Working in a Context of Hostility Toward Women: Implications for Employees’ Well-Being

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This study examined how working in an organizational context perceived as hostile toward women affects employees’ well-being, even in the absence of personal hostility experiences. Participants were 289 public-sector employees who denied any personal history of being targeted with general or gender-based hostility at work. They completed measures of personal demographics, occupational and physical well-being, and perceptions of the organizational context for women. Results showed that 2 contextual indices of hostility toward women related to declines in well-being for male and female employees. The gender ratio of the workgroup moderated this relationship, with employees in male-skewed units reporting the most negative effects. These findings suggest that all employees in the workplace can suffer from working in a context of perceived misogyny.

Over the past few decades, there has been increasing recognition of the seriousness of different forms of misogyny and hostility toward women in the workplace. Sexual harassment, in particular, has received considerable attention. Most of this work has focused on specific incidents of sexual harassment and other forms of hostility and the consequences of being the target of such behavior. However, theory and data are beginning to suggest that the negative consequences of this mistreatment extend beyond individual targets to include bystanders, workgroups, and whole organizations. The present study takes these possibilities a step further, examining through a gendered lens how working in a misogynistic context can detract from employees’ well-being, or general quality of life (Kahn & Juster, 2002). In particular, we examine three aspects of employees’ general well-being: occupational satisfaction, organizational withdrawal, and physical health satisfaction. We describe below how and why these well-being domains might be related to working in a hostile climate for women.

Of note, we focus on less extreme, more common forms of hostility toward women in the workplace. Much of the sexual harassment discourse focuses on quid pro quo behavior, or sexual conduct in which submission to or rejection of the harassment is used as a basis of employment decisions. In contrast, we examine how gender-based incivility and the gender harassment of women affect employees. Thus, we focus more on hostile environment harassment, which is far more prevalent than quid pro quo behavior (Koss et al., 1994). The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1980) guidelines defined hostile environment harassment as workplace behavior that interferes with an employee’s performance on the job and creates an intimidating, offensive, or hostile working environment. Although somewhat different, both quid pro quo and hostile environment harassment have been linked with negative well-being consequences for targets of, or people who personally experienced, the mistreatment.

Background

The deleterious well-being consequences of being targeted with workplace mistreatment are becoming increasingly clear. For example, Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, and Magley (1997) documented that personal experiences of sexual harassment have negative job-related, psychological, and health-related outcomes among women. Similarly, Barling, Rogers, and Kelloway (2001) found that both sexual and nonsexual aggression in the workplace have adverse psychological and occupational effects on victims. A few research studies have also...
linked personal experiences of nongender-based workplace incivility with detrimental outcomes such as declines in job satisfaction, morale, productivity, job commitment, and mental and physical health (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001; Pearson, Andersson, & Wegner, 2001). It is clear that employees’ personal and professional well-being suffer when they are direct targets of interpersonal hostility in the workplace.

Research on workplace hostility has also begun addressing nontargets. For example, Glomb et al. (1997) theorized that the negative job-related, physical health, and psychological effects of sexual harassment may reach beyond the target of the harassment to coworkers and others in the organization. They argued that sexual harassment can create a stressful environment for everyone in the workgroup—not just the individual target. When individuals know or hear about sexual harassment happening in their workplace, they may fear and worry that they will be next. They may also experience empathy for their victimized female coworkers. Indeed, Barling (1996) hypothesized that vicarious exposure to aggression and violence in the workplace can lead to affective (i.e., fear, empathy) consequences, which in turn can influence psychological, physical, and occupational well-being. When employees see that their coworkers are not treated well and not respected, they may also conclude that the organization does not care about all employees to the same degree or that the organization treats some employees unfairly (McAllister & Bigley, 2002). Indeed, research has shown that employees look to the treatment of their coworkers for cues and information about organizational norms regarding fairness and justice (Lamertz, 2002; Tyler, 1998). It is in these ways that employees who observe or perceive hostility toward women at work may endure consequences similar to those who have been direct targets of hostility.

Only a few studies have empirically examined whether and how negative outcomes extend to employees who vicariously experience their workplace as hostile toward women. This pioneering research suggests that employees who merely witness or hear about misogynistic behavior in their organization are negatively affected by such incidents (Glomb et al., 1997; Schneider, 1996). For example, Schneider (1996) found that witnessing or hearing about the sexual harassment of a coworker can lead to bystander stress (i.e., stress resulting from knowledge about a coworker being harassed). Schneider’s research shows that women who experience bystander stress report lower levels of coworker satisfaction, even after controlling for personal experiences of sexual harassment, negative disposition, and general job stress.

Pursuing a similar line of research, Glomb et al. (1997) found that ambient sexual harassment, or indirect exposure to harassment, contributes to negative outcomes among employees, over and above influences of direct exposure to sexual harassment and general occupational stress. Specifically, they documented that the sexual harassment of an employee’s coworkers contributes to that employee’s job dissatisfaction, psychological distress, health impairment, and attempts to withdraw from organizational life. These outcome patterns mirror those found for individuals with personal experiences of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Together, Schneider (1996) and Glomb et al.’s (1997) research underscores the harm in simply working in a misogynistic context, even when the misogyny is only vicarious.

