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Workplace Harassment: Double Jeopardy for Minority Women

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To date there have been no studies of how both sex and ethnicity might affect the incidence of both sexual and ethnic harassment at work. This article represents an effort to fill this gap. Data from employees at 5 organizations were used to test whether minority women are subject to double jeopardy at work, experiencing the most harassment because they are both women and members of a minority group. The results supported this prediction. Women experienced more sexual harassment than men, minorities experienced more ethnic harassment than Whites, and minority women experienced more harassment overall than majority men, minority men, and majority women.

Keywords: sex, gender, race, ethnicity, harassment

Most research and policy on discrimination at work has focused on sex and race discrimination, which were outlawed 40 years ago in the United States by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Since that time, segregation and wage disparities based on sex and race have declined, though women and minorities¹ remain underrepresented in high-paying and high-status jobs. A major tool for maintaining this inequality is on-the-job harassment: Women and minorities often face hostile receptions in traditionally male- and White-dominated domains, which discourage them from entering and remaining in those domains. Studies have demonstrated that sexual and ethnic harassment at work pose significant problems for women and minorities, respectively, and negatively affect recipients' physical, psychological, and organizational well-being (Schneider, Hitlan & Radhakrishnan, 2000; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997).

Though employees may experience both sexual and ethnic harassment on the job, to date there have been no studies that have examined how an individual's sex and ethnicity might jointly affect his or her experiences of both types of harassment at work. Studies of sexual harassment have focused on women's experiences and have led to the development of theories and measures that are largely based on White women's experiences and that overlook or even exclude those of minority women (Cortina, 2001; Mecca & Rubin, 1999). Studies of ethnic harassment have compared the prevalence of Whites' and non-Whites' experiences of ethnic harassment (e.g., Schneider et al., 2000) but have ignored the influence of sex.

If most victims of sexual harassment are women and most victims of ethnic harassment are minorities, it follows that minority women face double jeopardy with respect to harassment at work. It is ironic, however, that we can find no study that has simultaneously compared the harassment experiences of majority men, majority women, minority men, and minority women, a fact that has left a gap in our understanding of how double jeopardy for minority women might manifest in organizations. With this article we aim to fill this gap. We begin by noting how minority women have been largely omitted from discussions of sexism and racism, and we examine the reasons why they are disproportionately likely to be targets of prejudice. We tested this prediction with a study of the sexual and ethnic harassment experiences of both men and women employees at five ethnically diverse organizations. The current research represents the first study to provide comparative data on the relative incidence of both sexual and ethnic harassment among minority women, minority men, majority women, and majority men.

Background

People are discriminated against at work on the basis of multiple characteristics; of these, sex and race have received the most attention by policymakers and researchers alike. The workforce is highly segregated along sex and race lines, with women and ethnic minorities occupying lower paying, less prestigious, and less powerful jobs than White men (cf. Bayard, Hellerstein, Neumark, & Troske, 2003; Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2001; Cobb-Clark & Dunlop, 1999; Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995; Hersch &

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¹ Throughout this article we use the term *minority* to refer to individuals whose ethnic backgrounds are primarily non-Caucasian and the term *majority* to refer to individuals whose ethnic backgrounds are primarily Caucasian. As the population in North America becomes more ethnically diverse and Caucasians lose their majority status, these terms will become less appropriate. For example, 50% of the population in the United States is expected to be part of a visible minority group by 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2003).

Viscusi, 1996; Maume, 1999; Reskin & Padavic, 1999; Schneider et al., 2000; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1995).

The "Oppression Olympics": Who Has It Worse?

A longstanding debate exists regarding who has it worse: women or ethnic minorities. One educator jokingly referred to this issue as "the oppression Olympics" (R. Ely, personal communication, October 1994). Those taking the position that ethnic minorities are more disadvantaged than women argue that the oppression of one ethnic group by another takes on particularly violent forms (cf. Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000), and they point to the depressingly common examples of ethnic segregation, slavery, and genocide. They argue that heterosexual interdependence prevents the same level of brutality against women by men. It appears that ethnic minorities expect to be discriminated against more than do women (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002).

Those arguing that women have it worse believe heterosexual interdependence works against women because it provides more opportunities for men to privately victimize women. The oppression of women is argued to be more universal, but at the same time less visible, than the oppression of one ethnic group by another. Patriarchy is theorized to be the original form of oppression (e.g., Engels, 1902/1942), and unlike race-based inequality, is observed in some form in all societies (cf. Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Work continues to be more segregated along sex lines than race lines (cf. Blau et al., 2001), and minority men have made it farther than women in most domains of power (e.g., the military, church, politics, professional sports, the music industry, and the corporate world). Violence against women is argued to be no less brutal than interracial violence but merely to provoke less attention and outrage (cf. Koss et al., 1994).

Clearly, severe forms of prejudice and discrimination occur against women and ethnic minorities, and women from different ethnic groups have much in common, as do men and women from the same ethnic group. It is ironic, however, that comparing the relative status of women and minorities often ignores the unique position of those who are likely to have it the worst of all: minority women. The study of sex-based prejudice and discrimination has primarily focused on White women's experiences (Cortina, 2001; Mecca & Rubin, 1999), whereas the study of race-based prejudice and discrimination has overwhelmingly focused on minority men's experiences (Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982). Comparisons between women and minorities usually compare women with minority men, omitting minority women from the latter or even both categories, though they belong to each.

