

Victimization at School and Work

Polly, the young woman first introduced in Section 2, was walking home from a local bar when she was accosted by two men. She was shoved by one of the men, and they were able to take her bag and its contents. Polly suffered several negative consequences from her victimization—most obviously, the 10 stitches in her head. But she also had a hard time coping with what happened. She found herself staying in bed when she should have been going to class. As a college student, this negative consequence could have prevented her from successfully completing the semester. So far, you have considered Polly’s victimization in terms of why she was victimized, whether she meets the criteria for being a “typical” victim, and the types of services to which Polly should have access. What you should also consider, however, is whether Polly’s victimization would be included in school victimization statistics. She is, after all, a college student. Is this designation enough for her victimization to be classified or counted as a victimization at school? Does it matter that she was not in class at the time? Would she need to be on campus for it to count as a school victimization? What would the college have to do if this was considered a school victimization? These issues will be discussed in this section along with another special case of victimization, those that occur while people are at work or on duty.

Victimization at School

We often think of school as being a safe place. Schools are designed as places where young people come together to learn and grow. Attendance is not voluntary; instead, children are required to go to school, and it is the place where they spend a great deal of their lives. Parents assume that when they send their children off to school they will willingly go and that, even if they do not love school, they are at least safe. For the most part, this is true, but not all students matriculate through school without experiencing some type of victimization. When they are victimized in the school building, on school grounds, while riding a school bus, or while attending or participating in a school function, it is termed **school victimization**. This type of victimization can take the form of any other victimization—property victimization or personal victimization that can include theft,

robbery, simple assault, aggravated assault, rape, and murder. Other victimizations may include harassment or bullying—a focus of recent research that is discussed in more detail below.



▲ **Photo 9.1** On April 20, 1999, Columbine High School experienced one of the worst school shootings in U.S. history. Twelve students and one teacher were shot dead by two students who also took their own lives. Although the reasons behind the shootings cannot be known for certain, both boys experienced bullying at school.

Photo credit: Seraphimblade

Victimization at School: Grades K–12

The type of victimization that likely comes to mind when you think about children being harmed at school is a school shooting. When a school shooting—such as the one at Columbine in 1999—does occur, it is difficult to watch the news or read the newspaper without hearing about the incident. Indeed, the media pay close attention when young people are shot at school. Although they get heightened media attention, fortunately, school shootings are very rare. But how do we know this? The information on victimizations that occur at school comes from a variety of resources. Remember that the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) asks individuals aged 12 and over about their victimization experiences during the previous 6 months. If a person has been victimized, he or she is then asked detailed questions about the victimization, including where it occurred. From the NCVS, then, it is possible to generate estimates of the extent of victimization occurring at school for people at least 12 years of age. To supplement the NCVS, the School Crime Supplement Survey is a national survey of about 6,500 students aged 12 to 18 enrolled in schools in the United States. Students are asked about victimizations they experienced in the previous 6 months (Robers, Zhang, Truman, & Snyder, 2010). Keep in mind, though, that students younger than 12 are not included in this survey. In addition, other nationally representative surveys are commonly used to determine the extent to which students, staff, and teachers are victimized at school. For example, a survey has been implemented to assess safety and crime at schools and is filled out by school principals or those knowledgeable about discipline (School Survey on Crime and Safety 1999–2000, 2003–2004, 2005–2006, and 2007–2008 school years); another is filled out by teachers in elementary, middle, junior, and high schools (Schools and Staffing Survey 1993–1994, 1999–2000, 2003–2004, and 2007–2008 school years); and another is completed by students enrolled in grades 9 through 12 in public and private schools (Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System, 1993–2009 biennially).

From these surveys and other official data sources, we have a fairly good idea as to what types of victimization experiences occur at school. In 2008, about 1.2 million nonfatal violent crimes occurred against children aged 12 to 18. Importantly, more nonfatal violent crimes occurred against this age group *at* school than *away* from school (Robers et al., 2010). It is estimated that 4% of students experienced some type of victimization in the previous 6 months. The most common type of victimization they experienced was theft—less than 0.5% experienced a violent victimization (Robers et al., 2010). For students enrolled in grades 9 through 12, violent victimization was more common—in 2009, 11% reported being in a physical fight on school property, and 8% reported being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). Although relatively

uncommon, violent death also can occur at school. Between July 1, 2008, and June 30, 2009, 15 students were victims of homicide and 7 were victims of suicide at school. Violent deaths at schools are tracked through the School-Associated Violent Deaths Surveillance Study, the Supplementary Homicide Reports, and the Web-Based Injury Statistics Query and Reporting System.

Who Is Victimized?

Similar to most other types of victimization, except for sexual assault and rape, male students are more likely to be victimized at school than are female students. Ten percent of male students in grades 9 through 12 reported being threatened or injured with a weapon on school property during the previous year, compared to only 5% of female students (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). Of all nonfatal crimes against students ages 12 to 18, 59% were committed against males. Males experienced a greater percentage of all violent events (61%) than thefts (57%) that occurred at school (Robers et al., 2010). Age is another correlate of school victimization that we can examine. Violent victimization appears to be most common among younger school children than those in high school. For example, in the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System survey, it was found that students in 9th grade had higher rates of fighting than did students in 10th through 12th grade. In addition, more than half of violent victimizations that occurred at school were experienced by children aged 12 to 14 (Robers et al., 2010). Race/ethnicity is another important correlate in examining any type of victimization. More than half of victimizations at school are experienced by White youth, although the rates of both violent and theft victimization are highest for Black and Hispanic youth (Robers et al., 2010). A final factor to consider is household income of the student. For theft, there is little difference in victimization rates across household income levels; however, violent victimization impacts children who reside in households with annual incomes less than \$15,000 at the highest rate (Robers et al., 2010).

Not only are students at risk of being victimized at school, but teachers, administrators, and staff may also become victims. Technically, this type of victimization would be victimization at work, but since it occurs at schools, we will discuss it here. Fortunately for them, teachers, administrators, and staff are fairly unlikely to be victimized while working at school. As discussed later in the section on workplace victimization, persons working in service and retail occupations, law enforcement/corrections, and mental health have much higher rates of workplace victimization than do educators and persons employed at schools. Nonetheless, victimization does occur, but risk is not constant for all teachers. Special education teachers are more likely to be violently victimized than are other teachers (May, 2010). Data from the Schools and Staffing Survey show that a larger percentage of secondary school teachers reported being threatened with injury by a student than did elementary school teachers, but elementary school teachers are more likely to be physically attacked (Robers et al., 2010). Risk of victimization also varies depending on the location of the school. Teachers employed in public schools and those who work in city schools are at greater risk of being threatened with injury and being physically attacked than those working in private schools or town, suburban, or rural schools (Robers et al., 2010). As with students, teachers are more likely to be victims of theft than of violent offenses (Robers et al., 2010).

Risk Factors for School Victimization

Much like with other types of victimization, victimologists and others have attempted to discover what causes school victimization. Why are some school children victimized while others are not? Why are some schools safe and others riddled with crime? It is difficult to determine the exact reasons why school victimization occurs, but it is likely a combination of structural forces as well as individual factors. For example, much attention has been paid to the school's

location and its relationship to the amount of victimization that occurs there. As you may expect, schools located in crime-ridden neighborhoods are often likely to have high levels of violence and other types of victimization (Laub & Lauritsen, 1998). But there are high-performing and safe schools in these same neighborhoods, so it is not enough to locate “bad” neighborhoods to identify unsafe schools. It is also possible that the factors that place youth at risk for victimization outside school are similar to the ones that place them at risk of being victimized in school—such as low self-control, lack of capable guardianship, and having deviant or delinquent peers. In addition, adolescence is a period marked by biological changes; hormones run amuck and bodies change. Both males and females go through transitions, both physically and emotionally, and they navigate new social situations. This time can be pressure filled and stressful, which may lead to outbursts, aggression, bullying, and other maladaptive behaviors.

Consequences

We require youth to attend school in the United States, and in turn, we should be providing them a safe, productive learning environment. When this does not occur and students are victimized, many negative outcomes may arise. Results from the 2007 School Crime Supplement to the NCVS show that 13% of victims of any crime and 23% of violent crime victims reported being afraid of harm or being attacked (Devoe, Bauer, & Hill, 2010). Victims reported higher levels of fear than nonvictims, which shows the powerful effects that victimization has on school-aged youth. Victims are also likely to skip or avoid school. In a study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2004), it was discovered that more than 5% of students felt unsafe at school and stayed away from school for at least 1 day during the 30 days prior to the survey. Victimized students also indicated that they avoided school activities and specific places inside school buildings, such as certain hallways, the school entrance, parts of the cafeteria, and restrooms, at higher levels than did nonvictims (Devoe et al., 2010).

Bullying

One specific type of victimization that can occur at school and has garnered recent attention is bullying. **Bullying** is the intentional infliction of injury or discomfort (or the attempt to do so) on another person repeatedly over time when there is a power imbalance between the perpetrator and the victim (Olweus, 2007). Bullying can be both direct and indirect. **Direct bullying** involves both physical and verbal actions in the presence of the victim. **Physical bullying** can include hitting, punching, shoving, pulling the chair out from under another person, tripping, and other physical actions. **Verbal bullying** includes direct name calling and threatening. **Indirect bullying** can be more subtle and harder to detect. It is often referred to as social bullying and includes actions such as isolating individuals, making obscene gestures, excluding from activities, and manipulation. Even though it is often said that “kids will be kids” and bullying is simply a natural part of children’s interactions, research suggests that it can have pernicious effects and that ignoring bullying in schools may be dangerous.

Before discussing the consequences of bullying, let’s first uncover the extent to which bullying occurs in schools. Bullying appears to be more common than other types of victimization. In 2007, almost one third of students aged 12 to 18 said they had been bullied at school during the school year (Devoe et al., 2010). A report published by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development found that 1.6 million children are bullied at least weekly and that 17% of children in grades 6 through 10 have been bullied (Ericson, 2001). Most commonly, students reported being made fun of (21%), but 11% reported having been pushed, shoved, tripped, or spit on, and 6% said they had been threatened with harm (Roberts et al., 2010).

Like school victimization more generally, bullying differentially impacts some youth. In the 2001 World Health Organization’s Health Behavior in School-Aged Children Study, it was found that Black youth are less

likely to be bullied than are White or Hispanic children (Nansel et al., 2001). Males were more likely than females to be bullied (Nansel et al., 2001). Other recent research has shown that certain groups are more at risk of being bullied than others. Youth who have learning disabilities, those who have attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder, those with physical disabilities, obese children, and those who stutter experience higher rates of bullying victimization (Miller & Miller, 2010). Recently, attention has been given to the fact that gay youth are more likely to be targeted by bullies than are other youth and that this bullying often occurs on a daily basis (Miller & Miller, 2010). The largest group of victims tends to be slight or frail. They tend to be average or poor students and are generally passive socially (Olweus, 1993). This is not to say, however, that all bullied victims “look” the same. Other victims tend to be more assertive and hot-tempered; they react aggressively when they are bullied. They start fights in addition to being picked on (Pellegrini, 1998). Both types of bullied youth are unlikely to be in the “popular” groups in school.

As with other forms of victimization, research in bullying has uncovered the fact that there is a subset of individuals who are bully/victims—they bully and are bullied (Haynie et al., 2001). What is important about this group of youth is that they seem to fare even worse in terms of psychosocial or behavioral functioning than do those who are either bullies or victims.

Psychosocial Effects of Bullying Victimization

Although, as mentioned, bullying sometimes has been treated as “normal” behavior for children, its effects can be quite serious. It has been linked to poor psychosocial adjustment—students who are bullied more often report greater levels of unhappiness (Arseneault et al., 2006) and lower self-worth (Egan & Perry, 1998). Bullying during adolescence has been linked to anxiety and depression both contemporaneously and later in life (Bond, Carlin, Thomas, Ruin, & Patton, 2001; Olweus, 1993). Being bullied also has been shown to be linked to health symptoms in children. Children who reported being bullied were more likely to report not sleeping well, bed wetting, and getting occasional headaches and tummy aches (Williams, Chambers, Logan, & Robinson, 1996). In addition to these consequences, being bullied also has negative outcomes on school adjustment and performance. Bullied youth are more likely to say they dislike school than are nonbullied youth (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996; Rigby & Slee, 1993), are more likely to report absenteeism from school (Rigby, 1997; Zubrick et al., 1997), and have higher levels of school avoidance (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996).

Violent Effects of Bullying Victimization

Perhaps the most serious outcome of being bullied is acting out in response. Bullying victimization has been linked to violent behavior by the *victim*. A report by the Secret Service revealed that 71% of school shooters whose friends, families, and neighbors were interviewed had been the targets of a bully (Espelage & Swearer, 2003). It should be noted, however, that if bullying caused school shootings, we would see many more than we do. As such, it may be a contributing factor in some instances but by no means can be considered a cause. Recently, the media have given widespread attention to several young people who have committed suicide after being bullied by their peers in various ways. With the widespread use of the Internet and cell phones, bullying methods have expanded to include what is known as cyberbullying. **Cyberbullying** is bullying behavior that takes place via mobile phones, the Internet, and/or digital technologies. It can involve threats or harassment sent over the phone, threatening and insulting comments posted on a social networking site, and vulgar or scary text messages. Children can do the bullying themselves or enlist their friends or family. Cyberbullying can be particularly harmful given its ease of use and the fact that people can bully without having to be in the presence of the victim. They can even do it anonymously. As noted by Aftab, “The schoolyard bullies beat you up and then go home. The cyberbullies beat you up at home, at grandma’s house, wherever you’re connected to technology” (as quoted in Nies, James, & Netter, 2010). In the

following box read the heartbreaking story of Phoebe Prince, a young teen who committed suicide after being cyberbullied. The School Crime Supplement to the NCVS began including questions regarding bullying behavior through electronic means in 2007. Almost 4% of students surveyed reported experiencing electronic bullying during the previous school year (Devoe et al., 2010). To learn more about the extent and consequences of cyberbullying, read the article by Carter Hay, Ryan Meldrum, and Karen Mann (2010) included in this section.

THE STORY OF PHOEBE PRINCE

Phoebe Prince, a recent Irish immigrant, hanged herself January 14, 2010 after nearly 3 months of routine torment via text message and through Facebook by students at South Hadley High School. Police believe she was the victim of cyberbullying from multiple “girls at the school who had an unspecified beef with her over who she was dating” (Kotz, 2010). Her case has been called “the culmination of a nearly 3-month campaign of verbally assaultive behavior and threats of physical harm” (as quoted in Goldman, 2010). In at least one instance, she was physically attacked when a girl pelted her with a soft drink can. As of January 28, 2010, “nine students have been indicted on charges ranging from statutory rape to civil rights violations and stalking. It appears that Phoebe may finally get her justice” (Kotz, 2010). As a result of the attention that bullying has garnered through cases like Phoebe’s and others, “forty-five states now have anti-bullying laws; in Massachusetts, which has one of the strictest, anti-bullying programs are mandated in schools” (Bennett, 2010).

Responses to School Victimization

In response to victimization and bullying at schools, many schools have instituted security measures. Most commonly, schools have hired law enforcement officers, installed metal detectors, installed security cameras, begun to lock entrances and exits during school hours, and implemented supervision of hallways during the school day (Devoe et al., 2010). According to a survey of principals, almost half of public schools in 2008 had paid law enforcement or security staff, more than half used security cameras, and 5% used metal detectors (Devoe et al., 2010). The School Crime Supplement Survey also indicates that many schools are implementing security measures. Almost one fourth of students reported that they were required to wear picture identification at school, and 94% indicated that visitors were required to sign in at their school (Devoe et al., 2010).

In addition to school security measures, laws and policies are in place to address violence within schools. Current federal law, under the **Gun-Free Schools Act**, mandates that each state that receives federal funding must suspend for at least 1 year any student who brings a firearm to school. As such, most states have laws to address bullying, harassment, and hazing that occurs at school (Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, 2011)—some of which are **zero-tolerance policies** that mandate specific punishments for fighting and violence along with bringing weapons to school—which may serve to limit school victimization and bullying. Fortunately, most states have instituted a broad range of policies that attempt to address school victimization more holistically. For example, see next box, which provides a description of Florida’s laws. Although it remains to be seen how effective these laws are at reducing the amount of victimization that occurs at school, many of the laws also require mandatory reporting of suspected victimization, mandate that schools have programs and resources to reduce school victimization, and require that people are in place to oversee these programs (Limber & Small, 2003).

FLORIDA'S BULLYING/HARASSMENT, CYBERBULLYING, AND HAZING LAWS

Bullying/Harassment

Statute 1006.147 (2008) prohibits bullying or harassment of any student or employee of a public K–12 educational institution, during any program or activity conducted by a public K–12 educational institution, during any school-related or school-sponsored program or activity, or through the use of data or computer software accessed through a computer, computer system, or network of a public K–12 educational institution. Specific definitions of bullying and harassment are outlined in the statute.

Statute 1006.147 (2008) provides immunity from a cause of action to a school employee, school volunteer, student, or parent who promptly reports in good faith an act of bullying or harassment to the appropriate school official.

Statute 1006.147 (2008) requires school districts to adopt a policy prohibiting bullying and harassment of any student or employee of a public K–12 educational institution. The policy must substantially conform to the model policy of the state Department of Education, and must afford all students the same protection regardless of their status under the law. Requirements of the policy are outlined in the statute.

Statute 1006.07(6) requires district school boards to provide for the welfare of students by using the Safety and Security Best Practices to conduct a self-assessment of the district's current safety and security practices. The self-assessment includes indicators for districts to develop and enforce policies regarding anti-bullying, anti-harassment, and due process rights in accordance with state and federal laws. The assessment also includes indicators of schools surveying students on school climate questions related to discipline, bullying, threats perceived by students, and other safety or security related issues.

Statute 1006.07(2) also requires a student to be subject to in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, expulsion, or imposition of other disciplinary action by the school and possibly criminal penalties for violating the district's sexual harassment policy.

State Board of Education Administrative Rule 6A-19.008 (1985) requires schools to have environments that are free of harassment and prohibit any slurs, innuendos, or other verbal or physical conduct reflecting on one's race, ethnic background, gender, or handicapping condition, which creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive educational environment, or interferes with students' school performance or participation or other educational opportunities.

Cyberbullying

Statute 1006.147 (2008) prohibits bullying and harassment of any student or employee of a public K–12 educational institution through the use of data or computer software that is accessed through a computer, computer system, or computer network of a public K–12 educational institution. The definition of "harassment" in the statute includes any threatening, insulting, or dehumanizing gesture, use of data or computer software, or written, verbal, or physical conduct directed against a

student or school employee that does one of the following: (1) places them in reasonable fear of harm to his or her person or damage to his or her property, (2) substantially interferes with a student's educational performance, opportunities, or benefits, or (3) substantially disrupts the orderly operation of a school. The definition of "bullying and harassment" includes perpetuation of actions by an individual or group with intent to demean, dehumanize, embarrass, or cause physical harm to a student or school employee by accessing or knowingly causing or providing access to data or computer software through a computer, computer system, or computer network within the scope of the district school system.

Hazing

Statute 1006.135 (2005), referred to as the Chad Meredith Act, defines hazing and makes the hazing of students at a high school with grades 9–12 a criminal offense as defined within the statute. The bill prohibits the following defenses to a charge of hazing: obtained consent of the victim; the conduct or activity that resulted in the death or injury was not part of an official organizational event or was not otherwise sanctioned or approved by the organization; the conduct or activity that resulted in the death or injury was not done as a condition of membership in an organization.

SOURCE: National Association of State Boards of Education (2010). The NASBE Healthy Schools Policy Database is a comprehensive set of state-level laws and policies from 50 states on more than 40 school health topics that includes hyperlinks to the actual policies whenever possible.

Most school-based programs are targeted at reducing school violence and/or bullying specifically. The most effective of these programs are proactive and involve parents, students, and the community (Ricketts, 2010). A common type of a violence-reduction program is peer mediation. Peer mediation programs train a group of students in interest-based negotiation skills, communication skills, and problem-solving strategies so they can help their peers settle disagreements peacefully and without violence (Ricketts, 2010). Findings from evaluations of peer mediation programs show that they can change the school climate over time (Ricketts, 2010). To specifically attack bullying, some schools have adopted bullying prevention programs. One of the most widely adopted of these programs, the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, has shown promising reductions in bullying perpetration and victimization in both the United States and Norway (Olweus, 1991).

Victimization at School: College

You may have been wondering whether college students are similarly at risk for victimization while attending school. Most parents send their children to college feeling pretty confident that they will be safe—most college students report feeling safe at school. Are these feelings justified?

Who Is Victimized?

You will be happy to learn that college students actually have lower average annual rates of victimization than their similarly aged nonstudent counterparts (Baum & Klaus, 2005). The difference for students and nonstudents was not

significant, however, for rape and sexual assault. When college students are victimized, they are most likely to experience a nonviolent victimization, such as theft. In a study of college students enrolled in 12 institutions of higher learning, Fisher, Sloan, Cullen, and Lu (1998) found 169.9 theft victimizations per 1,000 students. Of those who are violently victimized, the most common victimization is simple assault (63% of all violent victimizations) (Baum & Klaus, 2005). Most violent victimizations are committed by strangers, at night, without a weapon, and off-campus (Baum & Klaus, 2005). In fact, college students experience violent victimizations off-campus at 20 times the rate they experience them on campus (Hart, 2007). Most violent victimizations of college students do not result in physical injury (75%) (Baum & Klaus, 2005).

In addition to these incident-level characteristics, college students who are victimized share common characteristics. White college students have higher violent victimization rates than do students of other races (Baum & Klaus, 2005). White students and students of other races have lower violent victimization rates than nonstudents, while Hispanic students have similar violent victimization rates to Hispanic nonstudents (Baum & Klaus, 2005). Violently victimized college students also tend to be male. Male college students are twice as likely as female college students to be violently victimized (Baum & Klaus, 2005). The only type of violent victimization that female college students experience at higher rates than males is sexual victimization. Female college students have an average annual rape/sexual assault rate of 6 per 1,000 persons ages 18 to 24, compared with a rate of 1.4 for males. Male college students, on the other hand, have an average annual rate of violent victimization of 80.2, compared with 42.7 for female college students (Baum & Klaus, 2005). For a detailed account of sexual victimization of college students, see Section 5 on sexual victimization.

Less attention has been given to property victimization of college students; however, we do have an idea as to who the “typical” college property victim is. Males tend to be property victims more so than female college students (Fisher et al., 1998). In addition, younger students, aged 17 to 20, are at greater risk of property victimization than are older college students (Fisher et al., 1998). Employed students report higher levels of property victimization than do unemployed students or those who work part-time (Johnson & Kercher, 2009).

Risk Factors for Victimization at College

Although college students are not at a greater risk than nonstudents of being violently victimized, they do still experience a great deal of violent victimization. With an average of 7.9 million 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled annually in college between 1995 and 2002, a violent crime rate of 60.7 per 1,000 persons equates to 479,530 violent victimization incidents each year. So, why do this many victimizations occur?

Lifestyle/Routine Activities

Recall from Section 2 that routine activities theory is one of the hallmark theories of victimization. According to this theoretical perspective, risky lifestyles and daily routines place individuals at risk of being victimized. When persons engage in risky lifestyles and routines that bring them together in time and space with would-be offenders and they are without capable guardians—thus making them suitable targets—they are likely to be victimized. Let’s consider how college students may engage in routine activities and risky lifestyles that could place them at risk.

Spending time in the presence of potential offenders increases the risk of being victimized. It is instructive that, for college students, the most common offender is another college student (Fisher et al., 1998). Students who spend more time away from home in the evening are at risk of being victimized (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2007). Spending many nights on campus during the week has been found to increase theft victimization for college students (Fisher et al., 1998). For college females, spending time in places where men are seems to increase risk, particularly for sexual victimization. That is, women who spend more time in fraternity houses are more likely than other women

to be sexually victimized (Stompler, 1994). Being a member of a fraternity or sorority also has been linked to an increased risk of property victimization (Johnson & Kercher, 2009). Another way that college students may be exposed to potential offenders is through engaging in victimizing behavior. Those who do are more likely to be victimized than others (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2000).

Being a suitable target also increases risk of victimization for college students. A person can be deemed “suitable” for a variety of reasons. A person may have items that are valuable and easy to steal, and if they carry these items in public, they are at greater risk of being victimized than others (Johnson & Kercher, 2009). A person may be walking alone and not seem as though he or she is able to protect himself or herself. Or, as is quite relevant for college students, a person may be visibly intoxicated and, thus, may be seen as easy to victimize and unable to resist an attack; the offender may not fear that the person will fight back or even recall enough details about the event to make a reliable police report. We will return to alcohol and its role in college students’ victimization below.

The last element relevant to routine activities theory is lack of capable guardianship. College students who live in settings with high levels of transience and low levels of cohesion—for example, student apartments where residents move year to year and change roommates frequently—are at greater risk of victimization than students who live at home or in campus dorms (Mustaine & Tewksbury, 2007). Guardianship can also be created through physical means such as carrying a weapon, mace, or pepper spray or by attending prevention or crime awareness seminars. Attending crime prevention or crime awareness seminars has been found to reduce the risk of violent victimization among college students (Fisher et al., 1998). On the other hand, some research shows that the use of physical guardianship is actually related to an increase in victimization, but this may be due to people purchasing and carrying these items after being victimized (see Fisher, Daigle, & Cullen, 2010).

Alcohol

In addition to the three elements of routine activities theory, college students also often engage in behaviors that likely increase their risk of victimization. The first risky behavior we should consider is the use of alcohol and drugs. As you are well aware, the use of alcohol is pervasive among college students. Research on the use of alcohol by college students shows that between 75% and 96% of college students consume alcohol (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 1995, 1998). One of the most serious consequences of alcohol use among college students is criminal victimization. In fact, “college students who drink heavily are more likely to be both criminal offenders and victims of crimes” (Tewksbury & Pedro, 2003, p. 32).

Why does alcohol increase college students’ risk of being victimized? Well, as noted in Section 2, alcohol impairs cognitive functioning and reduces a person’s ability to assess situations as risky. Even if a person can see that a situation is dangerous, he or she may not be physically capable of warding off a potential attacker if inebriated. A person may also have lowered inhibitions and say and do things that he or she would not normally do; thereby, a person can find herself or himself in a situation with a potential offender. Given the effects of alcohol, a person may say or do things to anger others, thus unintentionally getting into a fight or argument. Not to blame the victim, but when alcohol is involved, the victim’s actions or words may set in motion a series of events that lead to victimization.