Because the literature on vicarious experiences of workplace hostility is still in its infancy, gaps remain. For example, little if any research has considered possible gender differences in the extent to which vicarious experiences of harassment relate to outcomes. In addition, little is known about the circumstances under which an organizational context of hostility toward women might be most detrimental to employees’ well-being. The present project attempts to address such lacunae in the literature by investigating how working in a misogynistic context might affect the well-being of both women and men, even in the absence of personal experiences of workplace hostility. Further, this research examines whether a situational variable—the gender ratio of the workgroup—moderates the relation between vicarious experiences of misogyny and outcomes.

Indices of a Hostile Context

**Observed Incivility Toward Women**

Most research on hostility in the workplace has focused on the direct, active, physical types of hostile behavior that occur in work settings (Neuman & Baron, 1997). More recently, researchers have become interested in “lessier,” more subtle forms of hostility such as rude, impolite behavior. One type of behavior in this more recent stream of research is workplace incivility. **Workplace incivility** is defined as workplace behavior that violates workplace norms for mutual respect, is characteristically rude and discourteous, and displays a lack of regard for others (Andersson & Pearson, 1999).
Andersson and Pearson (1999) theorized that witnessing uncivil behavior can create an “incivility spiral,” such that uncivil behavior fosters further uncivil behavior. It is in this way that incivility permeates every aspect of the organization, resulting in a workplace climate in which incivility becomes routine (Pearson et al., 2001). In these organizations, incivility becomes the defining characteristic of the workplace. Because of this, Andersson and Pearson theorized that the impact of incivility affects not only the instigators and targets but also observers. They maintained that every employee in the organization, not just the particular individuals involved in uncivil interactions, can be harmed by workplace incivility.

Although empirical research has confirmed the harmful effects of nongender-based workplace incivility on targets (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001; Pearson et al., 2001), it has yet to consider the consequences of merely observing uncivil workplace behavior. Further, no prior work has isolated incivility that is specifically directed toward certain groups, such as women, and we know little about conditions under which incivility is most detrimental to employees. The present research addresses these outstanding issues, examining outcomes of observed incivility that is specifically directed at female employees. Specifically, we made the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: As employees observe more incivility directed at women in their workplace, they will experience lower occupational and physical well-being.

Organizational Permissiveness of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is an expression of hostility (Pryor & Whalen, 1997). In most sexual harassment cases, men are the instigators and women are the targets (Koss et al., 1994), so sexual harassment is an overt manifestation of hostility toward women in the workplace. Sexual harassment is most prevalent when organizations fail to correct the misbehavior or sanction perpetrators, implicitly permitting abuse of female employees (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Hulin, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1996).

Preliminary research suggests that organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment may lead directly to negative consequences among organizational members. For example, Schneider (1996) found that women’s perception of their organization as tolerant of sexual harassment exacerbates their bystander stress. Hunter Williams, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1999) reported that organizational procedures perceived to permit sexual harassment have a direct negative impact on male and female military employees, even after controlling for personal exposure to sexual harassment. This past research relied on individual perceptions of organizational permissiveness rather than actual organizational actions. Employee perceptions may not always reflect organizational reality, but these individual perceptions are thought to drive individual harm. Expecting to replicate these past findings, we made the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The more that employees perceive their organization as permissive of sexual harassment, they will report lower occupational and physical well-being.

Gender Differences in Outcomes

Social power theories (Carli, 1999; French & Raven, 1959; Johnson, 1976; MacKinnon, 1979, 1987; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Wagner & Berger, 1993) assert that individuals with little social power may be more at risk for abuses of power. Research suggests that women generally hold less social power than men (Johnson, 1976), so women are often considered less deserving of status and respect in interpersonal interactions (Carli, 1999). More specifically, women tend to be ignored, treated condescendingly, and given little opportunity to participate in interactions (Ridgeway & Berger, 1986). In the workplace, women are more likely to be the targets of interpersonal abuses such as uncivil behavior (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2001) and sexual harassment (Koss et al., 1994). Thus, working in an organizational context that tolerates hostility toward women may be especially harmful to female employees.

Even if a woman has never personally experienced such interpersonal abuses in the workplace, when she sees or hears about one of her female coworkers being mistreated, she might worry that she will be the next target. She might also conclude that the organization does not value or care about all employees equally and that employees are treated differently because of their gender. As a result, female employees’ well-being may suffer. For example, the more women observe rude, condescending behavior directed toward women and the more they perceive the organization as permissive of sexual harassment, the more they may become dissatisfied with their jobs, begin to withdraw from the organization, and contemplate quitting. They may also begin to show de-
clines in their physical well-being because of the stress associated with working in such a context. Indeed, empirical work has documented repeatedly the link between workplace stressors, such as working in a hostile climate, and physical well-being (for a review, see Kahn & Byosiere, 1992).

How working in a misogynistic context affects men is unclear. Theory holds that many organizations act as small “communities” and foster a psychological sense of community, in which employees are connected by feelings of belonging and shared emotional connection (Heller, 1989; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991; Sarason, 1974). These feelings of belonging and connection shared among employees suggest that men, like women, may also be negatively affected by working in a misogynistic context. In many work settings, men and women work closely together as colleagues and friends, likely developing emotional ties. Men may empathize with their female colleagues who must struggle to succeed in a misogynistic climate. Like their female coworkers, men may also conclude that the organization does not value, care about, or treat employees equally. As a result, men too may experience negative consequences, such as declines in occupational and physical well-being, from working in this environment. Preliminary research supports this possibility, as men with bystander experiences of sexual harassment report lower coworker satisfaction and life satisfaction compared with nonbystander men (Schneider, 1996).

