Harmful Workplace Experiences and Women's Occupational Well-being:

A Meta-Analysis

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Abstract

We report a meta-analytic review of studies examining the relations among harmful workplace experiences and women's occupational well-being. Based on previous research, a classification of harmful workplace experiences affecting women is proposed and then used in the analysis of 88 studies with 93 independent samples, containing 73,877 working women. We compare the associations of different harmful workplace experiences and job stressors with women's work attitudes and health. Random effects meta-analysis and path analysis showed that more intense yet less frequent harmful experiences (e.g., sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention) and less intense but more frequent harmful experiences (e.g., sexist organizational climate, gender harassment) had similar negative effects on women's well-being. Harmful workplace experiences were independent from and as negative as job stressors in their impact on women's occupational well-being. The power imbalance between the target and the perpetrator appeared as a potential factor to explain the type and impact of harmful workplace experiences affecting women's occupational well-being. In the discussion, we identify several gaps in the literature, suggest directions for future research, and suggest organizational policy changes and interventions that could be effective at reducing the incidence of harmful workplace experiences.

Keywords: workplace violence, sexual harassment, discrimination, sexism, meta-analysis, path analysis

Harmful Workplace Experiences and Women's Occupational Well-being:

A Meta-Analysis

Of the many occupational factors that can have a negative impact on women's well-being, being the target of harmful actions by colleagues is among the most pernicious. The evidence indicates that women are much more likely than men to become targets of workplace harassment (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001), sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007a; Rospenda, Richman, & Shannon, 2009), gender-based discrimination (Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowica, & Owen, 2002), negative attitudes towards their gender (Eagly & Karau, 2002), and sexual assault (Elliot, Mok, & Briere, 2004). Very few studies have reported finding no gender differences in harmful experiences at work (e.g., Leymann, 1996). Harmful experiences represent obstacles for women's career satisfaction and progression, as well as their organizational and individual well-being (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Previous meta-analyses have examined the associations of general harassment and sexual harassment with personal and occupational well-being (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Willness et al., 2007), but have not considered the full range of harmful workplace experiences that women may be exposed to.

In the present study, we build on previous meta-analyses to organize and integrate the empirical research considering the effect of different harmful workplace experiences on the most commonly studied, and arguably the most relevant, indicators of women's occupational well-being. We first develop a classification of harmful workplace experiences. We then present a model of the impact of harmful workplace experiences, as stressful events, on proximal work attitudes and distal health outcomes. Finally, we use meta-analytic techniques and path analysis to test the hypothesized relations in the model.

The present study makes several contributions to our understanding of the effect of harmful workplace experiences on women's well-being. Specifically, this study will test and clarify: (a) The magnitude and direction of the association of sexist discrimination and a sexist organizational climate with women's occupational well-being; these relations have not previously been meta-analyzed; (b) whether or not the distinction between seemingly *more severe* forms of harmful experiences (e.g., sexual coercion, unwanted sexual attention) and *less severe* forms of harmful experiences (e.g., gender harassment, sexist discrimination) is reflected in the impacts of each on women's well-being at work; (c) whether or not the harmful workplace experiences are as detrimental to women's occupational well-being as other job stressors; (d) how the relative representation of women in the workplace could moderate the association of harmful workplace experiences with women's occupational well-being; (e) whether or not harmful workplace experiences have an association with women's occupational well-being independent from job stressors; and (f) how work attitudes (i.e., proximal well-being indicators) could operate as mediators in the relation of harmful workplace experiences and job stressors with women's health (i.e., distal indicators).

Classification of Harmful Workplace Experiences

Harmful workplace experiences are broadly defined as interpersonal abuse against employees in the workplace that might harm or injure them, and contribute to a hostile work context (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Rospenda et al., 2009). Our

review of the literature reveals a variety of interpersonal actions that can be considered harmful workplace experiences; it also shows an overlap in the definitions and measures of some of the most widely studied constructs in this area (e.g., gender harassment and sexist organizational climate). Hence, we thought it was necessary to present and discuss a categorization framework for these experiences that we then will use to organize the literature and frame the present meta-analysis.

Our categorizations of harmful workplace experiences are based on three nested distinctions. We first distinguish between non-gender-based and gender-based harmful workplace experiences. Second, within harmful gender-based workplace experiences we differentiate between non-sexual and sexual experiences (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2010; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). Finally, for both sexual and non-sexual experiences we separate individual experiences from hostile organizational climates. Figure 1 illustrates this categorization framework. These experiences are discussed in more detail below.

Non-gender-based vs. Gender-based Harmful Workplace Experiences

Non-gender-based harmful workplace experiences. This category encompasses interpersonal workplace experiences that are unwanted and harmful, which are not necessarily based on any specific demographic attribute. Workplace harassment, incivility, victimization, and bullying are some of the labels used to describe the variety of interactions studied under the umbrella of non-gender-based harmful workplace experiences. These actions may be intentional (Bowling & Beehr, 2006) or may have ambiguous intent (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), and do not include behaviors intended to cause harm to the organization. Some studies have differentiated between physical and psychological harassment (e.g., Barling, Rogers, & Kelloway, 2001; Dionisi, Barling, & Dupre, 2012), and psychological harassment has been described as a product of covert or overt actions (e.g., Kaukiainen et al., 2001). Covert actions include condescending remarks, ignoring people, insinuating negative gestures, or talking behind somebody's back (Kaukiainen et al., 2001). Overt actions include verbal behavior, such as addressing someone using inappropriate language or yelling, and physical behaviors, such as pushing or grabbing (Barling et al., 2001).

Non-gendered harmful workplace experiences are typically measured as the frequency with which the target has been exposed to covert and overt actions (e.g., Cortina et al., 2001). Few studies include different indices for physical versus psychological aggression (e.g., Barling et al., 2001). Most employ a single composite indicator of harmful workplace experiences (e.g., Rospenda, Richman, & Shannon, 2006). The low number of studies reporting the effect of the different facets or dimensions of non-gendered harmful workplace experiences (e.g., studies with women in which the effects of low-frequency/high-intensity events such as physical aggression, are compared with the effects of high-frequency/low-intensity events such as incivility) drew us to study non-gendered harmful workplace experiences in general, and not by facets, in the present meta-analysis.

Following social categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), it has been argued that victims of non-gendered harmful workplace experiences are more likely to blame themselves for such events than victims of gender-based harmful workplace experiences (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). For example, instances of sexualized

harassment could be attributed to gender, whereas instances of non-gendered work harassment might trigger labeling of internal and personal attributions. These expected differences in attributions might lead to different occupational well-being outcomes. To explore that possibility, in the present meta-analysis we compare non-gender-based work harassment versus gender-based harmful workplace experiences in their association with several occupational well-being indicators.

Gender-based harmful workplace experiences. This category includes interpersonal workplace incidents that are unwanted and harmful, which are primarily targeted towards women. These experiences might express hostility, devaluing, objectification, or discrimination towards the targets because of being women. Similarly, these experiences could be sexualized or non-sexual in their nature, and operate in individual interactions or be characteristic of the organizational climate (Bergman, 2003; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Settles, Cortina, Malley, & Stewart, 2006). A detailed description of these experiences follows.

Harmful Gender-based Workplace Experiences: Non-sexual vs. Sexual

Gender-based harmful non-sexual workplace experiences. These experiences encompass hostility towards or devaluing of women because of their gender. Harmful gender-based non-sexual workplace experiences are studied at the level of personal experiences and at the level of the organizational climate. Gender-based non-sexual harmful workplace *individual experiences*, have been studied in at least two forms: (a) *sexist discrimination* comprises gender-based non-sexual workplace personal experiences of devaluing, bias, or obstacles to success or satisfaction because of gender (Bergman, 2003; Shrier et al., 2007); and (b) *gender harassment*, which includes personal experiences of verbal, physical, or symbolic, behaviors that express hostile and offensive attitudes about members of one gender, typically women (Leskinen & Cortina, 2014). As illustrated in Figure 1, gender harassment is considered a facet of sexual harassment (Gelfand et al., 1995), and is discussed later in this article. However, the experiences studied under the term of gender harassment are essentially hostile behaviors based on gender, and not necessarily sexualized harassment. Therefore, in the present meta-analysis we consider gender harassment a gender-based non-sexual harmful workplace experience.

At the organizational level, *sexist organizational climate* is understood as a gender-based non-sexual harmful workplace experience embedded in formal and informal organizational policies, practices, and procedures (Reichers & Schneider, 1990). A sexist climate is characterized by negative attitudes, and discriminatory actions of colleagues and the organization towards women (Parker & Griffin, 2002; Settles et al., 2006).

Several aspects distinguish sexist discrimination from gender harassment. While hostile expressions are the central aspect of gender harassment (Leskinen & Cortina, 2014), no expression of hostility is required for sexist discrimination to take place (e.g., a manager might overlook a woman for a promotion in favor of an equally or less qualified male counterpart without the need to experience or express hostility towards the woman). A woman can only experience bias or discrimination in the allocation of resources and opportunities from somebody who has more organizational power than she does (e.g., supervisors). Conversely, women can be targets of gender harassment from co-workers or subordinates who have no control over women's resources and opportunities (O'Connell & Korabik, 2000). Sexist discrimination has also been

measured in a way that incorporates instances of devaluing of women (e.g., Bergman, 2003), which can be a form of gender harassment (Gelfand et al., 1995). Similarly, gender harassment can be understood as a form of sexist discrimination, in the sense that it restricts women's social participation at work and threatens women's human rights, in particular the right to just and favorable conditions at work (United Nations General Assembly, 1948) and the right to a life free from violence (United Nations General Assembly, 1993).

Sexist organizational climate and sexist discrimination also appear intimately related. These two categories are often referred to as instances of sexism at work (Reid & Clayton, 1992; Wessel & Ryan, 2012). However, a central difference between these two forms of sexism is that the former is the experience of generalized negative attitudes towards women within the organization (e.g., frequent and unchallenged sexist jokes, judgments of women as less competent, pressure on women to change their behavior to match the work context); the latter is the experience of bias toward a specific individual because of her gender (e.g., lower pay, being left out of promotions, being ignored in meetings because of being a woman).

There is conceptual and measurement overlap between sexist organizational climate and gender harassment. They are distinguished from one another by their target. Sexist jokes, displays of sexist or suggestive materials, and devaluing of women. are treated as instances of sexism in measures of sexist organizational climate when directed towards women in general (Parker & Griffin, 2002) and as gender harassment when directed toward a specific woman (Gelfand et al., 1995). In measures of sexist organizational climate, participants are often asked to report if sexist events are *characteristic of the work context* (Bergman & Hallberg, 2002). In measures of gender harassment participants are asked how often *they have been exposed* to sexist events (Gelfand et al., 1995). We coded and analyzed the association of sexist organizational climate, sexist discrimination, and gender harassment with women's occupational well-being in this meta-analysis.

