = .695), and the Personal Progress Scale Revised (χ^2 = 57.823, p = .336). Again, the Hopkins Symptom Checklist-21 had no missing data and Little's 1988 test could not be run for the feminist identity question given its categorical nature, however, it appeared to be low in missingness (4.8%). Little's 1988 test for the above mentioned scales indicated that the patterns of missingness identified do not appear to be problematic.

Conversely, the data for the Stranger Harrasment Index was not determined to be MCAR. The experience subscale had no missing data, but the frequency subscale had a large amount, as was described above. Upon further inspection of the frequency subscale, it seems likely that the missing data could be due to the scale not having a built in "not applicable" option. It is also possible that the time period for this subscale (i.e., within the past year, once a month, 2-4 times a month, etc.) was not inclusive enough for some participants. The data were manually inspected and a majority of the missing responses (313 missing items) had marked "no" to the corresponding question from the experiences subscale (i.e., have you ever experienced…), suggesting the possibility that the

participants simply had not experienced that type of stranger harassment and left the response blank as there was not a "not applicable" option. This seems likely given that a majority of the missing responses clustered around the more severe types of stranger harassment (questions 5-8, 57.8% missing) which tend to not be experienced as frequently in the reported literature (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; MacMillan et al., 2000).

There were 78 blank responses where the corresponding question from the experiences subscale had indicated that the participant had experienced that specific type of stranger harassment. It is possible that even though participants had experienced that type of stranger harassment, the time period for the frequency subscale was too limiting for their personal experience (i.e., the harassing event happened longer than a year ago). This assumption is supported by several participant comments stating that they had not experienced stranger harassment recently. It was determined that the best approach to moving forward with the subscale was to insert a zero for each missing response, as this would allow greatest participant retention without inflating scores.

In response to the missingness of individual items that were used to compute a total score, available item analysis (AIA) was used per Parent's (2013) recommendations. AIA, also known as pairwise deletion or pairwise inclusion, was utilized to deal with missing data. AIA involves using the available data for analysis and subsequently excludes any missing data points only for analyses wherein the missing data point would be explicitly included (Parent, 2013). A recent study conducted by Parent (2013) compared different strategies for handling missing data and demonstrated that AIA seems to be equivalent to multiple imputation, even when conditions of the study were not optimal (i.e., low sample size, small number of items, etc.). Additionally, full information

maximum likelihood (FIML) was applied as the default method for handling missing data in M-Plus. This method utilizes the greatest amount of available data, which allows for participants with missing data on individual items and/or scale scores to be included in the dataset as opposed to deleting those participants who have missing values. FIML generally yields smaller standard error estimates compared to other methods.

Data Normality

Prior to conducting the preliminary and main analyses, data were also screened for assumptions of normality and outliers. Scores for all of the variables satisfied assumptions of univariate normality (i.e., absolute skew value of < 3 and absolute kurtosis value of < 7; West, Finch, & Curran, 1995; see Table 2). The data were then screened for univariate outliers by converting the scale scores to *z*-scores. *Z*-scores with an absolute value greater than 3.29 were considered univariate outliers, with four cases meeting this criterion. Multivariate outliers were examined next prior to eliminating the univariate outliers following Tabachnick and Fidell's (2011) recommendation. They warned against removing univariate outliers before examining multivariate outliers, as some univariate outliers can be expected in large data sets (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2011). Mahalanobis distance scores and probabilities were calculated for each case, with Mahalanobis D^2 scores with $p \leq .001$ being considered multivariate outliers. Based on the results of this analysis, one multivariate outlier was identified; therefore, one case was removed from the data set leaving a remaining 503 usable participants who met these parameters.

Ages of participants ranged from 18 to 65 years, with a mean age of 23 (see Table 1). The sample was primarily Caucasian (81.9%) despite efforts made to increase the

racial/ethnic diversity of the sample. Of the total sample, 75.5% of participants were students at the University of Akron and 24.5% were community members.

Table 1

Participant Characteristics

Demographic	*n*	%
Race		
Caucasian	412	81.9
African American/Black	55	10.9
Asian American	10	2
American Indian/Alaskan Native	1	0.2
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	1	0.2
More than one race	14	2.8
Other	8	1.6
Sexual Orientation		
Other sex only	363	72.2
Other sex mostly	71	14.1
Other sex somewhat more	24	4.8
Both sexes equally	15	3
Same sex somewhat more	6	1.2
Same sex mostly	11	2.2
Same sex only	6	1.2
Other	5	1
Education		
Some high school	4	0.8
High school diploma/GED	62	12.3
Some college	279	55.5
Associate's degree	31	6.2
Bachelor's degree	51	10.1
Post graduate work	23	4.6
Master's degree	41	8.2
Doctoral degree	10	2
Currently Enrolled		
Freshman	124	24.7
Sophomore	94	18.7
Junior	74	14.7
Senior	80	15.9
Graduate	38	7.6
Feminist Identification		
Identify as feminist	266	52.9
Do not identify as feminist	213	42.3

Note. % = percentage of the total sample.

Table 2
Skewness and Kurtosis Values for All Scale Scores

Scale	Skewness	Standard Error of Skewness	Kurtosis	Standard Error of Kurtosis
CCI	-.298	.109	.136	.217
HSC	.456	.109	-.245	.217
PPSR	-.234	.109	-.236	.217
WOCP	-.400	.109	.030	.217
FemBel	-1.323	.109	.786	.218
FemID	-.223	.112	-1.958	.223
SHI	.486	.109	1.567	.217

*Note. N*s range from 479 to 503. CCI = Critical Consciousness Index; HSC = Hopkins Symptom Checklist; PPSR = Personal Progress Scale Revised; WOCP = Women of Color Perspective; FemBel = Feminist Beliefs; FemID = Feminist Identity; SHI = Stranger Harassment Index.

Descriptive Statistics, Intercorrelations, and Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics, which include means, standard deviation, the percentages of missing data, and Cronbach's alpha coefficients for each scale are displayed in Table 3. Reliability estimates were found to be similar to those that have been identified in previous research (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Green et al., 1988; DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013; Johnson et al., 2005; Thomas et al., in press). Correlations (as shown in Table 4) revealed that all variables in the models were related to each other in the expected direction with the exception of the Critical Consciousness measure and its relation to Psychological Distress, $r(501) = .035$, $p = .438$. Stranger Harassment correlated positively with Psychological Distress, $r(501) = .198$, $p < .01$ while Empowerment demonstrated an inverse relationship with Psychological Distress, $r(501) = -.545$, $p < .01$). Feminist Identification, $r(477) = .322$, $p < .01$, Feminist Beliefs, $r(499) = .199$, $p < .01$, and Women of Color Perspective, $r(501) = .450$, $p < .01$, were all positively

correlated with the Critical Consciousness Measure. And finally, Critical Consciousness was positively correlated with Empowerment, $r(501) = .140$, $p < .01$.

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA; see Table 5) was conducted in order to determine if the demographic variable race should be added to each of the models to control for its effects with Stranger Harassment, Feminist Identification, Feminist Beliefs, and the Women of Color Perspective. Given that a majority of the sample identified as Caucasian, race was dummy coded into two groups: white and other. Results revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in Stranger Harassment experiences, Feminist Identification, Feminist Beliefs, and the Women of Color Perspective based on the participants' self-identified race, $F(4,470) = 9.20$, $p < .001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.927$. Next, examination of the tests of between-subjects effects was conducted. Feminist identity did not vary based on race $F(1, 473) = .005$, $p = .942$. Additionally, feminist beliefs did not vary based on race $F(1, 473) = .670$, $p = .414$. Women of color perspective varied significantly based on race $F(1, 473) = 18.80$, $p < .001$. And lastly, stranger harassment varied significantly based on race $F(1, 473) = 16.52$, $p < .001$. Thus, race was added to each of the models given that it varied significantly with stranger harassment. A path from race to women of color perspective was also added in model 3. This indicates that hypothesis 7 was partially supported.

Table 3
Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach's Alphas, and % of Missing Data for Primary Measures

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Cronbach's Alpha	% Missing
CCI	2.99	.52	.78	1.0
HSC	2.07	.55	.91	0
PPSR	5.19	.76	.87	0.4
WOCP	4.81	1.20	.90	1.4
SHI	16.42	6.60	.72	78

*Note. N*s range from 479 to 503. CCI = Critical Consciousness Index; HSC = Hopkins Symptom Checklist; PPSR = Personal Progress Scale Revised; WOCP = Women of Color Perspective; SHI = Stranger Harassment Index.

Table 4
Correlations Among Variables of Interest

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. CCI	1.00**						
2. HSC	.04	1.00**					
3. PPSR	.14**	-.55**	1.00				
4. WOCP	.45**	.05	-.01	1.00			
5. FemBel	.20**	-.02	.01	.19**	1.00		
6. FemID	.32**	.03	.07	.37**	.09*	1.00	
7. SHI	-.05	.20**	-.06	.06	-.04	-.04	1.00

Note. **p <0.01, two-tailed, *p<0.05, two-tailed. *N*s range from 477 to 503. CCI = Critical Consciousness Index; HSC = Hopkins Symptom Checklist; PPSR = Personal Progress Scale Revised; WOCP = Women of Color Perspective; FemBel = Feminist Beliefs; FemID = Feminist Identity; SHI = Stranger Harassment Index.

Table 5
MANOVA Means and Standard Deviations

	FemID			WOCP			FemBel			SHI		
	M	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Racial Categories												
White/Caucasian	1.55	0.50	395	4.71	1.23	395	2.65	0.54	395	15.88	5.94	395
Other	1.55	0.50	80	5.35	1.02	80	2.70	0.56	80	19.00	7.62	80
Total	1.55	0.50	475	4.82	1.22	475	2.65	0.54	475	16.41	6.36	475

Note. FemID = Feminist Identity. WOCP = Women of Color Perspective. FemBel = Feminist Beliefs. SHI = Stranger Harassment Index.

Primary Analyses

Path analyses were run to test the fit of the data to the moderated models with psychological distress serving as the outcome variable. First, each of the three models were run with race included as its own variable (Figures 1-3). The path models were tested using M-Plus version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012), and utilized FIML. Model-data fit was assessed by using the following various indices of fit (i.e., model chi square, root mean square error or approximation [RMSEA], comparative fit index [CFI], Tucker-Lewis fit index [TLI], and the standardized root mean square residual [SRMR]). The model chi square has been noted as a good standard and very challenging to achieve compared to other indices of fit. The model chi square will be indicative of a good fit if *p* is greater than .05. In terms of the RMSEA, goodness of fit is determined when the value is equal to or less than .05. If the value happens to be greater than .1, then it can be assumed that there is a serious problem with the fit. For the CFI and TLI, values should be greater than or equal to .95. And lastly, .08 is the cut off value for SRMR, and the closer the value is to zero the better the fit (Kline, 2011).