Although men may experience negative outcomes when working in a hostile context for women, these consequences may be offset by the fact that they can maintain or gain social advantage in their workplace when women are treated badly, not taken seriously, or excluded from organizational life (MacKinnon, 1979, 1987). For example, men may benefit from access to important social networks, promotions, and salary increases. Thus, negative outcomes of working in a misogynistic context may be attenuated for men. Men may also not be as severely affected, simply because they generally tend to be more tolerant of sexual harassment and sexual behavior in the workplace (Dietz-Uhler & Murrell, 1992; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982). Taken together, the above theoretical and empirical work suggest that women will endure negative outcomes from working in a misogynistic context. Men in this context should also show detriments in well-being, but not to the same extent as their female counterparts. Thus, we derived the following hypothesis:

**Hypothesis 3:** Gender will moderate the relationship between working in a context of hostility toward women and well-being: Although both men and women will show negative effects of working in this context, these effects will be greater for women.

**Gender Ratio of the Workgroup**

Organizational structure perspectives emphasize the importance of gender ratios of work groups in organizations. For example, Kanter (1977) examined how being a “token” in a workgroup (i.e., one or a few women in a group of men) affects individuals in the numerical minority. She identified three dynamics associated with token status: visibility effects, performance pressures, and stereotyping. She argued that when people are in the numerical minority, more attention is drawn to them and they are more likely to be noticed. As a result, their work is scrutinized and they have increased pressure to perform. In addition, because the token is more likely than those in the numerical majority to be noticed, those in the majority group tend to focus on differences between themselves and the token, which leads to solidarity between members of the dominant group and social isolation of the token. Kanter also maintained that those in token positions are more likely than nontokens to be stereotyped. For example, she argued that women are more likely to be stereotyped into traditional female roles, such as the mothering role.

Kanter (1977) theorized that the effects of being a token applies to a number of social categories (i.e., gender, race) and to anyone in the token position (i.e., one man in a group of all women or one woman in a group of all men). Extensions of Kanter’s work, however, show that the dynamics associated with being in the numerical minority apply more to individuals who are in low-status social groups (i.e., women) than those in high-status social groups (i.e., men; Gutek, 2001). This work suggests, then, that women will be more negatively affected by working in context numerically dominated by men than are men working in a context numerically dominated by women.

In line with Kanter’s (1977) work, empirical research has demonstrated that women experience a number of negative consequences from working in contexts in which women are underrepresented. For example, research shows that individuals in token positions are more visible and have more attention paid to them than nontokens (Lord & Saenz, 1985;
Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978). In addition, Thompson and Sekaquaptewa (2002) found that being underrepresented in a workgroup can negatively influence the performance of women and minorities and that these effects are most debilitating in the context of others who are in higher status groups. Konrad, Winter, and Gutek (1992) found that sexist stereotyping was higher in male-skewed groups compared with female-skewed groups.

Research also shows that women in the numerical minority report more stress, anxiety, alienation, social isolation, and sexual harassment and less acceptance and work commitment than when they are in the numerical majority (Dworkin, Chaftez, & Dworkin, 1986; Izraeli, 1983; Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995; Konrad et al., 1992; Ott, 1989). Burke and McKeen (1996) found that being female in a workplace dominated by men predicted intent to quit and lower job satisfaction. In addition, women in male-dominated groups such as the military report higher levels of stress, isolation, and attrition and lower levels of acceptance compared with their male colleagues (see Yoder, 2002, for a review).

Research shows that men working in contexts numerically dominated by women can avoid the negative consequences of gender imbalance and, in fact, often benefit from being in token positions (Heikes, 1991; Ott, 1989; Williams, 1992; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985). For example, Heikes (1991) found that men working in female-skewed contexts report positive experiences and increased performance motivation, and Ott (1989) and Yoder and Sinnett (1985) found that men report quicker advancement to management in female-skewed contexts.

Empirical research also suggests that organizational demographics, such as gender ratios, carry meaning to the degree that they act as a signal or cue about the organization’s values (Ashford, Dutton, & Edwards, 2001; Dutton, Ashford, Lawrence, & Miner-Rubino, 2002). For example, research shows that employees use gender ratios to diagnose the social values of the organization and determine what is important in that context (Dutton et al., 2002). When women are underrepresented in organizational settings, employees may conclude that the organization does not value the contributions of female workers. Gender proportions may also send a signal about the degree to which the organization is committed to equality (Ashford et al., 2001) and provides opportunities for women and other minorities (Daily & Certo, 1999). Again, owing to feelings of community and emotional connection among employees (Heller, 1989; Pretty & McCarthy, 1991; Sarason, 1974), not only women but also men in the organization may find such organizational values and potential gender biases to be disconcerting.