We have found no study that has examined how both sex and ethnicity might affect the experience of both sexual and ethnic harassment at work. Most comparative work remains focused on the position of women compared with that of men or the position of Whites compared with that of minorities. For example, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (1981, 1988, 1995), which has conducted the largest studies of sexual harassment at work, does not separate data by ethnic group. Studies that have focused on the experiences of minorities often have studied minorities exclusively (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Cortina, 2001; Cortina, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 2002; Essed, 1992; Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1991; Segura, 1992). Thus, there is an absence of empirical data on the comparative experiences of White women, minority women,

White men, and minority men with respect to sexual and ethnic harassment at work (Murrell, 1996).

The Double Jeopardy Hypothesis

Women of color began to theorize about their uniquely disadvantaged position in the 1970s and 1980s (Almquist, 1975; Hull et al., 1982; D. K. King, 1988; Moraga, Anzaldúa, & Bambara, 1981). A major hypothesis coming out of considerations of the joint effects of sex and ethnicity on discrimination was the double jeopardy hypothesis. This hypothesis proposes that minority women face a double whammy of discrimination (Beal, 1970; Bond & Perry, 1970; Chow, 1987; Epstein, 1973; Garcia, 1989; Jackson, 1973; M. King, 1975; Lorber, 1998; Reid, 1984): They are discriminated against both as women and as minorities. According to this hypothesis, minority women are the primary targets of harassment and discrimination because they face both sexual and ethnic prejudice. Consistent with this hypothesis is research showing that Black and Latina women earn the lowest wages (Browne, 1999), have the least authority in the workplace (Browne, Hewitt, Tigges, & Green, 2001; Maume, 1999) and are the most concentrated in undesirable jobs (Aldridge, 1999; Spalter-Roth & Deitch, 1999). These outcomes represent the economic and occupational segregation of minority women into the lowest ranks of the workforce. However, it remains an open question whether minority women experience more on-the-job harassment overall than do other employees in similar roles in the same organizations. The double jeopardy hypothesis says they do:

Hypothesis 1: Minority women experience more overall harassment than any other sex-ethnic group.

Additive Versus Multiplicative Double Jeopardy

There are two versions of the double jeopardy hypothesis (see Figure 1). The first is additive and reasons that minority women and majority women experience equivalent amounts of sex discrimination, that minority women and minority men experience equivalent amounts of race discrimination, and that adding the two sources of discrimination together (sex and race) leads to the result of minority women experiencing the most discrimination. In terms of harassment, this additive version predicts the following:

Hypothesis 2a: Sex of target has a main effect on sexual harassment: Women experience more sexual harassment than men. Ethnicity of target has no effect on sexual harassment, and there is no interaction between sex and ethnicity of target on sexual harassment.

Hypothesis 3a: Ethnicity of target has a main effect on ethnic harassment: Minorities experience more ethnic harassment than Whites. Sex of target has no effect on ethnic harassment, and there is no interaction between ethnicity and sex of target on ethnic harassment.

The main effects of sex of target on sexual harassment and ethnicity of target on ethnic harassment combine to produce the following prediction for overall harassment:

Hypothesis 4a: Sex and ethnicity of target have main effects on overall harassment: Women experience more overall ha-