Harmful sexual gender-based workplace experiences. In the workplace context an experience is considered sexualized if it inappropriately imposes sexuality on individuals. For example, sexualized experiences are actions that draw attention to aspects of an individual's sexual life, value individuals exclusively for their sexual appeal or, in general, treat individuals as objects available for sexual use (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2010; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Lim & Cortina, 2005). Harmful sexual gender-based workplace experiences also are studied at the level of personal/individual events and at the level of the organizational climate. *Sexual harassment* is an individual-level gender-based sexualized harmful workplace experience. Sexual harassment is defined as unwanted sexrelated workplace behaviors that the targets find offensive, exceeding their resources to cope, and threatening to their well-being (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997). Fitzgerald et al. (1995) have described three related facets of sexual harassment, (a) *gender harassment*, described above, which is not necessarily sexualized; (b) *sexual coercion*, in which rewards are made contingent on sexual cooperation (e.g., implicitly threatening or bribing someone for sexual favors); and (c) *unwanted sexual attention*, comprising sexual behaviors that are not wanted, welcomed, or reciprocated by the target (e.g., repeated attempts to get a date after being rejected, attempted or actual sexual assault).

The combination of indicators of sexual assault and sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999) has been questioned on several grounds (Harned, Ormerod, Palmieri, Collinsworth, & Reed, 2002). First, there is evidence that sexual assault is only weakly related to unwanted sexual attention (Stockdale & Hope, 1997), and that experiences of sexual assault and bribery are more distressing than unwanted sexual attention or gender harassment (Gruber, Smith, & Kauppinen-Toropainen, 1996). Second, sexual assault and sexual harassment can have very different legal statuses. While sexual harassment is usually addressed as a civil law matter, sexual assault can also be prosecuted under criminal law (Harned et al., 2002). Future research should consider exploring further these differences in nature and impact.

Different approaches have been used in the measurement of sexual harassment, which may account for differences observed in relations between sexual harassment and well-being. That is, the measurement method might moderate the relations observed between sexual harassment and women's occupational well-being. Sexual harassment has been measured in terms of how frequently the target experienced the harassing behaviors; measures use different versions of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ; Dionisi et al., 2012; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Leskinen, Cortina, & Kabat, 2011).

Researchers reported results either for the overall questionnaire (e.g., Cortina, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 2002) or for each of the scales of the questionnaire, namely gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (e.g., Shaffer, Joplin, Bell, Lau, & Oguz, 2000).

In addition to the frequency approach, two other measurement strategies have been used: (a) self-reports of *experience of harassment*, in which participants are provided with a behavioral list, and instead of reporting frequency of occurrence they report whether the event took place or not (e.g., Settles et al., 2006), or they indicate the frequency of harassment and the researchers later dichotomize their responses into yes/no categories (e.g., Newell, Rosenfeld, & Culbertson, 1995); and (b) a *direct question approach* or *acknowledgement of sexual harassment*, in which participants are asked to indicate if they have experienced sexual harassment, or if sexual harassment has been a problem at work, relying on the participants' own understanding and capacity to label their experience as sexual harassment (e.g., Murrell, Olson, & Hanson, 1995).

Reporting whether a harmful event took place or not, when the situation might have occurred several times, introduces a restriction in the range of responses that might influence their association with well-being outcomes (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). Measures of psychological constructs that use multiple indicators are expected to more accurately cover the relevant domain, to be more reliable, and to explain more variance of specific criteria (Diamantopoulos, Sarstedt, Fuchs, Wilczynski, & Kaiser, 2012; Haynes, Richard, & Kubany, 1995). Without the definition of behaviors under investigation, participants might under-report or over-report sexual harassment due to a lack of understanding, misunderstanding, or the normalization of harassment behavior in the work environment (Magley, Hulin, Fitzgerald, & DeNardo, 1999).

In the present meta-analysis we compare results for the three different forms of measuring sexual harassment (i.e., behavior list with frequency, behavior list with experience, and direct question or acknowledgment). For the frequency-

based measures we present results for overall sexual harassment and each of the facets (i.e., gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion), in order to identify which form of sexual harassment might have the most harmful effect on women's occupational well-being.

Organizational tolerance for sexual harassment (OTSH) is a gender-based harmful workplace experience that might be sexual in nature and operates at the level of the organizational climate. Employees' beliefs that complaints about sexual harassment will not be taken seriously by the organization, that complaints will put them at further risk, and that offenders will not be punished, lead workers to develop the view that an organization is tolerant of sexual harassment (Cortina et al., 2002). Permissiveness or tolerance of sexual harassment in an organization has been identified as a key predictor of increased incidences of sexual harassment (Willness et al., 2007). However, OTSH also indicates the presence of organizational behavioral norms that are hostile towards individuals who are targets of harassment. These behavioral norms can also impact directly on women's well-being. Similar to sexual harassment and other sexist behaviors, OTSH is a form of discrimination against women, one that violates women's human right to have a life free from violence (United Nations General Assembly, 1993). OTSH can undermine the satisfaction and commitment of women who feel unfairly treated and unsupported by colleagues, supervisors, and the organization (Estrada, Olson, Harbke, & Berggren, 2011; Fitzgerald et al., 1999). OTSH might also trigger anxiety in the potential and actual targets of harassment, who may perceive their work environment as one that does not protect them from violence and might even foster aggression (Glomb et al., 1997).

Measures of OTSH help understand how the organization might deal with instances of sexual harassment (e.g., Hulin et al., 1996). These measures are indicators of the kind of organizational climate that operates, and may have a direct impact on women's well-being, or that increases the incidence of other forms of maltreatment towards women. The construct OTSH is typically assessed with the Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (Dekker & Barling, 1998; Hulin, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1996). This and other similar scales (e.g., Union Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory, Bulger. 2001; Tolerance of Sexual Harassment in the Army scale, Rosen & Martin, 1998) assess the tolerance for sexual harassment as a whole, without reporting or making distinctions for specific facets of harassment. Workplace tolerance for different kinds of sexual and sexist hostility is an area that requires further study before it can be properly addressed in a meta-analysis.

Harmful Workplace Experiences within a Stress Framework

In this meta-analysis harmful workplace experiences are studied within a general stress framework (Hobfoll, 1989; Lazarus & Folkman, 1986). Stress is understood as a specific relationship between people and their environment, when the environment is perceived as threatening and exceeding personal resources, and their well-being is believed to be in danger (Lazarus & Folkman, 1986). Harmful workplace experiences are psychosocial stressors (Lazarus & Folkman, 1991); they take place within interpersonal relations, can cause harm, and require adaptive responses (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Rospenda et al., 2009).

Why would women appraise negative attitudes towards their gender, discrimination, and harassment as stressful events? A situation is evaluated as stressful when it involves any of three conditions (Hobfoll, 1989): (a) when people experience a loss of resources; (b) when people's resources are threatened; or (c) when people have invested their resources without gaining anything in return. Hobfoll (1989) and colleagues (Hobfoll, Dunahoo, Ben-Porath, & Monnier, 1994; Hobfoll & Leiberman, 1987) outlined four categories of resources: (a) object resources (e.g., houses, cars, clothes); (b) condition resources (e.g., employment, job level); (c) personal resources (e.g., self-esteem, skill, physical health); and (d) energy resources (e.g., means to attain other resources, such as actual money or credit).

Harmful workplace experiences have the potential to have an impact on all types of resources that Hobfoll identified. For instance, sexist discrimination directly affects women's condition resources (e.g., getting a promotion) and energy resources (e.g., salary and bonuses) and indirectly affects their object resources (e.g., possibility of buying a car or a house) and personal resources (e.g., feelings of self-worth). Experiences of harassment and a sexist organizational climate directly affect women's personal resources and in the long term their condition and energy resources, leading to the same outcomes as those related to other life stressors.

Intensity and Frequency of Harmful Workplace Experiences

Harmful workplace experiences have been described as "more severe" (e.g., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) or "less severe" (e.g., gender harassment, sexist discrimination, a sexist organizational climate, and OTSH) (Varhama et al., 2010; Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, & Edel, 2008; Powell, 2012), based on the levels of threat and potential harm in a single event. For instance, Varhama et al. (2010) and Gruber et al. (1996) have argued that experiences of sexual assault and sexual coercion are more distressing than unwanted sexual attention and gender harassment. Similarly, the importance of gender harassment is often downplayed, under the assumption that it does not have a negative influence on relevant outcomes (Munson, Hulin, & Drasgow, 2000). Hershcovis & Barling (2010) have also indicated that gender harassment is arguably less intense than unwanted sexual attention or coercion.

A large proportion of the population think that sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention at work are not acceptable. At the same time, individuals see sexist jokes and sexist language at work as less problematic (Australian Human Rights Commission [AHRC], 2008; Ford et al., 2008; Powell, 2012). This is of concern because sexist jokes and comments are some of the most explicit and effective ways to create and perpetuate a sexist organizational climate (Boxer & Ford, 2010; Ford et al., 2008). There is extensive research showing that people typically fail to identify these and other abusive behaviors as forms of hostile sexual harassment (AHRC, 2008; Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Rosen & Martin, 1998; Rospenda et al., 2009) or as potentially damaging sexist work experiences (Powell, 2012). Similarly, discrimination against women at work is often downplayed and justified as the consequence of alleged merit-based systems and processes (United Nations Women National Committee Australia, 2015). Perceptions that abuses are less intense may normalize these workplace experiences, lead to toleration of them, and make it less likely that they will trigger actions to stop them (Powell, 2012; Riger, 1991; Summers, 1996).

When individuals separate sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention as more damaging than gender harassment, sexist organizational climate, OTSH and sexist discrimination, they are considering the intensity of the events (i.e., the potential for the events to cause physical and psychological trauma in a single encounter); but they disregard the pervasiveness of occurrence of the experiences (Langhout et al., 2005). It might be useful to differentiate between the frequencies of harmful workplace experiences at the population level and at the individual level. Gender harassment, sexist organizational climates, gender-based discrimination, and OTSH appear to be more prevalent across the population than sexual coercion or unwanted sexual attention (AHRC, 2008; Gettman & Gelfand, 2007; Murrell et al., 1995; Powell, 2012; Sandroff, 1992; Summers, 1996). However, it is possible that individual female targets of sexual coercion or unwanted sexual attention actually have experienced these forms of harassment frequently. Studies of frequency of different forms of sexual harassment at the individual level have shown that women experience gender harassment more often (i.e., in several more times during a given period) than sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention (Rosen & Martin, 1998; Shaffer et al., 2000).

Gender-based discrimination in employment, performance evaluations, salary, and career advancement (Dunlea, Sojo, Thiel, & Westbrook, 2015; European Commission, 2012; Genat, Wood, & Sojo, 2012; McCann, 2013; Schmitt et al., 2002; Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005), sexist comments and jokes at work (Ford et al., 2008; Powell, 2012: Rosen & Martin, 1998), and feeling that the organization is fertile ground for harassment or expecting that the organization will not act to protect you if you are a target of sexual harassment (AHRC, 2008; Sandroff, 1992; Summers, 1996) might not be perceived as experiences that can cause immediate physical or psychological trauma, but they are still very prevalent in the population and operate as everyday hassles.

Less intense but more common harmful workplace experiences can have subtle effects with an accumulative impact over time. The frequencies may create a context that fosters more extreme forms of abuse (Fitzgerald, 1993; Nielsen, Bjørkelo, Notelaers, & Einarsen, 2010). Furthermore, less extreme forms of harassment often come from several different sources, making them more difficult to escape, more normative, and harder to demonstrate as wrong (Berdahl, 2007a; Ford et al., 2008). For example, women commonly experience questions about their competencies to perform their jobs (Genat et al., 2012), lower pay for doing the same jobs (Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005), and fewer opportunities to progress their careers and access managerial roles (Dunlea et al., 2015) relative to their equally qualified male counterparts. The pervasiveness of these experiences makes them very harmful over time and with repeated exposure across situations. While an incident of sexual coercion might be highly traumatic for the woman directly affected and others in her immediate workplace (Gruber et al., 1996), it is possible that sexist events of low intensity at work, which are much more widespread, occur more frequently, and are rarely challenged, may have much greater negative impacts on the well-being of women (Charlesworth, McDonald, & Cerise, 2011; Fitzgerald, 1993; Nielsen et al., 2010).