Taken together, this research suggests that the gender ratios of workgroups may moderate the relation between working in a context of hostility toward women and well-being. More specifically, past theoretical and empirical work suggest that female employees who work in a context of hostility toward women and male-skewed groups will be particularly negatively affected, because they may be more stereotyped and visible (and thus may feel more vulnerable to mistreatment), feel more performance pressures, and view the lack of women in their workgroup as indicative of the organization’s devaluation of women. These female employees may thus conclude that their presence is particularly unwelcomed, and therefore suffer the worst occupational consequences. Despite being less visible, male employees who work in a context of hostility toward women and male-skewed gender ratios may also be negatively affected, although not to the same extent as women in their workgroup. Similar to female colleagues, men may conclude that the organization does not value or care about its female employees when there are few women in the workgroup. However, because men are less likely to be targeted with gender-based mistreatment, their outcomes should be less negative than women’s. In sum, we derived the following hypothesis:

**Hypothesis 4:** Gender and the gender ratio of the workgroup will interact to moderate the relationship between working in a context of hostility toward women and well-being: Women in male-skewed groups will report by far the most negative effects of working in this context, followed by men in male-skewed groups, women in female-skewed groups, and men in female-skewed groups.

**Purpose**

The purpose of the present study is to integrate the literatures on gender, interpersonal hostility, and work context by examining (a) how contexts of hostility toward women relate to employees’ occupational and physical well-being, (b) whether this relation varies by the gender of the employee, and (c) whether this relation varies by the gender ratio of the work environment. To ensure that effects are not simply due to personal experiences of work-
place interpersonal mistreatment, we investigated these issues in a sample of employees who deny any recent experience of general and gender-based hostility.

Method

Participants and Procedure

A paper-and-pencil questionnaire was mailed via first-class mail to all employees of a large federal court circuit \((N = 1,662)\). To maximize return rate, we sent employees a second questionnaire if they had not returned the first questionnaire within 2 weeks of the initial mailing (Dillman, 1978). Each questionnaire was accompanied by a cover letter from the Chief Judge of the circuit that encouraged employees to participate, emphasized the importance of the study, and reminded employees that they could skip any items on the questionnaire. On the first page of the questionnaire itself, instructions described the purpose of the study and assured confidentiality.\(^1\) With these procedures, 1,180 participants returned the questionnaire (a 71% response rate).

The focus of the present study is a subset of the larger sample—that is, 289 employees (194 women and 95 men) who denied any personal history of being targeted with general or gender-based hostility.\(^2\) Participants ranged in age from 21 to 78 years \((M = 41.04)\), and most were European American/White (89.1%), married (68.2%), employed full time (93.4%), and had at least some college or a technical degree (75.2%). They had worked in this organization for an average of 5.34 years. Their job classifications were as follows: 15.2% were employed in management positions (i.e., units head, manager, or supervisor), 22.6% as attorneys, 15.9% as specialists (e.g., financial specialist, personnel specialist, budget analyst), 18% as secretaries, and 28.3% as administrative support staff (e.g., library technician, mail-room clerk). This organization is numerically dominated by women but has a traditional gender structure, in that men tend to dominate higher occupational positions and women lower occupational positions.

Measures

The overall survey contained various scales. Most relevant for the present survey were those assessing participant demographics, perceptions of hostility toward women in the organizational context, and occupational and physical well-being. Survey construction focused on minimizing response bias and using valid and reliable measures. Scales measuring physical and job-related well-being preceded those assessing contextual indices of hostility, so that reports of hostility would not bias descriptions of well-being. Summary and reliability statistics for each scale appear in Table 1.

| Observed incivility toward women. Observed incivility toward women was measured with items assessing observations of uncivil behaviors directed specifically at women. Uncivil behaviors in these items were similar to those in the Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS; Cortina et al., 2001; 6 items). More specifically, respondents rated on response scale from 0 (never) to 4 (many times) how often they had observed disrespectful, rude, and condescending behavior directed toward female employees in their workplace over the last 5 years. Example items included how often respondents observed an organizational member “speak in a condescending or patronizing manner to” or “treat in a disrespectful or discourteous manner” a woman. Items were scored such that higher scores indicate more frequent observations of incivility directed at women. |
| | |
| Perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment. Perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment was measured using items from the Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (OTSHI; Hulin et al., 1996; 15 items), tailored to the court context. Respondents read five brief vignettes in which a male harasser (peer or superior) engaged in one of two types of sexual harassment: gender harassment or unwanted sexual attention. Gender harassment refers to verbal, physical, and symbolic behaviors that convey hostile, offensive, and misogynist attitudes. Unwanted sexual attention is sexual attention (i.e., touching, hugging, stroking) that is unwanted and unreciprocated by the recipient.\(^3\) Thus, the vignettes used in the present study address the hostile environment components of sexual harassment (which are by far the most prevalent types of sexual harassment; Koss et al., 1994).

Respondents reported their perceptions of the likelihood of organizational reactions and sanctions following harassing behavior. Specifically, after each vignette, three questions assessed the perceived risk to a female victim if she were to report the harasser, the likelihood that her allegations would be taken seriously by the organization, and the likelihood that the harasser would be punished. Participants responded to each question using a 5-point Likert response scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicating greater management permissiveness of sexual harassment. |
| Gender ratio of the workgroup. Gender ratios were measured with one item assessing the number of men and women in the respondent’s workgroup. Specifically, respondents indicated the gender of the employees with whom they regularly interact, on a scale ranging from 1 (almost all men) to 5 (almost all women). |

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\(^1\) Although the questionnaire was confidential, it was not anonymous. Each questionnaire had a unique identification number, and a separate database linked identification numbers to respondents. The database has since been destroyed.