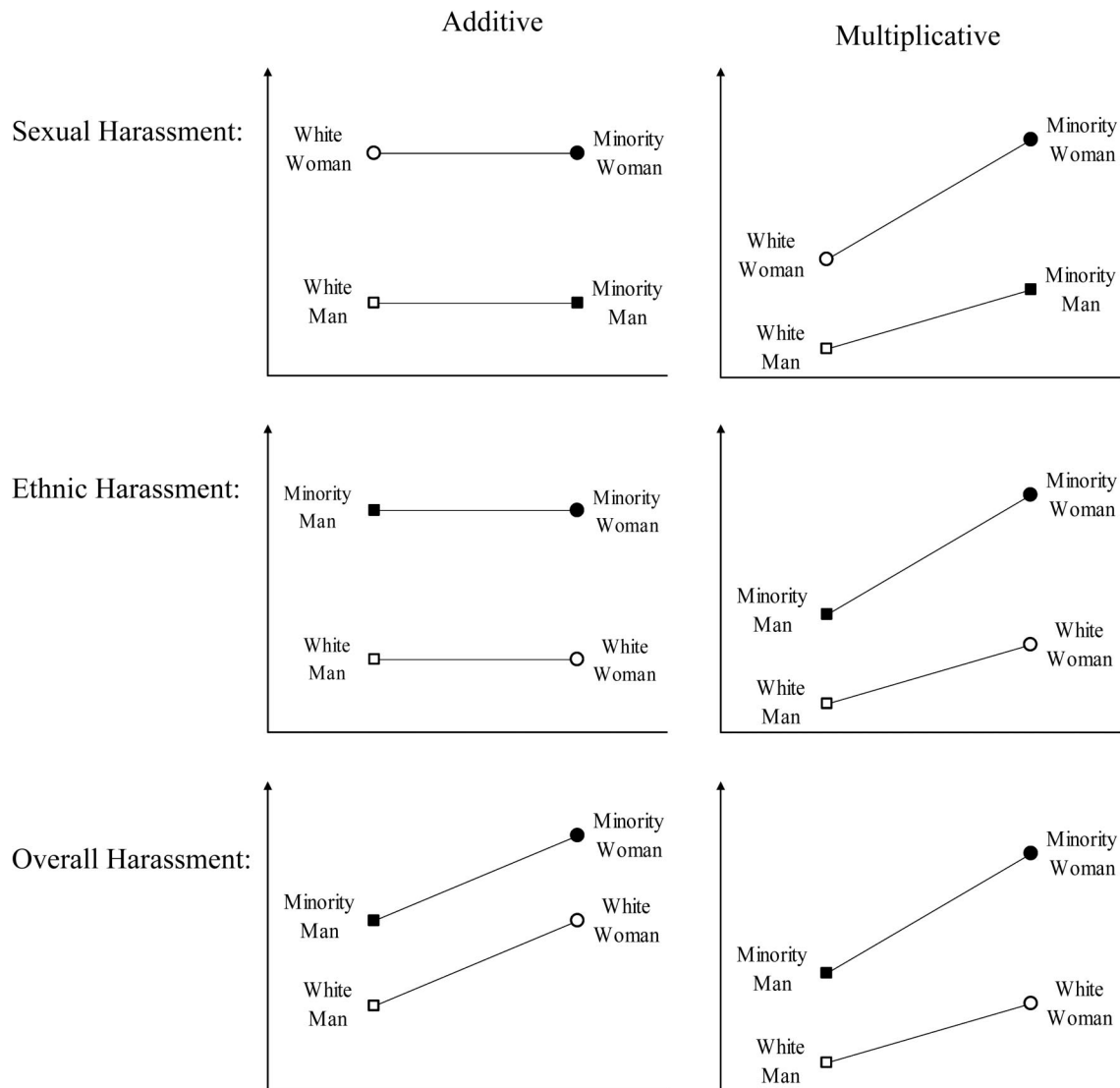


Figure 1. Predictions made by the additive and multiplicative versions of the double jeopardy hypothesis.

harassment than men and minorities experience more overall harassment than Whites. There is no interaction between sex and ethnicity of target on overall harassment: Minority women experience an amount equivalent to the sum of the amounts experienced by White women and minority men.

The second version of the double jeopardy hypothesis is multiplicative (Almquist, 1975; Greene, 1994; Lykes, 1983; Ransford, 1980; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990; Smith & Stewart, 1983). Representing an intersectional approach to the study of sex and race, the multiplicative version of the double jeopardy hypothesis holds that sex and race are not independent and additive categories (Browne & Misra, 2003; Weber, 2001). Instead, the disadvantages of race and sex compound or multiply each other, making the detrimental effect of both belonging to an ethnic minority and being a woman greater than the additive hypothesis would suggest.

Though both versions of the double jeopardy hypothesis predict that minority women experience the most harassment, they differ

in two ways (see Figure 1). First, the additive version predicts a main effect for sex only on sexual harassment and a main effect for ethnicity only on ethnic harassment, but the multiplicative version predicts main effects for sex and ethnicity on both sexual and ethnic harassment. As minorities, minority women should be more vulnerable than White women to sexual harassment, and as women, minority women should be more vulnerable than minority men to ethnic harassment. Second, the multiplicative version predicts an interaction between sex and ethnicity for both types of harassment, suggesting that the dually subjugated position of minority women amplifies their experience of both sexual and ethnic harassment to a level higher than that suggested by the additive hypothesis (see Figure 1). The multiplicative version of the double jeopardy hypothesis predicts the following:

Hypothesis 2b: Sex and ethnicity of target have main effects on sexual harassment: Women experience more sexual harassment than men, and minorities experience more sexual harassment than Whites. There is an interaction between sex

of target and ethnicity of target on sexual harassment: The amount experienced by minority women exceeds the sum of the amounts experienced by White women and minority men.

Hypothesis 3b: Ethnicity and sex of target have main effects on ethnic harassment: Minorities experience more ethnic harassment than Whites, and women experience more ethnic harassment than men. There is an interaction between ethnicity of target and sex of target on ethnic harassment: The amount experienced by minority women exceeds the sum of the amounts experienced by White women and minority men.

Hypothesis 4b: Sex and ethnicity of target have main effects on overall harassment: Women experience more overall harassment than men, and minorities experience more overall harassment than Whites. There is an interaction between sex of target and ethnicity of target on overall harassment: The amount experienced by minority women exceeds the sum of the amounts experienced by White women and minority men.

Despite the intuitive appeal and widespread acknowledgment of the double jeopardy hypothesis, remarkably little research has set out to systematically confirm or deny it (Browne & Misra, 2003; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). To our knowledge, no study has simultaneously examined sexual and ethnic harassment and compared minority women's experiences with those of minority men, majority women, and majority men. This study thus provides a first empirical test of these hypotheses.