Hypothesis 1: High frequency/low intensity harmful workplace experiences (e.g., gender harassment, sexist discrimination, sexist organizational climate, and OTSH) will have an effect on women's occupational well-being,that will be as detrimental as low-frequency/high-intensity experiences (e.g., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention).

Proximal and Distal Indicators of Women's Occupational Well-being

Experiences of threats to women's resources could have several important consequences. Harmful workplace experiences are typically followed by initial negative emotional reactions towards the sources of the threat and the environment where threats take place. Those negative, affective reactions, sustained over time, could impair women's health (Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). An additive model of well-being posits that proximal reactions to specific aspects of one's life have an accumulative impact on more distal health outcomes that are not domain specific (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). Models of work stress and organizational climate argue that the effects of employees' perceptions of the organizational climate on individual and organizational outcomes are mediated through work attitudes (Carr, Schmidt, Ford, & DeShon, 2003; Kelloway & Barling, 1991).

In the present meta-analysis we focus on work attitudes as proximal outcomes and health as distal outcomes. Work attitudes and health are the most widely studied indicators of occupational well-being that can be affected by harmful workplace experiences. Focusing on them allows for a more robust evaluation of the impact of harmful workplace experiences. Work attitudes (e.g., organizational commitment, job satisfaction and its facets) are markers of the quality of the relationship between the employees and their work environment; they have been shown to be associated with workers' health and performance (Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005; Fried, Shirom, Gilboa, & Cooper, 2008; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Meyer & Maltin, 2010). Organizational stressors typically lead to negative affective reactions, including job dissatisfaction and reduced organizational commitment (Munson et al., 2000).

Interpersonal stressors in occupational contexts, such as the harmful workplace experiences studied in this metaanalysis, are expected to have a larger effect on emotional reactions towards the psychosocial aspects of the work context
that are the source of the stress, such as dissatisfaction with co-workers and supervisors. Two previous meta-analyses with
mixed samples of men and women support this idea. Topa Cantisano, Morales Domínguez, and Depolo (2008) found that
overall sexual harassment (a psychosocial organizational stressor) was more strongly negatively associated with supervisor
satisfaction and co-worker satisfaction than with overall job satisfaction. Similarly, Willness et al. (2007) found that sexual
harassment was more strongly negatively associated with supervisor satisfaction and co-worker satisfaction than with work
satisfaction (satisfaction with the nature of the tasks performed at work). Topa Cantisano et al. (2008) argued that sexual
harassment should have a stronger impact on the psychosocial facets of job satisfaction (e.g., supervisor satisfaction and coworker satisfaction) than on the evaluations of more concrete work aspects (e.g., work satisfaction). However, no previous
meta-analysis has considered the association of sexist organizational climate and sexist discrimination with these outcomes.

Hypothesis 2: Harmful workplace experiences will have a stronger negative impact on co-worker and supervision satisfaction than on work satisfaction.

Several studies in the area of stress and trauma have shown the negative effect of stressful events, both life events and everyday hassles, on physical health (Baum & Posluszny, 1999; Everson-Rose & Lewis, 2005) and mental health (Goldmann & Galea, 2014). In many studies linking stress with health, negative affect such as anger, hostility, resentment, and job dissatisfaction have been shown to be mediating mechanisms (Everson-Rose & Lewis, 2005; Kelly, Hertzman, & Daniels, 1997; Kiecolt-Glaser, McGuire, Robles, & Glaser, 2002). The negative affect associated with stressful events can trigger physiological responses (e.g., heightened blood pressure, heart rate, and cortisol secretion) as well as psychological responses (e.g., cognitive dissonance, and desire to escape), both of which, if sustained over time, could impair the targets' well-being (Barling et al., 2001; Bergman, 2003; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Both the acute experience of an intense stressful event and chronic exposure to stressors have been associated with stress reactions that, over time, lead to disorders such as increased blood glucose, infections, cardiovascular diseases, depression, anxiety disorders, and PTSD (Kiecolt-Glaser et al., 2002; Krantz & McCeney, 2002; Miller, Chen, & Cole, 2009; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Steptoe & Kivimaki, 2013).

The negative emotional reactions women display towards elements of their jobs (e.g., job dissatisfaction, lower organizational commitment) following harmful workplace experiences might mediate the relation between those experiences and distal health indicators. However, some authors have established a distinction between low-frequency/high-intensity versus high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences and how they affect health outcomes (Varhama et al., 2010; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). High-intensity events (e.g., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) present a higher level of threat and the potential for immediate harm; they are expected to have a direct negative effect on women's health. Harmful workplace experiences of high frequency but low intensity that signal a hostile work environment (e.g., gender harassment, sexist organizational climate, and OTSH) may impact health via the accumulative, recurrent, and negative affective reactions towards the work context (e.g., high dissatisfaction with co-workers and supervisor and lower organizational commitment). These relations are shown in Figure 2.

Hypothesis 3: The relation between high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences and health will be mediated by work attitudes; the relation of low-frequency/high-intensity experiences with health will be partially mediated by work attitudes, having also a direct association with health.

Controlling for Other Job Stressors

Stressors that can affect women's well-being include but are not restricted to harmful experiences at work. Job stressors such as poorly planned, excessive, and tedious tasks, job uncertainty, and physical risks are typically evaluated as threatening and exceeding personal resources (Goldenhar, Swanson, Hurrell, Ruder, & Deddens, 1998). The relative effects of harmful work experiences on female well-being compared to other job stressors are important to the current study. Failure to consider harmful workplace experiences in the studies of job stress, and vice versa, will give inaccurate estimates of the full impact that potential stressors can have on occupational well-being (Rospenda et al., 2009).

In the present study we compare the association between women's occupational well-being and harmful workplace experiences, with other common job stressors (Cooper & Cartwright, 2001) that are not based on interpersonal conflicts (e.g., job overload, role conflict, job tedium, role ambiguity, responsibility for others, and poor physical job conditions). We use classic meta-analytic procedures and path-analysis in this process. Some studies of job stressors include measures of overall occupational stress (e.g., Cortina et al., 2002; Vinokur, Pierce, & Buck, 1999), whereas others measure specific stressful events such as job overload (e.g., Lyness & Thompson, 1997) or job monotony (e.g., Grandey, Cordeiro, & Crouter, 2005) in their relation with occupational well-being outcomes and harmful workplace experiences.

In a previous meta-analysis (Bowling & Beehr, 2006), with mixed samples of men and women, workplace harassment was related to several occupational well-being outcomes (e.g., burnout, physical health, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction) even after role ambiguity and role conflict were controlled. These results were interpreted as indicating that work harassment had a fairly independent effect on the well-being outcomes, distinct from the effect of other job stressors. However, no previous meta-analysis has evaluated the impact of different gender-based harmful workplace experiences on occupational well-being after controlling for the effect of other job stressors included in this meta-analysis.

Hypothesis 4: The impact of harmful workplace experiences on women's occupational well-being will be significant after controlling for other job stressors.

Harmful Workplace Experiences and Male-Dominated Contexts

Previous research has identified several variables as possible moderators of the association between harmful workplace experiences and occupational well-being (Bowling & Beehr, 2006). We focus on the power and status differentials of men and women, as indexed by the representation of women in the organizations studied. In organizations, as in society, gender is used to differentiate between individuals, to allocate roles, and to define individuals' status (Fiske, Haslam, & Fiske, 1991). Men are typically accorded higher status than their female counterparts in cultures, societies (Hopcroft, 2009; Ridgeway, 1991), and organizations (Andes, 1992; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). This higher status is associated with greater access to, and control over, key resources (Deere & Doss, 2006; Weichselbaumer & Winter-Ebmer, 2005). Harmful behaviors by men towards women help them to preserve their higher status in the gender hierarchy and the associated benefits.

The effects of the lower status and lower power of women in the hierarchy of gender identities is exacerbated in male-dominated contexts (Berdahl, 2007a). Women have less power and lower status when the gender ratio of their occupation is heavily biased towards men (Miner-Rubino, Settles, & Stewart, 2009); this increases the risk of women being seen as "easy targets" for harmful experiences. At the same time, men have more to lose from perceived challenges to their higher status as the dominant group. Women who work in male dominated occupations are often perceived as counter-stereotypical. Women who behave counter-stereotypically (e.g., express feminist views, display masculine traits) are more likely to be harassed (Berdahl, 2007b; Maass, Cadinu, Guarnieri, & Grasselli, 2003).

Hypothesis 5: The association between harmful workplace experiences and women's occupational well-being will be significantly more negative in male-dominated work environments compared to more gender-balanced work contexts.

The Meta-Analysis

In the present meta-analysis we focus on understanding the impact of harmful workplace experiences on women. Women are the targets for the majority of harmful workplace experiences. Also, the psychosocial experience of harmful encounters at work is fundamentally different for men and women (Gutek, 1985; Welsh, 1999). Women and men identify different actions as cases of sexual harassment (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996); they experience different levels of hostility and degradation (Parker & Griffin, 2002), and they have different perceptions of the perpetrators of sexual harassment (Dougherty, 2006). In addition, the most widely used measures of gendered and sexualized harmful workplace experiences were designed for female respondents (e.g., Bergman, 2003; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gruber, 1998). Measures of general, gendered, and sexualized, harmful workplace experiences that cover the full spectrum of experiences that both men and women might encounter is an area that requires further research (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Willness et al., 2007).

Previous meta-analyses have successfully conceptualized discrimination, work harassment, and sexual harassment within a stress framework and have established their negative association with diverse well-being indicators (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan et al., 2008; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Willness et al., 2007). Willness, et al. (2007) hinted at disparities in the impact of different forms of sexual harassment on well-being. However, studies have taken an undifferentiated view of harmful experiences, analyzing overall sexual harassment, without analyzing different types of harmful experiences, or comparing gender-based stress with other sources of work stress (Chan et al., 2008; Willness et al., 2007). Other meta-analyses also have considered only general job satisfaction (Lapierre, Spector, & Leck, 2005) or other well-being outcomes, such as job and work withdrawal (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010); they have excluded life satisfaction or physical health, which are considered in the present meta-analysis. Finally, to our knowledge, no other meta-analysis has described and compared the effect of a sexist organizational climate and sexist discrimination with each other, and with work harassment, sexual harassment, and other work stressors.

The present meta-analysis aims to provide answers to the following questions: (1) Are there differences between high-frequency/low-intensity and low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences in their impacts on women's occupational well-being? (2) Are these harmful workplace experiences as detrimental for women's occupational well-being as other job stressors? (3) How does women's relative representation in the organization affect the relation between harmful workplace experiences and women's well-being? (4) What is the effect of harmful workplace experiences on women's occupational well-being after controlling for job stressors? (5) Do work attitudes mediate the relation between harmful workplace experiences and women's health?