Responses to Campus Victimization

Legislation

No parents ever want to get a phone call informing them that the child they dropped off at college was harmed, but that is just what the parents of Jeanne Clery experienced. They received the worst phone call of all: Their daughter

had been raped and murdered while attending Lehigh University. She was sleeping in her dorm room when Joseph Henry entered through propped-open and unlocked doors (Clery & Clery, 2008). In response to their daughter's death, the Clerys sued the university after they found out that the university knew about the propped-open and unlocked doors and did not tell the students about the potential dangers lurking on their campus. In addition to filing a lawsuit, they pushed for legislation that would require college campuses to better inform students about crime. As a result, the Student Right-to-Know and Campus Security Act of 1990, renamed in 1998 the **Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act** [20 USC 1092 (f)], was passed (hereafter referred to as the Clery Act).

The Clery Act applies to all institutions of higher learning that are eligible to participate in student aid under Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Enforced by the Department of Education, the act has three main requirements. First, by October 1 of each year, schools must publish an annual campus security report with crime statistics and a security policy that includes information about sexual assault policies, the authority of campus security officers, and where students should go to report a crime. The security report must include information about the three most recent calendar years and must be made available to all current students and employees. The crimes that must be included in the report are homicide, sex offenses, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, motor vehicle theft, and arson. If an arrest or disciplinary referral was made, the report must also include liquor law violations, drug law violations, and illegal weapons possession. The location of the incident must be provided in terms of occurring on campus, in residential facilities for students on campus, in noncampus buildings, or on public property immediately adjacent or running through the campus.

Second, colleges and universities are required to disclose incidents in a timely fashion through crime logs and warnings about ongoing threats. A crime log must be kept by the campus police or security department. Within two days of being made aware of a crime, the police or security must include the offense in the crime log, including the nature, date, time, and location of each crime.



▲ **Photo 9.2** Howard and Connie Clery, sitting on the bed of their daughter, Jeanne Clery, who was brutally murdered at Lehigh University. Howard and Connie are the heads of Security on Campus, Inc.

Photo credit: © Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

This crime log is public record—it is to be made publicly available during normal business hours and kept open for 60 days. Along with the crime log, warnings must be provided about those crimes that are required to be disclosed or those believed to represent an ongoing threat to students and employees. Warnings are commonly delivered through e-mails, phone calls, and text messages.

Third, the Clery Act requires that certain rights for both accusers and victims are protected in cases of sexual assault handled on campus. Both parties are given the same opportunity to have other people present at campus disciplinary hearings. Both parties have the right to be informed of the outcome of disciplinary hearings. Victims have the right to notify law enforcement and also have the right to be notified about counseling services available to them and options for changing academic and living situations.

Despite these requirements, there are some limitations to the Clery Act. Not all crimes that occur are required to be disclosed in the security report, not all crimes are reported to the police, and only those crimes

that occur on campus property or public property adjacent to the campus are required to be in the report; thus, individuals who look to the security report for guidance about their campus safety may be getting only a partial picture of the true amount of crime that occurs. In addition, although the Clery Act mandates that colleges and universities comply with its requirements, research shows that not all schools are doing so (Fisher et al., 2007).

In addition to the Clery Act, other federal legislation has been passed that allows for the tracking of sex offenders who have been convicted and who are required to register if they are enrolled in an institution of higher learning or volunteering on campus (Carter & Bath, 2007). In addition, at least 19 states have Clery-type legislation (Sloan & Shoemaker, 2007). To read about how college students—in particular, college women—respond to actual victimization and perceived danger on campus and how the Clery Act's requirements impact this response, read Pamela Wilcox, Carol E. Jordan, and Adam J. Pritchard's (2007) article included in this section.

Campus Police and Security Measures

Of those 4-year colleges and universities that have 2,500 students or more, almost 75% have sworn law enforcement officers (Reaves, 2008). Almost all public institutions have sworn personnel, while less than half of private campuses have sworn officers (Reaves, 2008). Instead, campuses that do not have sworn personnel have nonsworn security officers. Those that do have sworn personnel grant these officers full arrest powers. Campuses differ greatly in terms of the number of officers they employ. As you may imagine, institutions of higher learning that have a large student body and are located in large, urban centers tend to have larger police and security forces than do smaller and more traditional rural institutions (Reaves, 2008). For a list of the campuses with the largest number of sworn law enforcement officers, see Table 9.1.

Almost all college campuses have a three-digit emergency telephone number that persons can call for assistance or to report a crime (Reaves, 2008). Those who are on campus and need assistance can use blue-light emergency campus phones that provide direct access to campus law enforcement. More than 90% of 4-year institutions of higher learning that enroll at least 2,500 students have these phones (Reaves, 2008). In addition to these security measures, most institutions of higher learning have written terrorism plans, written emergency response plans, and provide students with access to crime prevention programs (Reaves, 2008).

Victimization at Work

So far, we have discussed victimization that occurs when people are attending school, despite the fact that schools should provide a safe environment to encourage active learning. The work environment, you would think, should be similarly safe—and there are strict rules and laws in place, discussed below, that attempt to ensure it is just that. Nonetheless, people are not

Table 9.1 Largest Full-Time Sworn Officers for Colleges, 2004–2005 School Year

Campus Served	Full-Time Sworn Officers
Howard University	166
Temple University	119
University of Pennsylvania	100
University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey	97
George Washington University	95
University of Florida	86
Georgia State University	79
Yale University	78
University of Maryland—College Park	76
Vanderbilt University	76

SOURCE: Reaves (2008).

always safe from harm while they try to earn a living. But just how often are people victimized on the job? Why does it happen, and how can it be prevented? These questions and more will be addressed in this section.

Definition of Workplace Victimization

Before we address the extent to which victimization occurs to people at work, let's address what victimization at work encompasses. Obviously, if a person is victimized while physically at work—say, in his or her office—that constitutes a **workplace victimization**. But what if a person is victimized in the parking garage at work? Would this too be “counted” as a workplace victimization? What if a victimization occurs when a person is traveling for work or doing official work business, such as making a delivery? In short, if a person is working or on duty and victimized, the incident is considered a workplace victimization. Workplace victimizations can be violent—ranging from threats and simple assaults to homicide—or can be nonviolent—such as theft.

Much of the research that has examined workplace victimization has focused on violence that occurs in the workplace, as opposed to nonviolent victimizations. You may be surprised to learn that the concept of workplace violence has been studied for many years. In fact, the first discussions of workplace violence in the literature occurred in 1892 (Jenkins, 2010)! Data on workplace violence though were not collected and criminologists did not begin to consider seriously the etiology and causes of workplace victimization until the 1970s and 1980s (Jenkins, 2010). Since then, however, widespread attention has been given to violence that occurs in the workplace. One useful tool that has been developed to understand workplace violence is a typology of workplace violence (Jenkins, 2010). The first type is **criminal intent incidents**, which include incidents in which the perpetrator has no legitimate relationship to the business at which the crime occurs. Most commonly, the perpetrator in this type commits a crime in conjunction with the violence, such as a person who robs a gas station and shoots the attendant. The second type is **customer/client incidents**. These incidents occur when the perpetrator has a legitimate relationship with the business and becomes violent when receiving services from the business. An example of this second type would be a person at a doctor's office who is quite agitated and begins punching the doctor. The third type is **worker-on-worker incidents**. In these incidents, the perpetrator is a current or former employee of the business and aggresses against another employee. The fourth, and last, type of incident is **personal relationship incidents**, in which the perpetrator has a personal relationship with the intended victim, who is targeted while at work. An example of this type would be a domestic violence incident in which a man shows up at his ex-wife's place of employment and shoots her. Now that you have an idea of the types of victimization that constitute workplace victimization, let's find out how much of this occurs each year.

Extent of Workplace Victimization

As with victimization at school, most people can safely go to work each day and be free from victimization. But some people do, in fact, experience victimization. We can get an idea of the extent of workplace victimization from a variety of data sources. As with most types of victimization, one rich source of data is the NCVS. Recall that when a person indicates in the NCVS that he or she experienced a victimization, an incident report is then completed. In the incident report, if persons indicate they were at work or on duty at the time of the victimization, the incident is counted as a workplace victimization incident. Between 1993 and 1999, an average of 1.7 million violent victimizations occurred at work or while people were on duty, accounting for 18% of all violent crime during this time period (Duhart, 2001).

According to findings from the NCVS, the most common type of victimization experienced by people at work, however, is personal theft—between 1987 and 1992, more than 2 million personal thefts, on average, were experienced

at work each year (Bachman, 1994). Almost a quarter of all thefts reported in the NCVS occurred at work or while persons were on duty (Bachman, 1994). The second most common type of victimization measured in the NCVS is simple assault, a violent victimization. Between 1993 and 1999, an average of 1,311,700 simple assaults occurred against people at work or while on duty (Duhart, 2001). When aggravated assaults are included, almost 19 of every 20 workplace violent incidents were aggravated or simple assaults, which shows that other forms of violent workplace victimization are relatively uncommon (Duhart, 2001). In fact, during this same time period, only 6% of all workplace violent crime was rape/sexual assault, robbery, or homicide (Duhart, 2001).

Who Is Victimized at Work?

Demographic Characteristics of Victims

By now, you could probably guess that males are more likely than females to be violently victimized at work or while on duty, except for rape and sexual assault (Duhart, 2001). There is no difference, however, in the rates of theft victimization for males and females—they are equally likely to be the victims of theft while working (Bachman, 1994). Although the patterns for workplace violent victimization for gender follow the trends for victimization more generally (i.e., males have higher rates than do females), the trends for race do not. Rates of workplace violent victimization are highest for Whites. In fact, from 1993 to 1999, the average workplace violent victimization rate was 25% higher for White workers than for Black workers (Duhart, 2001). The rate for workplace violent victimization was similar for Black and Hispanic workers (Duhart, 2001).

The last two demographic characteristics to consider are age and marital status. Young adults aged 20 to 34 had the highest rates of workplace violent victimization. Persons who were married or widowed had lower workplace violent victimization rates than those who were never married, divorced, or separated. The last three groups all have similar rates of victimization (Duhart, 2001).

Occupations With Greatest Risk

Knowing what demographic characteristics are correlated with workplace victimization does little to inform us what jobs are most risky. You would be right if you thought that some jobs are replete with danger. Data from the NCVS show that law enforcement jobs are the most dangerous. Persons working in this field, which includes police, corrections, and private security officers, experience 11% of all workplace violent victimizations (Duhart, 2001). Fortunately for your professor, college and university teachers have the lowest rates. Other occupational fields that face the highest risk (in order) are mental health, retail sales, teaching, transportation, and medicine. Within these broad categories, police, taxicab drivers, corrections workers, private security, bartenders, custodians in mental health settings, professionals in mental health settings, special education teachers, and gas station attendants have some of the highest violent victimization rates at work (Duhart, 2001). As you might imagine, persons in retail sales have the highest robbery victimization rates, while people in law enforcement have the highest assault rates (Duhart, 2001). Persons working in government jobs are also at risk of workplace violence. Vivian Lord's (1998) article, included in this section, addresses these workers' risk of being victimized on the job.

Special Case: Fatal Workplace Victimization

Of course, the most serious outcome of victimization is when a person loses his or her life. Unfortunately, this sometimes does occur when a person is at work—and it is not just caused by people “going postal”! In fact,

homicide is not the leading cause of occupational injury deaths of postal workers (Jenkins, 2010). How do we know this? To track the number of fatal injuries for various occupations, the National Census of Fatal Occupational Injuries program was initiated in 1992. Each year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes its findings about the extent of fatal injuries from this program so that a picture of the extent and types of fatal occupational injuries can be drawn (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011).

In 2010, 808 persons died in the workplace or while on duty as a result of violence or assaultive behavior (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Of these 808 people, 506 were homicide victims and 258 died as a result of self-inflicted wounds. Of the 506 homicide victims, most (401) were the victims of shootings in the workplace and 34 were the victims of stabbings. The most common type of workplace homicide is criminal incident, with robberies alone accounting for 40% of the cases in 2008 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Coworkers and former coworkers (worker-on-worker type) accounted for only 12% of incidents in the same year (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). Another special case of workplace victimization is sexual harassment. See the article by Anne M. O'Leary-Kelly, Lynn Bowes-Sperry, Collette Arens Bates, and Emily R. Lean (2009), included in this section, for an in-depth analysis of the state of the research on sexual harassment victimization at work.

Demographic Characteristics of Victims

As with workplace violence in general, males are more likely to be murdered at work than are females. One interesting difference between men and women, however, is who the perpetrator is when homicide at work does occur. Although males and females are equally likely to be the victims of workplace robbery and have other assailants, females are more likely to be murdered at work by a relative or personal acquaintance than are males (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). In addition to males having higher rates of workplace homicide, minorities face a greater risk of becoming victims of this specific type of workplace victimization than do others (Sygnatur & Toscano, 2000). Adults aged 25 to 44 account for the greatest percentage of workplace homicides, while persons under the age of 18 have the lowest rates (Sygnatur & Toscano, 2000).

Occupations and Workplaces With Greatest Risk

You have already learned that workers in some occupations face greater risk of being victimized than do others. Do you think that the same types of occupations pose the same dangers in terms of fatal workplace violence? You may be surprised to learn that, although law enforcement jobs are “risky” in terms of nonfatal violence, they are not the most risky in terms of fatal workplace violence. Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs face the greatest risk of being murdered of any type of worker in the United States (Sygnatur & Toscano, 2000). They face 36 times the risk of all employed individuals! Consider this fact: Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs compose only 0.2% of employed workers but account for 7% of all work-related homicides (Sygnatur & Toscano, 2000). They account for a disproportionate share of workplace homicide. Law enforcement officers have the next highest rate of workplace homicide.

It is also instructive to consider workplaces that have high rates of occupational homicide. Retail trades have the highest rates of workplace homicide, while services, public administration, and transportation also have high rates. Retail establishments that have the most homicides include liquor stores, gas stations, grocery stores, jewelry stores, and eating/drinking establishments. Services include hotels and motels, for example. Public administration includes detective and protective order services as well as justice and public order establishments. Finally, transportation includes taxicab establishments, which, as previously mentioned, contains the most risky occupation for workplace homicide (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 1995).

Risk Factors for Victimization at Work

Now that you know what types of occupations and workplaces have the highest risks of workplace victimization and workplace homicide, the next thing to consider is why these jobs and places are so dangerous. What is it about working in retail or law enforcement, for instance, that poses a risk? Generally, a number of characteristics of certain jobs place workers at risk of being victimized (Jenkins, 2010; National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, 1995; Sygnatur & Toscano, 2000).

- Working in contexts that involve the exchange of money with the public
- Working with few people or alone
- Working late at night or during the early morning
- Working in high-crime areas
- Working in the community (such as police or taxicab drivers)
- Working with criminal, unstable, or volatile persons
- Having a mobile workplace
- Working in delivery of goods, passengers, or services
- Guarding valuables or property



▲ **Photo 9.3** A day at work can prove to be very dangerous for taxicab drivers, who face some of the greatest risks of violence at work.

Photo credit: ©Thinkstock/Creatas

Consequences of Workplace Victimization

One of the most obvious consequences of workplace victimization is that people may not be able to go to work. They may be injured and need to receive medical attention and, as a result, may need to take time off from work. They may be fearful and scared to return to work. Persons who participated in the NCVS indicated that they missed some 1,751,100 days of work each year as a result of workplace victimization (Bachman, 1994). On average, each workplace victimization incident cost 3.5 days of missed work, which resulted in more than \$55 million in lost wages annually, not including days missed that were covered by sick and annual leave (Bachman, 1994).

Workplace homicide also is associated with a whole host of costs. When examining medical expenses, future earnings lost, and household production losses that include child care and housework, workplace homicides between 1992 and 2001 cost \$6.5 billion (Hartley, Biddle, & Jenkins, 2005). Each workplace homicide cost an average of \$800,000 (Hartley et al., 2005).

Responses to Workplace Victimization

We know the extent to which workplace victimization occurs, the occupations and workplaces at greatest risk of experiencing workplace victimization, and the risk factors for experiencing workplace victimization. But what have places of business, the government, and the legislature done to prevent victimization at work?

Prevention Strategies

For prevention strategies to be most effective, they should be tied to risk factors. That is, to prevent workplace victimization, the factors that place particular occupations or places of work at risk should be targeted and altered to effect change. In doing so, preventing workplace victimization has typically occurred in three main areas. The first prevention strategy is targeting **environmental design**. These strategies focus on ways to make a workplace more secure and a less attractive target. See Table 9.2 for examples of this type of prevention. The second type of prevention strategy, **organizational and administrative controls**, focuses on strategies that administrators and agencies can implement to reduce the risk of workplace victimization in their organizations. Although these controls can be varied, common strategies are identified in Table 9.2. The third type of prevention strategy is behavioral. **Behavioral strategies** are actions that workers can take to reduce their risk of workplace victimization. These include the behaviors identified in Table 9.2.

Employers can also do their part to reduce workplace violence perpetrated by current or former workers by being careful about who they hire and by being watchful of suspicious behavior from their employees. One thing employers should do is carefully screen their employees to uncover any issues with alcohol or drugs, violence, or issues with coworkers in the past (Morgan, 2010). They should also try to identify persons who tend to externalize blame for their problems, who are hostile, and who frequently change jobs, as all these characteristics are indicators of a person who may become violent at work (Morgan, 2010). Employers should also be watchful of warning signs of violence such as when a person is obsessed with weapons or brings weapons to work, when a person recently has been written-up or fired, when a person has made a threat, when a person is intimidating or has made others fearful, when a person has demonstrated romantic interest in a coworker that is not reciprocated, when a person is paranoid, when a person cannot accept criticism, when a person has experienced personal problems, or when a person begins changing work habits (e.g., showing up to work late when usually on time) (Morgan, 2010).

Table 9.2 Types of Workplace Prevention Strategies

Strategy	Definition	Examples
Environmental	Focuses on ways to make a workplace more secure and a less attractive target	Install better lighting, install security cameras and bullet-proof barriers or enclosures, post signs stating that only small amounts of cash are on hand, make high-risk areas visible to more people, install silent alarms, have police check on workers, etc.
Organizational and administrative	Focuses on strategies that administrators and agencies can implement to reduce the risk of workplace victimization in their organizations	Providing training on maintaining a safe work environment; instituting ban on working alone; recording verbal abuse accidents and suspicious behavior; policies that define what is considered workplace victimization/violence and methods for defusing volatile situations; training on how to use security equipment; access to psychological counseling and/or support to reduce likelihood of acting out at work; and access to services following acts of workplace victimization
Behavioral	Actions that workers can take to reduce their risk of workplace victimization	Training in nonviolent response and conflict resolution, training on how to anticipate and respond to potential violence, training on how to resist during a robbery

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (1996).

Legislation and Regulation

You may be surprised to learn that there is not a national set of standards specific to the prevention of workplace violence (Jenkins, 2010; OSHA, n.d.). There are, however, federal agencies that provide legislative guidance for workplace safety and health. The **Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)** in the U.S. Department of Labor has occupational safety and health legislative responsibility, while the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is responsible for research in this area (Jenkins, 2010). Both agencies, along with others in the federal government, provide publications and recommendations regarding workplace violence prevention. In addition to these federal guidelines, 25 states, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands have standards and enforcement policies to address workplace violence as well as plans that have been approved by OSHA (n.d.). Some states have standards or policies that are different from the guidelines put forth by OSHA. More generally, all employers are required to provide a safe work environment that is free of recognizable hazards likely to cause death or serious bodily harm (Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, Pub. L. 91-596). If workers are harmed while on duty, employers may be liable if they failed to disclose the dangers workers face or if they negligently ignored the threat of workplace violence (Smith, Gambrell, & Russell, LLP, 2005).

SUMMARY

- Males are the most likely targets for victimization in schools, much the same as research shows them to be for most other crimes.
- The most commonly occurring type of school victimization is theft.
- More violent acts of victimization typically happen in lower grade levels than in grades 10 through 12.
- Individual, school, and structural forces all play a role in school victimization.
- Though extreme cases of school victimization, such as school shootings, that would get increased media attention have occurred, this type of victimization is very rare.
- When looking at school victimization, it is important to note that some teachers are also the targets of aggressive or criminal behavior. The typical teacher-victim is the instructor of a special-education class.
- Though bullying can have some serious psychological effects on people, it often is considered a normative behavior in the socialization process among students.
- Bullying can be indirect or direct, and can be social, physical, or verbal. Cyberbullying—in which people use the Internet, mobile phones, and other digital technologies to bully others—has received recent attention in the news.
- The most typical victimization a college student experiences is theft.
- College students who experience victimization, specifically violent victimization, often engage in risky lifestyles and routine activities (i.e., participating heavily in the college partying culture, binge drinking, and going to events alone and late at night).
- The Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act requires most universities to have widely accessible campus crime reports, to keep crime logs and deliver warnings about crime threats, and to protect the rights of both victims and those who are accused of sexual assaults handled on campus.
- Campuses have also responded to the threat of crime by employing campus police or security officers and providing other safety precautions and programming for students.
- In the workplace, younger adults and children are, of course, at less risk for being victimized, while the age range at greatest risk for violent and even fatal victimization is 25 to 44.
- The typology of workplace violence classifies incidents into criminal, customer/client, worker-on-worker, and personal relationship incidents.

- Thefts are the most common type of workplace victimization. Males and White workers have higher rates of workplace victimization than do females and non-White workers.
- The Census of Fatal Occupation Injuries program tracks all cases of fatality in the workplace.
- Taxicab drivers have the highest rates of workplace homicide; law enforcement officers have the highest rates of non-fatal workplace victimization.
- Working at night, alone, with money, with the public, in high-crime areas, in a mobile workplace, or in the community places people at risk for workplace victimization.
- Though there is no standard set of workplace prevention guidelines, it is the employer's responsibility to provide a safe work environment for all employees (i.e., screening potential employees before hiring, making sure the physical work space is free from hazardous material or anything that could cause bodily harm, etc.).
- Much like school victimization, the most extreme cases of fatality in the workplace, which would get media attention, are not the most common. Personal theft of belongings is more likely to occur than a workplace shooting or any other physically violent act.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Assess your risk of being victimized at college. Are you at high risk? Why or why not? How could you reduce your risk of being victimized?
2. Based on what you have read about workplace violence, assess your risk of being a victim at your current or former place of work. If you do not work, consider your parent's place of employment. Does your job have risk factors for violence? If yes, why? How could your place of employment reduce its risk?
3. Why do you think males and minorities have higher rates of workplace victimization than do females and nonminority workers?
4. In the workplace, do you think you would be at less risk being employed as a police officer or as a taxicab driver? Why? What does the research say?
5. How important is it for you personally to protect yourself and your belongings at work if personal theft is the most common form of victimization in the workplace? How can your own routine activities in the workplace contribute to or prevent you from being a victim of theft?

KEY TERMS

school victimization	Gun-Free Schools Act	worker-on-worker incidents
bullying	zero-tolerance policies	personal relationship incidents
direct bullying	Jeanne Clery Disclosure of Campus Security Policy and Campus Crime Statistics Act	environmental design
physical bullying		organizational and administrative controls
verbal bullying	workplace victimization	behavioral strategies
indirect bullying	criminal intent incidents	Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)
cyberbullying	customer/client incidents	

INTERNET RESOURCES

“Fact Sheet: Workplace Shootings” (<http://www.bls.gov/iif/oshwc/foi/osar0014.htm>)

The Bureau of Labor Statistics website provides a workplace shootings fact sheet listing statistics on the year’s fatalities, injuries, and illnesses. Charts separate the shootings by workplace industry. The links on the page offer information to victims of workplace violence about how to receive compensation and benefits for their losses.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (<http://www.olweus.org/public/index.page>)

This website is a helpful tool for understanding the types of bullying that exist as more technology develops. There is a host of information for teachers, parents, and students who may be affected by some form of school victimization, and headlining news videos about bullying that has occurred in various states. This is a website with the facts and harsh realities about school victimization but also with tips and testimonials that could prevent it in the future.

“Workplace Violence” (www.osha.gov/SLTC/workplaceviolence/)

The U.S. Department of Labor’s Occupational Safety and Health Administration webpage defines and outlines the standards, rules, and regulations for workplace/office violence. The key resource this website offers is a detailed list of references for workplace/hazard awareness. A lengthy list of PDFs provides information on preventing victimization and being more aware of routines at work that could make you a suitable target for violence.

Stop Cyberbullying (<http://www.stopcyberbullying.org/index2.html>)

This website offers valuable information on how serious this technologically advanced form of bullying is and explains what the law says and does when this type of bullying is reported. This is more of a “take action” website that explains to victims and people who want to help exactly what can be done. The site also explains how cyberbullying works and why people choose to do it so readily.

“Harassment-Free Hallways” (<http://www.aauw.org/learn/research/upload/completeguide.pdf>)

This article discusses ways in which sexual harassment can be prevented in schools. It provides information for students, parents, and school personnel. It also includes a brief survey that you can take to learn whether you have been a victim of sexual harassment.

Introduction to Reading 1

One of the key considerations of victimization research is the effect victimization has on victims. For bullying, the effects can be dramatic. Hay and colleagues (2010) investigate the effects of bullying and cyberbullying among a sample of about 400 students enrolled in two schools (one high school and one middle school) in a Southeastern state. Data were collected from surveys completed by the students in the sample. This article makes several key contributions. First, it examines bullying and cyberbullying, a relatively new form of bullying. Second, it examines bullying of both male and female adolescents. Third, it uses general strain theory to understand the effects that bullying has on youth. Fourth, both internalizing and externalizing responses to bullying are considered. In this way, a theoretically driven analysis of the consequences of bullying is presented.

Traditional Bullying, Cyber Bullying, and Deviance

A General Strain Theory Approach

Carter Hay, Ryan Meldrum, and Karen Mann

Agnew's (1992, 2001) general strain theory (GST) has received significant empirical scrutiny, with much of it supporting the theory. Most tests confirm its central hypothesis that strainful events and relationships are positively related to involvement in delinquency (e.g., Broidy, 2001; Capowich, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 2001; Hoffmann & Miller, 1998; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994). Moreover, the effects of strain on delinquency appear to be partially explained by heightened levels of anger and frustration (e.g., Brezina, 1998; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1997; Piquero & Sealock, 2000). With these favorable results, it is not surprising that GST has moved to the "forefront of criminological theory" (Hoffmann & Miller, 1998, p. 83).

And yet, important empirical issues remain unresolved or even largely unexplored in GST research. The purpose of this study is to address three issues that we

see as neglected, substantively important, and logically linked to one another. The first of these involves the need to learn more about the criminogenic effects of bullying. In a significant elaboration of GST, Agnew (2001) identified bullying—or "peer abuse"—as a strain that should be especially consequential for delinquency. Yet even as bullying has received continued attention as an adolescent social problem (e.g., White & Loeber, 2008) GST research has neglected its effects on crime and delinquency. This study addresses this void, and we do so with data that allow us to examine not only traditional notions of bullying (e.g., physical and verbal harassment) but also cyber bullying, which has garnered significant recent attention (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009; Wang, Iannotti, & Nansel, 2009).