Method

Procedure

Surveys were mailed from unions to the home addresses of approximately 800 employees of one of five organizations located in the same major North American metropolitan area. Three of the organizations were male-dominated manufacturing plants owned by the same parent company, and two of the organizations were female-dominated community service centers overseen by the city government. The survey was accompanied by a letter from the union explaining the study, guaranteeing participants' anonymity, and encouraging recipients to complete the approximately 45-min long survey and return it in a postage-paid envelope to the researcher. Participants were paid \$15 for completing the survey.

Of those who were mailed the survey, 238 completed and returned it. This represents a fairly typical response rate (30%) for survey research of this nature (e.g., Schneider et al., 1997). We felt it was quite good for a survey of this length and content (cf. Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold, & Ormerod, 1988). Of the respondents, 88 (23 women) were employees from the male-dominated plants and 150 (15 men) were employees from the female-dominated centers. Modal income ranged from \$20,000 to \$30,000 per year. The modal age ranged from 40 to 49 years. Forty-eight percent of the respondents' ethnic backgrounds were classified as European, 28% as Asian, 10% as Caribbean, 5% as African, 5% as Latin, Central, or South American, and 4% or less as Aboriginal, Arab, or Pacific Islander.

Measures

Harassment

Sexual harassment. Sexual harassment was measured with 19 items ($\alpha = .86$). Fourteen items ($\alpha = .83$) measured traditional sexual harassment (sexist and sexual comments, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion); 11 of these were based on items from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald,

Shullman, et al., 1988), and three were new (see the Appendix). Five items ($\alpha = .82$) measured "not-man-enough" harassment (challenges to a target's courage, strength, and toughness),² which has been previously identified in male samples (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998); two of these items were based on items from the Sexual Harassment of Men questionnaire (SHOM; Waldo et al., 1998), and three were new. All items were worded to apply to both men and women respondents.

As with the SEQ and the SHOM, respondents indicated how often they had each experience during the past 2 years at work on a scale from 0 (*never*) to 4 (*most of the time*). In addition, respondents who had experienced an item at least once indicated how negative (bothersome or stressful) or positive (fun or flattering) it was for them on a scale from -2 (*very negative*) to +2 (*very positive*). Items were reworded when necessary to remove evaluations from the descriptions of behaviors. For example, the "gave you unwanted sexual attention" item from the SEQ was changed to "gave you sexual attention." Measuring the evaluation of an experience separate from its frequency allowed us to determine if it constituted harassment and to what degree, because harassment is defined as an experience that is evaluated negatively by the recipient (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). We defined an experience as harassing if the respondent (a) had it at least once and (b) evaluated it negatively. The frequency with which the participant experienced an item (0 to 4) was multiplied by the participant's evaluation of it, which was set to 0 if the evaluation was neutral or positive (to eliminate from consideration behaviors that had not been experienced negatively), 1 if it was somewhat negative (-1), and 2 if it was very negative (-2). The amount of harassment therefore ranged from 0 (never experienced or experienced with a neutral or positive evaluation) to 8 (experienced most of the time and evaluated very negatively) for each item.

Ethnic harassment. Seven items from the Ethnic Harassment Experiences scale (EHE; Schneider et al., 2000) were used to measure ethnic harassment ($\alpha = .88$). We used only those items describing behaviors that directly involved ethnicity (see the Appendix). Items that required respondents to judge whether they were targeted for an antisocial behavior at work because of their ethnicity (e.g., "Someone at work excludes you from social interactions during or after work because of your ethnicity") were excluded in order to avoid potential response biases introduced by this subjective attribution process. With the same scales used for sexual harassment, respondents indicated how often they experienced each item and evaluated the experience if they had it at least once. Using the same measurement strategy as with sexual harassment, we multiplied item frequencies (0 to 4) by their evaluation (0 if neutral or positive, 1 if somewhat negative, 2 if very negative) to measure amount of harassment (0 to 8).

² We call this form of harassment not-man-enough harassment because prior theory and research (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996; Franke, 1997; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998) described it as behavior that insults a victim for not meeting ideals for men (e.g., dominant, tough, and courageous) or for being too much like a woman (e.g., gullible, sensitive, and caring for children; cf. Bem, 1974; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Ultimately, we think not-man-enough harassment is about reminding those who the harassers feel do not belong in the club of "real" men that they are outsiders. Calling this type of harassment "enforcing the male gender role" (Waldo et al., 1998) suggests that it aims to bring victims back into the club by enforcing masculinity in them. This type of harassment may enforce masculinity in other men by making an example of the victim, but it appears to socially alienate, rather than reintegrate, the victim (Franke, 1997). Similarly, calling this type of harassment "not-masculine-enough" harassment suggests that victims can end it by being more masculine, but this may not work for some individuals, such as women, who may experience even more negative repercussions if they act more masculine (e.g., Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003; Rudman, 1998).