Method

Data Collection

We searched electronic databases to identify relevant published research including EBSCO (Academic, Business and Education, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences), ERIC, Health Business Elite, Health Source: Nursing/Academic Edition, MEDLINE, MasterFILE Premier, PsycINFO, SocINDEX, and Emerald. The keywords that we used were combinations of women, gender, aggression, violence, sexism, sexual harassment, work harassment, incivility, bullying, mobbing, discrimination, stress, job stress with health, well-being, cardio*, blood pressure, smok*, alcohol* depress*, anxiety, distress, mental, occupational health, work attitudes, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. We also searched through the reference lists of previous meta-analyses (Bowling & Beehr, 2006; Chan et al., 2008; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Lapierre et al., 2005; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Willness et al., 2007). No limit by year of publication was established for these searches. Approximately 3000 articles were identified and screened by at least two of the authors.

Articles were excluded when they were not empirical (e.g., literature reviews), if they were not published in a peerreview journal (e.g., dissertations and book chapters), if they did not include independent results for women, if the samples
were not employed at the time of data collection or did not report on their situation as workers, if the study did not examine
at least one indicator of health or work attitudes, and if the study did not include zero-order correlations between the relevant
variables or have statistics that could be transformed to correlations (e.g., F, t, X^2). A number of studies contained data
collected from the same samples but reported results for different combinations of variables (e.g., Langhout et al., 2005;
Murry, Sivasubramaniam, & Jacques, 2001). The relevant data were extracted from those studies without violating the
independence of observations.

We decided to work only with published articles to avoid studies that had not been peer-reviewed. Authors were contacted when data were not complete, when we identified mistakes in the labeling of some variables, and when we needed to clarify if authors had more than one publication from the same data set. Given that we worked exclusively with published research, we conducted publication bias analyses and the results indicated it was very unlikely any of our findings were affected by publication bias (see *Publication bias* in the *Results* section below). The screening process resulted in the inclusion of 88 studies with 93 independent samples and 73,877 participants published from 1985 to 2012¹.

Coding Categories

The first step in the coding process was to review previous research to examine the definitions of variables and to identify the items used to measure them. We then created conceptually based categories for grouping the different variables (see McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005, for a similar approach). The three authors discussed the categories until reaching 100% agreement about their content. Variables were subdivided into indicators of occupational well-being

¹ The references of the meta-analyzed studies are in Table S1 in the Supplemental materials.

(i.e., work attitudes and individual health), harmful workplace experiences (i.e., forms of harassment and sexism), and job stressors.

Indicators of occupational well-being were grouped into two categories of *proximal* and *distal* indices. Five *proximal* indicators were analyzed with measures of: organizational commitment (i.e., general organizational commitment or affective commitment), job satisfaction (i.e., overall evaluations of the job with items either targeting different dimensions of the job or different emotional reactions towards the job), work satisfaction (i.e., evaluations towards the work tasks performed), coworker satisfaction and supervision satisfaction (i.e., affective or evaluative reactions towards the co-workers and towards the supervisor, respectively). Four measures of women's health were used as *distal* indicators of occupational well-being: general health (i.e., mixed indicators of physical and psychological health outcomes), physical health (e.g., self-reported physical problems and diagnosed physical symptoms), mental health (e.g., anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, burnout, and psychological distress), and satisfaction with life (i.e., affective reactions towards the personal life and towards roles such as parent and spouse).

Harmful workplace experience categories included non-gender-based work harassment, sexual harassment, organizational tolerance for sexual harassment (OTSH), and sexism at work. This last category was further divided into sexist discrimination and sexist organizational climate. Non-gender-based work harassment was measured with behavioral lists, frequency-based scales that included both physical and psychological forms of harassment. In most studies, the responses to the different items were reported as a single composite indicator.

The different measures of sexual harassment were categorized as those that asked the respondents to acknowledge harassment (i.e., direct question whether the participant had experienced sexual harassment), report experiences of harassment (i.e., behavioral lists to report *presence* or *absence* of harassment events or behavioral list to report frequency of experience; the authors dichotomized the latter), or report the frequency of experiencing harassment (i.e., behavioral lists to report how often the harassing event took place). In studies evaluating how frequently individual women experienced each kind of sexual harassment, associations were reported for either the general sexual harassment or for the facets of sexual harassment (i.e., gender harassment, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual attention); these categories also were analyzed. The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ; Fitzgerald et al., 1995), in its several versions, is the most widely used measure of sexual harassment. We analyzed the associations of sexual harassment measured with the SEQ versus the other measures of sexual harassment.

We also compared the summary effect sizes of high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., frequency of gender harassment, sexist discrimination, sexist organizational climate, and OTSH) with the summary effect of low-frequency/high-intensity experiences (i.e., frequency of sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) for each outcome variable. One general category of job stressors was analyzed, which comprised measures of events such as role

ambiguity, job monotony, and work overload. Definitions of variables and examples of measures for each of them are presented in Table 1^2 .

For the moderation analysis, we classified the studies into those conducted in male-dominated work environments (e.g., armed forces, mining, basic science) versus studies done in general work environments (e.g., social sciences, day care, schools, and samples from mixed contexts). To guide the categorization of the samples, we used previous research with classifications of actual and perceived gender representation in occupational sectors (i.e., studies where participants were asked to rate how stereotypically masculine or feminine an occupation was or to estimate the representation of women and men in an occupation; e.g., Bouazzaoui & Mullet, 2012; Johnson, Podratz, Dipboye, & Gibbons, 2010) and government reports (e.g., European Commission's Expert Group on Gender and Employment, 2009; International Labour Office, 2012). The classification for each study can be found in the Supplemental materials in Table S1.

One of the authors and two research assistants independently coded for the reference of the publication, country, age, work context of the sample, variables' name, measurement, internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's alpha), and the effect size and sample size of the association between the variables. The results of the three independent coding processes were compared and discrepancies in coding were resolved with discussions until 100% agreement was reached (see Table S1 in the Supplemental materials for full data set coded).

Meta-Analytic Procedures

The meta-analysis methods were based on recommendations by Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, and Rothstein (2009) and Hunter and Schmidt (2004). First, we converted different effect sizes to a common statistic r. The sample correlations were transformed to Fisher's z for all calculations and transformed back to correlation units for interpretations (see Borenstein et al., 2009, pp. 42 & 48, for transformation formulas). Second, variables were coded so that a higher number would reflect more of the variable as defined by a category; correlation signs were reversed when necessary. Third, correlations obtained from the same sample evaluating the same variables were averaged to prevent violation of observations' independence. The final set for this section of the meta-analysis included 403 correlations. Fourth, sample-size weighted mean effect sizes and Q statistics were computed using random-effects models. Fifth, we calculated corrected mean effect sizes (i.e., r_c) by adjusting for measurement error. Mean reliability for each variable was used to correct for measurement error (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). Table 2 presents the reliability distributions of the measures. Finally, we computed the confidence intervals around the corrected mean effect sizes (see Table S2 in Online Supplements for the extended results) following Hunter and Schmidt's (2004) approach.

Results

The presentation of results follows the hypotheses. First, we report the meta-analytic results for the relations of harmful workplace experiences and job stressors with indicators of women's occupational well-being. In this section, we

² Definitions of coding fields and all data coded are in Table S1 in the Supplemental materials

address Hypothesis 1 by comparing the magnitude of the effect sizes of the more intense/less frequent harmful experiences (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) with those for more frequent/less intense experiences (i.e., gender harassment, OTSH, sexist discrimination, and sexist organizational climate). We also compare the association of the different harmful workplace experiences with co-worker and supervisor satisfaction versus work satisfaction, to evaluate Hypothesis 2. We then report the path analyses to evaluate the mediating effect of work attitudes in the relation of the different harmful workplace experiences and job stress with mental health to evaluate Hypothesis 3 and 4. Finally, we address Hypothesis 5 and present the publication bias results. Only statistically significant associations are described. Summary effect sizes were considered significant when their 95% confidence intervals did not include zero. Differences between effect sizes were considered significant when the 95% confidence intervals of the effect sizes analyzed did not overlap. The magnitude of significant effects was interpreted using Cohen's (1988) categorization: small effects are $r_c < .29$, medium effects are $.30 < r_c < .49$, and large effects are $r_c > .50$.

Hypothesis 1

High-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences (e.g., gender harassment, sexist discrimination, sexist organizational climate, and OTSH) were expected to have an impact on women's occupational well-being as detrimental as low-frequency/high-intensity experiences (e.g., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention).

Correlates of general work attitudes. The results for women's organizational commitment and job satisfaction (see Table 3) indicate that high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences ($r_c = -.24$; 95% CI = -.30, -.17) had a significantly stronger association with organizational commitment than low-frequency/high-intensity experiences ($r_c = -.13$; 95% CI = -.16, -.10). Similarly, high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences ($r_c = -.36$; 95% CI = -.41, -.31) had a significantly stronger association with job satisfaction than low-frequency/high-intensity experiences ($r_c = -.18$; 95% CI = -.20, -.15).

To be more specific, both OTSH ($r_c = -.29$; 95% CI = -.40, -.18) and sexist organizational climate ($r_c = -.28$; 95% CI = -.39, -.16) had significantly larger associations with organizational commitment than sexual coercion ($r_c = -.12$; 95% CI = -.13, -.10). Sexist discrimination ($r_c = -.43$; 95% CI = -.56, -.29) and sexist organizational climate ($r_c = -.47$; 95% CI = -.56, -.37) had significantly larger associations with job satisfaction than sexual coercion ($r_c = -.15$; 95% CI = -.18, -.13) and unwanted sexual attention ($r_c = -.20$; 95% CI = -.22, -.17). Also, OTSH ($r_c = -.27$; 95% CI = -.32, -.21) had a significantly larger association with job satisfaction than sexual coercion.

In general, harmful experiences had a stronger negative relation with women's job satisfaction than with their organizational commitment, although most correlations were small. Frequency-based measures of sexual harassment were more strongly related to work attitudes than the other methods. However, only one of these differences was significant: the reported frequency of sexual harassment ($r_c = -.30$; 95% CI = -.37, -.23) had a significantly larger association with job satisfaction than acknowledged sexual harassment ($r_c = -.11$; 95% CI = -.19, -.04).

Correlates of specific work attitudes. The results of analyses of women's satisfaction with work, co-workers, and supervision (see Table 4) showed no significant difference in the association of high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences with any of the specific work attitudes, compared to the associations of these outcome variables with low-frequency/high-intensity experiences. However, in all cases high-frequency/low-intensity experiences presented stronger associations. Comparing the specific harmful workplace experiences, sexist discrimination ($r_c = -.49$; 95% CI = -.63, -.34) had a significantly larger association with co-worker satisfaction than sexual coercion ($r_c = -.16$; 95% CI = -.27, -.06), and unwanted sexual attention ($r_c = -.21$; 95% CI = -.32, -.10). Sexist discrimination ($r_c = -.29$; 95% CI = -.39, -.19) had significantly larger associations with work satisfaction than sexual coercion ($r_c = -.12$; 95% CI = -.15, -.10). The harmful work experiences and job stressors were negatively correlated with all three specific work attitudes.

Correlates of general and physical well-being. The associations of the harmful workplace experiences and job stressors with general and physical health are presented in Table 5. All effects were negative and mostly small. High frequency/low intensity harmful workplace experiences ($r_c = -.18$; 95% CI = -.22, -.15) had a significantly stronger association with general health than low-frequency/high-intensity experiences ($r_c = -.12$; 95% CI = -.14, -.10). No significant difference was observed in the association of high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences with physical health, compared to the associations of this outcome with low-frequency/high-intensity experiences. However, when the specific experiences were compared in their impact, sexist discrimination had a significantly higher correlation with physical health ($r_c = -.38$; 95% CI = -.48, -.28) than sexual coercion ($r_c = -.17$; 95% CI = -.19, -.14) and unwanted sexual attention ($r_c = -.18$; 95% CI = -.21, -.16).