Overall, Model 1 (feminist identity as the moderator, Figure 1) was found to have a poor fit to the data, χ^2 (df = 9, N = 477) = 468.42, p < .001, CFI = .92, TLI = .84, RMSEA = .327, SRMR = .043. A similar pattern of poor fit was observed for Model 2

(feminist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 2), χ^2 (df = 9, N = 499) = 1658.26, p < .001, CFI = .667, TLI = .335, RMSEA = .606, SRMR = .165. Model 3 (womanist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 3) would not run and M-Plus output stated the model had no convergence. The same message was received despite increasing the number of iterations from 1000 to 10,000 and 100,000 respectively. Normally it is common practice to refrain from examining the individual paths if the model does not demonstrate adequate fit, however they will be included here in an effort to provide a clearer picture of the data.

Test of Hypothesized Direct Effects

In Model 1 (feminist identification as the moderator, Figure 1), the path from stranger harassment to psychological distress was unexpectedly nonsignificant (β = .03, p = .33; hypothesis 1). Feminist identity as the moderator was found to have a nonsignificant path to stranger harassment and psychological distress (β = .19, p = .61; hypothesis 2_a). Hypothesis 3_a was not supported, a nonsignificant path from identification as feminist to critical consciousness was identified (β = .41, p = .68). Hypothesis 4 was not supported due to a positive significant path from critical consciousness to psychological distress (β = 0.16, p < .05). Hypothesis 5 was partially supported, it was expected that critical consciousness and empowerment would be significantly and positively related. The path from critical consciousness to empowerment supported this (β = 0.99, p < .01) however, the path from empowerment to critical consciousness did not (β = -0.42, p < .01). A negative significant path from empowerment to psychological distress was found, supporting hypothesis 6 (β = -0.66, p < .001). Lastly, as mentioned above, hypothesis 7 was supported in that a negative significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed (β = -0.17, p < .05; see Table 6).

In Model 2 (feminist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 2), stranger harassment, again, had an unexpected nonsignificant path to psychological distress (β = .22, p = .08; hypothesis 1). Similarly, feminist beliefs as the moderator was found to have a nonsignificant path to stranger harassment and psychological distress (β = -.19, p = .15; hypothesis 2_b). Feminist beliefs had a nonsignificant direct path to critical consciousness (β = .56, p = .11; hypothesis 3_b). Hypothesis 4 was not supported due to an unexpected positive significant path from critical consciousness to psychological distress (β = .15, p < .05). A nonsignificant path from critical consciousness to empowerment was identified (β = 0.97, p = .05) and a nonsignificant path from empowerment to critical consciousness was identified (β = 0.21, p = .24) resulting in lack of support for hypothesis 5. A nonsignificant path from empowerment to psychological distress was found (β = -0.27, p = .18; hypothesis 6). Lastly, hypothesis 7 was supported in that a negative significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed (β = -0.16, p < .01; see Table 6). As stated above, model 3 (womanist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 3) would not run, therefore direct paths cannot be analyzed.

Post Hoc Models

Given that the three original models failed to demonstrate adequate fit to the data, critical consciousness and empowerment were removed from the models. These new post hoc models (Figures 4-6) serve an exploratory function to assess if the removal of the two variables improve the model-data fit. Similar to the models described above, model 4 (feminist identity used as the moderator, Figure 4) demonstrated a poor fit to the data, χ^2 (df = 3, N = 477) = 416.07, p < .001, CFI = .781, TLI = .489, RMSEA = .537, SRMR = .040. This was also seen for model 5 (feminist beliefs used as the moderator, Figure 5), χ^2

(df = 3, N = 499) = 1035.08, p < .001, CFI = .448, TLI = -0.287, RMSEA = .830, SRMR = 1.235. And finally, model 6 (womanist beliefs used as the moderator, Figure 6) demonstrated similar lack of poor fit to the data, χ^2 (df = 4, N = 501) = 1672.91, p < .001, CFI = .039, TLI = -1.162, RMSEA = .913, SRMR = .951.

Test of Hypothesized Direct Effects for Post Hoc Models

In model 4 (feminist identity as the moderator, Figure 4), a nonsignificant path was observed from stranger harassment to psychological distress (β = 0.03, p = .28). Feminist identity as the moderator was found to have a nonsignificant path to stranger harassment and psychological distress (β = 0.17, p = .71). Lastly, a negative significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed (β = -0.17, p < .01; see Table 6).

In model 5 (feminist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 5), a positive significant path was observed from stranger harassment to psychological distress (β = 0.64, p < .05). Feminist beliefs as the moderator was found to have a nonsignificant path to stranger harassment and psychological distress (β = -0.70, p = .05). Lastly, a negative significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed (β = -0.16, p < .01; see Table 6).

In model 6 (womanist beliefs as the moderator, Figure 6), a nonsignificant path was observed from stranger harassment to psychological distress (β = -0.55, p = .26). A negative significant path was identified from race to womanist beliefs (β = -0.19, p < .001). Womanist beliefs as the moderator was found to have a nonsignificant path to stranger harassment and psychological distress (β = 0.65, p = .24). Lastly, a negative significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed (β = -0.16, p < .01; see Table 6).

Table 6

Hypotheses & Results

Hypotheses	*Model*	*Supported: Yes or No*
Hypothesis 1	1	No
	2	No
	4	No
	5	Yes
	6	No
Hypothesis 2	1	No
	2	No
	4	No
	5	No
	6	No
Hypothesis 3	1	No
	2	No
	4	N/A
	5	N/A
	6	N/A
Hypothesis 4	1	No
	2	No
	4	N/A
	5	N/A
	6	N/A
Hypothesis 5	1	Partial Support - CCI to PPSR
	2	No
	4	N/A
	5	N/A
	6	N/A
Hypothesis 6	1	Yes
	2	No
	4	N/A
	5	N/A
	6	N/A
Hypothesis 7	1	Yes - Race & SHI
	2	Yes - Race & SHI
	4	Yes - Race & SHI
	5	Yes - Race & SHI
	6	Yes - Race & SHI; Race & WOCP

Note. CCI = Critical Consciousness Index; PPSR = Personal Progress Scale; SHI = Stranger Harassment Index; WOCP = Women of Color Perspective.

Models with Stranger Harassment Experiences Subscale

Given the issues identified with the stranger harassment frequency subscale noted above, it was removed from the original 3 models to determine if it could have been a possible reason the models were demonstrating inadequate fit. Model 1 (feminist identity as the moderator) was found to have a poor fit to the data, χ^2 (df = 9, N = 477) = 2245.22, p < .001, CFI = .683, TLI = .365, RMSEA = .722, SRMR = .428. A similar pattern of poor fit was observed for Model 2 (feminist beliefs as the moderator), χ^2 (df = 9, N = 499) = 4390.32, p < .001, CFI = .449, TLI = -0.101, RMSEA = .988, SRMR = .837. Model 3 (womanist beliefs used as the moderator) would not run and M-Plus output stated the model had no convergence. Possible explanations for poor model fit will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Table 7

Stranger Harassment Experiences

Type of Stranger Harassment	*n*	%
1. Sexist remarks or behaviors?	419	83.3
2. Crude and offensive sexual remarks, jokes, or actions?	414	82.3
3. Seductive behavior, remarks, or 'come ons'?	418	83.1
4. Unwanted sexual attention or interaction?	385	76.5
5. Subtle pressure or coercion to cooperate sexually?	190	37.8
6. Direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually?	130	25.8
7. Unwanted touching, stroking, or hugging?	292	58.1
8. Direct or forceful fondling or grabbing?	152	30.2
9. Catcalls, whistles, or stares?	453	90.1

Note. *%* = percentage of the total sample.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The present study explored the relationships among race, stranger harassment, identity and beliefs (feminist identity, feminist beliefs, womanist beliefs), critical consciousness, and empowerment within a comprehensive model predicting psychological distress. Overall, the models were consistently shown to have a poor fit to the data; however, several themes were noted among models. One finding observed with all of the models, except model 3 (Figure 3), is that self-reported racial identity is significantly related to stranger harassment. One model provided tentative support that stranger harassing experiences do indeed result in higher rates of psychological distress (model 5, Figure 5). Finally, one major theme that needs to be noted is the high prevalence of woman who experienced stranger harassment. It is apparent that women experience stranger harassment often, some on a regular basis (see Table 7). The data pointed to the commonality of stranger harassment for most women who participated and the consequent need for preventative efforts to reduce the likelihood of the harassment occurring. The individual hypotheses and clinical implications will be explored in detail below.

Stranger Harassment and Psychological Distress – Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis one, which posited that there will be a significant path between stranger harassing experiences and ratings of distress, was not supported within model 1

(Figure 1). The same lack of support for hypothesis 1 was also demonstrated in model 2 (Figure 2). Hypothesis one was found to have support within one of the post hoc models (model 5, Figure 5) after critical consciousness and empowerment were removed. This was not demonstrated within model 4 or 6 (see Figures 4 and 6). There are several possible explanations for the lack of support for hypothesis 1 in a majority of the models. It is possible that the conflicting findings could be due to the fact that stranger harassing experiences are so commonplace that some women might ignore them when they occur (see Table 6). In this sample, 90.1% of participants answered yes when they were asked if they had ever experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger. Overall, between 25.8% - 90.1% of the women in the current study experienced some form of stranger harassment, ranging from sexist remarks or behaviors from a stranger (83.3%) to direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger (25.8%).

Several studies have described stranger harassment as a common experience for women. In Nielsen's (2000) study, sixty one out of the 100 female participants reported being the target of sexually suggestive public speech either "often" or "everyday". Similarly, the diary studies conducted by Swim et al. (2001) identified that sexist incidents occur on average about 1-2 times a week for many women. In Fairchild and Rudman's study (2008), forty one percent of their participants reported experiencing stranger harassing events at least once a month. Perhaps the women surveyed have encountered incidents of stranger harassment to a degree that they learned to ignore it which impacted the models as a whole.

It is also possible that the participants sampled in this study did not have recent experiences of stranger harassment compared to other studies. According to Landrine &

Klonoff (1997), endorsement of recent experiences with sexism was identified as the best predictor for negative symptoms. The measure used, created by Fairchild and Rudman (2008), examined participants' experiences as recently as every day to once in her lifetime. Perhaps the women's experiences with stranger harassment were not recent enough to elicit negative symptoms at the time they were surveyed. This seems to be supported by the data, as the greatest number of participants endorsed having experienced each type of harassment within the past year. This ranged from 41% of participants experiencing sexist remarks or behaviors from a stranger in the past year to 75.5% experiencing direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger in the past year. Similarly, the measure assessing psychological distress asks the participants to rate their symptoms within the past 30 days which might have been too recent to capture their distress from a harassing event.