\(^2\) Nontargets were identified based on responses to Fitzgerald et al.’s (1988) Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ) and Cortina et al.’s (2001) Workplace Incivility Scale (WIS). Specifically, those who reported never experiencing any SEQ or WIS behavior were considered to be nontargets.

\(^3\) The original version of the OTSHI also contains a vignette describing a situation involving sexual coercion (i.e., implicit or explicit demands for sexual favors in return for rewards or the avoidance of negative consequences); this vignette was not included in the present study. We were particularly interested in examining hostile environment sexual harassment, and survey-length restrictions necessitated that we cut items that were less central to this focus.
## Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Reliability Estimates of All Variables Analyzed

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<td>1. Observed incivility toward</td>
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<td>2. Permissiveness of sexual</td>
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<td>2.63</td>
<td>0.50</td>
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<td>3. Gender ratio of workgroup</td>
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<td>7. Health satisfaction</td>
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<td>8. Occupational stress</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.21***</td>
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<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.21***</td>
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<td>9. Racial minority status</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.31</td>
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<td>10. Age</td>
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<td>11.32</td>
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<td>Scale reliabilities are along the diagonal.</td>
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Note. Scale reliabilities are along the diagonal. rho = 0.01 indicates communality. 1 = nonminority.

* p < 0.05
** p < 0.01
*** p < 0.001

**Occupational well-being.** Occupational well-being was measured with scales assessing work satisfaction and organizational withdrawal behaviors. Items from the Job Descriptive Index (JDI; Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969, as revised by Roznowski, 1989; nine items) assessed work satisfaction. The JDI is the most frequently used measure of occupational satisfaction available, and extensive psychometric data support its validity and reliability (Kinicki, McKee-Ryan, Schriesheim, & Carson, 2002). The work satisfaction scale asks respondents to indicate the extent to which each of a series of adjectives characterizes their work, using a “yes,” “no” response format (with “?” indicating “cannot decide”). We scored the measure 3, 1, 0, respectively, according to standard JDI scoring protocol. Example items for the work satisfaction scale include “fascinating” and “boring” (reverse-coded).

The survey assessed two types of organizational withdrawal behaviors. Work withdrawal constitutes a cluster of behaviors that reflect attempts to avoid one’s work tasks (e.g., absenteeism, tardiness, missing meetings). Job withdrawal refers to turnover intentions, retirement intentions, and related cognitions. These constructs were measured with adapted versions of two scales developed by Hanisch (1990) and Hanisch and Hulin, (1990, 1991). The work withdrawal scale (five items) asks participants to indicate on a 5-point response scale from 0 (never) to 4 (once a week or more) how often they engage in various withdrawal behaviors at work (e.g., “completed work assignments late,” “made excuses to get out of the office”). The job withdrawal scale (four items) asks participants to indicate how often they think about quitting, whether they prefer to get another job outside the courts, and how likely it is that they will quit.

**Physical well-being.** Physical well-being was assessed with health satisfaction items drawn from the Retirement Descriptive Index (RDI; Smith et al., 1969; 7 items). This scale asks respondents to rate how well a number of phrases and adjectives describe their health. Respondents rate the items using a “yes,” “no” response format, which we scored 3, 1, 0, respectively, according to standard RDI scoring protocol.

**Control variables.** We assessed occupational stress and occupational position for use as control variables, to ensure that any significant effects of the context variables could not be attributed to general job stress or the stresses accompanying particular levels of the organizational hierarchy. For example, jobs that are hectic and generally stressful may detract from occupational and personal well-being. Occupational stress was assessed with the Stress in General Scale (Stanton, Balzer, Smith, Parra, & Ironson, 2001; nine items), a global measure of job stress with good convergent and discriminant validity. Items ask whether each of a list of adjectives (e.g., “hectic,” “tense,” “pressured”) is descriptive of the respondent’s job, using a “yes,” “no” response format. We scored the measure 3, 1, 0, respectively, according to standard SIG scoring protocol.

Likewise, an employee’s occupational position may be directly related to well-being; employees in higher occupational positions may report higher work satisfaction and lower intentions of quitting because of certain benefits (i.e., pay, prestige) associated with their position. To indicate their position in the organizational structure, respondents
simply described their occupational group; choices included (a) court administrative support staff; (b) secretary; (c) specialist; (d) attorney; and (e) unit head, manager, or supervisor. See the participant descriptions above for more details about each level.

We also included racial minority status and age as additional controls in the analyses to ensure that any significant effects of the context variables could not be attributed to these individual difference factors. For example, individuals who are a member of a racial minority group may report lower occupational and physical well-being simply because of their disadvantaged social status. To indicate racial minority status, respondents simply reported the racial group to which they belong (African American/Black, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American, European American); we then categorized these groups into racial minority (African American/Black, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American) or racial majority (European American) groups, to create cell sizes large enough for meaningful analysis. Because age is also directly related to occupational and physical well-being (Campbell, 1981; Warr, 1992; Whitbourne, 1996), we also controlled for age, which participants reported in years.