A second goal of our study is to examine the effects of bullying not just on crime but also on noncriminal,

internalizing forms of deviance. GST tests often assess the effects of strain on “externalizing” crimes—acts committed against others or their property. Some individuals, however, may respond with “internalizing” acts that harm themselves. Although neglected, this possibility is consistent with GST’s position that individuals cope in different ways and deviant adaptations can come in many forms (Agnew, 1992). We consider this issue by examining the effects of bullying not just on crimes committed against others but on internalizing deviance, including suicidal ideation and acts of self-harm such as “cutting” or burning oneself. These outcomes are especially important to consider when examining the effects of bullying—those who are bullied may be socially isolated and ostracized, and this may lead to self-directed responses to strain (Moon, Morash, McCluskey, & Hwang, 2009).

Our final focus is on the possibility that these relationships vary across males and females. Broidy and Agnew (1997) identified important ways in which strain crime relationships may be moderated by sex, and a number of empirical studies support their arguments (e.g., Piquero & Sealock, 2004). This issue has not, however, been examined with respect to the above two issues—issues that may especially call for a consideration of sex-specific patterns. There still is uncertainty about whether males and females experience bullying to the same degree and whether they react to it in similar ways (see Espelage, Mebane, & Swearer, 2004). Sex differences also are important to consider when studying the effects of strain on internalizing deviance. As Broidy and Agnew noted, when confronted with strain, males may resort to externalizing responses, whereas females may be more susceptible to internalizing responses. This hypothesis rarely, however, has been tested in GST research, and it has not been examined with respect to bullying. Also, recent evidence contradicts the conventional wisdom that internalizing deviance is largely a problem among females—rates of deliberate self-harm and suicidal ideation are far from trivial among males in industrialized nations (Kerr, Owen, Pears, & Capaldi, 2008; Patton et al., 2007).

This study examines these three issues in conjunction with one another: Bullying is assessed in terms of its effects on both externalizing and internalizing deviance, and these relationships are examined separately for males and females. This is done with survey data collected from a sample of students in a nonmetropolitan county of a Southeastern state. First, however, we consider in more detail both GST’s positions on these various issues and the findings from prior research.

Prior Theory and Research

Bullying as a Source of Strain

Although being the victim of bullying has always fit within GST’s broad conception of strain (Agnew, 1992), attention to it emerged most notably from Agnew’s (2001) elaboration of GST in which he identified the strains that should be most consequential for crime. One of these was bullying (or “peer abuse”), which, unlike such strains as parental rejection and negative experiences at school, “has been neglected as a type of strain” (Agnew, 2001, p. 346). Agnew (2001) contended that bullying should be consequential because it satisfies four conditions that should characterize consequential strains: (1) It should be perceived as unjust (because bullying often will violate basic norms of justice), (2) it should be perceived as high in magnitude (because peer relations often are central in the lives of adolescents), (3) it should not be associated with conventional social control (because bullying often will occur away from adult authority), and (4) it should expose the strained individual to others—the bullies themselves—who model aggressive behavior.

Despite these suggestions of an important effect, exposure to bullying largely has been ignored in GST research and, more broadly, in research on the causes of crime. Some exceptions to that pattern suggest that bullying—or the related concept of criminal victimization—is important for delinquency (Agnew, 2002; Agnew, Brezina, Wright, & Cullen, 2002; Baron, 2004; Hay & Evans, 2006). Baron’s study of homeless youths, for example, revealed that being a property

victim significantly increased delinquency, even after controlling for a wide array of alternative explanatory variables. Of more direct relevance to the effects of bullying, Agnew et al. (2002) found that subjects who were picked on by neighborhood peers were more involved in delinquency, although this was true only for those with personality characteristics conducive to delinquency. More recently, findings from Moon et al. (2009) contradicted GST's position: Bullying victimization was not associated with general delinquency in their study of Korean youths.

This dearth of criminological research stands in contrast to the extensive scholarship that reveals effects of bullying on many forms of social psychological maladjustment, including low self-esteem, loneliness, and depression (see Hawker & Boulton, 2000). When behavioral outcomes have been considered, however, the focus generally has been limited to school absenteeism or antisocial behavior in the pre-adolescent years, prior to the point in which serious crime and delinquency is pervasive. A few recent studies (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin, 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004) provide important exceptions to that pattern and find that bullying increases adolescent crime or deviance. Thus, there is potentially much to be gained from giving further attention to Agnew's (2001) hypothesis about the important effects of bullying on adolescent behavior.

It also is important for such research to focus on the newly emerging issue of cyber bullying (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009), which involves using the Internet or cell phones to mistreat others. This includes abusive e-mails or text messages, insulting messages or pictures on online message boards, and Web sites that disseminate degrading content. Recent surveys of adolescents indicate their potential exposure to cyber bullying—nearly 90% frequently use the Internet and 50% have their own cell phones (Lenhart, Madden, & Hitlin, 2005; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004). These media often are used to harass or embarrass others (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2004), but little is known about how this victimization may affect behavior. There is reason for concern because, unlike face-to-face bullying, cyber

bullying may be especially difficult to escape from. Its electronic nature may allow it to occur without attracting the attention of teachers or parents. Also, because many adolescents—for legitimate reasons—carry their cell phones at all times and frequently use the Internet, they can be exposed to cyber bullying even when physically removed from bullies. And once information is posted to the Web, it may be difficult for the bullying victim to have it removed from all of the sites in which it may have appeared. It also can reach a much wider audience than what may be possible with traditional bullying. Mason (2008, p. 324) comments on the relentless nature of cyber bullying, noting that it “can harass individuals even when [they are] not at or around school. . . . [U]nlike traditional forms of bullying, home may no longer be a place of refuge.” Thus, if bullying is to be examined as an important source of strain, attention to cyber bullying should be a key consideration.

Internalizing Responses to Strain

GST predicts that individuals will respond to strain in different ways (Agnew, 1992). Tests of GST, however, have disproportionately focused on criminal responses, especially acts that harm another person either through violence or through the theft or damage of their property. When internalizing responses have been considered, the focus generally has been limited to substance use. Thus, an entire class of internalizing acts—aggression against oneself with acts of deliberate self-harm—has been ignored. This type of behavior includes such things as cutting or burning oneself, jumping from heights, running into traffic, poisoning, hanging, and self-battery, with each of these acts sometimes resulting in suicide (Hawton, Rodham, & Evans, 2006).

Ignoring this type of response to strain could be a significant omission in GST research. First, by not considering a broader array of responses to strain, prior studies may have misclassified some subjects. Specifically, some adolescents may have been seen as coping with strain in prosocial ways simply because their harmful responses were not captured by a study

that focused only on criminal outcomes. Insight on this comes from a study by Sharp and her colleagues (Sharp, Terling-Watt, Atkins, Gilliam, & Sanders, 2001), who found that 23% of a sample of college females reported some type of eating disorder, and this outcome was affected by strain. Given that these individuals may have committed few crimes against others, their responses to strain might have been overlooked in a more conventional test of GST.

A second reason to consider acts of deliberate self-harm is that they may be more common than is typically recognized. This issue has been studied extensively outside the United States since the 1960s, with many studies finding higher than expected rates of self-harm. For example, in the United Kingdom, more than 20,000 adolescent hospital admissions occur each year because of self-inflicted overdoses, poisonings, or injuries (Hawton et al., 2006). Comparable prevalence rates were observed in such countries as France, Ireland, and Australia (Hawton et al., 2006). This issue has garnered recent attention in the United States from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2008), who found that nearly 14% of high school students in a national survey seriously contemplated suicide in the prior year.¹

The neglect of self-harm in criminological research is understandable, given our focus toward general theories that can explain a wide range of deviant or harmful outcomes. Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) self-control theory, for example, often is lauded for its ability to explain many noncriminal behaviors that are rewarding in the short-term but carry long-term costs. GST may be a similarly general theory—in addition to explaining criminal outcomes, it may also explain involvement in many harmful, self-directed actions that are used to cope with intense feelings of stress.

One final point should be emphasized: Self-harm may be especially important to consider when studying the effects of bullying. As many studies in psychology reveal, bullying victims suffer from a wide array of social psychological maladjustments and tend to be socially isolated. Thus, rather than responding to this strain with normal delinquent or criminal acts (many

of which are committed in the context of adolescent peer groups), bullied individuals may respond with acts committed against themselves.

Male-Female Differences in the Response to Strain

Broidy and Agnew (1997) systematically introduced to criminology the idea that males and females may differ in their levels of exposure and responses to strain. They offered several relevant hypotheses. First, relative to females, males should be exposed to criminogenic strains at higher levels. Second, because of sex differences in stress coping, males should have emotional reactions to strain that are conducive to externalizing responses (crime), whereas females should have emotional reactions more conducive to internalizing responses. For example, although both males and females may get angry in response to strain, females may also experience self-directed emotions like guilt, shame, and depression. And last, net of any differences in emotions, males should have behavioral reactions to strain that are more criminal, in part because they have lower personal coping resources and fewer social constraints to criminal coping.

These arguments have received at least moderate support, suggesting that higher male crime is partially explained by GST processes. For example, males are exposed to some criminogenic strains at higher levels than females (Baron, 2004; Hay, 2003), and they are more likely to respond to given strain with crime (Agnew & Brezina, 1997; Hay, 2003; Piquero & Sealock, 2004).² Sex differences have not yet been considered, however, in the few GST studies of bullying and peer victimization. Moreover, questions about sex differences remain in the larger study of bullying. The belief that bullying is largely a male problem disappeared when conceptions of bullying broadened to include “relational” forms of bullying (Espelage et al., 2004) like gossip, ridicule, and friendship withdrawal. All of these appear to be common among both male and female adolescents (see Crick & Grotpeter, 1995). And with respect to cyber bullying, strong conclusions on sex

differences have yet to emerge, although it may be more common among females (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009).

These patterns leave open the question of whether males or females are exposed to bullying at higher levels, and they suggest that the answer to this question may depend on the type of bullying being considered. Just as important, the research on bullying has yet to examine Broidy and Agnew's (1997) hypotheses regarding the ways in which male and female adolescents differ in their responses to bullying. Thus, there is a clear need for research that examines sex-specific responses to bullying and does so for multiple outcomes that include both externalizing and internalizing forms of deviance.

The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of bullying on externalizing and internalizing forms of deviance and to assess whether these relationships vary across males and females. Our central hypothesis is that, consistent with GST, bullying is significantly related to both types of deviance. Testing this hypothesis reveals insight on the accuracy of Agnew's (2001) claims regarding the importance of exposure to bullying, and it clarifies whether GST can be extended to explain aggression directed against the self. With respect to sex differences, two hypotheses are tested, both of which draw from Broidy and Agnew (1997) and the related research. We predict that the effects of bullying should be greater for males than females when the dependent variable is externalizing behavior. Conversely, the effects of bullying should be greater for females for dependent variables that involve internalizing deviance. We should emphasize, however, that these hypotheses are offered tentatively. The stress and coping literature upon which Broidy and Agnew based their arguments has not focused on adolescent stressors like bullying. Moreover, its concern with internalizing deviance often has emphasized emotional (e.g., depression) rather than behavioral outcomes. Thus, our test of how these relationships vary according to sex is exploratory to some degree.

Data

These issues are considered with data collected from a sample of roughly 400 adolescents in a Southeastern state of the United States in the spring of 2008. Respondents were sampled from two participating schools—one high school and one middle school—located in a rural and relatively poor county. Using the standards set by the school district, a passive consent procedure was followed. Permission forms were distributed to all students 1 week prior to the survey administration, and students were excluded from the study if parents returned the form asking that their child be excluded. Each participating student then completed an anonymous, self-administered questionnaire during normal school hours and was given a small reward (a candy bar) for completion. This procedure allowed for a near complete census of the two schools' populations, with 93% of attending students participating in the study. This produced a fairly diverse sample. The average age of participants was 15 but ranged from 10 to 21. The sample was split evenly between males and females, and non-Whites represented 34 of the sample. Additionally, family disruption was common, with only 50% of respondents living in a household with both biological parents.

Measures

The survey allowed for multiple-item scales for most variables, and there are two features common to the measures that we used. First, all items in multiple-item scales included ordinal response categories, with almost all using a 4-point scale. For measures that assess frequencies, responses ranged from 1 = *never* to 4 = *often*. For items asking respondents to rate themselves on some characteristic, responses ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*. Second, with respect to scale construction, each scale was computed by averaging its constituent items.

Independent Variables

To assess the effects of bullying, two measures were used. The first is a 6-item measure ($\alpha = .85$) that captures the traditional emphasis on physical and

verbal harassment. Respondents indicated how often during the prior 12 months they were (a) the target of lies or rumors; (b) the target of attempts to get others to dislike them; (c) called names, made fun of, or teased in a hurtful way; (d) hit, kicked, or pushed by another student; (e) physically threatened by other students; and (f) picked on by others. Our second bullying measure is a 3-item scale ($\alpha = .80$) that captures the more recent interest in cyber bullying. Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently during the previous 12 months they were (a) the target of “mean” text messages; (b) sent threatening or hurtful statements or pictures in an e-mail or text message; and (c) made fun of on the Internet.

Dependent Variables

Externalizing delinquency was measured with a 5-item scale ($\alpha = .86$) of self-reported offending during the prior 12 months. Respondents indicated how often they had (a) stolen something worth less than \$50; (b) stolen something worth more than \$50; (c) damaged, destroyed, or tagged property that did not belong to them; (d) entered a building or house without permission from the owner; and (e) hit, kicked, or struck someone with the idea of seriously hurting them. Two measures of internalizing behavior were used, with both measured with a single item. The first is a measure of suicidal ideation in which respondents were asked how often “you think about killing yourself.” Self-harm was measured by asking respondents how often “you purposely hurt yourself without wanting to die,” with “cutting or burning” offered as examples.

Control Variables

A number of demographic control variables were included in the analyses to protect against concerns about spuriousness. These included five demographic variables: age (measure in years), sex (*male* = 1, *female* = 0), race (*non-White* = 1, *White* = 0), nonintact family structure (*nonintact* = 1, *living with both biological parents* = 0), and place of birth (*foreign-born* = 1, *native born* = 0). Also, to better isolate the independent relationship between exposure to bullying and the outcomes of interest, controls

were included to capture key aspects of respondents’ school, family, peer, and personal characteristics. This included measures of school grades (as indicated by self-reported grades on the most recent report card); parental control, as indicated by a 10-item scale ($\alpha = .92$) of parental monitoring and discipline; and unstructured time spent with peers, as indicated by a 2-item scale ($r = .56$) measuring time spent with friends with no adults present and time spent with friends at a mall, restaurant, or street corner. And last, all analyses included an 8-item measure ($\alpha = .85$) of self-control, which included the 8 items used in the Grasmick et al. scale (Grasmick, Tittle, Bursik, & Arneklev, 1993) to measure impulsivity and risk seeking.³

Results

The first step in the analysis was to consider the effects of bullying on our externalizing and internalizing outcomes. Given the high correlation ($r = .67$) between traditional and cyber bullying, the effects of the two were estimated in separate equations. Thus, with two measures of bullying and three outcomes of interest (delinquency, self-harm, and suicidal ideation), we estimated six ordinary least squares (OLS) equations, each of which included all of the controls.

The results for these equations are shown in Table 2, which reveals a consistent effect of bullying—the effects of bullying are statistically significant and relatively large in all six equations (with betas ranging from .22 to .41). Cyber bullying has modestly higher effects than traditional bullying—standardized effects of .33 for delinquency, .39 for self-harm, and .41 for suicidal ideation, which compares to effects of .22, .33, and .39 for traditional bullying. Also, both types of bullying have greater effects on self-harm and suicidal ideation than on delinquency. For traditional bullying, for example, the effect on suicidal ideation ($B = .39$) is nearly 80% higher than the effect on delinquency ($B = .22$). The pattern is less extreme but still true for cyber bullying, which has an effect on suicidal ideation ($B = .41$) that is 24% higher than its effect on delinquency ($B = .33$). Thus, bullying has a consistent, relatively strong association with delinquency, self-harm, and suicidal ideation,

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics

Total Sample	N	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Age	424	14.99	2.18	10.00	21.00
Male	420	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Non-White	422	0.34	0.48	0.00	1.00
Foreign-born	423	0.07	0.26	0.00	1.00
Nonintact family	407	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Poor school grades	391	2.02	1.04	1.00	5.00
Parental control	416	3.08	0.76	1.00	4.00
Time spent with peers	407	2.65	1.78	0.00	5.00
Self-control	422	2.79	0.64	1.00	4.00
Cyber bullying victimization	417	1.33	0.64	1.00	4.00
Traditional bullying victimization	419	1.74	0.72	1.00	4.00
Delinquency	415	1.23	0.51	1.00	4.00
Self-harm	418	1.31	0.75	1.00	4.00
Suicidal ideation	417	1.33	0.76	1.00	4.00
<i>Male Sample</i>					
Cyber bullying victimization	204	1.30	0.62	1.00	4.00
Traditional bullying victimization	205	1.76	0.72	1.00	4.00
Delinquency	205	1.28	0.54	1.00	4.00
Self-harm	205	1.25	0.70	1.00	4.00
Suicidal ideation	204	1.31	0.74	1.00	4.00
<i>Female Sample</i>					
Cyber bullying victimization	209	1.37	0.65	1.00	4.00
Traditional bullying victimization	209	1.72	0.72	1.00	4.00
Delinquency	205	1.16	0.43	1.00	4.00
Self-harm	210	1.37	0.80	1.00	4.00
Suicidal ideation	210	1.35	0.79	1.00	4.00

Table 2 OLS Regressions of Dependent Variables on Traditional and Cyber Bullying Victimization

Predictor	Delinquency (N = 363)			Self-Harm (N = 365)			Suicidal Ideation (N = 364)		
	b	SE	B	b	SE	B	b	SE	B
Age	0.02	0.012	0.07	0.00	0.017	0.01	0.02	0.017	0.05
Male	0.09	0.049	0.09	-0.18	0.070	-0.12**	-0.08	0.071	-0.05
Non-White	0.14	0.055	0.13*	0.21	0.079	0.13**	0.19	0.080	0.12*
Foreign-born	0.01	0.098	0.00	0.06	0.141	0.02	0.27	0.142	0.10
Nonintact family	0.10	0.051	0.10*	0.09	0.073	0.06	0.10	0.073	0.07
Poor school grades	0.00	0.025	0.01	-0.01	0.036	-0.02	-0.06	0.037	-0.09
Parental control	-0.16	0.035	-0.24**	-0.14	0.050	-0.14**	-0.17	0.051	-0.17**
Time with peers	0.04	0.014	0.13**	0.03	0.020	0.06	0.00	0.020	0.00
Self-control	-0.04	0.042	-0.05	-0.21	0.061	-0.18**	-0.13	0.062	-0.11*
Traditional bullying	0.15	0.035	0.22**	0.34	0.050	0.33**	0.41	0.051	0.39**
Constant	1.10	0.264	—	1.62	0.379	—	1.29	0.382	—
Adjusted R ²	—	0.21	—	—	0.24	—	—	0.26	—
Age	0.01	0.011	0.02	-0.02	0.016	-0.06	-0.01	0.017	-0.03
Male	0.12	0.047	0.12*	-0.14	0.069	-0.10*	-0.04	0.070	-0.03
Non-White	0.13	0.053	0.12*	0.18	0.077	0.11*	0.15	0.078	0.10
Foreign-born	0.02	0.094	0.01	0.09	0.137	0.03	0.31	0.140	0.11*
Nonintact family	0.12	0.048	0.12*	0.14	0.070	0.09	0.16	0.072	0.11*
Poor school grades	0.01	0.024	0.01	-0.01	0.035	-0.01	-0.05	0.036	-0.07
Parental control	-0.17	0.034	-0.24**	-0.15	0.049	-0.15**	-0.18	0.050	-0.18**
Time with peers	0.02	0.014	0.08	0.00	0.020	0.01	-0.02	0.020	-0.05
Self-control	-0.05	0.040	-0.06	-0.24	0.058	-0.21**	-0.18	0.059	-0.16**
Cyber bullying	0.26	0.038	0.33**	0.45	0.054	0.39**	0.49	0.055	0.41**
Constant	1.21	0.231	—	2.08	0.336	—	1.94	0.344	—
Adjusted R ²	—	0.27	—	—	0.29	—	—	0.28	—

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

but this is especially true for cyber bullying in particular and for outcomes that involve internalizing rather than externalizing deviance.

Our next step in the analysis was to examine whether these relationships vary across males and females; in short, do males and females differ in their response to traditional and cyber bullying? It is first useful to consider whether there were sex differences in exposure to these forms of bullying. The descriptives provided in Table 1 reveal that there were not. On scales that ranged from 1 to 4 (indicating exposure as 1 = *never*, 2 = *rarely*, 3 = *sometimes*, or 4 = *often*), both males and females had average values of approximately 1.75 for traditional bullying and 1.35 for cyber bullying. (The differences between males and females were not significant.) Thus, if bullying victimization is to produce divergent outcomes for males and females, it will result not from their differing extent of exposure, but instead, from their differing reactions.

To consider this possibility, we estimated OLS regression equations identical to those presented in Table 2, except that they were estimated separately for males and females. Table 3 provides a summary of the key results from these equations. For each male-female comparison, we provide the unstandardized

coefficient and standard error for the bullying measure in question. Also, we provide the *z*-score statistic used to determine whether the coefficients for males and females significantly differed. We used the formula recommended by Paternoster and his colleagues (Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 1998) that takes $b_1 - b_2$ (the difference between the two coefficients) as the numerator and the square root of $SEb_1^2 + SEb_2^2$ (the estimated standard error of the differences) as the denominator. If this formula yields a value for *z* that exceeds 1.96, the null hypothesis that $b_1 = b_2$ is rejected for a two-tailed test with an alpha level of .05.

The figures in Table 3 reveal that in four of the six bullying-deviance combinations, there are no significant differences in effects between males and females. Traditional bullying has effects (shown in the top pane of Table 3) that are similar for males and females across all dependent variables—each effect is significant, and the differences between the coefficients for males and females are negligible and insignificant. This pattern also is true for cyber bullying (shown in the bottom panel of Table 3) when delinquency is the dependent variable—the effect of cyber bullying on delinquency is almost identical for males and females.

Table 3 Z-Score Test for Differences in Effects of Bullying for Males and Females

Type	Delinquency			Self-Harm			Suicidal Ideation		
	b	SE	Z	b	SE	Z	b	SE	Z
<i>Traditional bullying</i>									
Males	0.135	0.057	-0.54	0.366	0.067	0.46	0.454	0.074	0.63
Females	0.174	0.044	—	0.319	0.077	—	0.389	0.071	—
<i>Cyber bullying</i>									
Males	0.274	0.062	0.12	0.578	0.069	2.20*	0.648	0.078	2.41*
Females	0.265	0.045	—	0.342	0.082	—	0.382	0.078	—

NOTE: All equations included controls for age, non-White, foreign-born, nonintact family, poor school grades, parental control, time spent with peers, and self-control.

* $p < .05$.

A different pattern emerges, however, for the effects of cyber bullying on self-harm and suicidal ideation—these effects are significantly greater for males. To be clear, exposure to cyber bullying is associated with heightened internalizing deviance for both males and females. However, the effects on these two outcomes are about 70% higher than what is observed for females, and these effects for males are quite large in absolute terms, with standardized effects (not shown) of .52 on self-harm and .54 on suicidal ideation. Indeed, these effects of cyber bullying on males' self-harm and suicidal ideation are nearly double the standardized effect of cyber bullying on male delinquency ($B = .29$).

Taken as a whole, these results are consistent with the possibility that males and females sometimes differ in their responses to strain. However, support for this idea emerged only when considering the effects of cyber bullying on internalizing deviance. Moreover, the exact pattern of differences was unexpected—internalizing responses to strain were higher among males rather than females.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study used Agnew's GST as the theoretical foundation for studying the effects of bullying on both externalizing and internalizing forms of deviance. Moreover, given prior theory and research of sex differences in stress coping, we were interested in examining how the effects of bullying would vary across males and females. Three key conclusions emerged from the analysis.

The first is that both forms of bullying victimization—a “traditional” measure based on physical and verbal harassment and a “cyber” measure based on online or electronic harassment—were significantly related to delinquency. This finding confirms the conclusions from other recent studies (e.g., Hinduja & Patchin, 2007) that bullying has important effects on delinquency. Also, although the differences were not extreme, we found that effects were greater for cyber bullying. It will be interesting to observe whether this pattern emerges in other studies. As noted previously, there are reasons to suspect that cyber bullying could indeed be

the more problematic form of bullying. Its electronic form allows it to occur in ways that are less visible and overt; it, therefore, may not attract the attention of parents or teachers. Moreover, cyber-bullied youths may find it more difficult to gain relief than those who are bullied in more traditional ways, because being physically removed from bullies offers little relief, and the bullying may reach a wider audience. Thus, although the significant effects of both types of bullying support Agnew's (2001) position that bullying is a more consequential form of strain than earlier believed, our findings especially suggest the importance of moving “beyond the schoolyard” to consider bullying that is linked to adolescents' growing use of the Internet and cell phones (Hinduja & Patchin, 2009).

Our second key finding is that both forms of bullying affected not simply delinquency (which was measured in terms of externalizing acts against other people or their property) but also internalizing forms of deviance like intentional self-harm and suicidal ideation. Indeed, these relationships were of greater magnitude than those observed between bullying and delinquency. One possible explanation for this involves the way in which bullying may socially isolate its victims—if victims are rejected by others or voluntarily withdraw from social interactions, this may encourage internalizing rather than externalizing emotional and behavioral responses. Again, this pattern needs to be confirmed in future studies. This is an important issue to consider; however, given GST research rarely has considered internalizing behavioral responses to strain. The findings in this study suggest that GST processes are relevant to a potentially wide array of harmful, self-defeating action not typically evaluated by criminologists.

Our final key finding is that these relationships were moderated by sex in some instances. Specifically, the effects of bullying on self-harm and suicidal ideation were greater for males, and this difference was large and statistically significant with respect to cyber bullying in particular—its effects on self-harm and suicidal ideation were approximately 70% greater for males. This finding contradicts the specific GST arguments that have been made (Broidy & Agnew, 1997)—compared to

females, males were expected to respond to strain with externalizing rather than internalizing deviance.