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among the Study Variables

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Woman	0.66	0.47	—								
2. Minority	0.59	0.49	.09	—							
3. Male-dominated organization	0.37	0.48	-.64**	-.16*	—						
4. Ethnic minority in work group	3.53	1.11	.18**	.01	-.12	—					
5. Overall harassment	0.18	0.41	.10	.12	.00	.15*	.90				
6. Sexual harassment	0.14	0.38	.10	.09	.02	.12	.92**	.86			
7. Traditional sexual	0.14	0.38	.11	.04	.11	.82**	.91**	.83			
8. Not man enough	0.18	0.61	.07	.12	-.04	.11	.73**	.76**	.44**	.82	
9. Ethnic harassment	0.29	0.74	.06	.16*	-.03	.15*	.82**	.53**	.45**	.49**	.88

Note. *N* = 238. Reliabilities are shown along the diagonal.

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

Overall harassment. The 19 sexual harassment items and the 7 ethnic harassment items were averaged to create a measure of overall harassment ($\alpha = .90$).

Ethnicity

Initial analyses indicated that the two largest ethnic minority groups in the sample—Asian (28%) and Caribbean (10%)—did not differ in their amounts of sexual harassment, $F(1, 89) = 0.57, ns$, or ethnic harassment, $F(1, 89) = 0.07, ns$, nor did they differ in the amount that men and women in these categories experienced sexual, $F(1, 89) = 0.21, ns$, or ethnic, $F(1, 89) = 0.23, ns$, harassment. Respondents from non-European backgrounds (Asians, Caribbeans, Africans, Latin Americans, Aborigines, Arabs, and Pacific Islanders) were therefore grouped into an “ethnic minority” category ($N = 123$), and those of European descent were grouped into an “ethnic majority/White” category ($N = 115$). According to this classification, there were 35 minority men, 88 minority women, 46 White men, and 69 White women.

Control Variables

Work group ethnicity and dominant sex in the organization served as control variables. Work group ethnicity ranged from 1 to 5 (1 = *all or almost all the same ethnicity as me*, 2 = *more of my ethnicity than another*, 3 = *equal ethnicities*, 4 = *more of another ethnicity than mine*, and 5 = *all or almost all another ethnicity than mine*). Work group ethnicity was controlled for because whether one is in an ethnic minority in one’s work group should influence the prevalence and impact of ethnic harassment. Ethnic diversity was measured at the work group level rather than the organizational level because all five organizations were highly ethnically diverse. Dominant sex in the organization (1 = *male* and 0 = *female*) was controlled for because sexual harassment is more common in male-dominated than in female-dominated organizations (Gruber, 1998).

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the study variables appear in Table 1. Almost half of the respondents (47%) reported experiencing at least one episode of harassment (i.e., negatively experienced at least 1 of the 26 items at least once). Twenty-three percent experienced at least one episode of ethnic harassment, and 38% experienced at least one episode of sexual harassment. Though these proportions make the prevalence of harassment seem quite high, the average amount of harassment, which could range from 0 to 8 and was calculated by multiplying the frequencies by the negative evaluations of events, was quite low: 0.18 for harassment overall, 0.14 for sexual harassment, and 0.29 for ethnic

harassment. For example, an individual who very negatively (–2) experienced only 1 of the 19 sexual harassment items once (1) would have a value of 0.10 on the 0 to 8 scale ($(|-2| \times 1)/19$). The majority of respondents had a value of 0, and increasingly smaller proportions had higher values, making the data highly skewed toward zero. This is not surprising given that prior research on harassment indicates that experiencing some harassment (low values) is relatively common but experiencing serious harassment (high values) is relatively rare.

Regressions

Regression models predicting the amount of sexual, ethnic, and overall harassment were developed using the GENMOD procedure in SAS and were fit using a Poisson distribution (Allison, 1999). The dependent variables in this study follow a distribution much closer to a Poisson than a normal Gaussian curve and thereby violate assumptions made by normal ordinary least squares regression: The variables are highly skewed toward zero, the variables do not have error variances that are normally distributed, and the variances are not equally distributed among groups (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1988; Judd, McClelland, & Culhane, 1995; Lix, Keselman, & Keselman, 1996). Poisson regressions are suitable for rate-like data such as these (Cameron & Trivedi, 1998)³ in which the modal value of the dependent variable is zero, there is only one (positive) tail in its distribution, and the standard deviation is greater than the mean.

The Double Jeopardy Hypothesis

To test the double jeopardy hypothesis that minority women experience more overall harassment than any other sex–ethnic

³ Though the variances of the dependent variables in these analyses are larger than the means, indicating that overdispersion could be a problem and that negative binomial models might represent a more appropriate fit to the data (Allison, 1999; Gardner, Mulvey, & Shaw, 1995), we ran the same models using a negative binomial distribution, and they did not indicate any better fit than the Poisson models. The most common measures for adequacy of model fit for Poisson regression are the deviance relative to the degrees of freedom and the Pearson chi-square of the model relative to the degrees of freedom (Allison, 1999), both of which should be close to zero if model fit is good. For the models we report here, the deviance relative to the degrees of freedom ranged from 0.4 to 0.9, and the Pearson chi-square relative to the degrees of freedom ranged from 0.6 to 1.4, suggesting that overdispersion was not a serious concern.

group (Hypothesis 1), we conducted a regression on the control variables (work group ethnicity and dominant sex in the organization) and the dummy variables of majority woman, majority man, and minority man (with minority woman as the reference group). Supporting the double jeopardy hypothesis, minority women experienced significantly more overall harassment than did minority men ($B = -.85, p < .05$), White women ($B = -.87, p < .05$), and White men ($B = -1.10, p < .05$; see Figure 2). Those who reported being in an ethnic minority in their work group experienced more harassment than those who reported being in the ethnic majority in their work group ($B = .33, p < .01$).