Correlates of psychological well-being. Results for mental health and life satisfaction are in Table 6. All the correlates had stronger negative associations with women's mental health than with their life satisfaction. However, all the correlations were small or medium. No significant difference was observed in the association of high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences with mental health, compared to the associations of this variable with low-frequency/high-intensity experiences. There were no studies evaluating the association of life satisfaction with sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention.

In summary, supporting Hypothesis 1, high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences were as detrimental for women's occupational well-being as the low-frequency/high-intensity experiences. It is important to note that high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences were significantly more detrimental to women's organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and general health than low-frequency/high-intensity ones.

Hypothesis 2

Harmful workplace experiences were expected to have a larger negative impact on the satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors than on the satisfaction with work tasks. The relevant results are presented in Table 4. Supporting our hypothesis, all the harmful workplace experiences had stronger negative associations with co-worker satisfaction and supervision satisfaction than with work satisfaction.

However, only some of these differences were significant. Overall sexual harassment had significantly stronger relations with both co-worker satisfaction ($r_c = -.24$; 95% CI = -.29, -.20) and supervisor satisfaction ($r_c = -.27$; 95% CI = -.32, -.22) than with work satisfaction ($r_c = -.14$; 95% CI = -.20, -.07). The same was observed with frequency of sexual harassment, which had stronger relations with both co-worker satisfaction ($r_c = -.27$; 95% CI = -.31, -.22) and supervisor satisfaction ($r_c = -.27$; 95% CI = -.32, -.22) than with work satisfaction ($r_c = -.14$; 95% CI = -.21, -.07). Low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences had a stronger association with supervision satisfaction ($r_c = -.33$; 95% CI = -.45, -.20) than with work satisfaction ($r_c = -.15$; 95% CI = -.17, -.13); these results mirrored specifically the effect of unwanted sexual attention. Sexism at work had a stronger association with co-worker satisfaction ($r_c = -.43$; 95% CI = -.52, -.34) than with work satisfaction ($r_c = -.23$; 95% CI = -.31, -.15); these results reflected specifically the effect of sexist organizational climate.

Hypothesis 3

It was expected that the relation between high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences and health would be mediated by work attitudes, whereas the relation of low-frequency/high-intensity experiences with health would be partially mediated by work attitudes, and have a direct association with health. To evaluate this hypothesis we conducted a path-analysis. The meta-analysis described so far provided estimates of the associations between two variables (e.g., summary correlation of OTSH and mental health), but did not provide a test of a model that includes harmful workplace experiences, job stress, and occupational well-being. Classic meta-analytic procedures do not analyze the unique variance explained by variables in a model. Path analysis was used to explore how harmful workplace experiences relate to proximal and distal occupational well-being outcomes after controlling for job stress, and to study the relations of the harmful workplace experiences with the health outcomes, which were expected to be at least partially mediated by the work attitudes.

Ideally, we would have tested the impact of all the harmful workplace experiences and job stressors on all the proximal and distal indicators of well-being. However, the lack of studies including all these variables meant that we could not test a single model with all variables in the meta-analysis. A relation was only included in the model when there were at least two independent studies evaluating the association between two variables.

Enough data were available to evaluate a model with organizational commitment, co-worker satisfaction, supervision satisfaction, and work satisfaction as mediators in the relation between high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., OTSH and gender harassment), low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention), and job stressors as predictors with mental health as the outcome (see Figure 3). The meta-analyzed pairwise correlations matrix used to test the structural model is in Table 7.

In previous empirical studies using structural equation modeling, OTSH has been treated as a predictor of sexual harassment, and not as a direct predictor of work attitudes or health outcomes (e.g., Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Glomb et al., 1997). In the introduction we argued that the exposure to an organizational climate that

tolerates sexual harassment is in itself a form of discrimination that violates women's right to just and favorable conditions at work (United Nations General Assembly, 1948) and the right to a life free from violence (United Nations General Assembly, 1993), which could have a direct impact on women's occupational well-being (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Following this notion, we evaluated the association of OTSH, not as a predictor of sexual harassment, but as a high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experience that could have a direct detrimental effect on women's work attitudes.

We tested a model in which the association between the harmful workplace experiences and mental health were fully mediated by the work attitudes. We then compared the original model with another model in which the low-frequency/high-intensity experiences (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) and job stress were allowed to directly predict mental health.

The path analysis of the correlation matrix was conducted using a generalized least square estimator on AMOS 20.0 (Arbuckle, 2011). Chi-square *p* values are only asymptotically correct with infinitely large samples from perfectly multivariate normal distributions; this condition might not apply for data comprised of many samples. The delta-chi-square tests for nested models relies on the same assumptions. Therefore *p*-values of the chi-square tests should be interpreted with caution. Considering this, we used a variety of indices to evaluate the fit of the models (Hu & Bentler, 1998; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993): the Comparative Fix Index (CFI), the Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI), and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), along with the standard chi-square statistic. Values of .95 for the CFI and AGFI, and .05 for the RMSEA, were used as cut-offs representing a good fit of the data to the model. Structural equation modeling assumes a constant sample size for all observed correlations; however, the matrix we used contained different sample sizes for many of the meta-analytic correlations. Alternative approaches for handling this issue are to use the harmonic mean of the sample sizes (e.g., Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007) or the lowest sample size (e.g., Carr et al., 2003). We opted for the conservative approach of using the smallest sample size of 681 participants. Results using the harmonic mean were not different in model fit or conclusions drawn.

We first tested the full model shown in Figure 3. Because of the correlation between work attitudes the residuals of these constructs were allowed to freely covary (for similar approaches see Carr et al., 2003). This model had a significant chi-square test, X^2 (5, N = 681) = 97.6, p < .01, and poor fit (AGFI = .68; CFI = .88; RMSEA = .17). To evaluate Hypothesis 3, we tested a revised model adding direct paths from job stress, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual attention to mental health. The changes significantly increased the model fit, shown by a significantly reduced chi-square, ΔX^2 (3, N = 681) = 94.14, p < .01. The revised model had a non-significant chi-square, X^2 (2, N = 681) = 3.47, p = .18, and good fit indices (AGFI = .97; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .03). Finally, we tested a revised model removing paths with non-significant standardized regression coefficients. This final model, presented in Figure 4, also had a non-significant chi-square, X^2 (12, X^2) and the fit indices showed a good model fit (AGFI = .98; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .01). Even though no

significant difference was observed between the two revised models, ΔX^2 (10, N = 681) = 9.03, p = .53, there was an increase in AGFI and reduction in RMSEA in this more parsimonious model.

In this final model, gender harassment had a significant negative association with co-worker satisfaction and unwanted sexual attention was negatively related to satisfaction with supervision and work. Job stressors, sexual coercion, and unwanted sexual attention had direct negative relations with mental health. After allowing for these direct effects, supervision satisfaction was no longer a significant predictor of mental health³.

The effect of gender harassment on mental health was mediated by co-worker satisfaction, whereas the effect of OTSH on mental health was mediated by organizational commitment, co-worker satisfaction, and work-satisfaction. Also, sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention were directly linked to mental health. This pattern of results is consistent with Hypothesis 3. Job stressors and OTSH remained significant predictors of all the work attitudes, indicating their independent contribution to occupational well-being outcomes. The reduced partially mediated model in Figure 4 is a reasonable representation of the population path model relating women's experiences of high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., OTSH and gender harassment), low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention), and job stressors with work attitudes and mental health.

Hypothesis 4

We hypothesized that the impact of harmful workplace experiences on women's occupational well-being would be significant after controlling for other job stressors.

The results of the path-analysis (see Figure 4) indicate that all of the harmful workplace experiences analyzed were still significantly associated with one or more occupational well-being indicator in a model controlling for job stress. These results suggest the independent negative contribution that being exposed to these specific harmful workplace experiences could have on women's occupational well-being, apart from the effect of other common work stressors such as work overload, job monotony, or role ambiguity.

Hypothesis 5

It was expected that the association between harmful workplace experiences and women's occupational well-being would be significantly more negative in male-dominated work environments compared to more gender-balanced work contexts. To evaluate this hypothesis, we compared samples of women working in male-dominated environments with women working in mixed contexts. The subgroup moderation analyses were conducted only when the Q heterogeneity statistic was significant (Borenstein et al., 2009) and when the smallest group had at least 4 independent samples. The subgroup method proposed by Hunter and Schmidt (2004) was used. Separate meta-analyses were conducted for each subgroup and moderation was assumed when the 95% confidence intervals of the r_c of the sub-groups did not overlap.

³ To evaluate the robustness of these results, we also conducted the same set of analyses, this time excluding job stress from the model. The same pattern of results and level of significance of associations was observed in these models. The only exception was that in the final model excluding job stress, supervision satisfaction was still a significant predictor of mental health, however with a b = .09, p = .04.

Male-dominated (versus mixed) work environments did not significantly moderate the association of sexual harassment with mental health; in all cases the confidence intervals across the two contexts overlapped (see Table 8). However, all the facets of sexual harassment and both low-frequency/high-intensity and high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences had stronger negative associations with women's mental health when they were working in male-dominated contexts than for women working in mixed settings⁴.

Publication Bias

Because we only used published studies in this meta-analysis, we explored the potential impact of publication bias on summary correlations that were based on three or more studies. To analyze bias, we computed Egger's regression intercept. The inverse of the standard error (i.e., an indicator of study precision) was used to predict the standardized effect (i.e., effect size divided by the standard error). Publication bias is inferred when the intercept of this equation is significant (Borenstein et al., 2009). The trim and fill approach was used to analyze symmetry in the funnel plot (i.e., graphic representation of the standard errors and effect sizes in each summary effect). When asymmetry was observed the method estimated the missing effect sizes necessary to make the plot symmetric, and added the imputed effects to recalculate the summary effects (Duval & Tweedie, 2000). Finally, we used the classic fail-safe *N* (i.e., file-drawer analysis) to compute the number of studies necessary to nullify the observed significant summary effects (Borenstein et al., 2009).

Table S2 in Online Supplements presents the extended results. Only three significant summary effects might be inflated by the exclusion of null studies: the correlation of work harassment and general health (r = -.13, p < .01) had a fail-safe N of 10, the summary effect of non-SEQ measures with work satisfaction (r = -.12, p < .01) had a fail-safe N of 9, and the correlation of sexism at work with general health (r = -.17, p < .01) had a fail-safe N of 10. However, the Egger's regression intercepts and the trim and fill results for these three effects did not indicate publication bias. Changes to mitigate potential publication bias do not affect the interpretation of the results of the meta-analysis. These analyses indicate that it is unlikely unpublished data would change the results or should be of concern.

Summary of Findings

The results of this meta-analysis led to several conclusions. High frequency/low intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., sexist discrimination, sexist organizational climate, OTSH, and gender harassment) appeared as detrimental for women's occupational well-being as low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention). Similarly, the harmful workplace experiences were as detrimental for women's occupational well-being as the job stressors. The harmful workplace experiences were still significant predictors of women's occupational well-being after controlling for job stress.