This unexpected pattern calls for speculation on what may explain it. Given that rates of self-harm and suicidal ideation are almost always higher among females (Hawton et al., 2006), males do not seem predisposed to respond to stress with internalizing deviance. Thus, a more plausible explanation for our finding could involve the focus on bullying in particular. Indeed, Hawton and colleagues reached a similar conclusion in their study of bullying—exposure to bullying increased the odds of internalizing deviance more for males than females. There may be two explanations for why bullying generated greater internalizing deviance for males. Both follow from the premise that while externalizing deviance often is facilitated by social engagement with peers (Warr, 1996), internalizing deviance often is the opposite—it is especially likely when a person is socially isolated (Hawton et al., 2006). Thus, one explanation may be that bullying victimization socially isolates males to a greater degree than what is observed for females. In connection, some have observed that relational forms of bullying are normative to some degree in female peer groups (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995); thus, rather than severing the victim's ties to the social network, some degree of bullying may be part and parcel of female network membership. With males, however, the victimization may be less consistent with one's membership in the group and may denigrate or emasculate the victim in ways that sever his or her ties with it (thus prompting internalizing deviance). A second and related possibility is that the bullying that males experience may be notably more severe or threatening than what is experienced by females, and this may prompt greater social withdrawal. Physical bullying is in fact more common among males (Espelage et al., 2004). Moreover, Hinduja and Patchin (2009) provided evidence on sex-differentiated emotional responses to bullying that may encourage greater social avoidance from males—males and females both expressed anger and frustration in response to bullying, but males were twice as likely to report being scared.

Taken as a whole, these conclusions can potentially advance and redirect future GST research, but they also should be viewed in the context of our study's limitations. First, our analyses were based on cross-sectional data gathered at one point in time. Thus, rather than assessing acts of deviance that necessarily followed exposure to bullying, our incidents of deviance and bullying occurred during the same time period (the prior 12 months). Our study, therefore, offers no guarantee of capturing the appropriate causal order (Lauritsen, Sampson, & Laub, 1991). To correct for this, future studies may use longitudinal data to examine lagged effects of bullying often amounting to 1 year or more. This approach provides a less than ideal match with theoretical arguments about the relatively short-term or instantaneous effects of strain (Agnew, 2001). A second limitation of our study involves the sample, which came from students from just two schools in a nonmetropolitan county. Although this sample does not appear to bias the results in favor of the observed findings, different results could emerge with samples that are more representative of the national population of adolescents. Last, and similar to other studies (although see Moon et al., 2009, for a recent exception), we were not able to confirm that those who experienced bullying perceived this to be strainful. Instead, we inferred the presence of strain from the significant positive relationships between bullying victimization and deviance. A fuller test of GST could consider this issue in a more direct way.

In concluding, it bears emphasizing that our findings suggest the notable gains in knowledge that may come from greater attention to the effects of bullying on adolescent behavior. Moreover, and in the spirit of GST's attention to general rather than narrow social dynamics, bullying should be examined in ways that emphasize the variety of forms in which it comes and the variety of consequences it may have.

Notes

1. It also should be noted that acts of deliberate self-harm often are quite serious. Even nonfatal incidents are injurious and suggest the emotional and mental suffering of those involved

(Vajani, Anest, Crosby, Alexander, & Millet, 2007). Moreover, non-fatal incidents often use the same techniques (especially poisoning, cutting and piercing, and suffocation) that are common in suicide attempts. Indeed, more than 50% of those admitted to a hospital for nonfatal self-harm have a history of suicidal behavior or ideation (Vajani et al., 2007).

2. See Hoffmann and Cerbone (1999) and Mazerolle (1998) for contrary evidence.

3. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for the full sample and for the male and female subsamples (for key variables of interest).

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The effects of cyberbullying on male self-harm and suicidal ideation were significantly greater than the effects of cyberbullying on female self-harm and suicidal ideation. How can you explain this finding?
2. Why do you think that being bullied has an effect on delinquency?
3. What are the policy implications of this paper? How can schools and parents use these findings?
4. How can the measure of cyberbullying be improved or expanded for future research? Given the findings, do you think that cyberbullying is more problematic than traditional bullying? Why or why not?



Introduction to Reading 2

Although colleges are generally safe places, there are still risks associated with college life. Wilcox and colleagues (2007) study college women's actual sexual assault, sexual coercion, physical assault, and stalking victimization experiences along with their assessments of campus risk, worry about crime, and precautionary behaviors. They do so through data collected from a telephone survey of 1,010 female undergraduate and graduate students enrolled at a Southeastern university. The sample was 84.2% White, with a median age of 21 years. For people who face a "real" threat of being victimized, you would think that they would (1) assess the campus as being the most risky, (2) express the highest levels of worry, and (3) exercise the most precautionary behaviors. The interrelationships between victimization, assessment of risk, worry about crime, and precautionary behavior are investigated—along with how the perpetrator may structure these relationships. How campuses report victimization is discussed in light of the researchers' findings.

A Multidimensional Examination of Campus Safety

Victimization, Perceptions of Danger, Worry About Crime, and Precautionary Behavior Among College Women in the Post-Clery Era

Pamela Wilcox, Carol E. Jordan, and Adam J. Pritchard

Leading fear-of-crime researcher Mark Warr (2000) suggests,

Fear is a natural and commonplace emotion. Under many circumstances, it is a beneficial, even life-saving emotion. Under the wrong circumstances, it is an emotion that can unnecessarily constrain behavior, restrict freedom and personal opportunity and threaten the foundation of communities. (p. 482)

Warr implies that “wrong circumstances” for fear of crime are those in which there is a disconnect between fear levels and objective risk levels. “Fear, then, is not intrinsically bad. It is when fear is out of proportion to objective risk that it becomes dysfunctional” (p. 455).¹ Warr’s delineation of fear as an experience with crime often very distinct from objective experience is an important one. Furthermore, his highlighting of both the positive and negative functions of fear (*vis-à-vis* objective risk) is important, though what constitutes “dysfunctionally out of proportion” has not yet been clearly defined (at either end of the spectrum) in the literature. After all, it makes intuitive sense to expect and even desire a somewhat higher level of fear than actual victimization within society, with some people’s fear undoubtedly serving to reduce their future victimization risk, thus highlighting a very functional “feedback loop” or reciprocity between objective and subjective risk (Cook, 1986). At the same time, fear levels dramatically

higher than actual risk and/or experience level are unhealthy anxieties that can lead to unnecessarily restrictive behaviors. Further complicating the issue is the possibility that some people with high objective risks may have low fear levels (Warr, 1994), thus creating another type of dysfunctional fear—too little fear.

Although no threshold for a healthy or functional versus unhealthy or dysfunctional objective-to-subjective risk ratio has been established, it is clear that people experience crime in different ways—both objectively and subjectively—and that both types of experiences have important potential implications for well-being. Hence, knowledge about how people experience crime both objectively and subjectively is important information for those concerned with addressing crime and safety in a comprehensive, multidimensional fashion. To this end, during the past several decades scholars have studied the level of interconnectedness among victimization, perceptions of safety, individual victimization risk perception, emotional fear, and behavioral manifestations of fear (e.g., Baumer, 1985; Braungart, Braungart, & Hoyer, 1980; Ferraro, 1995; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Garofalo, 1979; Lee & Ulmer, 2000; Skogan, 1987; Warr & Stafford, 1983; Wilcox Rountree, 1998; Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996a, 1996b). Theoretical models such as the risk interpretation approach (Ferraro, 1995) or the general opportunity interpretation approach (Wilcox Rountree, 1998) have been put forth to explain the interrelationships among these experiences. These risk or opportunity interpretation models suggest that various individual and contextual

background characteristics, including previous victimization experiences, shape cognitive perceptions of perceived criminal opportunity and crime risk (i.e., perceived risk), which in turn increases emotional fear of crime and avoidance behavior (Ferraro, 1995; Wilcox Rountree, 1998). Extending this theoretical development, criminologists have attempted to address how interrelationships posited by such theoretical models might vary among different subgroups within the population and across different types of crime (Ferraro, 1995; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Lane & Meeker, 2000; Wilcox Rountree, 1998). For instance, understanding women's relatively high levels of fear, despite relatively low levels of actual victimization and perceived risk, has been a source of important research. This research highlights not only women's uniquely elevated levels of fear (in comparison to men's fear) but their particularly elevated levels of fear of sexual assault specifically (e.g., Ferraro, 1995, 1996; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; May, 2001; Warr, 1984, 1985).

Unraveling women's fear of sexual assault vis-à-vis objective and perceived risk of sexual assault has received attention, but subjective perceptions and feelings about other crimes experienced by women, including those associated with physical assault and stalking, are less often addressed (but see Lane & Meeker, 2003; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). As such, we know little about how women's actual experiences with such other crimes relate to their subjective experiences. Furthermore, we know little about how an interrelationship among women's subjective and objective crime experiences might vary not only across type of crime but also across type of offender (e.g., stranger vs. acquaintance). Actual violence against women is largely intimate partner violence (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), yet that acquaintance violence takes place in a culture that touts the dangers of random, stranger-perpetrated violence (e.g., Best, 1999). As such, it is plausible that objective victimization experiences might be loosely coupled with subjective experiences regarding stranger-perpetrated crime, with fear being experienced well beyond the victim population. In contrast, objective and subjective experiences could be more closely linked for acquaintance-perpetrated crime, whereby women

who fear acquaintance-perpetrated crime are largely those who have experienced it.

In the present study, we address the above-mentioned gaps in the literature by (a) examining the interrelationships among objective and subjective crime experiences among women regarding three different types of crime—sexual assault or coercion, physical assault, and stalking—and (b) comparing the interrelationships among objective and subjective experiences across crimes involving strangers versus those involving acquaintances. We address these questions using survey data collected in spring 2004 from a sample of 1,010 college women.

The College Context

The population of college women is of particular interest in examining the interrelationships among objective crime experiences in that college women appear to be at greater objective risk of some forms of criminal victimization compared to similarly aged, noncollege counterparts (e.g., Fisher & Cullen, 2000; Shipman, 1994). In fact, the tradition of campuses downplaying crime was the focus of a concerted social movement in the late 1980s and 1990s, resulting in the passage of federal law designed to make the public reporting of campus crime mandatory, more extensive, and more accurate (e.g., Fisher, 1995; Hudge, 2000; Nicklin, 2000). The Campus Crime Disclosure Act (1998), later renamed the Clery Act (2000), amended the earlier Campus Security Act (1990) with new provisions mandating that schools report hate crimes in addition to those already required (index offenses), that schools include in their reports crime that occurs on property unowned by the college but contiguous to campus, and that schools receive punishment for noncompliance in crime reporting. If such legislative policies are successful in terms of their intent, today's college students should be well-informed about crime events on and around campus and should therefore objectively fear crimes most commonly experienced. However, campus crime reporting in the post-Clery era has been criticized for continued underreporting of crime for a

variety of reasons. Numerous media and professional sources, for instance, have suggested that many campuses continue to underreport campus crime even in light of Clery because of jurisdictional confusion, organizational inefficiency, and concern with student (offender) confidentiality (Gregory, 2001; Hardy & Barrows, 2001; Kennedy, 2000; Leinwand, 2000; Megerson, 1992; Nicklin, 1999). Others have suggested that Clery-mandated crime reports underrepresent campus crime because they measure only crimes reported to police rather than victimization incidents, and they exclude categories with high incident rates such as larceny theft (Fisher, Hartman, Cullen, & Turner, 2002). With such limitations, subjective risk on the part of students might be dangerously deflated even in the post-Clery era. If so, fear of crime may be unique among college women because fear is lower as opposed to higher in relation to objective risk.

Moreover, the extent to which women have subjective perceptions of crime more closely versus more loosely coupled with objective risks may depend on crime characteristics such as offense type and victim-perpetrator relationship. Clery, in theory, should cover all three crimes examined herein, including those committed by strangers and acquaintances, however, there may be systematic bias in noncompliance whereby certain crimes (e.g., those committed by other students) are less often reported, less widely reported, or reported with fewer details. Furthermore, even if crimes committed by acquaintances, including other students, are reported by colleges and universities in the exact same manner as are crimes committed by strangers, these reports may be received differently on the part of college or university women. Fueled by media portrayals of random violence, women may react more strongly to reports of stranger-perpetrated violence than to acquaintance-perpetrated violence.

In summary, the present study cannot discern the extent to which colleges and universities comply with Clery or the manner in which campus women interpret reports that do surface at their institutions. Nonetheless, the emergence of Clery within a context in which the broader culture supports long-held biases

toward magnifying stranger violence while at the same time most victimization of college women occurs at the hands of acquaintances (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000) provides an interesting confluence for exploring the interconnectedness of women's objective and subjective crime experiences and the extent to which these interconnections might vary across crime and perpetrator type.

Fear of Crime

Early work on fear of crime relied almost exclusively on either a General Social Survey (GSS) question—"Is there an area right around here (within a mile) where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?"—or one item from the National Crime Survey (NCS; "How safe do you feel or would you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night?").² However, these measures were criticized on numerous grounds. First, as crime is not even mentioned in the questions, it was thought that the GSS and NCS measure tapped social concerns, or "urban unease," broader than fear of crime (e.g., DuBow, McCabe, & Kaplan, 1979; Garofalo & Laub, 1978). Further, Garofalo (1981) pointed out that the items measured anticipatory feelings ("How safe would you feel . . ."), which might be quite different from feelings one experiences when actually encountering the situation in question. Following on these criticisms, a good deal of work in the fear-of-crime literature in recent decades has focused on issues of conceptualization and operationalization. This work has led to recognition of a multidimensionality of fear of crime, with cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions. Ferraro and LaGrange (1987), for instance, suggested that the NCS fear measure was more along the lines of a cognitive assessment of safety or judgment of risk than an emotionally or behaviorally based fear of crime because the question does not ask about actual feelings of worry or fear of crime or actual behavior in response to crime. Recent empirical work has supported the distinction highlighted by Ferraro and LaGrange between measures of cognitive perception of either general or personal risk (e.g., "How safe is your neighborhood from—?"; "How likely is it

that—will happen to you?") and emotional fear (e.g., "How afraid/worried are you about—?"). Studies have found moderate correlations between the two types of measures (typically around .6), and although there are some similar covariates across risk and worry measures, extant research has also unearthed important etiological differences (e.g., Bennett & Flavin, 1994; Chiricos, Hogan, & Gertz, 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Fishman & Mesch, 1996; LaGrange & Ferraro, 1989; LaGrange, Ferraro, & Supancic, 1992; Lee & Ulmer, 2000; May & Dunaway, 2000; Mesch, 2000; Skogan, 1987; Warr, 1987; Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996b). Previous research has also highlighted such distinctiveness with the behavioral dimension, showing that individual and contextual covariates vary somewhat across measures of risk perception, fear, and restricted or constrained routine activities (Ferraro, 1995; Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996a).

Scholars have suggested further that fear of crime is not only multidimensional in the sense of having cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components but that it is also multidimensional in the sense of having crime-specific qualities. Previous studies have shown, for example, that the level and nature of fear vary depending on the crime category under consideration (Ferraro, 1995, 1996; Lee & Ulmer, 2000; May, 2001; Warr, 1984; Warr & Stafford, 1983; Wilcox Rountree, 1998). As such, fear of violence cannot be considered analogous to fear of property crime, and within the category of property crime fear of burglary may be quite different than fear of vandalism, for instance.

Rational Fear? Its Link to Objective Risk

Given multidimensionality in fear, how do different dimensions relate to actual crime risk? A great number of studies have addressed this issue, examining both the extent to which individual-level victimization experiences relate to fear and the extent to which rates of crime in the surrounding areas relate to fear. Unfortunately, most have addressed this issue without explicitly distinguishing and examining various dimensions of fear, thus confounding whether these effects might vary across cognitive, emotional, or

behavioral spheres (for exceptions, see Chiricos et al., 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Lee & Ulmer, 2000; Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996b). Perhaps partly because of the failure to distinguish multiple dimensions of fear, findings regarding the effect of previous victimization on fear have been mixed with some studies supporting a positive relationship (e.g., Braungart et al., 1980; Garofalo, 1979; Skogan, 1987; Wilcox Rountree, 1998; Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996b) and others questioning the strength of this relationship for at least some dimensions of fear (e.g., Baumer, 1985; Ferraro, 1995; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978; Lane & Meeker, 2003; May, 2001; McGarrell, Giacomazzi, & Thurman, 1997). Still others have suggested that the link between victimization and fear is moderated by race, with the most pronounced effect of victimization on fear seen among Whites (Chiricos et al., 1997).

Studies assessing the link between actual risk and fear by estimating the effects of community rates of crime also reveal mixed results. Evidence exists of a positive effect of community crime on fear (Skogan & Maxfield, 1981), but other studies show weaker effects (Ferraro, 1995; Lee & Ulmer, 2000; Lewis & Maxfield, 1980; Lewis & Salem, 1986; Skogan, 1990; Taylor & Hale, 1986). Such effects have also been shown to be indirect, operating through local media coverage (Liska & Baccaglioni, 1990), and effects of area crime have been shown to be conditional on a variety of other factors including individual race and age (Chiricos et al., 1997; Liska, Lawrence, & Sanchirico, 1982) and type of crime under consideration (Wilcox Rountree, 1998).

Extant research that differentiates between a cognitive component of fear assessing perceived risk of crime and an emotional component assessing worry or concern about crime has shown that the effects of personal victimization experiences and/or community rates of crime on emotional worry may operate through cognitive perceived risk (Chiricos et al., 1997; Ferraro, 1995; Lee & Ulmer, 2000) and perceived community incivilities (Wilcox Rountree, 1998). Finally, research differentiating a behavioral dimension of fear in terms of constrained behavior or safety precautions has been mixed, with some studies finding that victimization experiences and area rates of crime have little to do

with safety precautions (Ferraro, 1995) and others providing evidence that victimization and area crime rates may have both direct effects on safety precautions and indirect effects through cognitive risk perceptions (Wilcox Rountree & Land, 1996a).

Campus Fear

Historically, most fear-of-crime scholarship has focused on the general adult population. However, coinciding with the heightened social awareness and political attention surrounding campus crime that began in the late 1980s, fear of crime on campus has also received increased attention in the past several decades. Still, scholarly empirical study of fear of crime among college students is scant, with important exceptions. Fisher and Nasar (1992, 1995; see also Nasar & Fisher, 1992, 1993), for instance, presented one of the first empirical studies of fear on campus with their work on the microlevel physical cues associated with fear in and around the Ohio State University's Werner Center for the Visual Arts. They found that certain aspects of the built and/or natural environment were associated with student fear, including "areas that were characterized by limited prospect, much concealment, and difficult escape" (Fisher & Nasar, 1995, p. 232; see also Day, 1999). Other single-campus surveys of fear have supported these spatial patterns and also highlighted temporal and sex-based differences in student levels of emotional concerns and/or cognitive risk perceptions. For instance, several single-campus studies have found that nighttime fear exceeds daytime fear among students (Fisher, Sloan, & Wilkins, 1995; McConnell, 1997). Furthermore, college women have reported higher levels of fear than do men, regardless of time of day (Fisher et al., 1995; McConnell, 1997) and across a variety of spatial domains, including campus jogging paths, campus parking lots, libraries, and so on (McConnell, 1997). Less research has been conducted on the behavioral dimension of fear among college women, though important work by Day (1994) suggested that much of the traditional campus safety initiatives aimed at reducing women's victimization and emotional fear thereof actually serve to, somewhat

ironically, further control and constrain college women's behavior.

In one of the only studies of campus fear using a national sample of college students, Fisher and Sloan (2003) examined daytime and nighttime emotional fear, along with cognitive personal risk perception, across college men and women for a variety of specific crimes (e.g., larceny theft, robbery, simple assault, aggravated assault, and rape). Women's personal risk perception and daytime emotional fear levels exceeded those of men for every crime except larceny theft. Women's nighttime emotional fear levels exceeded those of their male counterparts for all offenses examined. Furthermore, the link between perceived risk and fear, among women in particular, was not always obvious. For instance, among the five crime-specific risks or fears examined, women had the highest levels of perceived risk for larceny theft, yet that was the crime they feared the least at night. The crime that the college women feared most at night—rape—ranked third (out of five) among crime-specific risk perceptions. Although perceived risk was a significant positive predictor of nighttime fear of rape, the effects of various measures of objective crime experiences were less consistent. For instance, having been a victim of off-campus sexual or nonsexual assault was positively related to nighttime fear of rape, but on-campus sexual or nonsexual assault was not significant. The effect of lifetime experience with rape or sexual assault victimization specifically was also not significant, and the overall student sexual violence victimization rate was actually negatively related to nighttime fear of rape among college women.

In conclusion, the findings of Fisher and Sloan (2003) do not lend clear support for the notion of a close coupling among fear and perceived risk for college women, particularly when considering the crime of rape. Despite the importance of such findings, more work is needed to further unpack college subjective crime experiences. It would seem particularly important to extend the work of Fisher and Sloan by examining the links between objective and subjective crime experiences for other offenses affecting college women. Furthermore, it would seem important to examine whether the links

between victimization and multiple dimensions of subjective crime experiences (i.e., cognitive, emotional, and behavioral) vary not only across different crimes but across different victim-offender relationships.

The Present Study

The present study therefore extends previous research by examining different crime-related experiences including actual victimization, perceptions of campus danger, emotional worry or concern among college women, and safety or precautionary behavior. We focus on experiences regarding three crime categories in particular: stalking, physical assault victimization, and sexual victimization. Furthermore, we examine these crime experiences with sensitivity to the possibility of domain-specificity in the sense of victimization and fear, and the interrelationships thereof, perhaps being conditional on victim-offender relationship (i.e., stranger crime vs. acquaintance crime).

Data

Data for the present study were collected from a sample of 1,010 women surveyed by telephone at a state university in the southeastern United States (referred to anonymously as *State U* hereafter). State U is a state-supported public university that includes an urban campus and large medical center complex. State U is located in an urban area with a population of 260,512. The University is unique among land-grant universities in that all its 16 colleges are located on one campus, resulting in a student population of more than 25,000. State U offers 88 certified degree programs that lead to bachelor's degrees and master's degrees in 93 fields and PhDs and other doctoral degrees in 60 programs.

Telephone interviews were conducted by specially trained interviewers contracted through Schulman, Ronca & Bucuvalas, Inc., using computer-assisted telephone interviewing procedures. These procedures allowed the survey instrument to incorporate a complex skip pattern, ensuring that participants were asked only relevant questions regarding the specific details of experiences with

campus victimization. A university-provided list of 7,875 phone numbers for current female students was used to generate a random sample of 1,010 female students. The overall cooperation rate for valid student contacts was 83.5%. The interviews were conducted between April 1, 2004, and May 4, 2004, with each completed interview lasting an average of 17.5 minutes.

Consenting telephone contacts were included as participants if they reported that they were older than 18 and students at the university. Following this initial screening, participants were first asked questions regarding overall fear of crime on campus, then questioned regarding fear of specific types of victimization (stalking, sexual abuse or attack, physical abuse or attack) by either a known offender or a stranger, following the recommendation of Fisher and Sloan (2003). Next, participants were asked to provide basic background information; this section also included questions about current relationship status and alcohol or drug use. Finally, following the lead of recent studies of violence against women (Fisher & Cullen, 2000; Fisher et al., 2000; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000), participants' previous victimization experiences were screened using 34 yes-no questions about specific types of events (see the appendix). Participants identified by these screening questions as victims of stalking, physical assault, or sexual victimization (including assault or rape, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual contact) were then asked general follow-up questions regarding the circumstances (victim-offender relationship, occurrence before or during college, concurrence with other forms of victimization, etc.). Finally, detailed follow-up questions were asked only for the most recent events occurring while enrolled at State U.

Measures of Variables

As indicated above, numerous survey screening questions were utilized to determine whether respondents were classified as having ever been victims of stalking, physical assault, or sexual victimization (see the appendix). If respondents indicated that any of the events comprising these types of victimization had occurred, they were asked whether the event had occurred before

college, while in college at someplace other than State U, or while enrolled at State U. For those where stalking, physical assault and sexual assault, coercion, or contact victimization occurred while at State U, they were asked to reveal the relationship of the offender characterizing the most recent incident. Based on this series of screening and follow-up questions, we constructed three categories for classifying respondents according to each of three types of victimization: (a) respondent's most recent State U stalking or physical assault or sexual victimization experience was stranger perpetrated, (b) respondent's most recent State U stalking or physical assault or sexual victimization experience was acquaintance perpetrated, or (c) respondent had not experienced stalking or physical assault or sexual victimization since being enrolled at State U.

We compare these various categories of campus victimization with measures of subjective crime experiences spanning cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions. First, we measure cognitive assessment of campus danger with a single survey item asking respondents how safe their campus is from crime. Responses ranged from 1 (*very safe*) to 4 (*very unsafe*). We measure emotional worry about crime with six separate crime- and perpetrator-specific survey questions tapping level of worry (1 = *not really worried*, 4 = *very worried*) the respondent experiences regarding (a) personally being stalked by a stranger, (b) personally being stalked by an acquaintance, (c) personally being physically abused or attacked by a stranger, (d) personally being physically abused or attacked by an acquaintance, (e) personally being sexually abused or attacked by a stranger, and (f) personally being sexually abused or attacked by an acquaintance.³

We also measure crime experiences in the form of crime-related behavioral adjustments. For instance, we utilize a dichotomous variable to indicate (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*) whether respondents have something they carry or keep at their home to protect themselves from crime. We also include a measure of avoidance behavior, utilizing a single survey item asking respondents how often they avoid places on or around State U's campus out of concern for personal safety. Responses ranged from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*always*).

We note that our measures of actual victimization versus various subjective perceptions of crime are somewhat different in terms of crime specificity and domain specificity. Victimization includes those that happened while enrolled at State U, either on or off campus. Assessment of danger refers to campus specifically and is a general and global rather than crime-specific and personal measure. Measures of emotional worry are crime specific but, like victimization, are not campus specific. Neither behavioral measure is crime specific, but one is campus specific (avoidance of campus), whereas the other (carrying or owning something for protection) is not. Given these fluctuations, we realize our examination of the interrelationships between these various crime-related experiences calls for qualification in that it cannot isolate linkages between campus victimization and campus-based danger, worry, or protective action. We nonetheless believe that examining college women's victimization (both on and off campus) vis-à-vis various dimensions of fear, whether or not the fear is specific to college or campus, is a valuable exercise in beginning to understand these linkages. We believe that women's subjective experiences with crime in terms of perceptions of the campus environment, worry about crime (both on and off campus), and precautionary behavior (both on and off campus) should be viewed in relation to crime victimization experienced while in college, whether on or off campus. How safe women perceive their campus to be, how strained women feel in terms of emotional concern about crime, and what sorts of avoidance and general precautionary behaviors they engage in all have important implications for general well-being of college women and should therefore be of interest to administrators, faculty, student affairs professionals, and parents.