Additive Versus Multiplicative Double Jeopardy

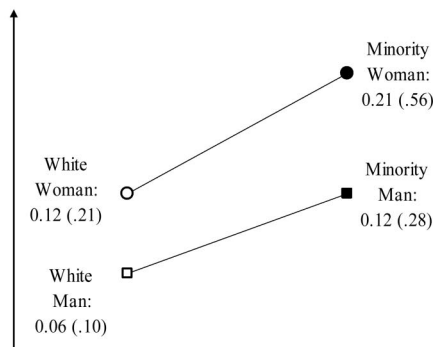
To competitively test the additive and the multiplicative versions of the double jeopardy hypothesis, we evaluated two models for each dependent variable: one with main effects only (Model 1) and one including an interaction between sex and ethnicity (Model

2). The first model is suggested by the additive version of the double jeopardy hypothesis, which predicts a main effect for sex only on sexual harassment (Hypothesis 2a), a main effect for ethnicity only on ethnic harassment (Hypothesis 3a), and main effects for sex and ethnicity on overall harassment (Hypothesis 4a). The second model is suggested by the multiplicative version of the double jeopardy hypothesis, which predicts main effects for, and an interaction between, sex and ethnicity for all three measures of harassment (Hypotheses 2b, 3b, and 4b).

Consistent with the additive version of the double jeopardy hypothesis but not with the multiplicative version, women experienced significantly more sexual harassment than men, ethnicity was not quite significant, and there was no interaction between sex and ethnicity (see Table 2). As expected, employees in male-dominated organizations experienced more sexual harassment than employees in female-dominated organizations. Participants who reported being in an ethnic minority in their work group were more

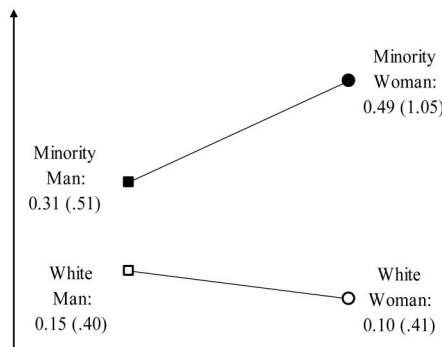
Sexual Harassment:

Minority women experienced significantly more sexual harassment than minority men ($B=-1.07, p<.05$) and White men ($B=-1.43, p<.05$).



Ethnic Harassment:

Minority women experienced significantly more ethnic harassment than White women ($B=-1.67, p<.01$).



Overall Harassment:

Minority women experienced significantly more overall harassment than minority men ($B=-.85, p<.05$), White men ($B=-1.10, p<.05$), and White women ($B=-.87, p<.05$).

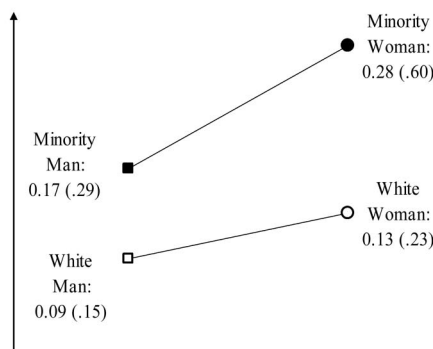


Figure 2. Mean amount of harassment by sex-ethnic group. Standard deviations appear in parentheses.

Table 2
Regressions Testing the Additive (Model 1) Versus Multiplicative (Model 2) Versions of the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis

Variable	Sexual harassment		Ethnic harassment		Overall harassment	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Woman						
<i>B</i>	.99*	.80	.28	-.91	.74*	.22
<i>SE</i>	.44	.69	.43	.79	.38	.57
Minority						
<i>B</i>	.57†	.36	1.13**	.21	.70*	.25
<i>SE</i>	.34	.68	.40	.61	.29	.53
Woman × Minority						
<i>B</i>		.28		1.48†		.64
<i>SE</i>		.79		.84		.64
Ethnic minority in work group						
<i>B</i>	.29*	.30*	.40*	.44**	.32*	.34**
<i>SE</i>	.15	.15	.16	.16	.13	.13
Male-dominated organization						
<i>B</i>	.76*	.75*	.23	.15	.54†	.51
<i>SE</i>	.36	.36	.40	.41	.32	.32

† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

likely to experience sexual harassment than were those who reported being in the ethnic majority.

In separate regressions, we examined whether there were different effects for sex and ethnicity on the likelihood of experiencing traditional and not-man-enough forms of sexual harassment. Women experienced significantly more traditional sexual harassment than men ($B = 1.21, p < .05$), and employees in male-dominated organizations experienced more traditional sexual harassment than those in female-dominated ones ($B = .94, p < .05$). There were no effects for ethnicity or work group ethnicity. A different pattern emerged for not-man-enough harassment. Women did not experience it more (or less) than men, but ethnic minorities experienced it more than Whites ($B = 1.10, p < .05$). Dominant sex in the organization did not seem to matter, but participants who reported being in an ethnic minority in their work group were significantly more likely than those who reported being in the majority to experience not-man-enough harassment ($B = .38, p < .05$). Thus, the marginal effect for ethnicity and the significant effect for work group ethnicity on sexual harassment appear to stem from not-man-enough harassment.