Results

To test our hypotheses, we performed multiple regression analyses of effects on work satisfaction, work withdrawal, job withdrawal, and health satisfaction. We conducted the analyses separately for observed incivility toward women and perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment, to examine the distinctiveness of each context variable and maintain adequate statistical power. Independent variables in each analysis consisted of the control variables (general occupational stress, occupational position, racial minority status, and age), the predictor variables (the context variable, perceived gender ratios, and gender), and the two- and three-way interactions among the predictors. We entered the variables simultaneously on a single step. Gender was dummy coded $1 = \text{female}$ and $-1 = \text{male}$, and racial minority status was coded $1 = \text{minority}$ and $-1 = \text{nonminority}$. To reduce multicollinearity, we centered the continuous predictors before computing interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). Below, we first describe the findings for observed incivility toward women, followed by results for perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment.

Observed Incivility Toward Women

Table 2 displays the results of the multiple regression analyses examining the effects of observed incivility toward women on well-being.

| Table 2: Results of Multiple Regression Analyses Examining Effects of Observed Incivility on Well-Being |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Variable                        | Work satisfaction                               | Job withdrawal  | Work withdrawal | Health satisfaction |
| Occupational stress             | $-0.02$                                          | $-0.25$**       | $-0.12$         | $-0.04$          | $-0.14$         |
| Occupational position          | $-0.02$                                          | $-0.13$         | $-0.01$         | $-0.02$          | $-0.04$          |
| Racial minority status ($1 = \text{minority}, -1 = \text{nonminority}$) | $-0.04$                                          | $-0.11$         | $-0.11$         | $-0.07$          | $-0.10$          |
| Gender ratios                   | $-0.01$                                          | $-0.39$         | $-0.17$         | $-0.27$          | $-0.19$          |
| Gender ($1 = \text{female}, -1 = \text{male}$) | $-0.01$                                          | $-0.39$         | $-0.17$         | $-0.27$          | $-0.19$          |
| Gender × Gender ratios          | $-0.01$                                          | $-0.39$         | $-0.17$         | $-0.27$          | $-0.19$          |
| Gender × Racial minority status | $-0.01$                                          | $-0.39$         | $-0.17$         | $-0.27$          | $-0.19$          |
| Gender × Gender ratios × Racial minority status | $-0.01$                                          | $-0.39$         | $-0.17$         | $-0.27$          | $-0.19$          |

* High scores indicate more men. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. † $p < .10$. $^\dagger$ $p < .05$. $^\ddagger$ $p < .001$.
civility toward women on well-being. After general job stress, occupational position, racial minority status, and age were controlled for, there was a significant main effect of observed incivility toward women on health satisfaction (standardized $\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$), accounting for 5% of the variance in this outcome. In line with Hypothesis 1, the more that employees observed rude, disrespectful behavior directed toward women at work, the lower their health satisfaction. There were no significant main effects for observing incivility toward women on work satisfaction, work withdrawal, or job withdrawal. A nonsignificant interaction term also revealed no significant gender differences in effects of observed incivility on well-being, contrary to Hypothesis 3.

Contrary to Hypothesis 4, gender did not interact with gender ratios in moderating the relationship between observed incivility toward women and any of the well-being variables. However, we found a significant Observed Incivility Toward Women $\times$ Workgroup Gender Ratio interaction on work withdrawal (standardized $\beta = .19$, $p < .05$; see Table 2). The model containing the interaction term accounted for 14% of the variance in work withdrawal. Figure 1 displays this interaction. For this and all other figures in this article, we performed a median split on the gender ratio of the workgroup to facilitate display of findings. As shown in Figure 1, observed incivility toward women had little effect on work withdrawal (i.e., withdrawing from daily work activities) for employees who worked in female-skewed units. For those who worked in male-skewed units, by contrast, work withdrawal increased the more that they observed women treated disrespectfully and discourteously. Gender ratios did not moderate the relation between observed incivility toward women and work satisfaction, job withdrawal, or health satisfaction.

Perceived Organizational Permissiveness of Sexual Harassment

Table 3 displays the results of the multiple regression analyses examining the effects of perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment on well-being. After general job stress, occupational position, racial minority status, and age were controlled for, there were significant main effects of perceived organizational permissiveness on work satisfaction (standardized $\beta = -.27$, $p < .001$) and health satisfaction (standardized...
### Table 3

Multiple Regression Analyses Examining Effects of Perceived Organizational Permissiveness of Sexual Harassment on Well-Being

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Work satisfaction</th>
<th>Work withdrawal</th>
<th>Job withdrawal</th>
<th>Physical well-being</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupational position</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.02</td>
<td>–0.01</td>
<td>–0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial minority status (1 minority, 0 nonminority)</td>
<td>–0.02</td>
<td>–0.01</td>
<td>–0.01</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived permissiveness</td>
<td>–0.15</td>
<td>–0.15</td>
<td>–0.15</td>
<td>–0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Permissiveness × Gender Ratios</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Ratios</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
<td>–0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Ratios × Gender PERM</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
<td>–0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High scores indicate more men. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

In sum, working in a context perceived as hostile toward women related directly to the work and health satisfaction of employees. Other findings

\[ \beta = -.16, p < .05 \]. The model with these main effects accounted for 13% of the variance in work satisfaction and 6% of the variance in health satisfaction, respectively. In line with Hypothesis 2, the more that employees perceived their organization as permissive of sexual harassment, the less satisfied they were with their jobs and physical health. There were no significant main effects for perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment on work or job withdrawal. There were also no significant gender differences in effects of perceived permissiveness on well-being, contrary to Hypothesis 3.