In addition to these measures of various crime experiences, we also include in some of our subsequent analyses several control variables. We control for class standing through a series of dichotomous variables indicating (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*) whether the respondent is a freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior, with the category of *graduate student* being the reference group in multivariate analyses. We control for respondent's race

with a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent is non-White (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*). We also control for whether the respondent is currently in a romantic relationship in the form of a spouse, a cohabiting partner, or a noncohabiting girlfriend or boyfriend (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*). Household structure is controlled with a variable indicating the number of adults with whom the respondent lives.

Results

In examining the extent to which various dimensions of fear of crime among college women correspond with objective crime experiences in terms of personal victimization, we first discuss the extent of victimization experienced by sampled women. Overall, 35.6% of respondents had experienced stalking, physical assault, and/or sexual victimization while enrolled at State U. More specifically, 24.9% of participants experienced one type of victimization, 8.7% experienced two of the three types, and 1.4% experienced all three types. When examining victimization by perpetrator type within crime category, as depicted in Table 1, interesting differences

clearly surface. Table 1 reveals that sexual victimization by an acquaintance is the most prevalent form of victimization queried, with 15.5% of respondents indicating such experiences.⁴ In contrast, physical assault by a stranger is the least prevalent, with 1.3% of respondents experiencing such victimization. For each of the three crime categories examined, acquaintance-perpetrated victimization is substantially more common than is stranger-perpetrated victimization. Fortunately, however, the modal category for each crime type is no victimization, with an overwhelming majority (more than 80.0%) indicating no such experiences.

Victimization and Assessment of Campus Danger

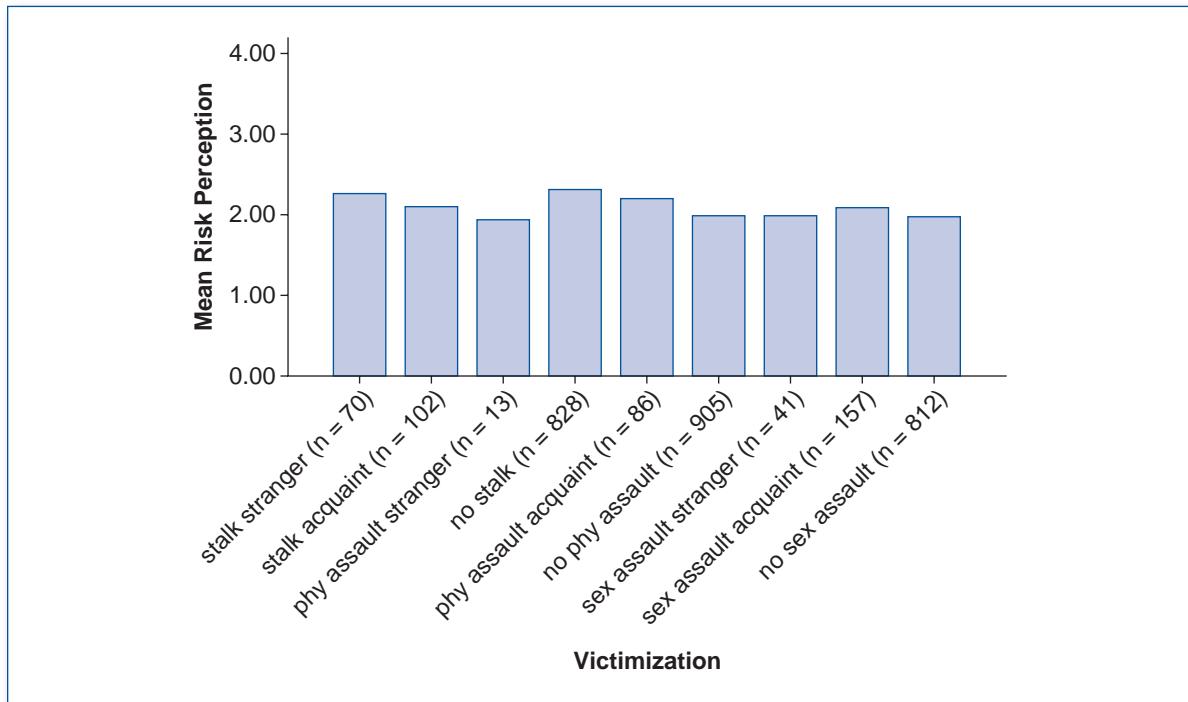
Our examination of the distribution of cognitive assessment of campus danger among respondents implies that college women may perceive the campus to be safer than their college victimization experience would suggest. According to this distribution, 15.5% of respondents indicated that they thought campus was unsafe—either somewhat or very unsafe—from crime. Interestingly, this percentage is quite a bit lower than the 35.6% who had actually experienced victimization while enrolled at State U.⁵

To begin to examine the extent to which assessment of campus danger relates to different types of victimization experiences, we plotted the mean levels of risk among the stranger-perpetrated, acquaintance-perpetrated, and no victimization categories for each of the three crimes under study. The results are shown in Figure 1. The data suggest that for stalking and physical assault, those experiencing stranger-perpetrated victimization actually report somewhat higher mean levels of campus danger than do acquaintance-perpetrated victims. Those not experiencing victimization, as expected, report the lowest levels of campus danger.

Comparisons of means using ANOVA indicate that these means are significantly different for stalking ($F = 10.221, p < .001$) and physical assault ($F = 7.938, p < .001$). However, in neither case is the contrast between stranger- and acquaintance-perpetrated victimization

Table 1 Victimization Among Sample Respondents, While Students at State U

Victimization	%
Stalking victimization, stranger	7.0
Stalking victimization, acquaintance	10.2
No stalking victimization	82.8
Physical victimization, stranger	1.3
Physical victimization, acquaintance	8.6
No physical victimization	90.1
Sexual victimization, stranger	4.1
Sexual victimization, acquaintance	15.5
No sexual victimization	80.4

Figure 1 Risk Perception Levels by Victimization Experiences

significant. For stalking, the only significant contrast is between stranger-perpetrated stalking victimization and no stalking victimization ($p < .001$). Keeping in mind the very small number of stranger-perpetrated physical assaults ($n = 13$), the only statistically significant contrast among physical assault categories was between acquaintance-perpetrated physical assault and no physical assault victimization ($p = .002$). Differences in mean campus danger for the different categories of sexual assault were not significant ($F = 2.138, p = .118$).

Finally, we consider the effect of victimization experiences on cognitive assessment of campus danger within a multivariate logistic regression model, predicting the odds of perceiving the campus to be unsafe (somewhat or very unsafe) as opposed to safe (somewhat or very safe). These results are presented in Table 2. Results indicate that assessing the campus as dangerous

is positively and significantly related to stranger-perpetrated stalking victimization. In comparison to those experiencing no stalking victimization (the reference category), victims of stranger-perpetrated stalking had 2.65 times greater odds of perceiving the campus to be unsafe. In contrast, it was physical assault by an acquaintance that significantly increased the odds of an unsafe assessment (by 78%) in comparison to no physical assault victimization. Odds of assessing the campus as dangerous were not significantly different for either victims of stranger or acquaintance sexual assaults in comparison to nonvictims of sexual assault.

Victimization and Worry About Crime

We next turn to an examination of the relationship between actual crime experiences and an emotional

Table 2 Logistic Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Odds Ratios for Assessment of Campus Danger

Variable	Coefficient	SE	Odds Ratio
Stalking stranger	1.00*	.29	2.65
Stalking acquaintance	.50	.27	1.65
Physical victim stranger	.88	.65	2.41
Physical victim acquaintance	.60*	.28	1.78
Sex victim stranger	-.35	.50	.71
Sex victim acquaintance	.25	.24	1.28
Constant	-2.16		
Chi-square (<i>df</i> = 13)	34.50*		

NOTE: Model controls for class standing, race (non-White), whether in a romantic relationship, and number of adults living in same household. All control variables were nonsignificant except a dummy variable for freshman class standing. Freshman students had significantly higher odds of assessing State U's campus as dangerous in comparison to the graduate student reference category.

* $p < .05$.

dimension of fear of crime. For these purposes, we employ six crime- and offender-specific measures of worry about crime: worry about stranger-perpetrated and acquaintance-perpetrated stalking, physical assault, and sexual assault. Table 3 presents the percentage of respondents who indicated being worried—either somewhat or very worried—about each of these

six offenses in comparison to the percentage of respondents who had actually experienced similar sorts of victimization while a student at State U. As Table 3 indicates, for all three stranger-perpetrated crimes in question, the percentage who are victimized is far less than the percentage who are fearful of such stranger-perpetrated crimes. The exact opposite pattern holds

Table 3 Percentage of Respondents Victimized Versus Somewhat or Very Worried by Victimization Type

Victimization	% Victimized	% Worried	Difference
Stalking stranger	7.00	21.83	-14.83
Stalking acquaintance	10.20	8.35	1.85
Physical victim stranger	1.29	38.42	-37.13
Physical victim acquaintance	8.57	6.83	1.74
Sex victim stranger	4.06	41.87	-37.81
Sex victim acquaintance	15.54	10.11	5.43

for the acquaintance-perpetrated victimizations and fears, where the percentage victimized exceeds the percentage fearful in all three instances, though the differences for acquaintance-perpetrated victimization versus worry were much smaller than the differences regarding stranger crimes.

Such patterns suggest a weak coupling of victimization and emotional fear, especially among stranger-perpetrated crimes. Indeed, bivariate correlations between victimization and fear measures are weak, ranging from $-.15$ to $.15$. Furthermore, results from multivariate logistic regression analysis of each crime-specific worry, shown in Table 4, support the idea that victimization experiences are generally weakly related to worry about crime, controlling for possible confounding effects. For each type of worry, two models are presented in Table 4—one without cognitive assessment of campus danger controlled and a second model with campus danger included. All of the coefficients for stalking and stranger-perpetrated victimization shown in Table 4 are in relation to the omitted *no stalking or physical assault or sexual victimization* category. All of the coefficients for campus danger are in relation to perceiving the campus to be somewhat or very safe.

Hence, regarding the first model estimating worry about stranger-perpetrated stalking, previous stranger stalking victims have 88% greater odds of worry than do nonvictims of stalking. However, that is the only significant victimization effect, and that effect disappears once assessment of campus danger is controlled. Campus danger is significantly related to worry about stranger stalking, with those who perceive State U as unsafe having 2.27 times higher odds of worry about stranger stalking than those who perceive State U as safe. Combining findings from Table 2 and Table 4, it appears as if assessment of campus danger may mediate the effects of stranger stalking victimization on worry about stalking. Those who have been stalked by strangers while enrolled at State U perceive their campus as unsafe and, in turn, worry about future stranger stalking. When estimating worry about stalking by acquaintances, only acquaintance-stalking victimization is significantly related to worry about acquaintance

stalking. Odds of acquaintance-stalking worry are more than 250% greater for previous victims of acquaintance stalking in comparison to nonvictims of stalking. Furthermore, this effect is not diminished on controlling for assessment of campus danger. Campus danger, in fact, has a nonsignificant effect.

In our estimation of worry about physical assault, the only type of victimization significantly related to worry about stranger-perpetrated physical assault was stranger-stalking victimization. Victims of stranger stalking had significantly higher odds of worry about physical assault than did nonvictims, even after controlling for assessment of campus danger. In contrast, in estimating worry about acquaintance-perpetrated physical assault, stranger-perpetrated physical assault victimization was the only significant effect, and it disappeared on controlling for campus danger.

Worry about stranger-perpetrated sexual assault appears unrelated to sexual assault victimization experiences, by acquaintance or stranger. The only significant effect revealed in the stranger sexual assault worry model was for acquaintance-stalking victimization, and this effect disappeared on controlling for assessment of campus danger. Furthermore, the model chi-square for estimation of stranger sexual assault worry without campus danger included is nonsignificant, suggesting that the covariates do not significantly improve the estimation in comparison to a null (intercept only) model. In contrast, worry about sexual assault by an acquaintance is linked to similar victimization experiences; acquaintance sexual assault victims had 1.75 times greater odds of worry than did nonvictims of sexual assault. Furthermore, those who had been physically assaulted by an acquaintance had just more than twice the odds of worry about acquaintance-perpetrated sexual assault than did nonvictims of physical assault. However, both of these effects became nonsignificant once we controlled for assessment of campus danger.

In sum, Table 4 indicates that there appears to be an overall fairly loose coupling between victimization experiences and worries about crime among college women. Each type of worry was related to some sort of

Table 4 Logistic Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors (in Parentheses), and Odds Ratios for Crime-Specific Worry ("Somewhat or Very Worried" Versus "Not Worried or Just a Little Worried")

	Stalking Worry				Physical Assault Worry				Sexual Assault Worry			
	Stranger		Acquaint		Stranger		Acquaint		Stranger		Acquaint	
Stalking Stranger	.63*	.50	.60	.57	.69*	.55*	-.01	-.13	.34	.16	.40	.23
	(.28)	(.29)	(.42)	(.43)	(.27)	(.27)	(.51)	(.53)	(.26)	(.27)	(.38)	(.39)
	1.88	1.65	1.82	1.77	1.99	1.74	.99	.88	1.40	1.17	1.49	1.26
Stalking Acquaintance	.13	.06	1.28*	1.27*	.38	.32	.57	.52	.48*	.42	.48	.38
	(.27)	(.27)	(.31)	(.31)	(.22)	(.23)	(.38)	(.39)	(.22)	(.23)	(.33)	(.34)
	1.14	1.06	3.60	3.55	1.46	1.38	1.78	1.69	1.61	1.52	1.62	1.47
Physical Victim Stranger	.57	.44	1.13	1.10	.81	.71	1.46*	1.37	.30	.14	.63	.45
	(.64)	(.66)	(.75)	(.75)	(.61)	(.63)	(.72)	(.73)	(.59)	(.62)	(.82)	(.85)
	1.77	1.55	3.10	3.01	2.25	2.04	4.29	3.92	1.35	1.15	1.88	1.56
Physical Victim Acquaintance	.17	.08	.18	.17	.36	.28	.59	.53	.02	-.09	.70*	.62
	(.28)	(.28)	(.40)	(.40)	(.24)	(.25)	(.41)	(.42)	(.24)	(.25)	(.33)	(.33)
	1.18	1.08	1.20	1.18	1.43	1.32	1.81	1.69	1.02	.91	2.02	1.85
Sex Victim Stranger	-.82	-.80	-1.34	-1.33	-.63	-.60	-.41	-.41	-.51	-.48	-1.76	-1.75
	(.50)	(.50)	(1.04)	(1.04)	(.37)	(.38)	(.77)	(.78)	(.35)	(.36)	(1.04)	(1.05)
	.44	.45	.26	.26	.53	.55	.66	.66	.60	.62	.17	.17
Sex Victim Acquaintance	.26	.23	.48	.47	.04	-.00	.55	.51	-.00	-.05	.56*	.51
	(.22)	(.22)	(.30)	(.31)	(.19)	(.20)	(.35)	(.35)	(.19)	(.20)	(.28)	(.28)
	1.30	1.26	1.61	1.60	1.04	.99	1.73	1.66	.99	.96	1.75	1.67
Campus Danger	—	.82*	—	.17	—	.99*	—	.60	—	1.17*	—	.96*
	—	(.20)	—	(.32)	—	(.19)	—	(.32)	—	(.19)	—	(.26)
	—	2.27	—	1.18	—	2.69	—	1.82	—	3.22	—	2.62
Constant	-1.94	-2.03	-2.54	-2.56	-.92	-1.04	-3.20	-3.26	-.55	-.68	-2.91	-3.04
Model Chi-Square (<i>df</i> = 13)	32.93*	48.77*	39.35*	39.62*	28.28*	56.44*	34.65*	37.87*	17.80	56.71*	44.66*	57.73*

NOTE: Models control for class standing, race (non-White), whether in a romantic relationship, and number of adults living in same household. All control variables were nonsignificant except for race (non-White positive significant in all models). Sophomore was also positive and significant in the stalking models.

* $p < .05$.

previous victimization experience, but most victimization measures in each model were nonsignificant. Furthermore, in the exceptional instances where victimization does appear related to worry, the two are not always linked in a crime-specific and offender-specific way. Instead, in some instances, crossover effects occur, whereby previous victimization experiences of one type relate to worry about another type of crime. Thus, the effects of victimization on worry were not general but instead appeared very isolated, with no clear pattern emerging regarding which specific victimization experiences mattered more. Furthermore, most of the isolated victimization experiences that did emerge in initial models disappeared in secondary models that controlled for assessment of campus danger. Assessment of campus danger, in stranger-perpetrated crime in particular, and model fits for these worries tended to improve substantially on inclusions of campus danger. Interestingly, stranger-perpetrated sexual assaults appear to be feared more than other offenses (see Table 3), but the model estimating worry about stranger sexual assault (without campus danger controlled) had the lowest model chi-square among all models presented in Table 4. The second and third lowest chi-square values were associated with the other two models of stranger worries—worry about stranger-perpetrated physical assault and worry about stranger-perpetrated stalking (without campus danger controlled). Once assessment of campus danger was added to these models, however, their model fits were the three highest among all models presented in Table 4. Hence, results from Table 4 support what Table 3 also revealed—worry about stranger-perpetrated crimes and victimization experiences appear especially weakly linked. However, although worry about stranger-perpetrated crime appears weakly linked to previous victimization experiences, it appears strongly linked to cognitive perceptions of the campus environment as unsafe.

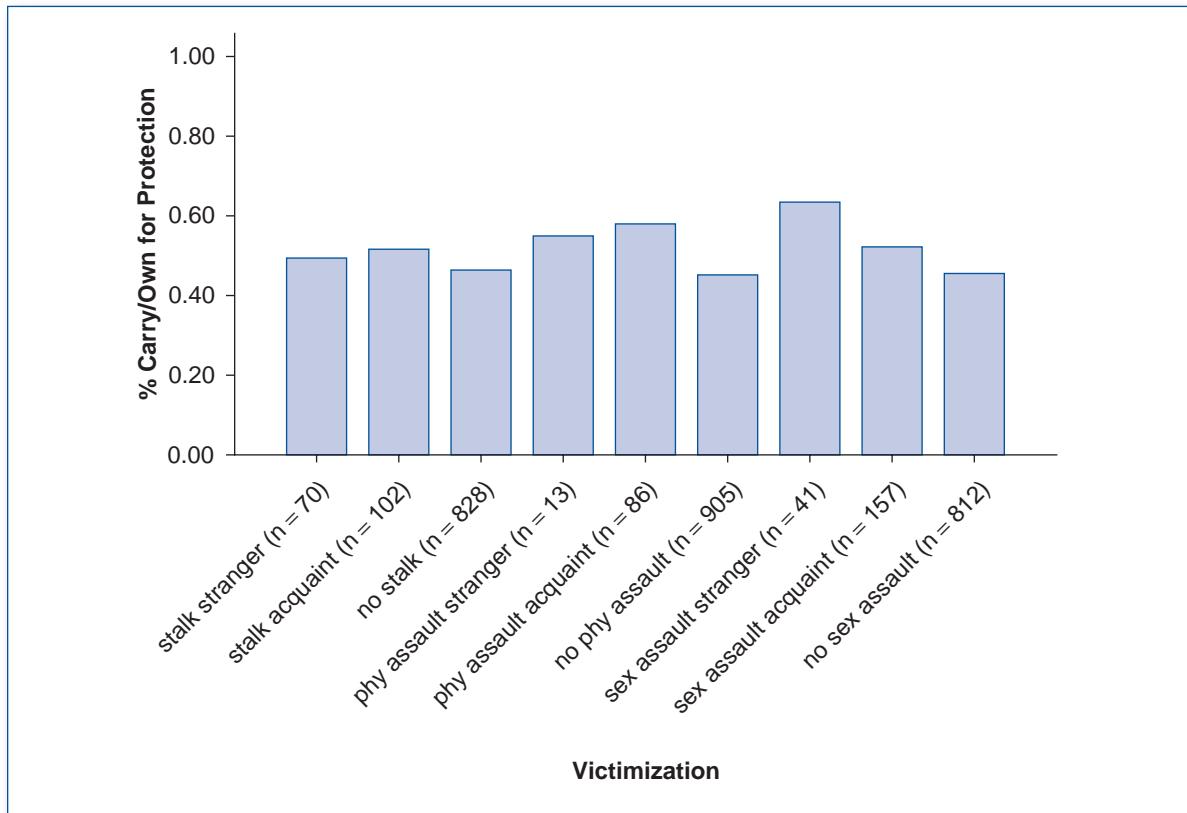
Victimization and Precautionary Behavior

The final dimension of fear of crime that we examine vis-à-vis victimization experiences is a behavioral

dimension, including measures of self-protective behavior and avoidance behavior. In terms of self-protection, nearly 47.0% of students reported carrying or having in their home something to protect themselves from crime. Among that 47.0%, the most commonly named items were (a) mace or other spray (66.2%), (b) a cellular phone (12.1%), (c) a knife or sharp object (11.5%), (d) a gun (10.0%), and (e) a keychain or keys (9.4%). Figure 2 depicts the percentages that carry or own something for protection across different victimization categories. Although nonvictims are less likely than either stranger- or acquaintance-perpetrated victims to carry or own something for protection across all three offense types, the differences between stranger victims and acquaintance victims are inconsistent. Among stalking and physical assault victims, those experiencing victimization by acquaintances are more likely to carry, whereas victims of stranger sexual assault are more likely to carry than are acquaintance-perpetrated sexual assault victims. Differences among the three victim subgroups were only significant, however, in the case of sexual assault ($F = 3.615, p = .027$).

As another form of precautionary behavior, 81.5% of student respondents indicated avoiding campus (or areas right around campus) at least sometimes out of concern about crime; 35.8% engaged in such avoidance usually or always. Figure 3 depicts the mean level of avoidance across the different subgroups of victims for each of the three types of crime considered here; post hoc analyses of the three different contrasts involved in each three crime categories revealed no significant differences. Thus, as was the case for emotional worry, victimization status appears to have little to do with crime-related precautionary behavior in the form of either carrying or owning something for protection or campus avoidance.

Examining these relationships within multivariate models reveals similar findings. In Table 5, we present logistic regression models of protective carrying or owning and campus avoidance. As in Table 4, we present two models for each dependent variable—one without assessment of campus danger controlled and another model with campus danger included. Across all of the models for precautionary behavior there is only one

Figure 2 Percentages of Sampled Women Who Carry or Own Something for Protection by Victimization

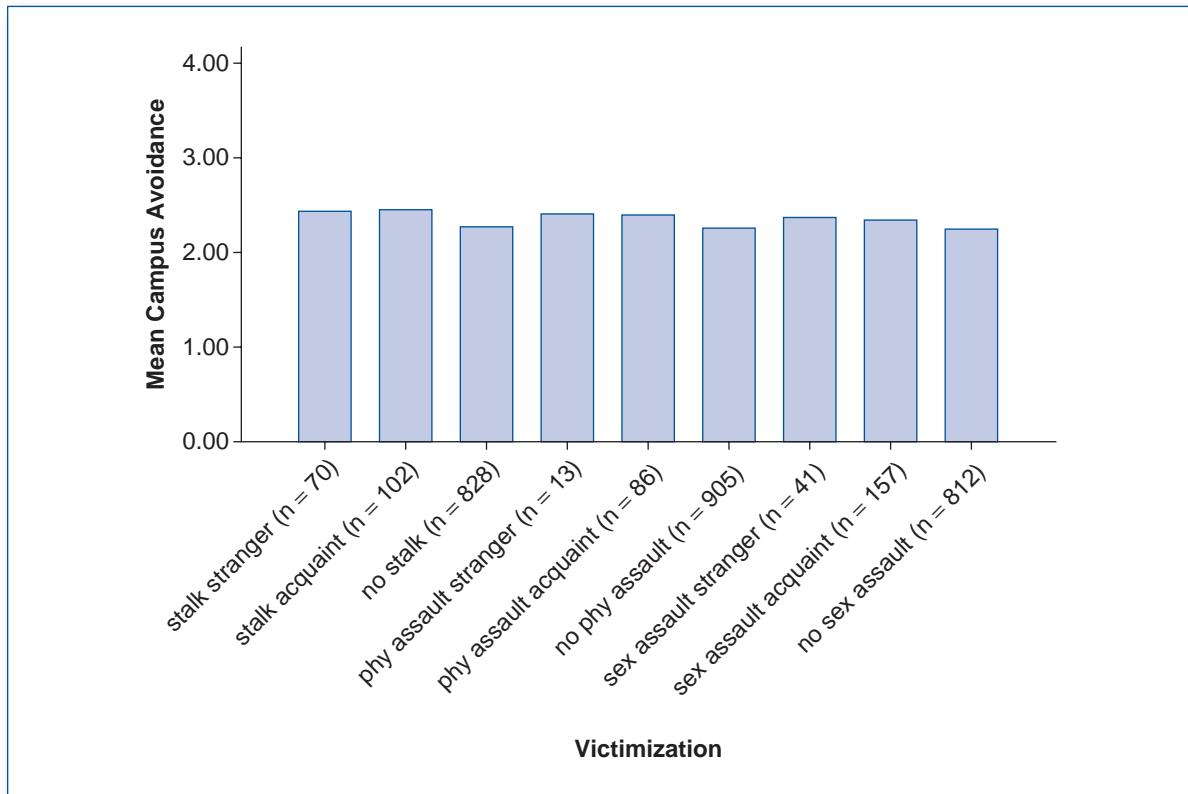
significant effect of victimization. Previous sexual victimization by a stranger more than doubled the odds of carrying or owning something for protection in comparison to sexual assault nonvictimization. Furthermore, this effect remained after controlling for assessment of campus danger. Aside from that important exception, however, Table 5 indicates that nonvictims in our sample differed little from victims (regardless of perpetrator type) in terms of precautionary behavior. Cognitive assessment of campus danger was significantly and positively related to campus avoidance, but it was unrelated to carrying or owning something for protection. The overall model fits for campus avoidance were, however, nonsignificant (with or without campus danger included); the model fit for carrying or owning something for protection was significant. Overall, then,

cognitive assessment of campus danger appears to play a less important role in understanding precautionary behavior than it does in understanding worry about stranger-perpetrated crimes, for instance (see Table 4).



Discussions and Conclusions

Extant research in the fear-of-crime tradition has been largely void of examination of the linkages among various objective and subjective crime experiences with particular attention to (a) multiple dimensions of women's subjective crime experiences and (b) perpetrator-specific experiences. In one of the only other studies estimating a relationship between victimization and

Figure 3 Mean Level of Campus Avoidance (Out of Concern for Personal Safety) by Victimization

fear among college women, a weak linkage was found (Fisher & Sloan, 2003). The present study supports that weak linkage, with some important caveats to add.