Consistent with the additive version of the double jeopardy hypothesis but not with the multiplicative version, ethnic minorities experienced significantly more ethnic harassment than Whites, but women experienced no more of it than men and the interaction between sex and ethnicity did not quite reach significance (see Table 2). Dominant sex in the organization was not significant, but those who reported being in an ethnic minority in their work group experienced significantly more ethnic harassment than those who did not.

Consistent with the additive version of the double jeopardy hypothesis but not with the multiplicative version, women experienced more overall harassment than men, ethnic minorities experienced more than Whites, and there was no interaction between sex and ethnicity (see Table 2). Harassment was more common for those in male-dominated organizations and for those who reported working in groups dominated by an ethnicity that differed from their own.

Additional Analyses

We found it interesting that the means for ethnic harassment were higher than those for sexual harassment even though more people experienced at least one episode of sexual harassment. Recall that harassment was measured in terms of the frequency of an experience (0 to 4) multiplied by its negative evaluation (0 to 2). We wondered if the amount of ethnic harassment was higher than the amount of sexual harassment because the former occurred more frequently, was evaluated more negatively, or both. On average, those experiencing ethnic harassment experienced it more frequently ($M = 1.13, SD = 0.71$) than those experiencing sexual harassment ($M = .43, SD = 0.62$) but evaluated it less negatively ($M = -1.03, SD = 0.46$ vs. $M = -1.28, SD = 0.39$). The repetitiveness of ethnic harassment thus raised its amount relative to sexual harassment even though more people experienced sexual harassment and evaluated it more negatively when they did.

Discussion

This study tested whether minority women face double jeopardy when it comes to harassment at work. The first comparative test of its kind, it included both men and women in ethnically diverse organizations so that the experiences of majority men, majority women, minority men, and minority women could be compared. The results supported the double jeopardy hypothesis: Minority women were significantly more harassed than minority men, majority women, and majority men when both ethnic and sexual harassment were combined into an overall measure of harassment.

Two versions of the double jeopardy hypothesis were tested: the additive version and the multiplicative version. Both predicted that minority women would experience more overall harassment than any other sex-ethnic group, which was consistent with our results. Both predicted that women would experience more sexual harassment than men, also consistent with our results. Finally, both predicted that minorities would experience more ethnic harassment than Whites, which also was consistent with our results. The

additive version stopped there. The multiplicative version went on to predict that minorities would experience more sexual harassment than Whites, that women would experience more ethnic harassment than men, and that sex and ethnicity would interact to predict both types of harassment, leading minority women to experience more harassment than suggested by the additive version. Our results did not support these predictions.

Support for the additive but not the multiplicative version of the double jeopardy hypothesis suggests that ethnicity does not affect sexual harassment and that sex does not affect ethnic harassment. The practice of ignoring ethnicity when studying sex discrimination and of ignoring sex when studying race discrimination may therefore be seen as receiving empirical support from this study. We believe it would be premature to conclude that this practice is justified. This is the first study to test the double jeopardy hypothesis with comparative data for harassment. Trends in the group means (see Figure 2) and the fact that being an ethnic minority in one's work group predicted sexual harassment suggest that a larger field sample might support the interactions predicted by the multiplicative version of the double jeopardy hypothesis (McClelland & Judd, 1993). In addition, the inclusion of items unique to minority women might have provided support for the multiplicative hypothesis. Like others before it, this study used measures that were based largely on White women's experiences of sexual harassment and on minority men's experiences of ethnic harassment. These measures may omit experiences unique to minority women and thereby underestimate harassment against them.

Moreover, sex and race discrimination are unlikely to be entirely separate experiences. When people look at a person they always see both sex and ethnicity (cf. Ito & Urland, 2003), and their expectations of, and responses to, an individual are based on this dual identity. When a White woman is sexually harassed, she is harassed not just as a woman, but as a White woman. There may be more common themes than unique themes in sexual harassment against women of different ethnicities, but the specific form, meaning, and intensity of their experiences are likely to differ (cf. Cortina, 2001; Mecca & Rubin, 1999). Imagine an Asian man who is harassed for not being tough enough and an Asian woman who is harassed for not being sexually submissive. Are these episodes of sexual harassment, ethnic harassment, or both? In short, it is unlikely that sex has no effect on ethnic harassment and that ethnicity has no effect on sexual harassment, and future research should examine how sex and ethnicity jointly affect individuals' experiences of harassment.

One surprising result illustrating that sex and ethnicity can both affect sexual harassment was the fact that sex predicted traditional forms of sexual harassment but only ethnicity predicted not-man-enough harassment. Prior theory and research on not-man-enough harassment suggest that it is typically targeted at low-status men (Berdahl et al., 1996; Franke, 1997; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; Waldo et al., 1998). This is the first study to examine not-man-enough harassment against women. The results suggest that it is minority men and women who are disproportionately targeted for this type of harassment. Perhaps part of being a "real" man is being White, and not-man-enough harassment is really not-White-man-enough harassment. Research on this type of harassment is in its infancy, and it will be important to identify where, and against whom, it is more likely to occur, and why.