Sexist discrimination and sexist organizational climate had negative and small to medium associations with both proximal and distal indicators of women's occupational well-being. Frequency-based measures of sexual harassment had

⁴ The percentage of managers in the sample was also evaluated for a potential moderating role. However, this variable did not moderate the relation between sexual harassment and mental health or general health.

stronger correlations with well-being than acknowledgment- or experience-based measures. However, those differences were only significant for job satisfaction. No significant difference or clear pattern was observed in the association of SEQ and non-SEQ measures with the health indicators. Harmful workplace experiences were consistently more strongly related to assessments of interpersonal relationships at work (i.e., satisfaction with co-workers and supervisors) than with the tasks (i.e., work satisfaction). These differences were significant for low-frequency/high-intensity harmful workplace experiences, and in particular for overall sexual harassment, frequency of sexual harassment, unwanted sexual attention, sexism at work, and sexist organizational climate.

A key result was that the association between high-frequency/low-intensity harmful workplace experiences (i.e., OTSH and gender harassment) and mental health was mediated by work attitudes. On the other hand, the relation of low-frequency/high-intensity experiences (i.e., unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion) with mental health was partially mediated by the work attitudes, and had a direct association with mental health.

The moderation analysis indicated that male dominance in the work context did not significantly moderate the association of the harmful workplace experiences and women's health. However, the results show a trend of larger negative effects of the harmful experiences in male-dominated contexts. Finally, the publication bias analysis supports the robustness of the results of this study.

Discussion

Harmful workplace experiences come from a range of sources and take many different forms. For women, harmful workplace experiences can add to the pressures from general stressors and demands. Women are more likely than men to be targets of sexual harassment and discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2002) and the adverse impact of these behaviors appear greater in male-dominated work contexts (O'Connell & Korabik, 2000) and when sexism is widely accepted as the norm (Settles et al., 2006).

Two of the questions we sought to address through the meta-analysis were, "across the different harmful experiences and job stressors, which have the most pronounced negative effects on women's work attitudes and health?" and, "how did the different harmful workplace experiences impact on women?" All of the harmful workplace experiences and job stressors had negative relations with the full range of attitudinal and health measures for women. Harmful experiences that are specifically targeted at an individual, including general harassment, sexual harassment, and sexist discrimination, were negatively related to all measures of women's work attitudes and health. The two assessments of potentially harmful contexts, OTSH and a sexist organizational climate, also had negative effects across the full range of attitudinal measures and all health indicators except physical health.

High-Frequency/Low-Intensity Harmful Workplace Experiences Affect Well-being

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, there were few significant differences in the effect sizes for the relations of different harmful workplace experiences with work attitude and health outcomes. Where we observed differences, the less intense/more frequent harmful workplace experiences had larger negative associations with women's work attitudes,

compared with harmful workplace experiences, such as sexual coercion or unwanted sexual attention; these harmful experiences were previously considered to be more severe (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). This finding points to an important distinction for researchers and managers who wish to understand and reduce the negative impacts of harmful events on women's experiences of work and on their mental health. Sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention are traumatic for the people involved, and more likely to result in court cases and public reporting. However, in many work settings these intense experiences are low-frequency events. Norms, leadership, or policies, that reduce intense harmful experiences, may lead managers to believe that they have solved the problem of maltreatment of women in the workplace. However, the more frequent, less intense, and often unchallenged gender harassment, sexist discrimination, sexist organizational climate, and OTSH appeared at least as detrimental for women's well-being. They should not be considered lesser forms of sexism.

Frequency-based measures of sexual harassment were more strongly related to indicators of occupational well-being than any other method of measurement, though these differences were only significant for job satisfaction and co-worker satisfaction. It is the frequency of exposure to gendered and sexualized maltreatment, and not the acknowledgment of interpersonal encounters as sexual harassment, that more strongly undermines women's occupational well-being.

While the type of measure might make a difference to the outcomes observed, the specific measurement tools used did not. As found in Willness et al.'s (2007) meta-analysis of sexual harassment with mixed gender samples, no difference was observed in the comparisons of the association of SEQ versus non-SEQ measures of sexual harassment with the well-being outcomes.

Harmful Workplace Experiences Affect Specific Work Attitudes

As outlined in Hypothesis 2, work harassment, sexual harassment, and sexism at work were more strongly related to dissatisfaction with supervisors and co-workers than with work. Even though victims of harassment were more dissatisfied with their supervisor than with their co-workers (which may be due to supervisors being more common sources of maltreatment or because they are more likely to be considered responsible), this difference was not significant. This result contrasts with Willness et al.'s (2007) meta-analysis that included samples of men and women and found that sexual harassment was more strongly related to dissatisfaction with co-workers than with supervisors.

We were unable to assess how the source of harassment (e.g., supervisor versus coworker) affected well-being, as we found only two studies that differentiated between harassment by workers above or at the same level of the targets (i.e., Morrow, McElroy, & Phillips, 1994; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000). The gender and status of the perpetrator and the target of abuse, and the status differential between them might interact to affect the prevalence, interpretation, attributions, and impact of different forms of harmful workplace experiences. For example, an issue that is rarely studied is sexual harassment from clients or customers (see Gettman & Gelfand, 2007), which might happen in many occupational sectors, such as legal and medical services. More research in these areas could help to clarify the disparity in the results of the current study and Willness et al.'s (2007) meta-analysis.

Work Attitudes Mediate Mental Health and Harmful Workplace Experiences

Hypothesis 3 tested the potential mediating role of work attitudes in the relation between different kinds of harmful workplace experiences and health. While physical health and satisfaction with life are important well-being outcomes, there have not been enough studies completed to allow us to include these health indicators in our mediation analysis. Available data for the path analysis only allowed us to test the effects for one well-being distal indicator, mental health, which is arguably one of the most severe and costly outcomes for individuals, their social groups, organizations, and society (Doran, 2013; Insel, 2011; Knapp, 2003). The less frequent and more intense forms of harassment (i.e., sexual coercion and unwanted sexual attention) had a direct independent relation with mental health. However, more frequent and less intense harassment, OTSH and gender harassment, both of which are markers of a work environment that is hostile towards women, were only related to mental health through the mediating pathway of the work attitudes. In the final model, gender harassment was related to dissatisfaction with co-workers, while unwanted sexual attention was associated with supervisor dissatisfaction. Consistent with these results, O'Connell and Korabik (2000) explained that women might be exposed to more hostile gender harassment from co-workers of the same organizational status who perceive them as a threat, whereas women of lower status might be exposed to more unwanted sexual attention from workers with higher status (e.g. supervisors). The current results might reflect women's negative reactions to the specific perpetrators of each form of harassment. The complex relation between forms of harassment and status of the target and perpetrator requires further study.

OTSH was a significant predictor of all the work attitudes after controlling for sexual harassment and job stressors. These results again highlight that an organizational climate that is permissive of sexual harassment, could have a negative effect on women's work attitudes, independent from the effect of actual sexual harassment and job stressors. As previously noted, when low-intensity, yet widespread and normalized, sexism is part of the organizational climate, the organization-wide impacts are potentially much larger, but less obvious, than the impacts of isolated incidences of more intense forms of harmful workplace experiences.

Job Stressors Don't Explain Effects of Harmful Workplace Experiences

Compared to job stressors, the harmful workplace experiences analyzed in the current study are at least as detrimental for women's health and work attitudes. The path analysis also provided useful insights about the independent effects of different harmful experiences and job stressors on work attitudes and mental health. Following Hypothesis 4, the harmful workplace experiences were still significantly associated with the work attitudes and mental health after controlling for job stressors. For women, the understanding of job stressors will be incomplete without consideration of the impacts of harmful workplace experiences, which draw on the same set of individual resources for coping. Given that gender discrimination, sexist organizational climates, and other harmful experiences may influence the allocation of work and control over work, focusing on job stressors without consideration of harmful workplace experiences studied here may be to ignore the root causes of well-being outcomes.

Male-Dominated Work Environments May Not Be More Harmful to Women

In terms of Hypothesis 5, sexual harassment appeared to have a more negative effect on women in male-dominated work environments than in more gender-balanced contexts. However, these differences were non-significant. Given the post-hoc nature of the classification conducted in this meta-analysis between male-dominated versus gender-balanced work environments, future research should investigate these issues further to directly compare the frequency of occurrence and impact of different harmful experiences and the actions to manage them in relation to the numerical and normative male dominance of the work contexts and the status of the targets.

Future Research

In the discussion, we indicated several areas for future research that were relevant to the specific results presented. In this section we will add to those suggestions. With few exceptions (e.g., Rospenda et al., 2006) most of the research conducted about harmful workplace experiences is cross-sectional and based on self-report measures, making it difficult to draw conclusions about causal pathways. For instance, it is possible that women who have voiced their discontent with their supervisor or co-workers might become targets of harassment. Feelings of helplessness might impair women's capacity to speak up or seek help, and may lead them to remain in a risky situation. The lack of longitudinal research limits the possibility to test such alternative explanations to the associations observed in this meta-analysis. The few longitudinal studies conducted have found discrimination to predict mental health problems but not the other way around (Brown et al., 2000; Pavalko, Mossakowski, & Hamilton, 2003). Longitudinal studies need to include other reactions to harmful workplace experiences, such as work and job withdrawal and the targets' self-evaluations. Women leave male-dominated work environments at a higher rate than more balanced work environments (Miner-Rubino, & Cortina, 2007). Withdrawal is most likely a common response to harassment and sexist work climates, but one that is not properly captured in cross sectional studies.

The study of sexual harassment and gender-based discrimination would also benefit from more precision in the conceptualization and measurement of the constructs. Three additional distinctions seem necessary. First, unwanted sexual attention should be measured as a separate construct from sexual assault, as they could have different impacts on both mental and physical health (Gruber et al., 1996). Second, measures of gender harassment should distinguish between both sexist (e.g., co-worker being condescending because of your gender) and sexual hostility (e.g., co-worker trying to draw you into a discussion about your sexual life), as done by Fitzgerald et al. (1999). Sexist gender harassment might have a different effect on women's work attitudes, health, and other outcomes compared to sexualized gender harassment; they may also be used by the perpetrators with different intentions. Gender harassment can be expressed in many ways (Leskinen & Cortina, 2014), such as questioning women's capacity to do their job, questioning the level of femininity/masculinity of women's behavior, using sexual language and images with sexual content, or judging women's management of work-home roles. These forms of harassment are worth exploring to identify their impacts and for the crafting of effective interventions.

Third, measures of gender harassment should distinguish how sexism at work is labeled and operationalized. Some studies used the same label, such as sexist climate or climate perceptions (Miner-Rubino et al., 2009) to talk about two

different dimensions of sexism: personal experiences of discrimination because of one's gender versus experiences of a work environment that devalues women in general (Settles et al., 2006). That distinction in conceptualization and measurement should be made clear in future studies.

Our study was also limited by the number and nature of existing studies. We were not able to analyze in a single model a broad range of harmful workplace experiences versus other work and personal stressors, due to the lack of studies addressing the relation between these variables. Rospenda et al. (2009) have indicated the need for more studies in which the effect of harmful workplace experiences on well-being is compared to the effect of personal factors (e.g., family violence, family demands), or personal/work life interactions (e.g., work-family conflict) using the same outcomes. Similarly, the associations between personal stressors and harmful workplace experiences require further study.