Overall, we found that victimization was weakly related to multiple subjective crime experiences, especially crime- and perpetrator-specific measures of worry, safety precautions, and avoidance behavior. This overall weak relationship was qualitatively different, however, depending on the type of crime and/or fear under consideration. Victimization appears especially weakly related to worry about stranger-perpetrated crime, for instance, because the prevalence of worry among college women in our sample was much greater than the prevalence of victimization by strangers. Furthermore, individual victimization was a nonsignificant predictor of worry about stranger-perpetrated crimes. In addition,

the women in our sample engaged in precautionary behavior and avoidance behavior at rates in substantial excess of stranger victimization rates. In contrast, victimization rates by acquaintances tended to exceed rates of worry about acquaintance-perpetrated crimes among college women in our sample.

At first blush, therefore, it appears as if college women's worries are not entirely well placed in the sense that they appear to be most worried about stranger-perpetrated crime, whereas they are less worried about the acquaintance-perpetrated crime for which they experience higher objective risk. However, such conclusions are confounded by the fact that there is undoubtedly reciprocity between victimization experiences and various fear experiences, including worry. There may be a large disconnect between levels of precautionary

Table 5 Logistic Regression Coefficients, Standard Errors, and Odds Ratios for Precautionary Behavior

Variable	Carry or Own Protective Device						Campus Avoidance					
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 1			Model 2		
	C	SE	OR	C	SE	OR	C	SE	OR	C	SE	OR
Stalking stranger	-0.02	0.27	0.98	-0.07	0.27	0.94	0.32	0.27	1.38	0.24	0.27	1.28
Stalking acquaintance	0.08	0.22	1.08	0.06	0.22	1.06	0.39	0.22	1.47	0.35	0.23	1.42
Physical victim stranger	0.08	0.60	1.08	0.04	0.59	1.04	-0.17	0.63	0.84	-0.26	0.63	0.77
Physical victim acquaintance	0.39	0.24	1.47	0.36	0.24	1.43	0.32	0.24	1.38	0.28	0.25	1.32
Sex victim stranger	0.79*	0.34	2.20	0.80*	0.34	2.24	0.30	0.33	1.34	0.32	0.34	1.37
Sex victim acquaintance	0.13	0.19	1.14	0.12	0.19	1.12	0.14	0.19	1.15	0.12	0.20	1.13
Campus danger	—	—	—	0.29	0.19	1.33	—	—	—	0.51*	0.19	1.65
Constant	-0.41			-0.44			-0.84			-0.89		
Chi-square	27.58*			29.95*			13.52			20.59		

NOTE: C is coefficient, SE is standard error, OR is odds ratio. Models control for class standing, race (non-White), whether in a romantic relationship, and number of adults living in same household. All control variables were nonsignificant except for non-White (negative) and freshman and senior standing (positive) in the carry or own model.

* $p < .05$.

behavior, worry, and victimization, for instance, because the victim- and/or fear-related precautions are successful. If there is a feedback loop as part of a risk or opportunity interpretation model whereby fear and precautions lessen victimization (Cook, 1986), then an effect of victimization on fear or precautions may be difficult to unearth in a cross-sectional model. Our findings of a loose coupling between objective and subjective experiences is similar to several other studies (e.g., Baumer, 1985; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Lane & Meeker, 2003; May, 2001), and scholars have suggested one important reason for such findings is unmeasured reciprocity (Cook, 1986; Skogan, 1987). Other scholars have suggested that personal victimization is not as important in shaping worry about crime and precautionary behavior as is “indirect victimization” (victimization of others within one’s social network; e.g., Ferraro, 1995), local media exposure (Chiricos, Padgett, & Gertz, 2000), or personal, crime-specific risk perception

(e.g., Ferraro, 1995; Lee & Ulmer, 2000), which has been found to mediate the effects of victimization on emotional worry, making those effects almost entirely indirect. The data for our study, unfortunately, did not allow us to compare the effects of direct versus indirect victimization experiences or to control for media exposure or personal crime-specific risk perception. Our models, however, did show robust effects of generalized perceived campus danger in models of worry about stranger-perpetrated crimes, suggesting that women’s perceived risk around campus affects this sort of worry much more than does direct victimization. Some of the effects of this general perception may be, more specifically, because of unmeasured indicators of risk and criminal opportunity such as friends’ victimization, media or news exposure, or personal perceived risk.

Thus, although our findings hint at the loose coupling of objective and subjective crime experiences among college women, especially regarding stranger

crime, we think, it is essential for future research to examine such relationships, while measuring both direct and indirect victimization, exposure to news or information about crime, and personal crime-specific risk perception, within nonrecursive models (e.g., Liska, Sanchirico, & Reed, 1988). In this way, the potential bidirectionality can be appropriately considered, and the source of perceived campus danger can be more clearly determined. Aside from their cross-sectional nature, findings from our study are further limited in that they focus on women from one large, public, Southeastern university. Despite the sample's selection from one university, sample characteristics are reasonably close to those revealed in previous national samples of college women, with our sample being somewhat older because of inclusion of a higher percentage of graduate students.

For instance, the national sample of college women analyzed by Fisher et al. (2000) was 80.0% White, 90.0% full-time, and 86.0% undergraduate, with a mean age of 21.54. In comparison, our sample was 84.0% White, 89.5% full-time, and 73.9% undergraduate, with a mean age of 23.5. Hence, although we do not claim that our findings are necessarily generalizable to all college women given the small scope of our sampling frame, we also do not think our sample is too unlike average college or university women, especially those at large, state research universities with a strong emphasis on graduate programs. As such, our findings should be useful to many universities across the country. However, future work should attempt to address whether there are relation-specific or even campus-specific effects regarding victim-fear relationships, possibly through the use of multistage sampling and multilevel modeling.

Despite its limitations, we feel that this study provides an important step toward delineating the relationship between victimization and multiple dimensions of fear among college women. Given the implications for quality-of-life indicators among college women (e.g., perceptions of campus, campus avoidance behavior, emotional distress), college administrators, faculty, and staff need to be aware of the subjective crime that many women experience

above and beyond any direct crime experiences, and they need to know whether these multidimensional indicators of fear exceed actual rates of victimization or, in contrast, whether students are less fearful than their actual risks would suggest. Our work has implications, therefore, for understanding crime experiences among college women in a post-Clery era. As noted earlier, crime reporting by campuses, as mandated by the Clery Act, has been criticized for underrepresenting actual campus crime because of organizational issues, methodological issues, and confidentiality concerns. These criticisms imply that much crime that actually takes place on college campuses is not getting reported in the Clery-mandated statistics, leading some to suggest that Clery represents much more symbolic as opposed to substantive reform (Fisher et al., 2002). Our findings hint that Clery-mandated statistics may be flawed not only in terms of how much crime they report but in the nature of that crime as well. Our findings suggest that students may not be getting accurate information about the specific characteristics of the crimes for which they are most at risk, as stranger-perpetrated worries predominated and are closely linked to unsafe perceptions of campus despite acquaintance-perpetrated victimization being more common. As such, it may not be sufficient simply to make crime statistics public to make people more appropriately aware of their risks. Rather, a more detailed discussion of actual risks is warranted. Nonspecific news of crime around campus, without more targeted education initiatives, may only serve to heighten worries regarding crime that students are least likely to experience—violence perpetrated by strangers—while also increasing both perceptions of campus danger and campus avoidance.

There is strong reason to believe that such changes can occur on college campuses without changing the Clery Act *per se*. In fact, research on the effectiveness of Clery has shown that few students actually pay attention to the published crime statistics that are formally mandated by Clery, but more students (especially women) do pay attention to other programs and information put forth by colleges that, although not formally mandated by the Clery Act, are probably a

by-product of the awareness it has created (e.g., Gregory & Janosik, 2002; Janosik, 2001). Therefore, if more colleges incorporate into their informal (i.e., not Clery mandated) crime-related education and programming domain- and perpetrator-specific information about victimization risk, student fear in terms of perception of campus danger, worry about crime, and precautionary and avoidance behavior could become more congruent with actual risk. With such change, the Clery Act's effect, albeit indirect, could shift from symbolic to substantive.

Appendix

Screening Items for Stalking, Physical Assault, and Sexual Assault

Stalking: Has anyone, male or female . . .

- Sent you unsolicited letters?
- Made unsolicited phone calls to you?
- Stood outside your home, school, or workplace?
- Showed up at places you were even though he or she had no business being there?
- Left unwanted items for you to find?
- Tried to communicate with you in other ways against your will?
- Vandalized your property to destroy something you loved?

Physical assault: Has anyone . . .

- Thrown something at you that could hurt you?
- Pushed, grabbed, or shoved you?
- Pulled your hair?
- Slapped or hit you?
- Kicked or bitten you?
- Choked or attempted to drown you?
- Hit you with some object?

Beat you up?

Threatened you with a gun?

Threatened you with a knife or other weapon besides a gun?

Used a gun on you?

Used a knife or other weapon on you besides a gun?

Sexual assault: Has anyone, male or female . . .

Made you have sexual intercourse by using force or threatening to harm you or someone close to you (by intercourse, I mean putting penis into vagina)?

Made you have oral sex by force or threat of harm (by oral sex, I mean did someone's mouth or tongue make contact with your vagina or anus or did your mouth or tongue make contact with someone else's genitals or anus)?

Made you have anal sex by force or threat of harm (by anal sex, I mean putting a penis in your anus or rectum)?

Used force or threat of force to sexually penetrate you with a foreign object?

Attempted or threatened but not succeeded in making you take part in any of the unwanted sexual experiences that I have just asked you about?

Not counting the above experiences has anyone . . .

Engaged you in any unwanted or uninvited touching of a sexual nature such as forced kissing, touching of private parts, grabbing, fondling, even if it was over your clothes?

Attempted or threatened but not succeeded in unwanted or uninvited touching of a sexual nature?

Made or tried to make you have sexual intercourse or sexual contact when you did not want to by making threats of nonphysical punishment such as lowering a grade, being demoted or fired from a job, damaging your reputation, or being excluded from a group?

Made or tried to make you have sexual intercourse or sexual contact when you did not want to by simply being overwhelmed by someone's verbal pressure or pestering?

Made or tried to make you have sexual intercourse or sexual contact when you did not want to by encouraging or pressuring you to use drugs?

Made or tried to make you have sexual intercourse or sexual contact when you did not want to by giving you drugs?

Not counting any incidents we have already discussed, have you experienced any other type of unwanted or uninvited sexual contact?

Notes

1. Scholars such as Warr (2000) often cite the discrepancy between American levels of victimization and fear as evidence of possible dysfunction regarding fear. Recent data from the National Crime Victimization Survey, for instance, suggest that the overall rate of personal victimization per 1,000 persons age 12 and older in the United States is 22.6, suggesting that just about 2% of the population is at risk, objectively speaking (Catalano, 2004). Yet four decades' worth of time-series data from the National Opinion Research Center has consistently revealed that approximately 40% of Americans are fearful, as indicated by affirmative responses to the GSS question, "Is there any area right around here—within a mile—where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" (see <http://webapp.icpsr.umich.edu/GSS>).

2. Since that early work, the National Crime Survey has been renamed. It is now the National Crime Victimization Survey.

3. Note that the term *worry* as opposed to *afraid* is used to measure emotional fear in our study. Our measure was based on methodological work by Ferraro and LaGrange (1987) and Ferraro (1995). Ferraro (1995) suggests specially that "measures of fear of crime should tap the emotional state of fear or worry," should contain "explicit reference to the type of crime [and] . . . should be aimed at assessing the phenomena in the subject's everyday life—not hypothetical or purposefully avoided situations" (p. 27). Our measure meets these criteria, and similar measures have been used in previous recent studies (Lane & Meeker, 2000; Miethe, 1992). Lane and Meeker (2000) suggest, in fact, that *worry* is often language used in lay conversations to convey the emotion of "being afraid."

4. Because our measures of worry about crime did not distinguish between rape and other sexual assault or abuse, we combine

these various sexual victimizations for the analyses presented herein. However, the reader should note that sexual coercion and/or unwanted sexual contact were far more common than was rape. In all, 3.5% had experienced sexual coercion or contact by a stranger.

5. It seems intuitive to suggest that some of the disparity between victimization levels and perceived campus danger levels is because of the fact that the survey asked about campus safety, whereas victimization included acts occurring either on or off campus. However, this logic is contradicted by the fact that when students were asked where on campus they were most fearful, they listed places both on and off campus. Based on these data, therefore, we conclude that when students assess the safety of campus or their fear levels on campus, they conceptualize *campus* as the greater campus vicinity, thus making the spatial referent between the victimization questions and the safety of fear questions more similar than they appear on the surface.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why do you think that women, both college women and noncollege women, express greater levels of fear of crime than do men, even though women are generally less at risk for victimization?
2. A greater percentage of women experienced some type of victimization while enrolled at State U than indicated that they thought the campus was unsafe. How can you explain this finding?
3. One finding in the paper is that individual victimization was a nonsignificant predictor of worry about crime, once perception of campus danger was controlled for. What can explain this finding?
4. How can campuses address college women's victimization experiences and their fear of victimization? How do mandatory reporting laws such as the Clery Act shape college women's perceptions about the dangers they face?



Introduction to Reading 3

Many students who major in criminal justice, psychology, and sociology will find themselves working in state government. For this reason, this article by Lord (1998), in which she surveyed 1,477 persons employed in state government in North Carolina, is included. Respondents were asked about their workplace violence experiences so their individual characteristics, job classifications, and perpetrators could be examined. This information can help inform managers how better to keep workplaces safe and identify and reduce risk to their employees.

Characteristics of Violence in State Government

Vivian B. Lord

Much has been publicized recently concerning the apparent increase in violent acts in workplaces all over the United States. According to a study by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (1992), 750 people have been murdered at work each year since 1980. Northwestern National Life Insurance (1993) estimates that 2.2 million Americans are attacked each year and another 6.3 million workers are threatened while at their place of employment. The National Safe Workplace Institute (Kinney & Johnson, 1993) estimates that the cost of a workplace violence incident ranges up to \$250,000, with a total of \$4.2 billion annually. Less documented is the damage to worker morale and productivity that results from violent incidents or threats. Nonlethal forms of violence, including harassment and intimidation, can be directly linked to worker burnout, lower productivity, and increased health costs (Baron, 1993; Labig, 1995; Mantell & Albrecht, 1994).

Three areas of violence research that are relevant to the workplace are examined in the current study. The first area focuses on the individual aggressor, the second examines job classifications that appear to be above average risk for violent confrontations, and the third emphasizes the need to investigate the acts of workplace violence against women by domestic partners.

Continual efforts to identify personality traits of individual aggressors who will be violent in the workplace are attempted, but as noted by Labig (1995), there is little research to support specific personality profiles. A model developed by Monahan (as cited in Labig, 1995) focuses on situational aspects that interact with an individual's characteristics rather than solely on the personality characteristics themselves. He outlines a cycle with four parts:

- The individual confronts an incident that is experienced as stressful.
- The person reacts to the event with certain kinds of thoughts to which he or she is prone by his/her personality.
- These thoughts lead to emotional reactions.
- These reactions in turn determine the behavior that the individual will use to respond to the situation.

The cycle continues as other people in the individual's environment respond to his or her behavior. The responses of those people around the individual can either de-escalate or increase the likelihood of violence. Workplace violence is not a sudden act. Some experts believe that violent people give frequent and repeated warnings of their stress and possibilities of becoming violent.

Monahan's model emphasizes the importance of identifying potentially volatile situations before they reach the point of violence. This emphasis broadens the definition of workplace violence to include verbal forms of violence, as well as physical. Other experts in the area of workplace violence encourage employers to include verbal forms of violence, such as threats, harassment, and intimidation, in their violence prevention policies (Baron, 1993; Labig, 1995; Mantell & Albrecht, 1994).

Recent studies of jobs that appear to be high risk have found the following factors to be associated with workplace violence:

- Exchanging money;
- Working alone at night, and during early morning hours;
- Having money, valued items, jewelry, or other items that are easily exchanged for cash;

- Performing public safety functions in the community;
- Working with patients, clients, or customers known to have or suspected of having a history of violence; and
- Working with employees with a history of assaults or who exhibit belligerent, intimidating, or threatening behavior toward others. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1993)

Identifying jobs with these high-risk factors highlights not only the features of the assailant but also the assailant's relationship with the victim. Although the first four factors might relate to strangers, the fifth factor is a closer relationship of client or patient, and the sixth is a peer or subordinate relationship. Lynch (1987) concluded the risk of workplace victimization was less a function of the occupation and more of the specific tasks and individual performers. Acts of violence from strangers in cases where money is exchanged, employees are working at vulnerable places or times, or employees are responsible for valuable materials are primarily acts of instrumental aggression used to commit an act of robbery. In contrast to the stranger relationship, clients, patients, and even subordinates or coworkers who have used violent behavior in the past will often continue using violence for a number of reasons including a means to get their needs met and reduce frustration. The need to consider the relationship between victim and assailant is also emphasized in the study by Northwestern National Life Insurance (1993). Its results conclude that 44% of violent acts are committed by customers or clients, 24% by strangers, 20% by coworkers, and 7% supervisors. Also, as discovered by Mayhew and Elliott in their international study (1989), managers in a number of different professions are at risk for verbal and physical violence. In all professions, managers are responsible for disciplinary action, terminations, selections, and promotions; all are actions that could cause anger and frustration.

Domestic violence has come to the attention of employers as more women work outside of the home. According to the U.S. Department of Justice (1994), more than 13,000 nonfatal acts of work site violence

were committed against women by domestic partners in 1993. The workplace has become an easy place for significant others to locate and confront their partners.

To further examine these three relevant areas, the following questions are examined in this study: (a) What is the scope of workplace violence in one state government? (b) Is there a significant relationship between specific personal and job-related characteristics of victims and risk of workplace violence? (c) What is the relationship between victims and perpetrators? (d) What types of violence are employed? and (e) Is there a significant correlation between the victim/perpetrator relationship and the type of violence employed?

Sample

In August 1994, a 4% stratified random sample of all full-time employees of North Carolina state government agencies and universities was selected ($n = 3,500$). The population was stratified by department with every 23rd employee systematically selected. Usable questionnaires were returned by 42% ($n = 1,477$) of the sample. Based on an examination of characteristics of all state employees (North Carolina Office of State Personnel, 1995), the groups of respondents are similar to all employees in terms of gender, ethnicity, and job classification. As noted in Table 1, sample respondents are slightly over-represented by females, Whites, and persons in professional and administrative positions.

Variables

Independent Variables. Five independent variables represent demographics and job-related indices of victimization in the workplace. These are age, sex, ethnicity, job classification, and supervision experience. The relationship of the perpetrator to the victim is divided into five categories: supervisor, fellow employee, family member, stranger, and customer/client.

Dependent Variables. Victims were directly asked if they had been subjected to workplace violence. As noted earlier, workplace violence is defined as any action in the workplace including harassment, threats, physical

Table 1 Comparison of Sample and Population

Characteristics	Population		Sample	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	87,500	100.0	1,477	100.0
Sex				
Male	64,137	73.3	732	49.6
Female	23,450	26.8	725	49.2
Ethnicity				
Non-White	22,923	28.4	286	19.4
White	57,743	71.6	1,158	78.5
Job classification				
Maintenance	5,849	7.0	153	10.4
Protective service	10,857	13.5	191	12.9
Clerical	16,231	20.0	271	18.3
Skilled craft	11,310	14.0	98	6.6
Technician	12,378	15.3	188	12.7
Paraprofessional	21,812	27.0	57	3.9
Professional	298	4.0	639	43.3
Administrative	1,929	2.4	292	9.8

SOURCE: North Carolina Personnel Information Management Service (1995).

NOTE: Respondents may have checked more than one response.

attacks, or intentional property damage. The current study classifies violence into seven categories: name calling or obscenities, threats of physical harm, pushing, hitting with hands, kicking, hitting with an instrument, and sexual assault. The association of the type of violent experience to the perpetrator's relationship to the victim and victim characteristics was analyzed.

Analysis

To identify which individual and work characteristics of victims were associated with the risk of workplace violence, logistic regression was employed. Multiple

regression analysis was used to determine the relationship between types of violence employed and the victims' individual characteristics, job classifications, and connection to their perpetrators. A *p* value of .05 was used for significance testing.

Results

Characteristics of Workplace Victimization

Distributions for respondent age, gender, ethnicity, job classification, and supervisory experience are provided

Table 2 Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Characteristics (Code Values)	Ever Been Victimized at Work?					
	Total		Yes (1)		No (0)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total number of respondents	1,477	100	318	22.3	1,107	77.7
Age						
Less than 30 (1)	220	15.0	40	12.6	170	15.4
31–39 (2)	367	25.0	91	28.6	264	29.0
40–55 (3)	700	47.4	150	47.0	531	48.0
Over 55 (4)	171	11.6	34	11.0	132	12.0
Sex						
Male (0)	732	49.6	179	57.0	534	48.6
Female (1)	725	49.2	135	43.0	564	51.4
Ethnicity						
Non-White ^a (0)	286	19.4	58	18.2	217	19.6
White (1)	1,158	78.5	256	80.5	867	78.4
Job classification						
Maintenance (1)	153	10.4	27	8.5	121	10.9
Protective service (2)	191	12.9	90	28.3	97	8.8
Clerical (3)	271	18.3	39	12.3	224	20.2
Skilled craft (4)	98	6.6	25	7.9	71	6.4
Technician (5)	188	12.7	38	11.9	143	12.9
Paraprofessional (6)	57	3.9	13	4.1	42	3.8
Professional (7)	639	43.3	160	50.3	464	41.9
Administrative (8)	292	19.8	60	18.9	225	20.3
Supervisory responsibility						
No (0)	904	61.3	183	57.5	690	62.3
Yes (1)	551	37.4	133	41.8	403	36.4

NOTE: Respondents may have chosen more than one job classification.

a. Includes 20 respondents classified as Native American, 11 as Hispanic/Latino, and 8 as Asian American. The remaining 247 are African American.

in Table 2. Almost half of the respondents (47.4%) were between 40 and 55 years old. This age category correspondingly holds the largest number of individuals reporting victimization. Males had a slightly larger victimization response than females, but Whites and non-Whites reported similar percentages of victimization.

Protective service employees, who include state detention officers and state law enforcement, reported the greatest number of individuals victimized at 32.3%, but skilled craft employees and professionals also had fairly substantial percentages of victimization (26.0% and 25.6%, respectively). Perpetrators of violence against protective service employees could include inmates and suspects of crime. Professionals include employees who work with mentally ill patients. Although contact with inmates, suspects, and patients may explain to some extent violence that is attached to the job, skilled craft employees and many employees even in protective services or in the professional areas are not readily exposed to violent clients. Many of the violent acts must originate with internal sources. Slightly more of the victims have supervisory responsibilities (24.8%) than those without supervisory responsibilities (21.0%). This slightly

greater percentage of violence toward supervisors provides only slight support for Mayhew and Elliott's findings (1989) of greater violence against individuals who have managerial responsibilities.

Logistic regression was used to estimate the likelihood of victimization based on the five independent predictors, which include the five demographic and job-related indices (see Table 3).

The overall model is significant, but job classification is the only significant variable. When compared to employees scoring low on job class, persons in job categories with greater responsibility are more likely to be victims. These jobs include paraprofessional, professional, and administrative classifications.

Characteristics of Workplace Violence

In addition to the demographic and job classification indices, the perpetrator/victim relationship was considered in examining the type of workplace violence experienced by the survey respondents who answered this item affirmatively ($n = 318$). Distributions for type of violence experienced and perpetrator/victim relationship are provided in Table 4. The severity of workplace

Table 3 Logistic Regression Coefficients Predicting Victims of Workplace Violence by Personal and Work Characteristics

Independent Variables	Coefficient	Standard Error	Wald Statistic	Significance
Age	0.652	.0687	.8993	.3430
Gender	-.1392	.0891	2.4385	.1184
Ethnicity	-.0676	.0651	1.08	.2988
Supervision responsibility	-.0720	.0821	.7706	.3800
Job classification	.0483	.0232	4.318*	.0377
Constant	-2.9953	.2923	104.98	.0000
Model chi-square	80.82**			
<i>n</i>	1,416			
<i>df</i>	6			

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 4 Characteristics of Workplace Victimization

Characteristics (Code Values)	Number	Percentage
Total workplace victims	318	100
Type of violence experienced ^a		
Name calling/obscenities		
No (0)	58	16.8
Yes (1)	288	83.2
Threats of physical violence		
No (0)	131	37.9
Yes (1)	215	62.1
Pushing		
No (0)	228	66.3
Yes (1)	116	33.7
Hitting with hands		
No (0)	244	71.1
Yes (1)	99	28.9
Kicking		
No (0)	269	78.4
Yes (1)	74	21.6
Hitting with an instrument		
No (0)	298	87.1
Yes (1)	44	12.9
Rape/sexual assault		
No (0)	327	95.9
Yes (1)	14	4.1
Perpetrator/victim relationship ^a		
Supervisor		
No (0)	272	77.1
Yes (1)	81	22.9
Fellow employee		
No (0)	235	69.5
Yes (1)	103	30.5

Family member		
No (0)	325	97.6
Yes (1)	8	2.4
Stranger		
No (0)	253	74.2
Yes (1)	88	25.8
Customer/client		
No (0)	140	40.8
Yes (1)	203	59.2

a. Respondents could report more than one victimization.

violence decreases as the number of responses of violence increases such that name calling/obscenities is the response with the highest percentage (83.2%) and sexual assault has the lowest (4.1%). The division between verbal and physical assaults is fairly large, with name calling/obscenities and threats of physical violence clustering above 50% (83.2% and 62.1%, respectively), but pushing, hitting with hands, kicking, hitting with an instrument, and sexual assault grouped substantially below 50% of the responses (33.7%, 28.9%, 21.6%, 12.9%, and 4.1%, respectively). The customer/client overwhelmingly is reported as the role of the perpetrator (59.2%), although fellow employees and supervisors also are responsible for a substantial portion of the complaints (30.5% and 22.9%, respectively).

Multiple regressions were used to estimate the relationship between types of violence and nine independent variables. Four of the independent variables are victim characteristics of age, gender, ethnicity, and job classification. The other five variables are the victim/perpetrator relationships of supervisor, employee, family, stranger, and customer/client. The overall model is significant, with 20% of the variance of the type of violence explained ($R^2 = .203$). Victim characteristics and the relationship between the victim and perpetrator do significantly predict the severity of violence.

The independent variable customer/client provides the most explanation within the model (Table 5). Evidently, if the perpetrator is a customer or client, the probability of more severe violence against the

Table 5 Multiple Regression Coefficients Predicting Characteristics of Workplace Violence by Perpetrator/Victim Relationships and Personal and Job Characteristics

Characteristic	B	Standard Error	Beta	t	Sign. t
Age	.126	.098	.073	1.29	.197
Gender	-.167	.097	-.099	-1.72	.086
Ethnicity	-.1325	.108	-.065	-1.22	.222
Job classification	.011	.032	.018	.34	.731
Relationship					
Supervisor	-.197	.249	-.045	-.79	.430
Employee	-.04	.219	-.01	-.18	.856
Family	-.022	.601	-.002	-.04	.971
Stranger	.333	.219	.081	1.52	.129
Customer/client	1.45	.223	.392*	6.48	.000
Constant	1.45	.387		3.74	.000
<i>N</i> = 322; <i>R</i> ² = .203; <i>df</i> = 10.					