Measuring the evaluation of an experience separately from its frequency in order to assess the amount of harassment raises the

issue of how the frequency and the evaluation of a behavior should be weighed. Frequencies ranged from 0 (*never occurred*) to 4 (*occurred most of the time*), and evaluations ranged from 0 (*neutral or positive*) to 2 (*very negative*). This scoring implicitly weighed frequency more heavily than evaluation. For example, the average amount of ethnic harassment exceeded that of sexual harassment because the former occurred more frequently for those who experienced it even though the latter was experienced by more individuals and was more negatively evaluated. We think it is advisable to assess both the frequency and the evaluation of a potentially harassing experience, which traditional measures confound. Researchers who do so must be careful to consider, however, how frequencies and evaluations should be scaled and/or weighted when combined and should be mindful of these choices when interpreting results, particularly comparative ones such as these.

It is important to note that we combined the experiences of different minority groups together instead of examining them separately. This was done because there were not large numbers for the different groups and because those representing the largest numbers (Asians, Caribbeans) had similar results. Given that Asians, Blacks, and Latinos/Latinas have very different histories in North American culture and are associated with different stereotypes, it is likely that their experiences at work differ even if they do share the experience of being in ethnic minorities. Our response rate of 30% may have underrepresented the unique experiences of recent immigrants with poor English skills if they were less likely to participate. Future research should collect larger samples that allow for a focus on the unique experiences of different ethnic groups.

Conclusion

Discussions of discrimination often debate who has it worse: women or minorities. It is ironic that those who really are likely to have it the worst—minority women—are often left out of the discussion. As many minority women scholars have pointed out, the oppression of women has largely been discussed in terms of White women's experiences, and the oppression of one ethnic group by another has largely been discussed in terms of men's experiences. This study demonstrates that minority women are particularly at risk when it comes to workplace harassment. Researchers and practitioners interested in issues of workplace diversity and discrimination should turn more of their attention to this very important problem.

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Appendix

Sexual and Ethnic Experiences Survey

The next few pages list several experiences you may have had with co-workers, subordinates, clients, customers, supervisors, or others that you come into contact with at work. *Please take your time and think about each experience and thoughtfully answer the questions.* Please indicate how often you have been in each of these situations in the past 24 months by using the *first scale* to the right of the situation described. If a situation has occurred at least once, please indicate how positive (fun or flattering) or negative (bothersome or stressful) the experience was for you by using the *second scale*.

(Appendix continues)

DURING THE PAST 2 YEARS AT WORK, HAVE YOU BEEN IN A SITUATION WHERE ANYONE:										
	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Several times	Most of the time	Very negative	Somewhat negative	Neutral	Somewhat positive	Very positive
1. Made you feel like you were not tough enough (for example, assertive, strong, or ambitious enough) for the job? [NME] ^a	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
2. Called you a wimp, sissy, chicken, or some other name implying you are not courageous enough? [NME] ^a	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
3. Implied they would admire you more if you were stronger or more athletic? [NME]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
4. Teased you for being gullible or easily fooled? [NME]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
5. Said you were too sensitive? [NME]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
6. Tried to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
7. Told sexual stories or jokes? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
8. Displayed, used, or distributed sexual materials (for example, pictures, stories, or pornography)? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
9. Made sexist comments or jokes? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
10. Gave you sexual attention? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
11. Attempted to establish a romantic or sexual relationship despite your efforts to discourage it? [TSX] ^b										
12. Pressured you to "play along" with sexual jokes and behavior? [TSX]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
13. Made you feel you needed to flirt with them to be treated well? [TSX]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
14. Touched your face, butt, thigh, or another "private" part of your body? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
15. Exposed a private part of their body to you? [TSX]	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
16. Forced themselves on you sexually? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
17. Indicated there might be some reward or special treatment if you agreed to engage in sexual behavior? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
18. Made you afraid that you would be penalized if you did not agree to engage in sexual behavior? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
19. Treated you badly for refusing to have sexual relations with them? [TSX] ^b	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
20. Used ethnic slurs to describe you? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
21. Told jokes about your ethnic group? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
22. Made derogatory comments about your ethnicity? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
23. Made you feel as if you had to give up your cultural practices or traditions to get along at work? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
24. Made a racially insensitive comment such as "go back to your own country"? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
25. Treated you badly because of your ethnicity? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2
26. Made racist comments (for example, said people of a certain ethnicity aren't very smart or can't do the job)? [EHE] ^c	0	1	2	3	4	-2	-1	0	+1	+2

Note. NME = not-man-enough harassment item; TSX = traditional sexual harassment item; EHE = ethnic harassment item.

^a Based on an item from the Sexual Harassment of Men scale (Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998). ^b Based on an item from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). ^c Based on an item from the Ethnic Harassment Experiences scale (Schneider, Hitlan, & Radhakrishnan, 2000).

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