It is particularly important to conduct more studies about the specific gender-based harmful workplace experiences affecting men and members of groups who are often targets of gender-based discrimination and harassment, such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) individuals (Ryan & Rivers, 2003). The vast majority of the measures of gender-based and sexualized harmful workplace experiences were developed thinking of women as the targets (e.g., Bergman, 2003; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Gruber, 1998). These measures might not encompass the diverse range of harmful experiences that men or members of the LGBTI communities are exposed to. The development of relevant measures of these experiences and the study of their impact on the occupational well-being of the mentioned groups requires further research (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Willness et al., 2007).

Our moderator analysis was restricted by the small number of studies reporting relevant information. For instance, the race of the target is an important moderator to consider (Buchanan, Settles, & Woods, 2008), but few studies of race of target exist. Finally, the inclusion of moderators in future studies should be guided by theory to avoid capitalizing on chance (Hunter & Schmidt, 2004).

Practice Implications

The current study has potential to correct a number of misconceptions about the experience of women in the workplace. First, individuals commonly fail to recognize several abusive behaviors as sexual harassment (AHRC, 2008; Rospenda et al., 2009). Also, people do not always recognize the potential harm and think it is sometimes acceptable to engage in different forms of sexism at work (Powell, 2012). If individuals do not acknowledge these interactions as abusive, and do not think they are harmful, it is unlikely they will complain and unlikely that corrective actions will be taken (Riger, 1991; Summers, 1996). The information from this meta-analysis could be presented in educational programs (e.g., in schools, universities, sport clubs, businesses), to reduce the variety of harmful workplace experiences women are exposed to and to mitigate the consequences of these harmful experiences on their well-being.

Large organizations typically have policies to manage overt forms of gender-based hostility at work. However, women still fear retaliation if they complain (Murrell et al., 1995). Educating workers about the consequences of these events will be fruitless if there are no formal policies and practices to manage complaints. Individuals tasked with

responding to complaints should have the technical skills and independence necessary to act without having their positions, and that of the targets of abuse, compromised. Making this possible will require allocation of funds for training and changes in relevant organizational reporting structures.

For policymakers and practitioners, covert sexism (e.g., sexist jokes, ignoring women during meetings, talking behind women's backs) is one of the most challenging issues to tackle. Our results suggest that organizations should have zero tolerance for low-intensity sexism, the same way they do for overt harassment. This will require teaching workers about the harmful nature of low-ntensity sexist events, not only for women, but also for the overall organizational climate. The promotion of civilized interactions among colleagues is essential.

A more active approach is to train workers in bystander intervention (Powell, 2012). The results of this study can be used to develop training programs about how to identify sexist events, highlight why they are problematic, emphasize their potential consequences, and propose alternative behaviors. This kind of training program should be directed to middle and upper managers.

The results of this meta-analysis indicate that women who are targets of harmful workplace experiences are more dissatisfied with their supervisors than with co-workers. Supervisors have the main responsibility to set the standards of expected and acceptable behaviors in organizations and to advocate for and protect the personnel under their leadership. Supervisors need to be among the first to learn about and act on our results; middle managers, who are in direct contact with most personnel and are expected to be upper managers in the future, play a critical role in changing harmful workplace behaviors.

Finally, the harmful impact of gender-based discrimination does not stop at hindering women's career progression. This meta-analysis shows that discrimination also has a negative effect on women's work attitudes and health. It is necessary to identify, analyze, and change organizational gender bias "hot spots." These are decision making events where resources and opportunities are allocated in a way that discriminates against women. For instance, women might get penalized in performance evaluations, promotion decisions, and allocation of important projects, among others, sometimes due to unconscious biases and lack of formalized processes (Genat et al., 2012; Dunlea et al., 2015). This kind of analysis, coupled with training and compensatory strategies for better decision making, may reduce the bias against women.

Conclusions

Hostile work environments and individual experiences of hostility at work have negative effects on women's occupational well-being. More frequent though less intense harmful workplace experiences can impair women's occupational well-being as much as less frequent yet more intense experiences. Distinctions among harmful workplace experiences based on severity should be avoided. Such distinctions may perpetuate the view that some harmful workplace experiences (e.g., sexist jokes and remarks, ignoring women during meetings) have a lesser impact; they are in fact as detrimental as other well-recognized forms of mistreatment at work.

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Table 1

Categories, Variables, Descriptions and Examples of Measures Used in Studies Meta-Analyzed

		Predictors
Variable	Description	Examples of measures used
Harmful workplace		
Experiences Work harassment	Instances of aggression and violence experienced in the workplace that are not obviously sexual or related to gender	Overt-Covert Aggression Scale. 21 items with a 4-point scale ($0 = never$; $3 = very \ often$) assessing direct overt, indirect manipulative, covert insinuative, and rational-appearing aggression (Kaukiainen, Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Lahtinen, & Kostamo, 1997). Generalized Workplace Harassment Questionnaire. 29 items with a 5-point scale ($0 = never$; $4 = many \ times$) assessing 5 dimensions of general workplace harassment: verbal aggression, disrespectful behavior, isolation/exclusion, threats/bribes, and physical aggression (Rospenda & Richman, 2004).
Acknowledged general sexual harassment	Experience of events in the workplace that are regarded as "sexual harassment"	Single item. "Have you been subject to unwelcome behavior that you regard as sexual harassment (a) by a partner, (b) by a supervisor, (c) by a co-worker, (d) by a client?" with a 3-point scale (1 = yes, more than once; 2 = yes, once; 3 = no) (Burke, 1995). Single item. Participants were asked if they had been sexually harassed by a co-worker or supervisor in their units in the past 12 months. Response choices were "yes" and "no" (Rosen & Martin, 1998).
Experience of general sexual harassment	Being a target of instances of gender harassment, sexual coercion, or unwanted sexual attention in the workplace	Northwestern National Life Insurance Company Survey on Workplace Violence. 3 items with a 2-point, yes—no scale. Example item: "On the job site, have you ever had unwanted suggestions about, or references to, sexual activity directed at you by (a) co-workers or (b) supervisors?" (Northwestern National Life Insurance Company, 1993). 1 item with a 4-point scale (0 = not applicable; 1 = not at all a factor; 2 = somewhat of a factor; 3 = definitely a factor). Participants indicated whether sexual harassment was a reason for leaving their job (Rosin & Korabik, 1991).
Frequency of general sexual harassment	Regularity with which instances of gender harassment, sexual coercion, or unwanted sexual attention jokes are experienced in the workplace	Sexual Experiences Questionnaire. 18 items with a 5-point scale (1 = never; 2 = a few times; 3 = several times; 4 = regularly; 5 = many times). 3 dimensions: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (Fitzgerald et al., 1988). 36 items with a 6-point scale (0 = never; 1 = once; 2 = twice; 3 = three times; 4 = four times; 5 = five or more times). Example item: "been sexually propositioned by someone." 2 dimensions: sexualized aggression and sexual harassment (Barling et al., 2001).
Frequency of gender harassment	Regularity with which offensive verbal and non- verbal sexual behaviors, such as making	Sexual Experiences Questionnaire - Gender harassment. 4 items with a 5-point scale (0 = never; 4 = many times). Example item: have personally been "habitually told suggestive stories or offensive jokes" (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

sexual gestures, comments, or jokes are experienced in the workplace (Buchanan et al., 2008)

1 item with a 4-point scale (x = never; x = very often). Example item: "At work, have you experienced or heard offensive slurs or jokes or remarks about women?" (Piotrkowski, 1998).

Frequency of sexual coercion

Regularity with which instances of implicit or explicit efforts to gain sexual cooperation in exchange for job-related outcomes are experienced in the workplace (Bulger, 2001)

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire - Sexual coercion. 7 item with a 5-point subscale (0 = never, 4 = many)times). Example item: "made you afraid that you would be treated poorly if you did not cooperate sexually?" (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire - Department of Defense - Sexual coercion. 4 items with a 5-point scale (0 = never; 4 = very often). Example item: "implied faster promotions or better treatment if you were sexually cooperative" (Fitzgerald et al., 1999).

Frequency of unwanted sexual attention

Regularity with which instances of overt direct victim-focused behaviors including pressure for dates, touching or ogling, and unwanted attempts to fondle are experienced in the workplace (Murry et al., 2001)

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire - Unwanted sexual attention. 6 item with a 5-point subscale (0 = never; 4 =many times). Example item: "made unwanted attempts to establish a romantic relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage it" (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Sexual Harassment Survey. 1 item with a 5-point scale (0 = never; 4 = four or more times) asking about experiences during Persian Gulf military deployment. Example item: "Physical sexual harassment (e.g., unwanted sexual touching, fondling, cornering, or brushing against you)" (Wolfe et al., 1998).

Organizational How the tolerance for sexual harassment

organization might react when individuals complain for sexual harassment, in terms of taking the complaints seriously, how risky it is to complain, and lack of meaningful sanctions for perpetrators (Cortina et al., 2002)

Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory. 3 scenarios of sexual harassment followed by 3 items with a 5-point Likert scale to assess perception of risk for complaining about the event, likelihood that complains would be taken seriously, and chances that the harasser would face sanctions (Hulin et al., 1996).

Organizational Sanctions against Sexual Harassment Scale. 8 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "In this company, if you know who to talk to, you can get 'off the hook' when a sexual harassment complaint is filed against you" (Dekker & Barling, 1998).

Sexist

Personal discrimination experiences of unequal allocation of resources, benefits at work Gender Evaluation Scale. 6 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "Gender played a role in the last performance evaluation I received" (Shaffer et al., 2000).

opportunities, or Women Workplace Culture Questionnaire - Personally experienced burdens. 9 items with different scale formats mainly frequency-based. Example item:

	because of being a woman	"Fewer developmental opportunities than I wish for" (Bergman & Hallberg, 2002).
Sexist organizational climate	Extent to which the organization values men more than women and is associated with	University of Virginia School of Medicine Gender Fairness Environment Scale. 6 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "Some faculty have a condescending attitude towards women" (Hostler & Gressard, 1993).
	stereotypically male traits, as well as experiences of gender-based discrimination	Women Workplace Culture Questionnaire - Perceived burdens on women. 11 items with different scale formats mainly frequency-based. Example item: "Unfair judgment of women's work" (Bergman & Hallberg, 2002).
Job stress Job stress	Presence and	Job Stress Scale. 20 items with a 4-point scale (1 =
soo saess	frequency of events taking place at work that are	almost never or never; $4 = almost \ always$) evaluating work overload, lack of autonomy, role ambiguity, and lack of responsibility (Frone et al., 1992).
	considered as taxing or exceeding the own resources	Role Overload Scale. 13 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "There are too many demands on my time" (Reilly, 1982).
		Outcomes
Variable	Description	Examples of measures used
Proximal: Work		
attitudes Organizational commitment	and psychological attachment to	Organizational Commitment Scale. 6 items with a 7-point Likert scale. Example item: "This organization has a great deal of personal meaning to me" (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993).
	the organization (Gettman & Gelfand, 2007)	Organizational Commitment Questionnaire, short version. 9 items with a 7-point Likert scale. Example item: "Willingness to expend extra effort on a job" (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979).
Job satisfaction	General affective reaction to the job with and without references to	5 items with a 5-point scale (1 = <i>very dissatisfied</i> ; 5 = <i>very satisfied</i>). Participants indicated their level of satisfaction on items such as job challenge, level of responsibility, and opportunity to use skills and abilities (Lyness & Thompson, 1997).
		7 items with a 7-point scale (1 = <i>very dissatisfied</i> ; 7 = <i>very satisfied</i>). 3 items tapped intrinsic job satisfaction, 3 items tapped extrinsic job satisfaction, and 1 item assessed global job satisfaction. Example intrinsic item: "feel good about yourself as a person" (Cook, Hepworth, Wall, & Warr, 1981).
Work satisfaction	General affective reaction to the quality of the specific tasks	Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey. 6 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "you like the kind of work you do" (Edwards, Elig, Edwards, & Riemer, 1997).
	performed in a job	15 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "Does your work provide you with a sense of pride?" (Harned et al., 2002).