NOTE: **F* = 7.93. Sign. *t* = Significance of *t*.

employee increases ($t = 6.48, p < .001$). Lynch's findings (1987) of risk associated with public accessibility are supported with this result of customers/clients being more likely to perpetrate more severe violent acts.

Discussion

Characteristics of Workplace Victimization

Individual Victim

Individual characteristics of victims do not appear to differ significantly from employees who have not been victimized. Differences in job classifications provide the only meaningful difference. The age of victims is concentrated around 40 to 55, but this is also the age of the largest percentage of respondents and is representative of the overall population of state employees.

As noted earlier, the U.S. Department of Justice (1994) reported more than 13,000 nonfatal acts of work-site violence were committed against women by domestic partners in 1993. Although the current study

discovers a substantial number of women who report victimization, it is not a significantly different number than men who reported victimization. In fact, fewer women than men reported victimization, although there were approximately equal numbers of male and female respondents, which also approximates the state employee population. The current study does not support a greater number of women than men exposed to violence in the workplace, but respondents also did not report many incidents of violence attributed to domestic violence. Violence appears to be more directed toward the employee's job responsibilities than his or her individual characteristics.

Victims by Job Classification

The current study does support the three risk factors associated with workplace violence reported by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (1992) and Mayhew and Elliott (1989). As noted earlier, these factors included (a) public safety functions; (b) work with patients, clients, or customers having a

history of violence; and (c) work with employees who exhibit belligerent or threatening behavior toward others.

Those individuals employed in protective services, and who are responsible for enforcement, detention, and other functions that often deal directly with violent situations, reported the highest percentage of victimization. Some violence is to be expected from suspects seeking to escape or inmates with a history of violence; therefore, the need to provide the necessary protection for employees becomes crucial. However, much of the violence originates with supervisors and coworkers.

Professional and administrative classifications who work with patients and clients or manage employees also reported high percentages of victimization. Although individuals who are mentally ill are no more likely to be violent than the average population, those who have been diagnosed with a major mental disorder such as schizophrenia or mania/bipolar disorder are more likely to react aggressively (Monahan, 1992). Feldmann and Johnson (1994) also found individuals who are diagnosed with borderline disorders, antisocial personality, drug or alcohol abuse, or bipolar disorder may respond poorly to stress and react with anger to perceived threats to their self-esteem.

The current research found only a slightly greater amount of violence against supervisors than nonsupervisors. However, managers often are involved in high-risk responsibilities. Mediation, conflict resolution, disciplinary action, and termination are among the many responsibilities that professionals and managers are expected to fulfill. The majority of these duties are likely to produce anger and stress, particularly if the individual feels threatened. Although the results of the current study cannot confirm the relationship of these responsibilities to the experiences with personal violence, the literature supports the volatility of these functions (Baron, 1993; Cawood, 1991; Manigan, 1994).

Relationship of the Victim to the Perpetrator

The findings of this current study in general support the findings by the Northwestern National Life Insurance study (1993). Similar to Northwestern, the largest percentage of violent responses identified the perpetrator

to be a customer or client. However, the current study's responses included much higher percentages of perpetrators as supervisors and fellow employees. Bandura (1986) notes that most assaultive actions of aggressors produce rewarding outcomes for them. He further notes the difficulties in training individuals in alternative means of solving problems; aggression procures immediate results, and alternative methods often take more time. Supervisors and fellow employees may use violence because it works with few consequences to them.

Although the literature attributes a portion of workplace violence to domestic problems invading the work site (Crisis Management International, 1995; Kinney & Johnson, 1993; U.S. Department of Justice, 1994), few respondents reported violence resulting from such problems. According to Major John Massey with the State Capital Police (personal communication, October 16, 1994), domestic disputes do follow employees to work, but the employees often are too embarrassed to report incidents of violence, and their supervisors support their reluctance to report such incidents. Even though the results of the current study are confidential, with no possible way of attaching names to surveys, victims may still be reluctant to report their own domestic violence.

Types of Violence

An indirect relationship was found between the severity of violence experienced and the percentage of responses; verbal abuse is experienced with greater frequency than physical abuse. There also is a distinct demarcation in the frequency in responses of verbal and physical incidents. As noted by Megargee (1976), a major inhibitor of violence is physical contact. A majority of aggressive individuals are comfortable using verbal aggression but will advance to physical aggression only if highly provoked. Violent individuals often will not cross the boundary into physical violence unless the provocation is major in their eyes. Additional research (Karsort, 1996) identifies the invasion of personal space, particularly the use of physical contact, as a major risk factor for future violence.

This finding does not minimize the seriousness of the physical assaults that were reported. In an attempt

to explore variables that might predict the severity of violence, a model including the victim's demographic characteristics, job classification, and victim/assailant relationship does explain significant variability in the severity of the violent incident. A closer examination of the variables distinguishes the customer/client relationship to be the most meaningful variable in the model. Megargee (1976) describes an internal conflict within an individual between the motivation to use force and a variety of different inhibitors. One inhibitor is the personalizing of the victim; individuals are less likely to hurt somebody they know and with whom they work or live. A customer/client may find it less inhibiting to use violence if he or she is able to depersonalize the state employee as a bureaucrat.

Conclusion

This study raises more questions than it answers. Probably the only question it does answer conclusively is that violence does exist in state government, at least in one state. If the sample represents North Carolina's state government, 22% of its employees have been subjected to violent behavior that ranges from obscenities to physical and sexual assaults by supervisors, other employees, and customers. Although the current study does not support other findings that report significant workplace violence between domestic partners it does support the research citing the specific high-risk job classifications of public safety and managerial areas.

One of the purposes for the survey is to aid in the development of intervention strategies. It is important to identify employees who are particularly vulnerable to violence at the workplace. This study does provide some information that will be useful in targeting specific groups. For example, workplace violence prevention training for managers and public safety employees might be helpful.

North Carolina held a statewide conference on violence in the workplace for top administrators in the state government soon after the survey was conducted. The North Carolina Office of State Personnel also implemented policies and procedures that define workplace violence, reporting and investigating procedures, and a vehicle to train departmental crisis teams.

Future plans are being considered to survey state employees again to discern differences in responses.

Much more research is needed to understand the relationship between victims and perpetrators of workplace violence, the reasons that violent acts are used, and how agency administrators might intervene. This general study provides evidence that violence exists in state government and that it varies along different groups of people. It will take smaller, more precise studies to etch out the reasons for these differences.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do the study's findings suggest about preventing workplace violence in terms of the types of jobs that are most risky?
2. Do you think the findings would be different if the sample was taken from workers not in government jobs? Why or why not?
3. Given that public safety jobs are at high risk of nonfatal violence, does it give you an understanding of the stress these employees are under? How might this stress impact their daily work?
4. As the economy changes and people's view of the government shifts over time, would you expect that the extent of workplace violence would similarly shift? How so? Explain.



Introduction to Reading 4

One type of victimization that can occur at work is sexual harassment. Although this type of victimization is not discussed in this section, an article dealing with the topic is included since it is a type of victimization that can occur to both men and women and can have serious consequences for victims. This review piece covers the antecedents (individual and organizational) and responses to sexual harassment.

Sexual Harassment at Work

A Decade (Plus) of Progress

**Anne M. O'Leary-Kelly, Lynn Bowes-Sperry,
Collette Arens Bates, and Emily R. Lean**

In a 1995 review of the sexual harassment (SH) literature, Lengnick-Hall identified limitations in research to date and suggested "what we don't know about sexual harassment far exceeds what we do know" (p. 841). Although it may always be true that existing

knowledge is more limited than potential knowledge, it is worth exploring the degree to which researchers have closed this knowledge gap since the 1995 review. To what degree has there been progress in building knowledge around this consequential workplace phenomenon?

Definition and Perceptions of SH

Definitions of SH as a Construct

Lengnick-Hall (1995:842) noted more than a decade ago that “construct confusion” had created many problems for SH research. At the time of his work in 1995, there was only two definitions of SH, legal and psychological. The legal definition (then and now) entails two types of SH: quid pro quo (QPQ) and hostile work environment (HWE). QPQ SH entails threats to make employment-related decisions (e.g., hiring, promotion, termination) on the basis of target compliance with requests for sexual favors, whereas HWE SH involves sex-related conduct that “unreasonably interfer[es] with an individual’s work performance” or creates “an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment” (29 C.F.R. § 1604.11[a] [3]). In accordance with the legal definition, an individual is considered to have experienced SH if the sex-related behavior meets the requirements of either QPQ SH or HWE SH. Alternatively, an individual is considered to have experienced SH if he or she *feels* harassed (whether or not the sex-related behavior is illegal) under the psychological definition.

Current Definitions

As of 2008, there are four definitions of SH. In addition to the *legal* and *psychological* definitions described above, the construct of SH has been defined from *behavioral* and *sex-based* perspectives. The four perspectives differ in the extent to which they define SH as a subjective and/or objective phenomenon. The psychological and sex-based perspectives define SH subjectively. In accordance with the psychological perspective, SH is “unwanted sex-related behavior at work that is appraised by the recipient as offensive, exceeding her resources, or threatening her well-being” (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997:15). The sex-based perspective (Berdahl, 2007a: 644) defines *sex-based harassment* (SBH) as “behavior that derogates, demeans, or humiliates an individual based on that individual’s sex” including “seemingly sex-neutral acts, such as repeated provocation, silencing,

exclusion, or sabotage, that are experienced by an individual because of sex.”¹

As described previously, the legal QPQ perspective is objective; if the sex-related behavior meets the provisions of the law, then it constitutes SH. The behavioral perspective also defines SH objectively. From a behavioral perspective, specific sex-related behaviors are considered SH whether or not they cause psychological discomfort to targets or are illegal (Bowes-Sperry & Tata, 1999). Fitzgerald and her colleagues (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999) argued that SH is a stable behavior construct consisting of three primary dimensions: gender harassment, which consists of sexual hostility (explicitly sexual verbal and nonverbal behaviors) and sexist hostility (insulting verbal and nonverbal behavior that are *not* sexual but are based on gender), unwanted sexual attention (unwelcome, offensive interest of a sexual nature), and sexual coercion (requests for sexual cooperation in return for job benefits).²

Finally, the legal HWE perspective includes both subjective and objective elements. The subjective element is that the plaintiff must prove that *he* or *she* was adversely affected by sex-related behavior; the objective element is that the plaintiff must prove a “reasonable person” would be affected in a similar way (Bowes-Sperry & Tata, 1999).

Theoretical Advances in SH Research

At the beginning of our review period, there were several theoretical explanations for SH. These included the sex-role spillover explanation (e.g., Gutek & Morasch, 1982), which suggested that SH results from the inappropriate carryover of sex-based expectations into work; the contact hypothesis (e.g., Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990), in which SH occurs because of the sexualized environment created by contact or interactions between men and women at work; and the power and dominance explanation (e.g., Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Farley, 1978; MacKinnon, 1979), which suggests that SH occurs because of unequal power across men and women in society and the workplace. Recently, several additional theoretical explanations have emerged.

Organizational Influences on SH

At the time of the last review, Fitzgerald, Hulin, and Drasgow (1994) had just presented a model that outlined the antecedents and consequences of workplace SH. This model, which regarded SH as a work stressor, suggested two organizational environment factors as direct antecedents to SH: job context (i.e., gender domination by men in a work group is associated with more frequent SH). The model predicted numerous negative outcomes from the experience of SH, including job-related, psychological, and health detriments. These relationships were expected to be moderated by the target's personal vulnerability and response style. As we will see, this model has had great influence on recent empirical research.

Harasser's Decision to Initiate SH

There is recent theoretical guidance on the question of why harassers choose SH actions. In an article that positioned SH as a form of aggressive work behavior, O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, and Griffin (2000) suggested a model in which potential harassers are viewed as decision makers pursuing valued goals. From this perspective, SH, like other forms of aggression, can serve a variety of actor goals, including emotional (desire to rid themselves of negative affect), retribution (desire to punish others for a perceived injustice), and self-presentational (desire to establish a desired social image). SH is viewed as a goal-directed behavior that is chosen when it is believed to have a high probability of success and low probability of punishment.

It also has been suggested that harassers are influenced by moral intensity perceptions (O'Leary-Kelly & Bowes-Sperry, 2001). According to Jones (1991), moral intensity is a multidimensional construct that assesses the degree of moral imperative inherent in an issue and influences progression through the stages of the ethical decision-making process. O'Leary-Kelly and Bowes-Sperry (2001) argued that there is much inherent to the SH phenomenon that discourages actors from regarding it as a high moral intensity issue. For example, moral intensity is lower when there is low social consensus regarding the act (as is the case for some types of SH), low proximity between the parties (targets and

harassers often are dissimilar in factors such as gender and job level), and low probability and magnitude of consequences (actors tend to underestimate the magnitude of harm done because targets often suffer in silence). Furthermore, they propose that if potential harassers do not recognize SH as an ethical issue, they will be more likely to engage in sexually harassing behavior; therefore, perceiving SH as low in moral intensity is expected to result in increased SH.

Target Responses to SH

Knapp, Faley, Ekeberg, and Dubois (1997) developed a typology of target responses based on theory from the whistle-blowing (Near & Miceli, 1985) and stress and coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) literatures. They proposed that target responses to SH vary in terms of the focus of response (self vs. initiator) and the mode of response (self vs. supported), resulting in four response strategies: *avoidance/denial* (e.g., interpreting behavior as a joke), *social coping* (e.g., discussing the behavior with friends), *confrontation/negotiation* (e.g., asking the harasser to stop), and *advocacy seeking* (e.g., filing a formal report). Target decisions among these actions are proposed to be influenced directly by characteristics of the reporting process, target expectations regarding the outcomes of various responses, severity of SH experienced, and the target's level of psychological distress. Furthermore, these predictors are expected to be affected by targets' individual characteristics and power as well as characteristics of the workgroup, organization, and legal and economic environment. Tests of this typology are generally supportive (Malamut & Offermann, 2001; although for an exception, see Magley, 2002), including research establishing cross-cultural generalizability (Wasti & Cortina, 2002).

The O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, and Griffin, (2000) model also provides theoretical insights into target responses to SH. This model suggested that target perceptions of actor culpability are dependent on attribution judgments about actor intentionality and justifiability and on the foreseeability of negative target outcomes. Furthermore, target perceptions about the likelihood of future SH, which influence the target's chosen response, depend on attributions regarding the

stability of actor behavior. Target's emotional and behavioral responses are expected to depend on their attribution judgments, their own goals (emotional, retributive, self-presentational), and their beliefs about the likelihood that various responses will facilitate goal success.

Broad Theoretical Approaches

Three recent articles took a broader approach to theory development (i.e., the focus was not on just targets or just harassers or just the organization). Berdahl's (2007a) theory of harassment based on sex extends the view of SH as goal-directed behavior and locates SH within the broader harassment literature. There are three central tenets of this theory. First, the "primary motive underlying *all* harassments is a desire to protect one's social status when it seems threatened" (2007a: 641, italics added). Second, the existence of gender hierarchy (at the societal level) renders sex a useful basis on which to harass. Third, distinctions are made within sexes as well as between them. Berdahl proposes that SH is influenced by both contextual and personal factors. Contextual factors included gender hierarchy at the organizational level as well as the existence and type of threat to social identity (i.e., threats that emphasize gender distinctions versus those that challenge them). Personal factors include the actor's sex, sexist attitudes, and gender role conformity. This theory also provides insight into regrets. Given that identity threat motivates actors to harass, individuals who threaten the gender identity of an actor (e.g., by confounding distinctions between the sexes) are likely to become targets of SH. This suggests that the most likely form of SH is men harassing women, especially women who challenge men's status; men will also harass other men who threaten their status and when women harass they will primarily target other women, particularly those who represent a status threat. Although we do not focus on legal theory in our review, it is worth noting that similar arguments have been made in legal journals. Franke (1997) argued that SH be regarded as a form of sex discrimination, not because men initiate it against women but because it is a tool for enforcing traditional gender norms, one that can be used against both women and men.

Another broad approach (O'Leary-Kelly, Tiedt, & Bowes-Sperry, 2004) uses accountability theory to explain SH, with accountability defined as the "perceived need to justify or defend a decision or action to some audience(s) which has potential reward and sanction power and where such rewards and sanctions are perceived as contingent on accountability conditions" (Frink & Klimoski 1998: 9). Accountability theory suggests conditions that limit the accountability harassers feel for their actions (e.g., fragmentation of responsibility, competing role expectations, reactance to new imposed standards on previously accepted behavior). Although no formal model was presented, theoretical principles explained why targets of SH often choose passive rather than direct or active responses (e.g., lack of clarity in prescriptions for behavior, identity implications). Finally, accountability theory provided insights into observers' inaction after witnessing SH (lack of connection between the event and the observer identity, ambiguity in role expectations).

In another broad theory piece, DeCoster, Estes, and Mueller (1999) applied the routine activities perspective from the criminology literature (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978) to explain SH victimization at work. They suggested that some individuals are more prone to victimization because their daily activities bring them in direct contact with predators (Cohen & Felson, 1979; DeCoster et al., 1999). More specifically, this suggests that three conditions are important to victimization: (a) a motivated harasser, (b) a suitable target (i.e., proximity to predators, material attractiveness to predators), and (c) the absence of guardians who can prevent the SH incident. As with the representation of harassers in O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, and Griffin (2000), this perspective assumes a rational harasser who strives to minimize costs and maximize outcomes. These theoretical propositions are tested, and findings indicate that guardianship (i.e., supportive supervisors, supportive work group cultures, work-group solidarity), target proximity (i.e., working in a male-dominated job or a highly populated job location), and target attractiveness (i.e., female targets being educated or having organization tenure, which are depicted as evidence of a power threat to male employees; being single) are

predictive of the SH of women. These effects were additive but did not interact to predict victimization as the routine activities model would predict.

Antecedents to SH

A great deal of research since 1995 examines the conditions that prompt SH. As a framework for this discussion, we regard the harasser as a motivated actor who is driven by individual predispositions and who reacts to situational triggers. Therefore we discuss personal- or harasser-related antecedents and situational antecedents (including characteristics of the target and of the organizational climate).

Personal- or Harasser-Related Antecedents

Extensive research indicates that although harassers are most likely to be male (e.g., Gutek, 1985; Martindale, 1990; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board [USMSPB], 1981, 1988, 1995), most men are not harassers. Many researchers have noted the lack of research attention given to harassers (e.g., Lucero, Middleton, Finch, & Valentine, 2003; O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, and Griffin, 2000), with a likely reason being the difficulty of gaining access to samples of adequate size. According to Pryor, Giedd, and Williams (1995), the first USMSPB (1981) survey attempted to examine characteristics of sexual harassers but was unable to do so because so few people responded affirmatively when asked if they had ever been accused of "sexually bothering" someone at work. However, three harasser-based antecedents have received some research attention: the likelihood to sexually harass, the position or role of the harasser, and the harasser's goals or motives.

Harasser Likelihood to Sexually Harass

Much of what we know about harassers comes from research conducted using Pryor's (1987) Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH) scale, which "measures a readiness to use social power for sexually exploitive purposes" (Pryor, Lavite, & Stoller, 1993: 74). Most empirical research on LSH (both that before and after 1995) has

focused on developing a personality profile of men (for exceptions, see Isbell, Swedish, & Gazan, 2005; Luthar & Luthar, 2008) who are likely to become sexual harassers. This research suggests that high LSH men are more likely than low LSH men to (a) be prone to sexual violence, that is they express a likelihood to rape, hold adversarial sexual beliefs, and accept rape myths (e.g., Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; Begany & Milburn, 2002; Pryor, 1987), (b) connectively link the concept of social dominance with sexuality (Pryor & Stoller, 1994), (c) differentiate themselves from women, that is they prefer traditional male sex-role stereotypes, rate themselves as less feminine, and are lower in empathy, which is a stereotypically feminine characteristic (Driscoll, Kelly, & Henderson, 1998; Pryor, 1987), (d) have negative and hostile attitudes toward women (Begany & Milburn, 2002; Driscoll et al., 1998), and (e) have personalities that are high in authoritarianism, low in honesty humility and low in self-monitoring (Dall'Ara & Maas, 1999; K. Lee, Gizzarone, & Ashton, 2003; Pryor, 1987). There also is evidence that in certain situations, high (vs. low) LSH men are more likely to initiate unwanted sexual attention (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Pryor, 1987; Pryor et al., 1993). More recent research has extended the predictive validity of LSH to other types of sexually harassing behaviors. The research of Maas and colleagues (Dall'Ara & Maas, 1999; Maas, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003) established the validity of LSH for prediction of sexual hostility, which is a form of gender harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1999). Their research indicates that high (vs. low) LSH men are more likely to send pornographic material to a female interaction partner and that this likelihood increases in response to gender identity threats. LSH also predicts sex-based (i.e., not sexual) harassment, such as asking sexist questions of a female during an interview (Rudman & Borgida, 1995), rating a female's performance or competency on task as low (Driscoll et al., 1998), spending less time with a female in a subordinate position (Murphy, Driscoll, & Kelly, 1999), and providing less feedback regarding the performance of a female they have been asked to evaluate (Murphy et al., 1999).

Research on observer perception of potential harassers provides evidence of the validity of the LSH measure. Participants who watched videotaped interactions between a man and woman were able to differentiate

between high and low LSH men. More specifically, observers' ratings of men's LSH were positively related to men's self-reported LSH (Driscoll et al., 1998). Furthermore when asked, "What would it be like to have this man as your employer?" observers were more likely to provide negative (vs. positive) evaluations for men high (vs. low) in LSH (Craig, Kelly, & Driscoll, 2001).

Positions or Role of the Harasser

Although most SH research has focused on individuals within an organization, Gettman and Gelfand (2007) argued that clients and customers are also potential sources of SH, particularly in the service sector. They developed a theoretical model of client sexual harassment (CSH) based on the organizational model of Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, and Magley (1997), which they tested in two field studies. Their results indicated that client power (assessed using perceptions of target and organization dependency on the client) was significantly, strongly, and positively related to CSH.

Harasser Goals and Motives

Recent research has considered SH as goal-directed behavior chosen by an actor for a specific purpose (O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, & Griffin, 2000). Although empirical research that examines specific harasser motives is very limited, there is accumulating evidence that sexual harassers are motivated by social identity concerns (i.e., they initiate sexually harassing behavior with the goal of establishing or protecting a specific social identity). Maas and her colleagues (Dall'Ara & Mass, 1999; Maas et al., 2003) examined various aspects of identity threat using a "computer harassment paradigm" in which male participants interacted virtually with (fictitious) females to complete a task. Their results indicated that male participants exposed to gender identity threats (e.g., interacting with a woman espousing feminist values, having their masculinity questioned) were more likely than those with no exposure to engage in sexually hostile behavior. In addition, gender identity threat also predicted intentions to engage in sexually coercive behavior in future situations unrelated to the computer task. However, consistent with the notion that only some men enact SH, individual difference factors such as LSH, gender notification, and social

dominance orientation influenced the extent to which gender identity threats prompted SH. Finally, Berdahl's (2007b) finding that women with more masculine (as opposed to less masculine) personalities and occupations are more likely to be targets of SH implies that harassers are motivated to punish gender role violators.

Another aspect of the goal-directed harasser model (O'Leary-Kelly, Paetzold, & Griffin, 2000) is that harasser behaviors are enacted in accordance with target responses to initial SH. Recent empirical research by Lucero and her colleagues provides support for this perspective. Lucero et al. (2003) and Lucero, Allen, and Middleton (2006) used published arbitration cases to examine data on individuals who had been disciplined by their employer for SH. Their work suggested that these harassers could be distinguished by the nature of their behavior; some harassers had a more sexual repertoire of behaviors, whereas others had a more aggressive repertoire (Lucero et al., 2003). Furthermore, these repertoires remained consistent over time for the majority of harassers; when change did occur, it tended to entail the addition of a new type of SH behavior rather than the replacement of one behavior type with another (Lucero, Allen, & Middleton, 2006). Although this research focuses on harasser conduct, we can make inferences about the harasser motives that are the basis for this conduct. For example, it is reasonable to assume that individuals who initiate gender harassment (aggressive sex-based behavior) are not motivated by sexual desire.

Situational Antecedents

Recent research also has explored characteristics of the environment that are encountered by sexual harassers. Here we discuss research regarding characteristics of the target and of the organizational environment.

Target-Related Antecedents

Characteristics of the targets themselves may be associated with the occurrence of SH. Much research indicates that women are more likely than men to be targets (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Gutek, 1985; Martindale, 1990; USMSPB, 1981, 1988, 1995). A provocative recent study (Berdahl, 2007b), however, suggested this finding may be, in part, a methodological

artifact. Here, gender was relevant to being a target of SH only in male-dominated organizations, which have been the focus of most prior SH research.

As discussed previously, Berdahl (2007a) proposed that sexual harassers are motivated to punish individuals who violate gender-role norms. Berdahl (2007b: 425) investigated the effects of “personality gender” (i.e., the extent to which one’s personality exhibits stereotypically masculine and feminine traits) and “occupational gender” (i.e., male- or female-dominated occupation) on becoming an SH target. Her results indicated that women who had more (vs. less) masculine personalities experienced more SH and those who occupied traditionally masculine (vs. feminine) jobs experienced more SH. This work suggests that SH is targeted at “uppity” women who step out of place by assuming characteristics considered more desirable for men (Berdahl, 2007b).

A recent large-scale study (Jackson & Newman, 2004), using USMSPB’s survey of federal workers, examined the interplay of gender and other predictors of SH. For women, but not men, education and pay grade were positively associated with SH experiences. Furthermore, there was a stronger association between job status (blue collar, white collar) and SH for women than for men, with blue-collar women experiencing very high levels of SH; these findings appear consistent with the “uppity women” prediction just mentioned. It also was noteworthy that age had differential effects such that SH dropped off considerably for women as they aged, but this effect was less pronounced for men.

Ethnicity has also been examined as a potential target-related antecedent. Berdahl and Moore (2006) explored the effects of ethnicity and sex on various forms of SH. They found that being an ethnic minority in a workgroup was positively related to traditional forms of SH (e.g., gender harassment) and that ethnicity predicted “not-man-enough harassment” (e.g., not meeting masculine ideals, being too much like a woman). Similarly, Gettman and Gelfand (2007) found that non-White employees (in both professional and nonprofessional occupations) experienced more SH at the hand of clients and customers than did White employees.