Additionally, previous research on sexist events has demonstrated women of color tend to experience higher rates of sexism compared to Caucasian women (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). Given that the sample used with the current study was primarily Caucasian (a limitation discussed below) and that consistent significance between the participant's race and stranger harassment was observed in all of the models (discussed below under hypothesis 7), it is possible that the lack of a diverse sample is impacting the path between stranger harassment and psychological distress.

The finding that hypothesis one was only supported within one of the post-hoc exploratory models also might have been impacted by Downing and Roush's (1985) feminist identity development attitudes. Moradi and Subich's (2002) examination of feminist identity development attitudes and sexist events provided some initial support

that denial (passive acceptance) of discrimination against women may be related to increases of psychological distress in response to a sexist event. Therefore, it is possible that where the participants in the current study would fall within their feminist identity development is impacting their experience of stranger harassment which would then affect their ratings of distress.

Feminist Identity, Feminist Beliefs, Womanist Beliefs – Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis two, identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will moderate the relationship between stranger harassment and distress, was not supported in either of the original models (Figures 1-3) or in the post hoc models (Figures 4-6). Conceptually, this finding is difficult to tease apart given the disparity among the research literature regarding the role that feminist beliefs and identity have on wellbeing and psychological distress. Given that Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010) found that those women who did not take on the label of feminist shared values more in line with nonfeminists, it was expected that *identification as feminist* would impact the relationship between stranger harassment and distress, serving a protective function (Szymanski & Owen, 2009; Moradi & Subich, 2002; Leaper & Arias, 201; Yoder et al., 2012; Holland & Cortina, 2013), however this was not supported in the models.

Similarly, *feminist beliefs* did not impact the relationship between stranger harassment and psychological distress as initially predicted. This finding could lend support to previous studies that feminist identity and beliefs are difficult to measure, and that diversity exists among women who endorse feminist beliefs but do not identify with the label (Fitz et al., 2012). Previous findings have suggested that women who do not identify with the feminist label (despite their endorsement of feminist beliefs) have many

shared views with nonfeminists, as opposed to more common ground with self-identified feminists (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010) which could be impacting the predicted pattern. In total, 69.6% of participants espoused all three of the core feminist beliefs.

It is challenging to add clarification to *womanist beliefs* given that one of the two models with the womanist variable would not run. Using womanist beliefs in response to sexist events seems to be a more recent addition to the literature base in an attempt to create inclusion of women of color. The average score for womanist beliefs was a 4.81, indicating that most participants marked somewhat agree on the Women of Color Perspective measure. This could be indicative of lack of racial/ethnic diversity within the sample and could also point to more women being unfamiliar with those sets of beliefs.

The most recent study that incorporated this variable found preliminary evidence that womanist beliefs moderate psychological distress and lifetime experiences of sexist events, but this was not shown to be the case for recent sexist events (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013). It is possible that this could be impacting the current sample given that a majority of participants had experienced stranger harassing events within the past year. Given the lack of significance for hypothesis 1 overall, this finding could be demonstrating that feminist identity and/or feminist/womanist beliefs do not completely eliminate the distress a woman may feel following a harassing event. She may be less likely to internalize the event due to her awareness of systemic inequalities and still find it disturbing.

Critical Consciousness – Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis three, identification as feminist or adherence to feminist or womanist beliefs will be associated with higher rates of critical consciousness, was not supported in

any of the models. It is possible that the findings here are related to the challenges noted above between the literature regarding identification and beliefs. Additionally, the creators of the CCI note that this scale may not be sophisticated enough to perceive distinctions between someone who is scoring between the beginning of critical consciousness and a more advanced understanding of critical consciousness (Thomas et al., in press). The authors also posit that the items in the CCI are accessing different areas of oppression and some participants may be more responsive to certain issues, which would thus impact their scores (Thomas et al., in press). Finally, this is the first time critical consciousness has been adapted into a scale, it seems likely that further assessment and validation is warranted.

Critical Consciousness and Psychological Distress – Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis four, there will be a significant path between critical consciousness and psychological distress, in that higher rates of critical consciousness decreases one's distress, was not supported. In models 1 and 2 (see Figures 1 and 2) this path had demonstrated significance, however the path coefficient was positive; indicating the possibility that higher rates of critical consciousness increases one's distress. Possible explanations for this finding are similar to what was stated above regarding the CCI (i.e., no distinction between beginning critical consciousness and a solid sense of critical consciousness; scale is assessing different areas of oppression).

Several models related to critical consciousness development or sociopolitical development (which was likened to critical consciousness) outline the various stages individuals go though, beginning with a belief that the world is just and ending with action or becoming change agents (Thomas et al., in press). It seems that these models

have not explicitly addressed the potential for psychological distress as one navigates the various stages, such as has been identified in Downing and Roush's (1985) model of feminist identity development. Therefore, it is possible that participants in this study are experiencing greater amounts of psychological distress as they approach a greater sense of critical consciousness. Similar to what was mentioned above for hypothesis 1, it is also possible that women who have developed an advanced critical consciousness are continuing to feel distressed from the injustices they encounter and perceive in the world; this could indicate that while they may be less likely to internalize the event they are still negatively impacted by it.

Critical Consciousness and Empowerment – Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis five, critical consciousness and empowerment will be significantly related, in that higher rates of critical consciousness will be associated with higher rates of personal empowerment, was partially supported in model 1 (see Figure 1). The path from critical consciousness to empowerment was found to be significant as expected. However, the path from empowerment to critical consciousness did not follow this pattern. The same path in model 2 (see Figure 2) did not demonstrate significance.

A possible explanation for the unexpected path coefficients could be due to the nature of the questions that encompass both scales. The CCI contains items that ask the participant to reflect on her beliefs about the just nature of the world and the manner in which various social groups are treated (Thomas et al., in press). In contrast, the PPSR contains questions that are focused on the individual's beliefs about herself and her needs (Johnson et al., 2005). Given this, it makes sense that higher rates of critical consciousness were associated with higher rates of personal empowerment in model 1; if

she is able to identify lack of equal opportunities for others she is also likely to be able to reflect on herself in relation to others and society as well.

Conversely, the ability to consider one's needs and personal agency does not necessarily seem to translate as readily into considering the needs and opportunities of other social groups to which one does not belong. One study provides support for this postulation. Zucker and Bay-Cheng (2010) explored the differences between women who identified as feminist and those that espoused feminist beliefs but would not take on the label. Those non-labelers scored similarly to nonfeminists on universalism (emphasizes social justice and collectivism), conformity, and tradition; comparatively, feminists rated universalism higher and conformity and tradition lower. Similarly, non-labelers were more likely to align with a social dominance orientation which is the belief that social hierarchies are natural and acceptable and thus preferable to status equality between groups (Zucker & Bay-Cheng, 2010). This study provides support that though one may have feminist oriented beliefs, those beliefs do not necessarily extend to social justice oriented views to society as a whole.

Empowerment and Psychological Distress – Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis six, there will be a significant path between empowerment and psychological distress in that higher rates of personal empowerment decreases one's distress, was supported in model 1 (see Figure 1). This pattern was not observed for model 2 (see Figure 2). The significance identified in model1 fits with the research which theorizes that personal empowerment would lead one to more often externalize harassing events which would then decrease her ratings of psychological distress (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). It is unclear why this pattern did not replicate in model 2. It is possible

that the individual path is being impacted by the model as a whole, and the feminist beliefs construct is affecting the relationship between the two variables. Additionally, the results could be impacted by the scale used to measure psychological distress in which women were asked to rate their symptoms within the past 30 days.

Women of Color and Caucasian Women – Hypothesis 7

And finally, hypothesis seven, which posited that differences between women of color and Caucasian women will be identified on reported rates of stranger harassment, feminist identity, feminist beliefs, and womanist beliefs, was partially supported in model 1 and 2 (see Figures 1 and 2); a significant path from race to stranger harassment was observed. In terms of the post hoc models, the path from race to stranger harassment in models 4, 5, and 6 (see Figures 4, 5, and 6) supported hypothesis seven, similarly to models 1 and 2. A similar result was seen for womanist beliefs in model 6, in that the path from race to womanist beliefs was significant. Given that model 3 (see Figure 3) would not run, it is unclear if a similar pattern of significance would have been observed with womanist beliefs and race.

The partial support for hypothesis 7 in terms of the relationship between race and stranger harassment is consistent with current literature which has regularly demonstrated that women of color experience higher rates of stranger harassing experiences. Landrine and Klonoff (1997) noted in their study on sexist events that women of color tend to experience sexism at higher frequencies compared to white women. They noted this trend held for both lifetime incidences of sexism and incidents within the past year. Thus, the current study provides further evidence that a woman's racial identity does impact her experience of stranger harassment.

In contrast, it is unclear if consistent findings exist for the impact of race on rates of womanist beliefs given that one of the models (model 3, Figure 3) with womanist beliefs would not run. However, model 6 (Figure 6) did demonstrate initial evidence that a woman's racial identity does impact her adherence to womanist beliefs. This finding fits with existing research regarding the link between womanism and race for black/African American (Parks et al., 1996). It also lends additional support for increasing the inclusivity of the terminology used in research to address beliefs. Given the historical context of feminism, women of color may feel like womanism is a more accurate depiction of their beliefs and their experiences (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013).

Clinical Implications

Although the results above are difficult to interpret and tease apart, one finding worth noting is the relationship between stranger harassment and psychological distress. Model 5 demonstrated a significant path from stranger harassment to psychological distress, indicating that stranger harassing experiences often led one to experience increased rates of distress. This finding is consistent across the literature cited above specific to stranger harassment and it also fits with the detrimental effects of sexual harassment more broadly (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Frederickson & Roberts, 1997).

Given that the findings here lend further support regarding the damaging impact of harassing experiences for many women, experiences of stranger harassment seem like a prudent point of intervention in a clinical setting. This aligns well with Worell and Remer's (2003) principles of feminist psychological practice delineated in chapter 2. Specifically, their principles which espouse consciousness raising and the examination of expectations that exist for women in terms of gender roles, sexism, racism, and

heterosexism. These principles exist under a model of empowerment which works to enable women to exercise their power over negative interactions that impact their well-being.