Contrary to Hypothesis 4, gender did not interact with gender ratios in moderating the relationship between perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment and any of the well-being variables. However, the main effect for perceived organizational permissiveness of sexual harassment on health satisfaction was qualified by a Perceived Permissiveness × Workgroup Gender Ratio interaction (standardized \( \beta = .15, p < .05 \)); the model with this interaction accounted for 6% of the variance in health satisfaction. This interaction appears in Figure 2, demonstrating that the more that employees in male-skewed work units perceived the organization as permissive of sexual harassment, the lower they rated their health satisfaction. Perceived permissiveness had little effect on health satisfaction for employees in female-skewed units.

There was also a significant Permissiveness × Gender Ratio interaction on work withdrawal (standardized \( \beta = .15, p < .05 \)); the model with this interaction term accounted for 13% of the variance in work withdrawal. As seen in Figure 3, employees who worked in male-skewed units reported higher levels of work withdrawal the more that they perceived their organization to permit sexual harassment. Perceiving the organization as lax about sexual harassment had little effect on withdrawing from everyday work activities for employees in female-skewed units. Gender ratios did not moderate the relation between perceived organizational permissiveness and work satisfaction or job withdrawal.

4 Inspection of this figure may suggest that employees in female-skewed workgroups actually report significantly less work withdrawal the more they perceived the organization as permissive of sexual harassment. To test this possibility, we conducted a follow-up regression analysis, including
suggest that the effects of working in a misogynistic context depend on the gender ratio of the workgroup. Employees who witnessed incivility toward women and perceived their organization as permissive of sexual harassment—while working in a male-skewed unit—reported the most pronounced negative effects (i.e., higher work withdrawal, lower health satisfaction) compared with employees in female-skewed units. None of these processes differed for male and female employees.

Discussion

Most research to date on hostility toward women in the workplace has examined specific incidents and direct targets of such behavior. This research has repeatedly documented the deleterious outcomes of this mistreatment for individuals who personally experience it. For example, research by Barling et al. (2001) and Fitzgerald et al. (1997) shows that personal experiences of sexual harassment have negative job-related, psychological, and health-related outcomes among women. Interestingly, preliminary research (i.e., Glomb et al., 1997; Schneider, 1996) also shows that working in a context in which sexual harassment takes place may have negative effects for employees even when the harassment is merely observed or perceived.

The present study examined whether the negative effects of working in a context of hostility toward women extend to nontargets. Expanding past work, we also compared the effects of working in a misogynistic context by gender of the person and gender of the environment. Our results suggest that misogyny in the organizational context has adverse implications for all individuals in the workplace—not just women and targeted employees (consistent with Hypotheses 1 and 2). Findings also showed that the negative effects of working in a context of hostility toward women only those employees who worked in female-skewed groups. This analysis revealed that permissiveness did not significantly predict work withdrawal for employees in these contexts (standardized $\beta = -0.01$, ns).

Figure 2. Interaction effect of Perceived Organizational Permissiveness of Sexual Harassment $\times$ Workgroup Gender Ratio on Health Satisfaction.
were most pronounced for employees working in male-skewed environments (partial support for Hypothesis 4).

Contrary to predictions (Hypothesis 3), we found no difference between male and female employees in the extent to which working in a misogynistic context affects well-being. Past work suggests that women should be more negatively affected than men by working in such a context, because women are more likely to be targeted with gender-based mistreatment and may fear and worry that they will be the next victim of hostility. However, our findings showed that working in a misogynistic context had negative effects on both female and male employees’ well-being, even though they had never personally been targeted. Specifically, employees who perceived their organization as permissive of sexually harassing behavior reported declines in work and health satisfaction. Employees who observed rude, condescending behavior toward women also reported reduced health satisfaction. These findings suggest that all employees in an organization can be harmed by working in a misogynistic context, even those who are not likely to become targets.

In line with our prediction, the gender ratio of the workgroup moderated the relationship between working in a misogynistic context and outcomes. Employees who worked in male-skewed units reported higher levels of work withdrawal the more that they observed and perceived hostility toward women. There was also an effect on health satisfaction for employees who worked in male-skewed environments; when they perceived the organization as lax about sexual harassment policies, their health satisfaction declined. It is interesting that these moderating effects of gender ratio did not vary by employee gender. Past work on the mistreatment of women in organizations and gender ratios suggests that women who work in a misogynistic, male-skewed context should show the most pronounced negative effects from working in such an environment (Dworkin et al., 1986; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Izareli, 1983; Jackson et al., 1995; Konrad et al., 1992; Ott, 1989). In contrast, our findings showed that both male and female employees in male-skewed workgroups experience negative outcomes from working in a hostile climate for women.