Another study (Harned, Ormerod, Palmieri, Collinsworth, & Reed, 2002) examined target power as

an antecedent to various types of SH (sexist hostility, sexual hostility, unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion) and sexual assault. In a large-scale study of female members of the military, the authors examined negative conduct experienced at the hands of personnel employed in the military workplace. Two target-related antecedents were examined: organizational power (measured via pay grade and years of active duty service) and sociocultural power (measured via age, education, race/ethnicity, marital status). Their findings suggested that 4% of servicewomen reported an attempted or actual rape by colleagues within the past 12 months, and they found that both forms of power predicted SH and sexual assault (with lower power being associated with increased likelihood of SH and sexual assault).

Organizational Antecedents

The introduction of the organizational tolerance for sexual harassment (OTSH) construct by Hulin, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1996) prompted significant research on organizational antecedents to SH. OTSH is based on the Fitzgerald et al. (1994) model that outlined the organizational antecedents and consequences of work SH. OTSH, which reflects one dimension of an organization’s overall climate, reflects respondents’ perceptions of the contingencies between SH behavior and consequences, for targets and harassers, within their organizational context. In organizations characterized by strong OTSH perceptions, employees believe that reporting of SH is risky, that complainants are unlikely to be taken seriously, and that there would be few consequences for perpetrators (Hulin et al., 1996). There is now a well-established measure of OTSH (the OTSH Inventory), which has been used in multiple studies to date (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Hulin et al., 1996; Wasti, Bergman, Glomb, & Drasgow, 2000). The inventory asks respondents to review six scenarios (depicting gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995) and to rate their perceptions of the likely outcomes (i.e., risk to the complainant, degree to which complaint is taken seriously, consequences for behaviors initiated by a supervisor or coworker).

A recent meta-analysis demonstrates the importance of organizational factors as predictors of SH. Willness, Steel, and Lee (2007), in a meta-analytic review of 41 studies and almost 70,000 respondents, examined two organizational antecedents: organizational climate perceptions (e.g., OTSH) and job-gender context (e.g., proportion of women in workgroup, compositions of workgroup). Results indicated a significant and robust relationship between organizational climate and SH (weighted mean correlation corrected for reliability was equal to .364). Job-gender context also emerged as a significant predictor of SH experiences, but the effect size was smaller (corrected correlation = $-.192$). Results of a moderator analysis indicated these effects are strong for military samples.

Research using the OTSH Inventory demonstrates that the inventory predicts respondents' reports of SH (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Hulin et al., 1996), making it a useful diagnostic tool for managers who want to anticipate hostile climates. Although we discuss SH consequences in detail later, it should be mentioned here that OTSH is directly associated with well-being-related variables such as work satisfaction, job withdrawal, life satisfaction, psychological well-being, anxiety and depression, physical health, and health satisfaction (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Hulin et al., 1996) and that these effects occur for both male and female employees. Perhaps more surprising, one study (Hulin et al., 1996) demonstrated that OTSH explains more variance in well-being outcomes than does the direct experience of SH. Essentially, a high-OTSH climate is one in which employees perceive that they face considerable risk if they report SH (because of the normative nature of SH and because of the negative individual outcomes just mentioned). Oddly, this means that in those workplaces that are most poisoned, reporting of SH is least likely, suggesting a very negative spiral.

If, as suggested by the Willness et al. (2007) meta-analysis, an SH-tolerant organizational climate has negative effects, it is important to ask which aspects of the environment create this negative climate. Unfortunately, we found few studies that have explored this issue. In one notable exception, Williams, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1999: 306) examined three climate aspects in a military setting: organizational policies (formal written guidelines for behavior), organizational procedures

(“formal or informal steps for filing grievances, investigating complaints, and enforcing penalties”), and various organizational practices (actual organizational actions around SH). Results suggest that one practice (implementation) was associated with SH reports (by both male and female employees). A second study examining climate factors (Amick & Sorenson, 2004) found that OTSH perceptions were strongest when respondents believed that coworkers held traditional attitudes toward women but that respondent job type (traditional or non-traditional) and workgroup gender mix were not significant predictors of OTSH.

Another outgrowth of the focus on organizational climate in recent research is the interesting question of whether it is reasonable to expect one SH climate within a work environment. In the initial work on OTSH (Hulin et al., 1996), it was noted that male and female employees held significantly different perceptions of OTSH, with women reporting higher levels. A qualitative study (Rogers & Henson, 1997) also provides support for the idea of multiple climates. Here, they found that temporary clerical workers operated in a more sexualized climate than did permanent workers, with temporary workers experiencing more SH and having less power to obtain remedy.

Two recent studies are interesting because they broaden the focus of either the organizational antecedent variables or the SH criterion variable. In the former, Mueller, DeCoster, and Estes (2001: 417) examined the relationship between general organizational conditions and SH, with general organizational conditions defined as those indicative of “modern methods of organizational control,” including social integration, structural differentiation, decentralization, and formalization and legitimacy. These features of the general work environment were expected to be associated with lower levels of SH because they encourage coworkers to protect one another, they recognize professional behavior as necessary to organizational mobility, and they empower individuals to protect themselves from SH. In general, results supported these predictions.

The second, which broadened the focus of the SH criterion variable, examined SH experiences in the context of the climate for workplace civility (Lim & Cortina, 2005). In two studies of women in the federal court

system, results provided support for the co-occurrence of SH and workplace incivility, in that almost all women who experienced SH also experienced incivility. These studies highlight that SH occurs within a broader context of mistreatment and disrespect and raise interesting questions about whether the same actors initiate both forms of negative conduct and whether the same organizational conditions might contribute to both. These results also emphasize the cumulative nature of multiple victimization, in that women who experienced both forms of mistreatment reported lower levels of organizational and psychological well-being.

Responses to SH

Although most research on responses relates to the question of how SH targets respond or cope, there also is recent research examining the responses of SH observers and of the employer (organization).

Target Responses

Types of Target Responses

Target responses to SH have cognitive (e.g., labeling behavior as SH, discussed in detail earlier), emotional, and behavioral dimensions. Research indicates that pervasiveness and type of SH influence targets' cognitive or emotional responses (e.g., subjective appraisals of distress), which in turn influence behavioral responses such as confronting the harasser or seeking social support (Langhout et al., 2005; Malamut & Offermann, 2001). Furthermore, cognitive or emotional responses have been found to mediate relationships between other antecedents and target responses. For example, the target's appraisal of distress has been found to mediate the impact of occupational status, organizational climate, frequency and duration of SH, and power differentials between target and harasser on a variety of target responses (Bergman, Langhout, Palmieri, Cortina, & Fitzgerald, 2002; Langhout et al., 2005; Malamut & Offermann, 2001).

Research indicates that although targets engage in multiple strategies when responding to SH (e.g., Cortina & Wasti, 2005; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gruber, 1989;

Magley, 2002; Wasti & Cortina, 2002), some responses are more common than others. For example, both early and recent research has found that although many targets engage in avoidance responses, few ever formally report their experiences (e.g., Cochran, Frazier, & Olson, 1997; Culbertson, Rosenfeld, Booth-Kewley, & Magnusson, 1992; Malamut & Offermann, 2001; Martindale, 1990; USMSPB, 1981, 1995; Wasti & Cortina, 2002). Moreover, these multiple responses have been found to form specific *coping profiles* over time (Cortina & Wasti, 2005). In addition to knowledge regarding the frequency with which various responses are used, empirical research has identified numerous predictors of target responses. We use Knapp et al.'s (1997) theoretical model (described earlier) to structure our discussion of these predictors.

Personal or Target Antecedents

Knapp et al. (1997) proposed that personal characteristics of targets (e.g., age and gender) influence their behavioral responses to SH. Several demographic characteristics of targets have been found to influence their responses. Cortina and Wasti (2005) found that age was positively associated with a "detached" coping profile in which targets exhibit an absence of coping with the situation. Malamut and Offermann (2001) found that women were more likely than men to use social coping, advocacy seeking, and confrontation, yet women and men were equally likely to engage in avoidance and denial responses. Some studies have found effects of personal target characteristics on the coping response of reporting; target reporting has been found to be positively related to target education level and previous SH experience (Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1997) and negatively related to occupational status (Malamut & Offermann, 2001). Finally, cultural affiliation has been found to predict target responses and coping profiles; targets from collectivistic cultures are more likely than those from individualistic cultures to engage in avoidance, denial, and negotiating responses (Cortina & Wasti, 2005; Wasti & Cortina, 2002). Furthermore, perhaps because of cultural factors, Hispanic women who experience SH seek support from friends and family more than from formal organizational support mechanisms

(Cortina, 2004). Research indicates that personality characteristics also influence target responses. For example, target assertiveness has been found to be positively related to confronting the harasser (Adams-Roy & Barling, 1998), and conflict avoidance has been found to be negatively related to intentions to engage in such confrontation (Goldberg, 2007).

Organizational Antecedents

Empirical research on targets' responses indicates strong support for organizational antecedents. Various measures of perceived organizational climate have been found to influence target coping responses. For example, Malamut and Offermann (2001) found that targets' perceptions of OTSH were positively related to their use of avoidance denial, social coping, and advocacy seeking but not confrontation. Cortina and Wasti (2005) found that women who perceived higher levels of social support from organizational leaders (which is one aspect of climate) were more likely to fit the "detached" coping profile. Offermann and Malamut's (2002) results demonstrated that women who believed that military leaders (at multiple levels) made genuine efforts to end SH reported stronger reporting freedom, greater satisfactions with the reporting process, and more positive attitudes. It is noteworthy that these effects occurred after controlling for the effects of general work climate (having policies and procedures against SH). Cortina's (2004) study of Hispanic women found that these women sought more support from all sources (personal and organizational) when the harasser had high (vs. low) organizational power. Finally, research indicates that OTSH influences target reporting responses; Bergman et al. (2002) found an indirect effect (through SH history and frequency) of OTSH and Welsh and Gruber (1999) found a direct effect of OTSH.

Behavior-Based Antecedents

Research also indicates that SH severity is related to target responses. For example, Munson, Hulin, and Drasgow (2000) found that targets were more likely to use external coping strategies when SH severity was high than when it was low. Research on target reporting of SH (which is a type of external coping strategy) found that

target reporting was more likely when harassers were supervisors, when there were multiple harassers, and when the type of behavior was sexual coercion (Lee, Heilmann, & Near, 2004; Welsh & Gruber, 1999). Bergman et al. (2002) found an indirect effect (through cognitive appraisal) of SH severity on reporting. Malamut and Offermann (2001) hypothesized that targets would use a full spectrum of strategies for severe SH (which they assessed in terms of SH type and SH frequency or duration). They found that as frequency or duration of SH increased, targets increased their use of avoidance denial, social coping, and advocacy seeking, but there was no effect on the use of confrontation. They also found that sexual coercion (the more severe type of SH) was positively related to the use of social coping and confrontation, but there was no effect on the use of avoidance denial or advocacy seeking. Finally, Cortina and Wasti (2005) found that SH severity was one of the strongest determinants of target responses; more specifically, as SH severity increased, so did the number of coping behaviors used by targets.

Rospenda, Richman, Ehmke, and Zlatoper (2005: 96) examined the influence of different patterns of SH and generalized work harassment (GWH; defined as "negative workplace interactions that affect the terms, conditions, or employment decisions related to an individual's job, or create a hostile, intimidating, or offensive working environment, but which are not based on legally protected social status characteristics") on use of services as a coping mechanism for SH and GWH. This study, which spanned a multiyear period, demonstrated that different patterns of harassment experiences are not equivalent. For both SH and GWH, they found that those who experienced intermittent (on and off harassment over time) or chronic (harassment that continues across time periods) harassment were most likely to seek professional services. Contrary to expectations, those experiencing SH remission (cessation of harassment) also reported increased service use.

Effectiveness of Target Responses

Knapp et al. (1997) proposed that avoidance or denial responses are the least effective (in that they do not stop SH) and most costly to organizations (in that

they result in decreased productivity and turnover). They recommended that targets engage in advocacy-seeking behavior such as reporting SH to others within the organization, especially those with formal authority to take action. Because reporting SH is often ineffective and at times harmful to the target (Hessen-McInnis & Fitzgerald, 1998; Magley et al., 1999; Stockdale, 1998), Bergman et al. (2002) examined the reasonableness of reporting to determine if reporting was more effective under certain conditions than others. Their results suggested that it is not the act of reporting SH per se that determined consequences for targets but rather the organization's responses to such reporting.

Organizational Responses to SH

Although organizational policies, procedures and practices were discussed previously as organizational antecedents, they can also be conceptualized as organizational responses to the law. If a charge of SH is filed against an organization, the existence of SH awareness training can help establish an affirmative defense by demonstrating that it exercised reasonable care to prevent sexually harassing behavior. On the other hand, failure to provide training has resulted in employer liability for SH in U.S. federal courts (Zugelder, Champagne, & Maurer, 2006). Thus, organizational responses to SH can be characterized as either preventive (e.g., training) or corrective (e.g., disciplining or counseling harassers).

Although an important topic, there has not been much recent research examining organizational responses to SH. In a noteworthy exception, Bergman et al. (2002) investigated corrective organizational responses following a formal report of SH. More specifically, they examined antecedents and consequences of organizational remedies (e.g., disciplining the harasser), organizational retaliation (e.g., transferring targets who report SH against their will), and organizational minimization (e.g., encouraging targets to drop their complaints).

They found that all three organizational responses influenced the effectiveness of reporting (measured as targets' satisfaction with the reporting process). It is not surprising that organizational responses of retaliation and minimization were negatively related to targets' satisfaction

whereas providing organizational remedies was positively related. Furthermore, they found that targets' satisfaction with the reporting process was positively related to job-related, psychological, and health outcomes. Another exception is the study of women in the federal circuit court system by Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2007). These authors found that when organizations were unresponsive to an environment characterized by hostility toward women, female employees reported decreased levels of organizational commitment. With regard to preventive or proactive organizational responses, SH awareness training has been found to increase the likelihood of respondents labeling sex-related behavior as SH (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2003; Wilkerson, 1999).

It is important to note that theoretical models propose reciprocal influences between organizational and target responses. For example, Knapp et al. (1997) proposed that factors associated with the reporting process (e.g., failure to resolve previous SH complaints to the targets' satisfaction, extent to which procedures are understood) influence targets' responses to SH. Little empirical research, however, has addressed these predictions.

Observer Responses to SH

Raver and Gelfand (2005), in a study that found that the level of ambient SH (i.e., the general level of SH in the work group; Glomb et al., 1997) within a team was positively related to team conflict, argued that this conflict could result from observers adopting coping strategies such as confronting or refusing to speak to the harasser. Bowes-Sperry and colleagues conceptualized such actions as forms of observer intervention, which are one form of observer coping. Bowes-Sperry and Powell (1999) found support for an ethical decision-making model of observers' intentions to intervene in hypothetical scenarios of SH; both individual (i.e., ethical ideology) and situational (e.g., severity of SH) factors influenced observer intentions such that they were more likely to intervene if they recognized the incident as an ethical issue. As mentioned earlier, Bowes-Sperry and O'Leary-Kelly (2005) contributed a typology of observer intervention behaviors in SH; however, this typology has not been empirically tested.

Consequences of SH

SH has broad and negative consequences that affect SH targets, observers, and the organization as a whole. In this section, we highlight recent research that examines each of these forms of consequence.

Consequences for Targets of SH

The Willness et al. (2007) meta-analysis mentioned earlier examined not only antecedents to SH but also consequences experienced by SH targets.³ Results demonstrated that most consequence variables proved to be significantly correlated with SH experience. SH experience was consistently associated with lower job satisfaction, regardless of how this latter construct was measured (individual facets, global measure), with effect sizes (weighted mean correlation corrected for reliability) ranging from $r_c = -.241$ to $r_c = -.316$. As predicted by the researchers, satisfaction with coworkers and supervisors (interpersonal work dimensions) was more negatively affected by the experience of SH than was work satisfaction. There was also a significant negative relationship between SH experience and organizational commitment ($r_c = -.249$), suggesting that this experience has a negative impact on attitudes toward the employer. Again, moderator analyses indicated that individuals in military contexts demonstrated distinct results; in military samples, there was a stronger relationship between the experience of SH and job satisfaction.

The findings related to psychological and health outcomes also demonstrate the highly negative effects of SH experience. There were significant relationships with mental health ($r_c = -.273$), physical health ($r_c = -.247$), and PTSD ($r_c = .247$). The relationship with life satisfaction was also significant but more limited ($r_c = -.119$), a finding that might be expected given the range of issues that compose life satisfaction.

Research not included in this meta-analysis also demonstrated the negative effects of SH. For example, Woodzicka and LaFrance (2005), who studied women exposed to mild gender harassment (e.g., asking a sexist question) during a job interview, found that SH had

negative consequences for their performance. Participants in the harassing condition used significantly more diluted language; repeated words more frequently, exhibited more false starts, and were judged as having lower quality answers than those who were not harassed.

Recent work on CSH by Gettman and Gelfand (2007) demonstrated that the negative effects of SH are similar whether the harassment is initiated by organizational members or clients. Their cross-sectional study of professional women indicated that CSH is negatively related to job satisfaction and health satisfaction and positively related to psychological distress. Their study of CSH among nonprofessional food service workers indicates that CSH predicts job satisfaction, even after controlling for SH by organizational members.

Earlier, we described a study that examined a specific, and severe, form of SH—sexual assault (Harned et al., 2002). This cross-sectional study also examined job-related affect (e.g., supervisor, coworker, and work satisfaction) and psychological health (psychological well-being, health satisfaction). In general, the findings indicated that SH was most strongly related to job-related factors whereas sexual assault was most strongly related to health outcomes.

One series of studies (Rospenda, 2002; Rospenda et al., 2006; Rospenda, Richman, Ehmke, & Zlatoper, 2005) examined the effects of SH in context of a broader harassment construct, generalized work harassment (GWH). These studies posed SH as a form of WPA that is expected to be associated with other forms of aggression such as assault. In a study of university employees surveyed at multiple points in time, results suggested that both SH and GWH were associated with high levels of self-reported illness, injury, and assault. It is interesting that men (vs. women) suffered greater illness, injury, and assault as a result of SH experience.

The focus on SH climate in recent research seems to have sparked an interest in other related aspects of climate. Specifically, two studies have explored the effects of a generally misogynistic and hostile context on the well-being of employees who are not specifically targeted by hostile conduct. Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2004) examined, among federal circuit court

employees, the well-being-related effects of working in an environment that includes incivility directed at women. This cross-sectional research suggested that women-directed incivility (actions akin to hostile environment SH) was associated with lower health satisfaction (but not lower work satisfaction) for both female and male employees. A second study (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007) examined the vicarious effects of two aspects of climate: observed hostility toward women (a construct composed of both observation of workplace incivility directed at women and observation of SH behavior toward female employees) and perceptions of the organization's unresponsiveness to SH (measured with a scale other than the OTSH Inventory). This study supported the notion that employees, both male and female, who work in environments permeated with negative attitudes and behavior toward women experience negative effects on their psychological well-being and job satisfaction. Furthermore, organizational unresponsiveness to this negative environment is also associated with negative outcomes such as decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Several other cross-sectional studies suggested a more complicated picture in terms of the effects of SH on outcomes. In a sample of military employees, Murry, Sivasubramaniam, and Jacques (2001) found some evidence for supervisory support and a strong supervisory exchange relationship in mitigating negative effects of SH on attitudinal outcomes. Furthermore, a series of interesting studies raised the question of whether self-labeling is necessary for negative effects of SH to occur. Based on the stress and coping literature, it is reasonable to expect that labeling is a cognitive mediator between SH and negative outcomes of SH. However, two studies (Magley et al., 1999; Munson, Miner, & Hulin, 2001) demonstrated that regardless of labeling there were negative effects (e.g., on organizational commitment, group cohesion, emotions) from SH experiences (even mild SH) for both women and men.

Finally, one study addressed the question of *why* gender harassment has negative effects on target well-being (Parker & Griffin, 2002). In a cross-sectional study of police officers, there was support for a model

predicting that the negative effects of gender harassment on female officers' psychological distress were mediated by overperformance demands (i.e., the belief that one needs to constantly prove oneself to gain acceptance in the work group).

Consequences for Organizations

The Willness et al. (2007) meta-analysis mentioned earlier also examined the effects of SH on organization-related outcomes. They found negative relationships between SH and both work withdrawal ($r_c = .299$) and job withdrawal ($r_c = .161$), suggesting that targets of SH may respond with missed work and work distraction as well as intentions to leave the organization. Findings also indicated a significant negative correlation with workgroup productivity ($r_c = .221$), suggesting that SH has disruptive effects on employees' abilities to work effectively.

A recent longitudinal study (Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005) of 11,000 military servicemen examined turnover behavior (leaving the military for reasons other than conclusion of term of duty, death, retirement, or transfer to an officer training program). Specifically, this research found direct effects of SH on turnover, not mediated effects as suggested by the Fitzgerald et al. (1997) model. They argued that the experience of SH can trigger an avoidance response (Magley, 2002) and a flight response (Mayes & Ganster, 1988), suggesting the possibility of a direct effect. This view of turnover, in which both mediated and direct effects are possible, is consistent with recent turnover models (T. W. Lee & Mitchell, 1994; T. W. Lee, Mitchell, Wise, & Fireman, 1996).

Several previously mentioned studies also demonstrated negative effects of SH on organizational outcomes. The study of CSH (Gettman & Gelfand, 2001) found that CSH was associated with lowered target organizational commitment, higher turnover intentions, and greater withdrawal from clients. In the Miner-Rubino and Cortina (2004) study of male and female federal circuit court employees, there was a significant interaction between observation of women-directed incivility and workgroup gender ratio on observer work withdrawal such that observed incivility had little effect

on work withdrawal in female-skewed work units, but there was a positive relationship in male-skewed work units. This study demonstrated that an environment characterized by misogynistic behaviors has damaging effects for the organization, particularly when women already are underrepresented in the workplace.

In one of the few SH studies that has moved beyond the individual-level of analysis, Raver and Gelfand (2005) examined the effect of ambient SH on team-level process (conflict, cohesion, and OCB) and outcome (financial performance) variables. They found that overall ambient SH in the team was positively related to relationship conflict and task conflict. Furthermore, the impact of ambient SH on team processes and outcomes depended on the type or types of ambient SH experienced within the team. More specifically, ambient sexual hostility predicted team process and outcome variables, whereas ambient unwanted sexual attention predicted only team process variables and ambient sexist hostility predicted neither.

Discussion

Summary

After reviewing this body of research, we are encouraged by the significant progress that has been made toward understanding the nature of workplace SH since the last major literature review. In this section, we highlight a few of the reasons for our optimism. First, there has been significant progress on the theoretical front. We now have useful models that address harasser decisions and motives, target responses, and observer sense making and behavior. These theories are being used to frame research inquiries and empirical research testing these models is beginning to appear. These are positive trends that bring focus to this broad and diverse literature.

Second, in recent years researchers have adopted a broader focus in their studies of SH. For example, there is consideration of a broader range of potential harassers (e.g., clients), a broader range of conduct (e.g., sexual assault), a broader range of harasser motives (e.g., identity threat), and a broader range of

interested parties (with the focus on SH bystanders or observers). There is also an interesting trend toward situating SH within a broader realm of organizational misbehavior, including incivility and GWH. These trends are beneficial for two reasons. First, they extend our knowledge base about SH phenomenon. Second, they encourage us to recognize SH as an event situated in organizational life—that is, an event motivated by a range of factors in the organizational environment, an event witnessed by organizational members, and an event that occurs in conjunction with other organizational events. This contextualization of SH within the organizational environment can enrich our research questions and results.

We suspect that this trend toward examining SH as “organizationally situated” resulted from the increased research attention given to organizational climates. We argued earlier that there has been a noticeable shift in the focus of SH research in the past decade toward an emphasis on organizational climate as a facilitator or inhibitor of SH. These years have brought well-tested models that identify climate-related antecedents and consequences and an often-used measure of the perceived organizational climate for SH. Although the vast majority of tests of these models examine climate at the individual level, some researchers are beginning to move to the team or group level to assess climate, a trend we hope will continue.

Finally, it is important to recognize that SH researchers are doing an effective job of cumulating research results. Meta-analyses have been used effectively to aggregate across studies examining similar research questions, such as gender effects in the labeling of SH and SH antecedents and consequences. This is important so that research can proceed effectively (i.e., so research on the same issues does not continue *ad infinitum*). However, it is important to note that meta-analyses do not correct for limitations in the data themselves, and one key issue in regard to data on SH phenomena is their cross-sectional nature. Most research, even that which proposes antecedents and consequences of SH, is not longitudinal. Although SH theory may provide some justification for posing certain variables as antecedents and others as consequences, the question of causality is

largely unestablished (with a few notable exceptions such as Glomb et al., 1999). Because many reverse causality predictions are quite reasonable (e.g., instead of job satisfaction and organizational commitment being consequences of SH perceptions, perhaps highly satisfied and committed employees are less likely to perceive conduct as SH), this is an important limitation.

Conclusion

In the preface to her 1979 book introducing SH as a legal construct, Catherine MacKinnon (1979: xii) stated, “To date there are no ‘systematic’ studies of sexual harassment in the social-scientific sense.” Put in that context, there has been remarkable progress toward understanding SH as a workplace phenomenon in a relatively short amount of time. Our review demonstrates that the SH literature continues to mature, with the emergence of stronger theory, new meta-analytic reviews of key findings, an enhanced focus on organizational contexts, and stronger integration with other workplace conduct. As the next decade of SH research unfolds, we hope for similar research progress. More important, we hope that the next decade brings evidence that research efforts are having an impact on the ability of work organizations to eliminate this harmful work-related conduct.

Notes

1. Berdahl (2007a) uses the term *sex-based harassment* (SBH) rather than *sexual harassment* because many of the behaviors examined by SH researchers are not actually sexual in nature (e.g., sexist hostility forms of gender harassment such as referring to women as bitches).
2. It should be noted that there is debate regarding this claim. See Gutek et al. (2004) for an extensive critique of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald et al., 1995), which is the most common measure used in the behavioral perspective.
3. It should be noted that variables in this meta-analysis are identified as *antecedents* or *consequences* based on predictions made in SH theory, not based on causal analyses or longitudinal research designs. Although some studies included here were longitudinal (e.g., Glomb, Munson, Hulin, Bergman, & Drasgow, 1999), many were not.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the risk factors for sexual harassment?
2. What are the similarities between sexual harassment and other types of victimization at work, if any? Think of who it is likely to happen to, its consequences, its risk factors, etc.
3. How is coping structured by individual and organizational factors? Given the fact that coping differs across individuals and contexts, what does this suggest about how we should respond to victims?
4. What else would you like to know about sexual harassment victimization?
5. What are the similarities between sexual harassment and bullying?