This ultimate goal of empowerment in feminist psychological practice fits with findings from model 1, which hypothesized that increased rates of empowerment led to decreased rates of psychological distress. Therefore providing a safe space for women to explore the harassing experiences they have encountered, validating their feelings about those experiences while also discussing the larger systems at work that are responsible for creating and reinforcing sexist behavior, and then reviewing options for taking action against said negative interactions would likely be beneficial in reducing psychological distress. Consequently, it is imperative that clinicians increase their intentionality around exploring stranger harassing experiences their female clients may encounter. This would also include naming the experiences as harassment, particularly when clients may view the experience from a more benevolent perspective, as one study demonstrated viewing a sexist occurrence as a compliment still led women to experience distress in the form of increases in self-objectification, body surveillance, and shame (Calogero & Jost, 2011).

An additional trend seen consistently among the original (Figures 1-3) and post hoc models (Figures 4-6) was the significant path between participants' racial identities and stranger harassment. Similarly to what was stated above, this finding points to the need of clinicians to be intentional about assessing stranger harassment with their female clients of color as they are potentially experiencing harassment at a higher frequency than their Caucasian counterparts. It also highlights the need for clinicians to be

multiculturally competent, as the client's intersecting identities are likely related to the harassment she encounters.

Furthermore, it would be prudent for clinicians to assess what feminist beliefs or identities their clients may possess and how those beliefs/identities may be impacting their experiences of stranger harassment. It would be important to also assess for beliefs more closely aligned to the women of color perspective and how those may impact a female client's navigation of sexist encounters.

Finally, clinicians should not only attend to what is occurring within the therapy room, but also to the broader societal implications that this phenomenon warrants. It is crucial that clinicians in the field of psychology honor the principles of prevention and social justice in regards to stranger harassment if change is to occur. This could be established by increasing public awareness of stranger harassment and its consequences through community outreach, legislature, and other forms of activism (Vera & Speight, 2003). Programs such as bystander interventions and social media movements seek to educate others about harmful sexist interactions and also work to empower individuals to intervene when these interactions occur. Through both attending to what clients are disclosing in therapy and engaging in activism clinicians are reducing the likelihood of distressing events occurring, increasing personal client empowerment, and acting in accordance with the field of psychology as a whole.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are some limitations in this study, a few of which have already been mentioned, that need to be considered when interpreting the results. First of all, while the minimum number of participants needed based on Kline's (2011) guideline was met, the

preferred M-Plus method for handling missing data (FIML) resulted in some of the models being generated with a sample size that was under 500 participants. It is possible that this impacted the model-data fit. Additionally, a sampling goal of this study was to draw an equivalent number of Caucasian-identified and women of color-identified participants. Despite efforts to reach this goal the final sample consisted of a majority of Caucasian women (81.9%). It is possible that this more homogenous sample impacted the models. A final limitation of diversity within the sample was the amount of college students who participated compared to community members. A majority of the participants identified with being a current student. While this has not been shown to be detrimental to the examination of stranger harassment (Fairchild, 2010), it is worth noting that mainly students participated despite efforts undertaken to also sample from community members. This could have introduced unexpected bias into the results.

Another limitation was the measure used to assess stranger harassment. The frequency subscale had a large amount of missing data and it is thought that perhaps the design of the measure was not inclusive enough for some of the participants (i.e., did not have a "not applicable" option; the time frame only extended to the past year). To this author's knowledge, the Stranger Harassment Index has only been used in two previous studies, both of which were conducted by Fairchild who adapted the Stranger Harassment Index from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire. It seems evident that this scale needs further refinement and validation before it can be identified as an appropriate measure for stranger harassment. Thus far it is the only measure that has been created that focuses specifically on stranger harassing experiences, however, it should be examined further to more adequately capture most women's experiences.

Another measure utilized that seems to have psychometric limitations is the scale assessing critical consciousness. As noted above, this measure is relatively new and may not be sophisticated enough to perceive distinctions between someone who is scoring between the beginning of critical consciousness and a more advanced understanding of critical consciousness. It also seems that the goal of the assessment is to determine into which category of critical consciousness the participant would likely fall, however, the construction of the scale does not lend itself to discrete categories. This could be impacting the participants' scores overall and reduce the validity of the assessment.

And finally, this was a cross-sectional study which limits the scope of information that can be gleaned from the results and does not allow for any causal statements or assumptions to be made. Additionally, given that this was cross-sectional, the participants were asked to recall experiences they have had rather than assessing their experiences at various points in time as they are occurring. Relying on participant recall may have impacted the data collected on the frequency and type of stranger harassing event.

Despite these limitations the study does provide more information on stranger harassing experiences, the commonality of their occurrence, and provides tentative support for pre-existing literature regarding their impact on women's psychological distress. It also provides evidence that stranger harassment and womanist beliefs are impacted by racial identity. Moreover, the current study provides further evidence that potential protective factors against stranger harassment are challenging to identify consistently and may differ depending on the woman, how she identifies/what she believes, and the specific experiences she encounters.

It is necessary for the results of this study to be replicated in order to adequately examine and tease apart the tentative trends with the data seen here. Future research, ideally with a larger and more diverse sample of women, may also provide clarification on feminist identity, feminist beliefs, and womanist beliefs and their interaction with distress, critical consciousness, and empowerment. Additional examinations of these constructs would ideally be implemented within a longitudinal study to reduce the need for participants to rely on delayed recall of events. Data collected at various points in time with the same participants would also provide further evidence of trends within stranger harassing experiences. Also, the scale used to assess stranger harassment would benefit from further refinement and validation to adequately capture the largest number of women's experiences. It is hoped that through additional study specific protective factors will be identified more clearly which can then be targeted and capitalized upon in a clinical or educational setting, reducing the internalization of sexism and reducing the frequency of stranger harassing experiences altogether.

REFERENCES

Barak, A. (2005). Sexual harassment on the internet. *Social Science Computer Review, 23,*77-92. doi: 10.1177/0894439304271540

Bargad, A., & Hyde, J. S. (1991). Women's studies: A study of feminist identity development in women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15,* 181-201.

Becker, J. C., & Swim, J. K. (2012). Reducing endorsement of benevolent and modern sexist beliefs: Differential effects of addressing harm versus pervasiveness of benevolent sexism. *Social Psychology, 43,* 127-137.

Bell, L. A. (1997). Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook (pp. 3-15). New York: Routledge

Benokraitis, N. V., & Feagin, J. R. (1995). *Modern sexism* (2nd Ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Brewster, M. E., Moradi, B., DeBlaere, C., & Velez, B. L. (2013). Navigating the borderlands: The roles of minority stressors, bicultural self-efficacy, and cognitive flexibility in the mental health of bisexual individual. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60,* 543-556. doi: 10.1037/a0033224

Brooks, L., & Perot, A. (1991). Reporting sexual harassment: Exploring a predictive model. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 15,* 31-47.

Brown, E. B. (1989). Womanist consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14,* 610-633.

Bowman, C. G. (1993). Street harassment and the informal ghettoization of women. *Harvard Law Review, 106,* 517-580.

Calogero, R. M., & Jost, J. T. (2011). Self-subjugation among women: Exposure to sexist ideology, self-objectification, and the protective function of the need to avoid closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 100,* 211-228. doi: 10.1037/a0021864

Carver, C. S., Scheier, M. F., & Weintraub, J. K. (1989). Assessing coping strategies: A theoretically based approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56,* 267-283.

Corning, A. F. (2002). Self-esteem as a moderator between perceived discrimination and psychological distress among women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49,* 117-126. doi: 10.1037//0022-0167.49.1.117

Cortina, L. M. (2001). Assessing sexual harassment among Latinas: Development of an instrument. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *7,* 164-181.

Cortina, L. M., & Magley, V. J. (2009). Patterns and profiles of response to incivility in the workplace. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology,14,* 272-288. doi: 10.1037/a0014934

DeBlaere, C., & Bertsch, K. N. (2013). Perceived sexist events and psychological distress of sexual minority women of color: The moderating role of womanism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37,* 167-178.

Derogatis, L.R., Lipman, R.S., Rickles, K., Richels, K., Uhlenhuth, E.H., & Covi, L. (1974). The Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL): A measure of primary symptom dimensions. In T. Ban, F. Freyhan, P. Pichot, & W. Poldinger (Eds.), *Modern problems in pharmacopsychiatry* (pp. 79-110). Paris: S. Karger.

Downing, N. E., & Roush, K. L. (1985). From passive acceptance to active commitment: A model of feminist identity development for women. *The Counseling Psychologist, 13,* 695-709.

Eisele, H., & Stake, J. (2008). The differential relationship of feminist attitudes and feminist identity to self-efficacy. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *32,* 233-244.

Fairchild, K. (2010). Context effects on women's perceptions of stranger harassment. *Sexuality & Culture, 14,* 191-216.

Fairchild, K., & Rudman, L. A. (2008). Everyday stranger harassment and women's objectification. *Social Justice Research, 21,* 338-357.

Fassinger, R. E. (1994). Development and testing of the attitudes toward feminism and the women's movement (FWM) scale. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 18,* 389–402.

Feminism. (n.d.). Retrieved March 30, 2014, from http://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/feminism

Fenigstein, A., Scheier, M. F., & Buss, A. H. (1975). Public and private self-consciousness: Assessment and theory. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 43,* 522-527. doi: 10.1037/h0076760

Fischer, A. R., & Good, G. E. (1994). Gender, self, and others: Perceptions of the campus environment. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 41,* 343-355.

Fischer, A. R., & Good, G. E. (2004). Women's feminist consciousness, anger, and psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51,* 437-446. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.437

Fitz, C. C., Zucker, A. N., & Bay-Cheng, L. Y. (2012). Not all nonlabelers are created equal: Distinguishing between quasi-feminists and neoliberals. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 36,* 274-285. doi: 10.1177/0361684312451098

Fitzgerald, L. F. (1990). Assessing strategies for coping with sexual harassment: A theoretical/empirical approach. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Women in Psychology, Tempe, AZ.

Fitzgerald, L. F., Gelfand, M. J., & Drasgow, F. (1995). Measuring sexual harassment: theoretical and psychometric advances. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 17,* 425-445.

Fitzgerald, L. F., Shullman, N., Bailey, N., Richards, M., Swecker, J., Gold, Y., . . . Weitzman, L. (1988). The incidence and dimensions of sexual harassment in academia and the workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 32,* 152-175.

Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 173-206.

Foster, M. D. (2001). The motivational quality of global attributions in hypothetical and experienced situations of gender discrimination. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 25,* 242-253.

Garcia, D. M., Branscombe, N. R., Desmarais, S., & Gee, S. S. (2006). Attitudes toward redistributive social policies: The effects of social comparisons and policy experience. In S. Guimond (Ed.), *Social comparison and social psychology* (pp. 151-173). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner, C. B. (1980). Passing by: Street remarks, address rights, and the urban female. *Sociological Inquiry, 50,* 328-356.