These findings suggest that the effects of working
in a context that is hostile toward women may be especially detrimental when there are few women in the workgroup. Female employees in these groups may feel unwelcomed or fear that they will become the next target of hostility. Unlike women, men are unlikely to feel unwelcomed or fearful in a workgroup numerically dominated by men. Rather, perceived misogynistic behavior and male-skewed gender ratios may combine to send a clear negative message to both men and women that the organization does not value, care about, or treat their employees equally; these may be important organizational values for both men and women. Indeed, research suggests that the gender ratios of workgroups act as a signal about an organization (Ashford et al., 2001; Dutton et al., 2002) and the degree to which the organization is committed to and provides opportunities for women and other low-status social groups (Daily & Certo, 1999).

**Implications**

These findings have clear implications for organizations. Results suggest that, when employees feel that their female coworkers are not well treated or respected, their occupational and psychological health may suffer. Moreover, that these consequences occur for individuals with no firsthand experience of general or gender-based hostility suggests that this is an organizational and not an individual problem (Glomb et al., 1997). It is becoming increasingly apparent that hostility toward women in the workplace is not simply relevant only to perpetrators, victims, and women. Instead, its effects can reach beyond targeted individuals and extend to bystanders, workgroups, and whole organizations. In fact, a workplace context of misogyny may be a problem that interferes with recruitment and retention of employees, especially those who differ from the dominant group in the organization. This makes it difficult to diversify the larger employee pool, particularly in occupations and positions traditionally dominated by men. These potential ramifications underscore the need for broad, proactive organizational interventions to manage and prevent hostility toward women at work.

This and related lines of research (i.e., Glomb et al., 1997; Schneider, 1996) may also have legal implications for organizations. Evidence across multiple studies is now converging to suggest that simply working in a misogynistic context can have a negative impact on employees’ occupational and psychological health, even for employees not personally targeted with abuse. This raises the possibility that the legal definition of hostile work environment should extend beyond targets to include employees whose harassment experiences are “merely” vicarious or indirect—for example, employees who have witnessed the sexual harassment of female coworkers but who have escaped direct harassment themselves. When such vicarious harassment accumulates to the point that it creates a hostile or intimidating context for nontargeted employees, perhaps they too should be entitled to legal recourse (Glomb et al., 1997). This remains an intriguing prospect for future sexual harassment jurisprudence.

**Limitations**

Like any research, the present study is not without its limitations. First, this study included few people of color. Women of color, for example, may be disproportionately affected by working in a hostile context. They may not attribute hostile behavior to gender, but to race, or possibly both. This could exacerbate effects for women of color. Future research should explore this possibility by surveying diverse groups of men and women.

Second, the cross-sectional nature of our data renders casual inferences tentative until confirmed in future experimental or longitudinal research. Future work might also examine the additive effect, over time, of both experiencing and witnessing hostility toward women in work settings. We also relied on single-source self-report data, which always introduce the possibility of common method bias. Future research might include reports from coworkers or supervisors, or organizational records of incivility and sexual harassment complaints, to assess the organizational climate for women. Future work might also attain organizational records on the number of men and women in workgroups rather than relying on participants’ perceptions of the gender ratio of their coworkers. It is possible that the measure assessing workgroup gender ratios included in the present study may be tapping workplace social support or the social network of employees rather than the actual numbers of men and women in the workgroup.

Finally, participants in this study worked in one organization, limiting the generalizability of our findings. Even so, results should apply to other
work organizations with similar characteristics. These results are most relevant to public-sector organizations with traditional gender structures: that is, men dominating the top of the organizational hierarchy, women far outnumbering men at the bottom, and gender ratios approaching parity in the middle.

Conclusion

The past decade has seen many organizations develop policies and interventions around sexual harassment. Certainly, these steps improve over past times, when the term sexual harassment did not make it into common organizational parlance, much less formal policy. However, some employees still perceive sexual harassment issues as irrelevant to them, as they fall into neither the “harasser” nor the “harassee” category. In actuality, it appears that hostility toward women in the workplace has effects that reach beyond individual victims. Perhaps the next advancement for legal and social policy will be to take these broader ramifications into account and consider how to intervene at the level of the larger organizational context.

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**Call for Nominations**

The Publications and Communications Board has opened nominations for the editorship of *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* for the years 2006–2011. Julian Barling, PhD, is the incumbent editor.

Candidates should be members of APA and should be available to start receiving manuscripts in January 2005 (in order to have manuscripts ready for issues published in 2006). Please note that the P&C Board encourages participation by members of underrepresented groups in the publication process and would particularly welcome such nominees. Self-nominations also are encouraged.

Mark Appelbaum, PhD, and Gary R. VandenBos, PhD, are the co-chairs for this search.

Prepared statements of one page or less in support of a candidate may be submitted electronically to Karen Sellman, P&C Board Search Liaison, at ksellman@apa.org.

You may also nominate candidates by accessing APA’s Editor Quest site on the Web. Using your Web browser, go to [http://editorquest.apa.org](http://editorquest.apa.org). On the Home menu at the left side, go to “Guests.” Next, click on the link “Submit a Nomination,” then enter the information and click “Submit.”

The first review of nominations will begin March 31, 2004. Therefore, that data is also the deadline for making nominations.