Gardner, C. B. (1995). *Passing by: Gender and public harassment.* Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Gelfand, M. J., Fitzgerald, L. F., & Drasgow, F. (1995). The structure of sexual harassment: A confirmatory analysis across cultures and settings. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 47,* 164-177.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist, 56,*109-118. doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.56.2.109

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*(3), 491-512.

Glick, P., Lameiras, M., Fiske, S. T., Eckes, T., Masser, B., Volpato, C., et al. (2004). Bad but bold: Ambivalent attitudes toward men predict gender inequality in 16 nations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 86,* 713-728. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.86.5.713

Gonzaga, G. C., Keltner, D., Ward, D. (2008). Power in mixed-sex stranger interactions. *Cognition and Emotion, 22,* 1555-1568. doi: 10.1080/02699930801921008

Green, D.E., Walkey, F.H., McCormick, I.A.W., & Taylor, A.J. (1988). Development and evaluation of a 21-item version of the Hopkins Symptom Checklist with New Zealand and United States respondents. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 40,* 61-70.

Gruber, J. E. (1989). How women handle sexual harassment: A literature review. *Sociology and Social Research, 74,* 3-9.

Gutek, B. A., & Done, R. S. (2001). Sexual harassment. In R. K. Unger (Ed.), *Handbook for the Psychology of Women and Gender* (pp. 367-387). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Hage, S. M., & Romano, J. L. (2000). Prevention and counseling psychology: Revitalizing commitments for the 21st century. *The Counseling Psychologist, 28,* 733-763.

Hage, S. M., Romano, J. L., Conyne, R. K., Kenny, M., Matthews, C., Schwartz, J. P, & Waldo, M. (2007). Best practice guidelines on prevention practice, research, training, & social advocacy for psychologists. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35(*4), 493-566. doi: 10.1177/0011000006291411

Helms, J. E. (1990). *"Womanist" identity attitudes: An alternative to feminism in counseling theory and research.* Unpublished manuscript, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

Henley, N. M., Meng, K., O'Brien, D., McCarthy, W. J., & Sockloskie, R. J. (1998). Developing a scale to measure the diversity of feminist attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 22,* 317-348. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1998.tb00158.x

Hoffman, R. M. (2006). Gender self-definition and gender self-acceptance in women: Intersections with feminist, womanist, and ethnic identities. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 84,* 358-372.

Holland, K. J., & Cortina, L. M. (2013). When sexism and feminism collide: The sexual harassment of feminist working women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 37,* 192-208. doi: 10.1177/0361684313482873

hooks, B. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center.* Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Johnson, H., & Sacco, V. F. (1995). Researching violence against women: Statistics Canada's national survey. *Canadian Journal of Criminology, 37,* 281-304.

Johnson, D. M., Worell, J., & Chandler, R. K. (2005). Assessing psychological health and empowerment in women: The personal progress scale revised. *Women & Health, 41,* 109-129. doi: 10.1300/J013v41n01_07

Kearney, L. K., & Gilbert, L. A. (2012). The role of ethnicity in Mexican American and non-Hispanic white students' experience of sexual harassment. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 34,* 507-524. doi: 10.1177/0739986312461134

Keltner, D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Anderson, C. (2003). Power, approach, and inhibition. *Psychological Review, 110,* 265-284.

Keppel, G., & Wickens, T. D. (2004). *Design and analysis: A researcher's handbook (4th ed.).*

King, K. (2003). Do you see what I see? Effects of group consciousness on African American women's attributions to prejudice. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 27,* 17-30. doi:10.1111/14716402.t01-2-00003

Kissling, E. A. (1991). Street harassment: The language of sexual terrorism. *Discourse & Society, 2,* 451-460.

Kissling, E. A., & Kramarae, C. (1991). Stranger compliments: The interpretation of street remarks. *Women's Studies in Communication,* Spring: 77-95.

Kline, R. B. (2011). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling (3rd ed.).* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Klonis, S., Endo, J., Crosby, F., & Worell, J. (1997). Feminism as life raft. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 333-345.

Klonoff, E. A., & Landrine, H. (1995). The schedule of sexist events: A measure of lifetime and recent sexist discrimination in women's lives. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19,* 439-472.

Klonoff, E. A., Landrine, H., & Campbell, R. (2000). Sexist discrimination may account

for well-known gender differences in psychiatric symptoms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 24,* 93-99. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.2000.tb01025.x

Knapp, D. E., Faley, R. H., Ekeberg, S. E., Y Dubois, C. L. Z. (1997). Determinants of target responses to sexual harassment: A conceptual framework. *Academy of Management Review, 22,* 687-729.

Kobrynowicz, D., & Branscombe, N. R. (1997). Who considers themselves victims of discrimination: Individual difference predictors of perceived gender discrimination in women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 347-363.

Kochman, T. (1981). *Black and white styles in conflict.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kruglanski, A. W., & Webster, D. M. (1996). Motivated closing of the mind: "Seizing" and "freezing." *Psychological Review, 103,* 263-283. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.103.2.263

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1997). *Discrimination against women: Prevalence, consequences, remedies.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lane, J. D., & Wegner, D. M. (1995). The cognitive consequences of secrecy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69,* 237-253. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.69.2.237

Leaper, C., & Arias, D. M. (2011). College women's feminist identity: A multidimensional analysis with implications for coping with sexism. *Sex Roles, 64,* 475-490.

MacMillan, R., Nierobisz, A., & Welsh, S. (2000). Experiencing the streets: Harassment and perceptions of safety among women. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 37,* 306-322.

Magley, V. J. (2002). Coping with sexual harassment: Reconceptualizing women's resistance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83,* 930-946. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.83.4.930

Mecca, S. J., & Rubin, L. J. (1999). Definitional research on African American students and sexual harassment. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 23,* 813-817.

Moradi, B., & DeBlaere, C. (2010). Women's experiences of sexist discrimination: Review of research and directions for centralizing race, ethnicity, and culture. In H. Landrine & N. F. Russo (Eds.), *Handbook of Diversity in Feminist Psychology* (pp. 173-210). New York, NY: Springer Publishing Company, LLC.

Moradi, B., & Subich, L. M. (2002). Perceived sexist events and feminist identity

development attitudes: Links to women's psychological distress. *The Counseling Psychologist, 30,* 44-65.

Nielsen, L. B. (2000). Situating legal consciousness: Experiences and attitudes of ordinary citizens about law and street harassment. *Law & Society Review, 34,* 1055-1090.

Parent, M. C. (2013). Handling item-level missing data: Simpler is just as good. *The Counseling Psychologist, 41,* 568-600. doi: 10.1177/0011000012445176

Parks, E. E., Carter, R. T., & Gushue, G. V. (1996). At the crossroads: Racial and womanist identity development in Black and White women. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 74,* 624-631.

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67,* 741-763.

Quintana, S. M., & Segura-Herrera, T. A. (2003). Developmental transformations of self and identity in the context of oppression. *Self and Identity, 2,* 269-285.

Rickard, K. M. (1989). The relationship of self-monitored dating behaviors to level of feminist identity on the feminist identityscale. *Sex Roles, 20,* 213–226.

Robnett, R. D., Anderson, K. J., & Hunter, L. E. (2012). Predicting feminist identity: Associations between gender-traditional attitudes, feminist stereotyping, and ethnicity. *Sex Roles, 67,* 143-157. doi: 10.1007/s11199-012-0170-2

Roets, A., & van Heil, A. (2007). Separating ability from need: Clarifying the dimensional structure of the need for closure scale. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33,* 266-280. doi: 10.1177/0146167206294744

Rubin, Z., & Peplau, L. A. (1975). Who believes in a just world? *Journal of Social Issues, 31,* 65-89.

Sabik, N. J., & Tylka, T. L. (2006). Do feminist identity styles moderate the relation between perceived sexist events and disordered eating? *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 30,* 77-84. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.2006.00264.x

Sanders Thompson, V. L., Noel, J. G., Campbell, J. (2004). Stigmatization, discrimination, and mental health: The impact of multiple identity status. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 74,* 529-544. doi: 10.1037/0002-9432.74.4.529

Schlomer, G. L., Bauman, S., & Card, N. A. (2010). Best practices for missing data

management in counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 57*, 1-10.

Schneider, B. (1982). Consciousness about sexual harassment among heterosexual and lesbian workers. *Journal of Social Issues, 38,* 75-98.

Sechrist, G. B., & Swim, J. K. (2008). Psychological consequences of failing to attribute negative outcomes to discrimination. *Sex Roles, 59,* 21-38.

Smith, E. R., Ferree, M. M., & Miller, F. D. (1975). A short scale of attitudes towards feminism. *Representative Research in Social Psychology, 6,* 51-56.

Smith, M., & Morra, N. (1994). Obscene and threatening telephone calls to women: Data from a Canadian national survey. *Gender & Society, 8,* 584-596.

Spender, D. (1985). *Man made language (*2nd Ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Swim, J. K. (1999). Sensitivity to sexism and perceptions of reports about sexist events. *Swiss Journal of Psychology, 58,* 251-256.

Stanko, E. A. (1985). *Intimate intrusions: Women's experience of male violence.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1999). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice.* New York: Wiley.

Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68,* 199-214.

Swim, J. K., & Cohen, L. L. (1997). Overt, covert, and subtle sexism: A comparison between the attitudes toward women and modern sexism scales. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 103-118.

Swim, J. K., Eyssell, K. M., Murdoch, E. Q., & Ferguson, M. J. (2010). Self-silencing to sexism. *Journal of Social Issues, 66,* 493-507.

Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me-what did you just say?! Women's public and private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 35,* 68-88.

Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., & Ferguson, M. J. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues, 57,* 31-53.

Szymanski, D. M. (2005). Heterosexism and sexism as correlates of psychological

distress in lesbians. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 83,* 355-360. doi: 10.1002/j.1556-6678.2005.tb00355.x

Szymanski, D. M. (2009). Examining potential moderators of the link between heterosexist events and gay and bisexual men's psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 56,* 142-151. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.56.1.142

Szymanski, D. M., & Owen, G. P. (2009). Group-level coping as a moderator between heterosexism and sexism and psychological distress in sexual minority women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33,* 197-205.

Tabachnick, B.G., & Fidell, L.S. (2011). *Using multivariate Statistics (5th ed.).* New Jersey: Pearson Education.

Thomas, Barrie, Bruner, Clawson, Hewitt, Jeremie-Brink, & Rowe-Johnson (in press). Development of the critical consciousness inventory. *Journal of Research on Adolescence.*

Tinsley, H. E. A., & Tinsley, D. J. (1987). Uses of factor analysis in counseling psychology research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 34,* 414-424.

Turner, J. C. (2000). Social identity. In A. E. Kazdin (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of psychology* (pp. 341-343). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tyner, L. J., & Clinton, M. S. (2010). Sexual harassment in the workplace: Are human resource professionals victims? *Journal of Organizational Culture, Communications and Conflict, 14,* 33-49.

Valenzuela, A. (1993). Liberal gender role attitudes and academic achievement among Mexican-origin adolescents in two Houston inner-city Catholic schools. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral sciences, 15,* 310-323.

Velez, B. L., Moradi, B., & Brewster, M. E. (2013). Testing the tenets of minority stress theory in workplace contexts. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60,* 532-542. doi: 10.1037/a0033346

Vera, E. M., & Speight, S. L. (2003). Multicultural competence, social justice, and counseling psychology: Expending our roles. *The Counseling Psychologist, 31,* 253-272.

Wasti, S. A., & Cortina, L. M. (2002). Coping in context: Sociocultural determinants of responses to sexual harassment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83,* 394-405. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.83.2.394

Watts, R. J., Abdul-Adil, J. K., & Pratt, T. (2002). Enhancing critical consciousness in young African American men: A psychoeducational approach. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 3,* 41-50. DOI: 10.1037//1524-9220.3.1.41

Wesselmann, E. D., & Kelly, J. R. (2010). Cat-calls and culpability: Investigation the frequency and functions of stranger harassment. *Sex Roles, 63,* 451-462.

West, S.G., Finch, J. F., & Curran, P.J. (1995). Structural equation models with nonnormal variables: Problems and remedies. In R.H. Hoyle (Ed)., *Structural equation modeling: Concepts, issues, and applications,* (pp. 56-75). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Weston, R., & Gore, P. A. (2006). A brief guide to structural equation modeling. *The Counseling Psychologist, 34,* 719-751. doi: 10.1177/0011000006286345

Worell, J., & Remer, P. (2003). *Feminist perspectives in therapy: Empowering diverse women (2nd ed.).* Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Yoder, J. D., Snell, A. F., & Tobias, A. (2012). Balancing multicultural competence with social justice: Feminist beliefs and optimal psychological functioning. *The Counseling Psychologist, 40,* 1101-1132. doi: 10.1177/0011000011426296

Yoder, J. D., Tobias, A., & Snell, A. F. (2011). When declaring "I am a Feminist" matters: Labeling is linked to activism. *Sex Roles, 64,* 9-18. doi: 10.1007/s11199-010-9890-3

Zucker, A. N. (2004). Disavowing social identities: What it means when women say, "I'm not a feminist but…". *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 28,* 423-435.

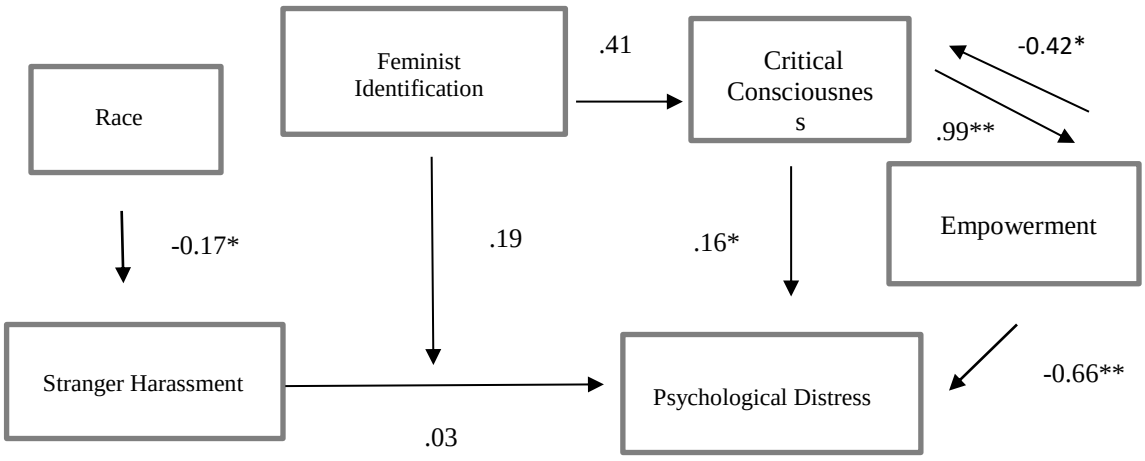

Figure 1. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Feminist Identification as the Moderating Variable (Model 1). *p<.05, **p<.001

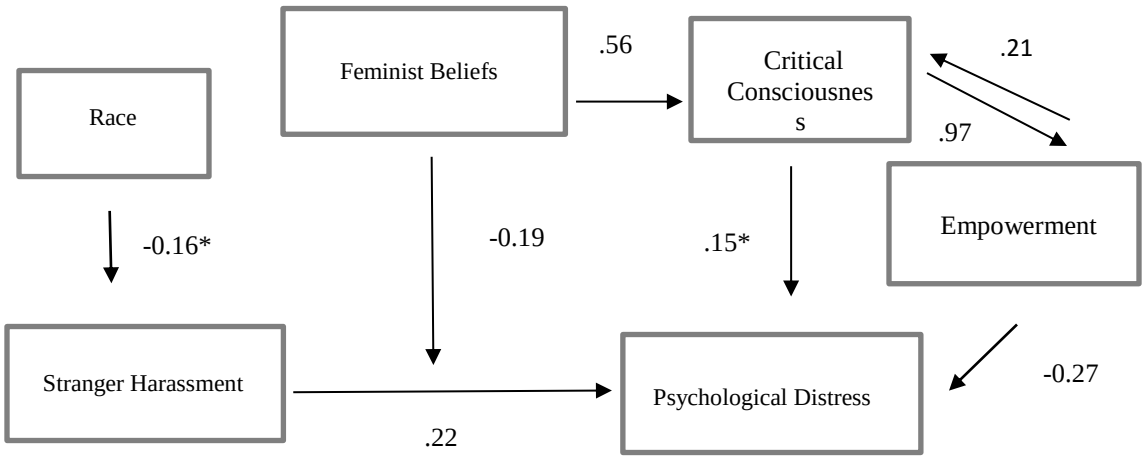

Figure 2. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Feminist Beliefs as the Moderating Variable (Model 2). *p<.05, **p<.001

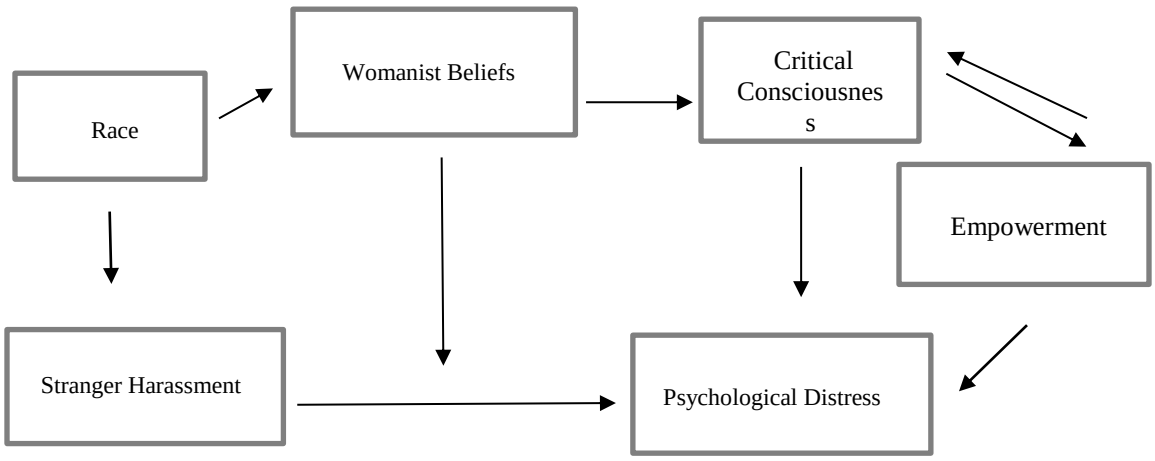

Figure 3. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Womanist Beliefs as the Moderating Variable (Model 3). *p<.05, **p<.001

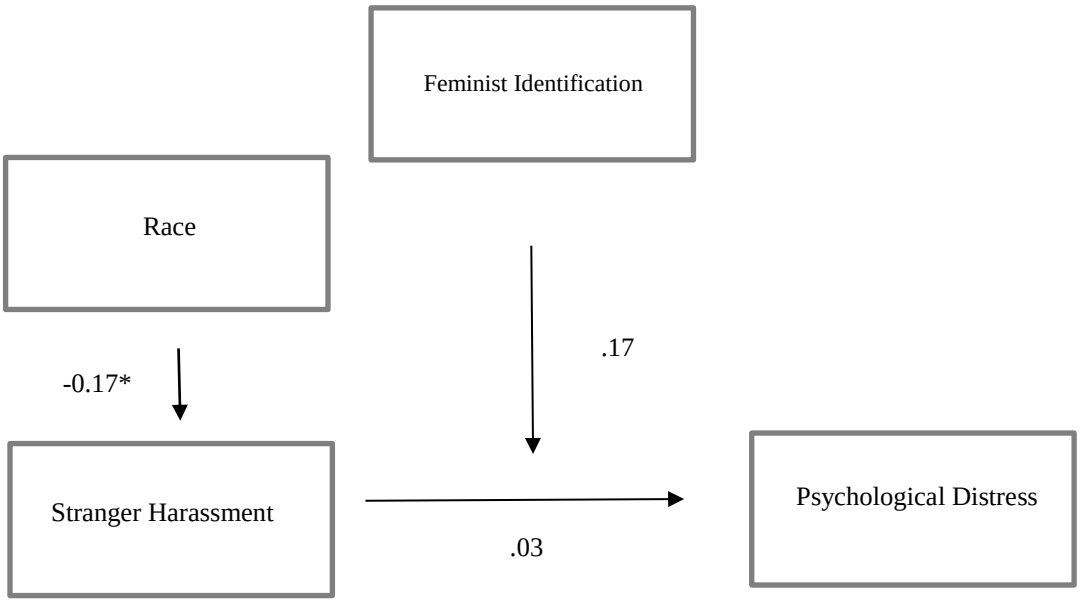

Figure 4. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Feminist Identification as the Moderating Variable (Model 4). *p<.05, **p<.001

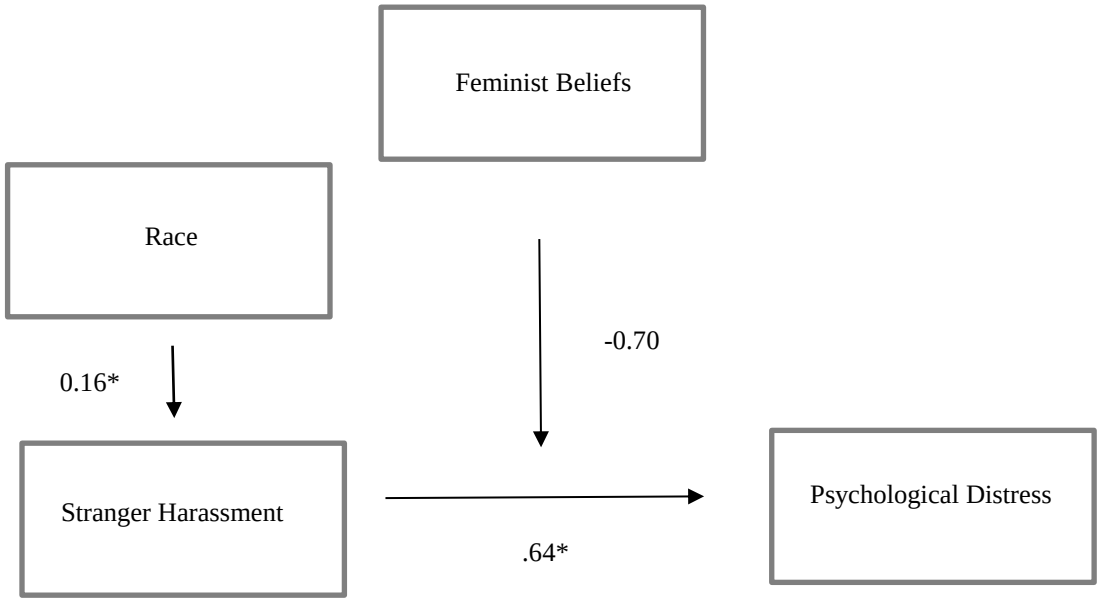

Figure 5. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Feminist Beliefs as the Moderating Variable (Model 5). *p<.05, **p<.001

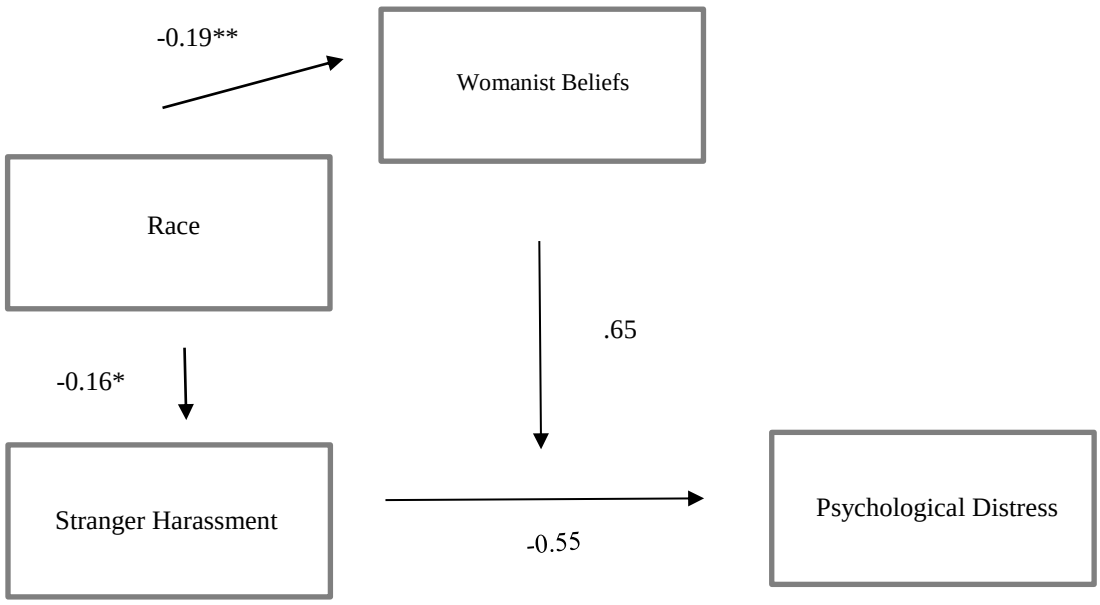

Figure 6. Standardized Path Coefficients for Hypothesized Model with Womanist Beliefs as the Moderating Variable (Model 6). *p<.05, **p<.001

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ambivalent Sexism – Combination of benevolent and hostile sexist beliefs

Benevolent Sexism - set of beliefs that view women stereotypically and in restricted roles, but appear to be positive in tone; i.e., women must be protected

Covert Sexism - extension of overt and old-fashioned sexism except it is not typically outwardly visible; individuals may outwardly project an appearance of support for gender equality but then may engage in secretive behaviors that serve to undermine women's progress in some capacity

Everyday Sexism – similar to benevolent sexism, everyday incidents that women experience that are indicative of being viewed as less than equal to men; discriminatory and prejudicial in nature and can contain statements that are consistent with traditional gender role expectations or beliefs, demeaning or derogatory behavior, and sexually objectifying comments

Hostile Sexism – similar to old-fashioned or overt sexism in that it is a display of outwardly sexist behavior towards women; stem from the belief that women are attempting to compete with men in various arenas and are thus disrupting the gender hierarchy that is currently in place

Modern Sexism – thought to replace old-fashioned sexism, ideology that gender

discrimination no longer exists, resentment towards women's requests for fair treatment and compensation, and a lack of voter support for issues that are considered to be in favor of women

Old Fashioned Sexism - expressed desire for traditional gender roles, treating men and women differently on the basis of their gender expression, and endorsing stereotypes that place women in an unfavorable light

Overt Sexism - also known as blatant sexism, has been defined as negative behavior and harmful treatment towards women that is outwardly observable by others, similar expression to old-fashioned sexism

Sexual Harassment - The manifestation of everyday sexist incidents that women encounter. These incidents of sexual harassment have been allocated into three separate types of expressions: sexual coercion, gender harassment, and unwanted sexual attention. This type of harassment it thought to typically occur either in the individual's place of employment or in a school setting by a known perpetrator.

Stranger Harassment - Any unwanted sexual attention perpetrated by strangers (most often men) in public spaces. It can manifest as both verbal and nonverbal behavior comprised of wolf whistling, leering, winking, physically grabbing or pinching the individual, and making catcalls, all of which tend to be sexualized or objectifying in nature. It tends to be a commentary on either a woman's physical appearance or simply her presence in a public space. This can occur on the street, on a campus, at a bar, telephone, etc.

Subtle Sexism - openly harmful treatment towards women that goes unnoticed due to the perception that this type of behavior is normal and thus acceptable; might believe

that their behaviors are not indicative of prejudice and could believe that gender discrimination is no longer an issue

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your age?

2. What is your self-identified gender?

___ Female

___ Male

___ Transgender

3. What is your race?

___White/Caucasian

___Black/African American

___Asian American

___American Indian/Alaskan Native

___Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

___More than one race

___Other; describe_____

4. Are you of Hispanic or Latino descent? Yes No

5. What is your current country of residence?

___ United States of America

___ Canada

___ Other, please describe: _____

6. Which one best describes to whom you are sexually attracted?

___ Other sex only

___ Other sex mostly

___ Other sex somewhat more

___ Both sexes equally

___ Same sex somewhat more

___ Same sex mostly

___ Same sex only

___ Other; please describe _____

7. What is your current relationship status

___ Single

___ In a committed relationship

___ Married/civil union

___ Co-habitating

___ Separated

___ Divorced

___ Widowed

8. Are you currently employed? Yes No Retired

8a. If yes, what is your employment status?

___ Full-time (35 hours or more per week)

___ Part-time (less than 35 hours per week)

9. What category best describes your current job?

___ Management occupations

___ Business and financial operations occupations

___ Computer and mathematical occupations

___ Architecture and engineering occupations

___ Life, physical, and social science occupations

___ Professional gambling occupations

___ Community and social services occupations

___ Legal occupations

___ Education, training, and library occupations

___ Arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations

___ Healthcare practitioners and technical occupations

___ Healthcare support occupations

___ Protective service occupations

___ Food preparation and serving related occupations

___ Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance occupations

___ Personal care and service occupations

___ Sales and related occupations

___ Office and administrative support occupations

___ Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations

___ Construction and extraction occupations

___ Installation, maintenance, and repair occupations

___ Production occupations

___ Transportation and material moving occupations

___ Military specific occupations

___ Other, please describe: _____

10. Which of the following describes your family's income?

___ My family has a hard time buying the things we need.

___ My family has just enough money for the things we need.

___ My family has no problem buying the things we need and sometimes we can also buy special things.

___ My family has enough money to buy pretty much anything we want.

11. Please estimate your current personal income

___ less than $20,000 per year

___ $20,000 - $40, 000 per year

___ $45,000 - $60,000 per year

___ $60,000 - $80,000 per year

___ $80,000 - $100,000 per year

___ more than $100,000 per year; describe_____

12. What is your highest educational level?

___ Less than high school

___ Some high school

___ High school diplomoa/GED

___ Some college

___ Associates degree

___ Bachelors degree

___ Some post graduate work

___ Masters degree

___ Professional degree

___ Doctoral degree

13. If you are enrolled in college, what year are you in?

___ Not currently enrolled in college

___ Freshman

___ Sophomore

___ Junior

___ Senior

___ Graduate

___ Other

14. Where did you find this survey?

_____

APPENDIX C

STRANGER HARASSMENT INDEX

Stranger Harassment Index – Experiences (YES or NO)

1a. Have you ever experienced sexist remarks or behaviors from a stranger?

2a. Have you ever experienced crude and offensive sexual remarks, jokes, or actions from a stranger?

3a. Have you ever experienced seductive behavior, remarks, or 'come ons' from a stranger?

4a. Have you ever experienced unwanted sexual attention or interaction from a stranger?

5a. Have you ever experienced subtle pressure or coercion to cooperate sexually from a stranger?

6a. Have you ever experienced direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger?

7a. Have you ever experienced unwanted touching, stroking, or hugging from a stranger?

8a. Have you ever experienced direct or forceful fondling or grabbing from a stranger?

9a. Have you ever experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger?

Stranger Harassment Index – Frequency (once in the past year; once a month; 2-4 times per month; every few days; every day)

1b. How frequently have you experienced sexist remarks or behaviors from a stranger?

2b. How frequently have you experienced crude and offensive sexual remarks, jokes, or actions from a stranger?

3b. How frequently have you experienced seductive behavior, remarks, or 'come ons' from a stranger?

4b. How frequently have you experienced unwanted sexual attention or interaction from a stranger?

5b. How frequently have you experienced subtle pressure or coercion to cooperate sexually from a stranger?

6b. How frequently have you experienced direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger?

7b. How frequently have you experienced unwanted touching, stroking, or hugging from a stranger?

8b. How frequently have you experienced direct or forceful fondling or grabbing from a stranger?

9b. How frequently have you experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger?

APPENDIX D

HOPKINS SYMPTOM CHECKLIST – 21

Please read the following instructions. “How have you felt in the previous 30 days including today?” Use the following scale to describe how distressing you have found these things over time. 1 = not at all, 2 = a little, 3 = quite a bit, 4 = extremely

1. Difficulty in speaking when you’re excited

2. Trouble remembering things

3. Worried about sloppiness or carelessness

4. Blaming yourself for things

5. Pains in the lower part of your back

6. Feeling lonely

7. Feeling blue

8. Your feelings being easily hurt

9. Feeling others do not understand you or are unsympathetic

10. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you

11. Having to do things slowly in order to be sure you’re doing them right

12. Feeling inferior to others

13. Soreness of your muscles

14. Having to check and double check what you do

15. Hot or cold spells

16. Your mind going blank

17. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body

18. A lump in your throat

19. Trouble concentrating

20. Weakness in parts of your body

21. Heavy feelings in your arms and legs

APPENDIX E

PERSONAL PROGRESS SCALE – REVISED

The following statements identify feelings or experiences that some people use to describe themselves. Please answer each question in terms of any aspects of your personal identity that are important to you as a woman, such as gender, race, ethnicity, culture, nationality, sexual orientation, family background, etc. Write your answers in the space to the left of each question using the scale below. For example, for the statement "I feel I give…," you would write 1 if this is almost never true of you now, 7 if this is true of you almost all the time, and 2 through 6 if the statement is usually not true, sometimes true, or frequently true for you in your life now. There are no right or wrong answers.

Almost Never	Occasionally	Sometimes	About Half the time	Often	Mostly	Almost Always
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

____1. I feel I give as much as I get in relationships with important other in my life.

____2. It is important to me to be financially independent.

____3. It is difficult for me to be confident when asking for what I need from others.

____4. I can speak up for my own needs in a relationship.

____5. I feel prepared to deal with the discrimination I experience in today's society.

____6. It is difficult for me to recognize when I am angry.

____7. I feel comfortable confronting important others when we see things differently.

____8. I now understand how my cultural heritage has shaped who I am today.

____9. I give into others so as not to displease or anger them.

____10. I don't feel good about myself as a woman.

____11. When others criticize me, I do not trust myself to decide if they are right or if I should ignore their comments.

____12. I realize that given my current situation, I am handling it the best I can.

____13.I am feeling in control of my life.

____14. I depend on what other's think in deciding what I think is attractive.

____15. I can't seem to make good decisions about my life.

____16. I do not feel able to handle the situations that come up in my everyday life.

____17. I am determined to become a fully functioning person.

____18. I do not believe there is anything I can do to make things better for women like me in today's society.

____19. I believe that a woman like me can succeed in any job or career that I choose.

____20. When making decisions about my life, I do not trust my own experience.

____21. It is difficult for me to tell others when I feel angry.

____22. I am able to tell my partner what I need in a sexual relationship.

____23. It is difficult for me to be good to myself.

____24. It is hard for me to ask for help or support from others when I need it.

____25. I want to help other women like me improve the quality of their lives.

____26. I feel uncomfortable in confronting important others in my life when we see things differently.

____27. I want to feel more appreciated for my cultural background.

____28. I am aware of my own strengths as a woman.

APPENDIX F

FEMINIST IDENTITY

Please tell us how you identify:

____ I do not identify as a feminist

____I do identify as a feminist

APPENDIX G

FEMINIST BELIEFS

Please indicate whether you agree with the following questions based on your personal beliefs.

1. Girls and women have not been treated as well as boys and men in our society.*	____No	____Yes
2. Men are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women.	____No	____Yes
3. Women and men should be paid equally for the same work.*	____No	____Yes
4. A woman's place is in the home.	____No	____Yes
5. Women's unpaid work should be more socially valued.*	____No	____Yes

*cardinal beliefs, the remaining questions are fillers

APPENDIX H

WOMEN OF COLOR PERSPECTIVE

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the questions based on your personal beliefs using the following scale:
1 = *strongly disagree,* 2 = *moderately disagree,* 3 = *somewhat disagree,* 4 = *undecided,* 5 = *somewhat agree,* 6 = *moderately agree,* 7 = *strongly agree*

1. In education and legislation to stop rape, ethnicity and race must be treated sensitively to ensure that women of color are protected equally.

2. Racism and sexism make double the oppression for women of color in the work environment.

3. Women of color have less legal and social service protection from being battered than White women have.

4. Women of color are oppressed by White standards of beauty.

5. Being put on a pedestal, which White women have protested, is a luxury that women of color have not had.

6. Antigay and racist prejudice act together to make it more difficult for gay male and lesbian people of color to maintain relationships.

7. In rape programs and workshops, not enough attention has been given to the special needs of women of color.

8. Discrimination in the workplace is worse for women of color than for all men and White women.

9. Much of the talk about power for women overlooks the need to empower people of all races and colors first.

10. The tradition of women of color who are strong leaders (e.g., Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks) has strengthened communities of color as a whole.

APPENDIX I

CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS INVENTORY

Directions: The following statements concern thoughts you might have about yourself and a variety of situations. There may be more than one choice that you agree with, but circle the one choice that best describes you.

1a. I believe that the world is basically fair.
1b. I believe that the world is basically fair but others believe that it is unfair.
1c. I believe that the world is unfair for some people.
1d. I believe that the world is unfair, and I make sure to treat others fairly.

2a. I believe that all people are treated equally.
2b. I believe that some people don't take advantage of opportunities given to them and blame others instead.
2c. I believe that some groups are discriminated against.
2d. I work to make sure that people are treated equally and are given equal chances.

3a. I think that education gives everyone an equal chance to do well.
3b. I think that education gives everyone who works hard an equal chance.
3c. I think that the educational system is unequal.
3d. I think that the educational system needs to be changed in order for everyone to have an equal chance.

4a. I believe people get what they deserve.
4b. I believe that some people are treated badly but there are ways that they can work to be treated fairly.
4c. I believe that some people are treated badly because of oppression.
4d. I feel angry that some people are treated badly because of oppression and I often do something to change it.

5a. I think all social groups are respected.
5b. I think the social groups that are not respected have done things that lead people to think badly of them.
5c. I think people do not respect members of some social groups based on stereotypes.
5d. I am respectful of people in all social groups, and I speak up when others are not.

6a. I don't notice when people make prejudiced comments.
6b. I notice when people make prejudiced comments and it hurts me.
6c. It hurts me when people make prejudiced comments but I am able to move on.

6d. When someone makes a prejudiced comment, I tell them that what they said is hurtful.

7a. When people tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I laugh and don't really think about it.
7b. When people tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I laugh but also feel uncomfortable.
7c. When people tell a joke that makes fun of a social group, I realize that the joke is based on a stereotype.
7d. I tell people when I feel that their joke was offensive.

8a. I don't see much oppression in this country.
8b. I feel hopeless and overwhelmed when I think about oppression in this country.
8c. I feel like oppression in this country is less than in the past and will continue to change.
8d. I actively work to support organizations which help people who are oppressed.

9a. I don't feel bad when people say they have been oppressed.
9b. I feel sad or angry when experiencing or seeing oppression.
9c. I often become sad or angry when experiencing or seeing oppression, but I find ways to cope with my feelings.
9d. I work to protect myself from negative feelings when acts of oppression happen.

APPENDIX J

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Introduction: You are being asked to participate in a research project being conducted by Megan Yetzer, MA (a doctoral student in the Department of Psychology at The University of Akron) under the supervision of Dawn Johnson, Ph.D. (Department of Psychology, University of Akron). You will be one of approximately 600 participants. In order to decide whether or not you wish to participate, you need to understand enough of the procedure, risks, and benefits to make an informed decision. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask the researcher any questions you have.

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of women.

Procedures: If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer a number of questions concerning interactions with others, psychological distress, beliefs, and demographic information. It will take approximately 30-60 minutes to complete the survey.

Exclusion: You must be at least 18 years old and identify as a woman to participate in this research study.

Risks and Discomforts: There are no known risks for participating in this research study. However, potential risks may include some discomfort while answering questions related to your experiences and psychological distress. A debriefing section at the end of the study will provide participants with resources.

Benefits: You will likely receive no direct benefit from your participation in this study, however, your participation may help us better understand the varied experiences of women.

Confidential Data Collection: Information collected will be completely anonymous. There will be no identifying information collected that could link you to your responses. Only completed data will be used.

Confidentiality of records: Your answers will be put in a computer file by number. Data will be kept for no less than 5 years and destroyed after that time in accordance with APA guidelines.

Right to refuse or withdraw: Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You can quit at any time and will not be penalized, even if you do not complete the study.

Who to contact with questions: If you have any questions about this study, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Megan Yetzer, at mjy7@zips.uakron.edu. This project has been reviewed and approved by The University of Akron Institutional Review Board. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call the IRB at (330) 972-7666.

Acceptance: I have read the information provided and all of my questions have been answered. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. Checking the "Yes" box below will serve as my consent. I may print a copy of this consent statement for future reference.

APPENDIX K

IRB APPROVAL FOR RESEARCH WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS

Office of Research Administration Akron, OH 44325-2102

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

September 22, 2014

Megan Yetzer
952B Rocky Brook Drive
Akron, Ohio 44313

From: Sharon McWhorter, IRB Administrator

Re: IRB Number 20140909 "Stranger Harassment: An Investigation of the Protective Role of Feminism and Womanism"

Thank you for submitting your IRB Application for Review of Research Involving Human Subjects for the referenced project. Your application was approved on September 22, 2014. Your protocol represents minimal risk to subjects and matches the following federal category for exemption:

Exemption 1 – Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices.

X Exemption 2 – Research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior.

Exemption 3 - Research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior not exempt under category 2, but subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office.

Exemption 4 – Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens.

Exemption 5 – Research and demonstration projects conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine public programs or benefits.

Exemption 6 – Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies.

Annual continuation applications are not required for exempt projects. If you make changes to the study's design or procedures that increase the risk to subjects or include activities that do not fall within the approved exemption category, please contact me to discuss whether or not a new application must be submitted. Any such changes or modifications must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to implementation.

Please retain this letter for your files. This office will hold your exemption application for a period of three years from the approval date. If you wish to continue this protocol beyond this period, you will need to submit another Exemption Request. If the research is being conducted for a master's thesis or doctoral dissertation, the student must file a copy of this letter with the thesis or dissertation.

Approved consent form/s enclosed

Cc: Dawn M. Johnson - Advisor
Cc: Valerie Callanan – IRB Chair