Co-worker satisfaction	General affective reaction to the	6 items with a 5-point Likert scale. Example item: "you are satisfied with the relationship you have with your co-workers" (Leskinen et al., 2011).
	quality of the relationship with co-workers	3 items with a 5-point scale. 1 item ranged from "not at all" to "very large extent", 1 item ranged from "very dissatisfied" to "very satisfied" and 1 item ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Example item: "Is there conflict among your co-workers?" (Harned et al., 2002).
Supervision satisfaction	General affective reaction to the quality of the relationship with supervisor	Job Descriptive Index. 18 items with a 3-point supervision subscale (yes, no, uncertain). Participants were asked whether the item describes the supervision they get on the job. Example item: "supportive" (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969).
		6 items with a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, very dissatisfied, strongly disagree; 5 = very large extent, very satisfied, strongly agree). Example item: "Do you trust your supervisor?" (Harned et al., 2002).
Distal: Health	Overell	Short Form 26 A items with a A point and (1
General health	Overall well- being and absence of specific	Short-Form 36. 4 items with a 4-point scale (1 = definitely false; 4 = definitely true). Example item: "my health is excellent" (Ware & Sherbourne, 1992).
	perceived or diagnosed mental and physical health symptoms, conditions, and social dysfunctions	3 items with a 4-point subscale. Participants indicated current health $(1 = poor; 4 = excellent)$, extent to which daily activities are limited by health $(1 = great deal; 4 = not at all)$, and satisfaction with health $(1 = not at all satisfied; 4 = completely satisfied)$ (House, 1986).
Physical health	Physical well- being and absence of specific perceived or diagnosed physical health	Hopkins Symptom Checklist – Somatization. 12 items with a 7-point scale (1 = never; 7 = very often) used to report how often a symptom has been experienced during the past week. Example item: "Pains in the heart or chest" (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth, & Covi, 1974).
	symptoms or conditions	Health Condition Index (Adapted). 13 items with a yes – no scale used to indicate the presence or absence of symptoms. Example item: "Severe headaches" (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).
Mental health	Mental well- being and absence of specific perceived or diagnosed mental health	Short-Form 36. 3 item with a 4-point scale (1 = little or none of the time; 4 = all or most of the time). Example item: "didn't do work or other activities as carefully as usual" "as a result of emotional problems (such as feeling depressed or anxious)" (Leskinen et al., 2011).
	symptoms or conditions	Hopkins Symptom Checklist - Depression. 11 items with a 7-point scale (1 = never; 7 = very often) used to report how often a symptom has been experienced during the past week. Example item: "Crying easily" (Derogatis et al., 1974).
Satisfaction with life	Overall evaluation of own life	Satisfaction with Life Scale. 5 items with a 7-point Likert scale. Example item: "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985).

2 items with a 3-point scale. Example item: "In general, how satisfying do you find the way you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying, or not very satisfying?" (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for the Reliability (alphas) Distributions

Variables	k	M	SD
Work harassment	10	.88	.06
Sexual harassment (SH)	43	.86	.08
SH by measurement method			
Acknowledged SH	8	1.0	.00
Experience of SH	6	.76	.05
Frequency of SH	33	.85	.07
Frequency by facets			
General SH	26	.87	.07
Gender harassment	11	.82	.09
Sexual coercion	8	.88	.08
Unwanted sexual attention	10	.84	.08
SH by questionnaire			
SEQ	24	.86	.06
No-SEQ	19	.85	.11
Organizational tolerance for SH	13	.89	.07
Sexism at work	11	.85	.08
Sexist discrimination	4	.84	.08
Sexist organizational climate	9	.85	.09
Low frequency/High intensity	10	.85	.07
High frequency/Low intensity	29	.86	.08
Job stress	40	.82	.08
Organizational commitment	20	.84	.06
Job satisfaction	34	.84	.06
Work satisfaction	15	.87	.04
Co-worker satisfaction	18	.86	.05
Supervision satisfaction	17	.89	.04
General health	22	.82	.07

Physical health	14	.79	.11
Mental health	54	.87	.05
Life satisfaction	19	.85	.06

Note. SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; k = number of samples

Table 3

Meta-Analytic Results for the Correlates of Women's General Work Attitudes

	Organ	nizationa	l Commit	•	Job Satisfaction			
			95% (CI			95%	CI
Variables	K	$r_{\rm c}$	L	\overline{U}	K	r_c	L	\overline{U}
Harmful workplace exp.								
Work harassment	2	11	19	03	4	18	23	13
Sexual harassment (SH)	13	13	18	08	23	24	29	20
SH by measure method								
Acknowledged SH	3	06	16	.05	4	11	19	04
Experience of SH	1	23	34	10	6	23	29	17
Frequency of SH	11	14	19	10	13	30	37	23
Frequency by facets								
General SH	7	18	29	06	9	34	41	26
Gender harassment	5	17	24	11	4	26	38	14
Sexual coercion	4	12	13	10	2	15	18	13
Unwanted sex att.	5	15	20	10	3	20	22	17
By questionnaire								
SEQ	9	15	20	10	7	23	28	18
Non-SEQ	4	06	16	.04	16	25	33	17
OTSH	5	29	40	18	6	27	32	21
Sexism at work	5	24	33	15	13	43	51	35

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Sexist discrimination	2	18	35	02	8	43	56	29
Sexist org climate	3	28	39	16	8	47	56	37
Low freq - High intense	5	13	17	10	3	18	20	15
High freq - Low intense	11	24	30	17	21	36	41	31
Job stress	6	16	29	02	15	29	40	17

Note. SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; k = number of samples; r_c = corrected mean weighted correlation; Bold = The 95% confidence interval of r_c does not include zero. ^a Q statistic has p < .05

Table 4
Meta-Analytic Results for the Correlates of Women's Specific Work Attitudes

	Work Satisfaction			Co	Co-worker Satisfaction				Supervision Satisfaction			
	<u> </u>		95% (\overline{CI}			95%	\overline{CI}			95%	CI
Variables	K	$r_{\rm c}$	L	U	K	r_c	L	U	K	r_c	L	U
Harmful workplace exp.												
Work harassment	1	29	36	21	3	34	48	19	3	45	62	24
Sexual harassment (SH)	15	14	20	07	20	24	29	20	18	27	32	22
SH by measure method												
Acknowledged SH	2	07	16	.01	4	14	22	06	3	30	53	03
Experience of SH	4	17	24	10	3	21	31	10	4	21	29	13
Frequency of SH	12	14	21	07	15	27	31	22	13	27	32	22
Frequency by facets												
General SH	9	13	25	02	11	28	33	23	11	25	31	18
Gender harassment	4	19	28	10	5	28	40	15	3	36	45	26
Sexual coercion	2	12	15	10	4	16	27	06	2	29	47	09
Unwanted sex att.	2	18	22	14	4	21	32	10	2	36	44	28
By questionnaire												
SEQ	11	15	22	07	13	26	31	21	11	26	32	21
Non-SEQ	4	13	20	07	7	22	27	16	7	28	41	15
OTSH	5	25	40	09	6	29	32	25	6	35	45	26
Sexism at work	3	23	31	15	2	43	52	34	4	36	46	26
Sexist discrimination	2	29	39	19	2	49	63	34	3	32	53	09
Sexist org climate	3	18	26	10	2	35	44	26	4	35	49	21
Low freq - High intense	2	15	17	13	4	19	29	08	2	33	45	20
High freq - Low intense	10	23	32	13	12	29	34	24	12	37	42	31
Job stress	6	14	26	02	9	27	35	19	9	34	39	28

Note. $SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; k = number of samples; r = mean weighted correlation; <math>r_c = corrected$ mean weighted correlation.

Bold = The 95% confidence interval of r_c does not include zero.

Table 5

Meta-Analytic Results for the Correlates of Women's General and Physical Health

	General health					Physi	cal health	
			95%	CI			95% CI	
Variables	K	r_c	L	\overline{U}	K	r_c	L	U
Harmful workplace exp.								
Work harassment	3	15	22	08	2	23	53	.10
Sexual harassment (SH)	18	23 ^a	29	16	13	17	21	14
SH by measure method								
Acknowledged SH	1	19	33	04	1	10	21	.01
Experience of SH	2	04	38	.31	4	15	21	09
Frequency of SH	16	24	31	18	9	18	22	14
Frequency by facets								
General SH	13	26	34	17	8	18	24	12
Gender harassment	4	15	23	07	1	20	22	17
Sexual coercion	2	09	16	03	1	17	19	14
Unwanted sex att.	2	13	16	11	1	18	21	16
By questionnaire								
SEQ	11	18	24	12	8	16	19	13
Non-SEQ	7	29	45	11	5	23	33	13
OTSH	7	20	25	15	3	12	25	.01
Sexism at work	3	20	37	03	3	20	41	.03
Sexist discrimination	3	23	45	.02	2	38	48	28
Sexist org climate	2	21	31	11	3	14	30	.02
Low freq - High intense	2	12	14	10	1	18	20	15
High freq - Low intense	13	18	22	15	6	19	26	10
Job stress	11	30	39	22	8	26	36	15

Note. SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; k = number of samples; r_c = corrected mean weighted correlation; Bold = The 95% confidence interval of r_c does not include zero. ^a Q statistic has p < .05

Table 6

Meta-Analytic Results for the Correlates of Women's Psychological Well-being

		Menta	l health			Life sa	tisfaction	ı
			95%	CI			95%	CI
Variables	K	rc	L	U	K	rc	L	U
Harmful workplace exp.								
Work harassment	10	37	48	25	3	14	32	.05
Sexual harassment (SH)	36	27 a	31	23	8	14	19	10
SH by measure method								
Acknowledged SH	3	20	27	13	-	-	-	-
Experience of SH	6	18	28	07	-	-	-	-
Frequency of SH	30	29 a	33	24	8	14	19	10
Frequency by facets								
General SH	23	31 a	37	25	8	14	19	09
Gender harassment	9	34 a	44	24	1	10	18	01
Sexual coercion	6	36 a	51	19	-	-	-	-
Unwanted sex att.	9	39 a	50	27	-	-	-	-
By questionnaire								
SEQ	21	24	28	19	8	14	19	10
Non-SEQ	15	36	46	25	-	-	_	-
OTSH	8	24	29	18	4	20	27	13
Sexism at work	6	29	37	21	_	_	_	_

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	4

Sexist discrimination	4	35	55	13	-	-	-	-
Sexist org climate	4	28	34	23	-	-	-	-
Low freq - High intense	9	35 a	46	23	-	-	-	-
High freq - Low intense	18	31 a	35	26	5	16	23	09
Job stress	30	34	41	27	19	15	22	08

Note. SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; Dashes indicate that data were not available.

k = number of samples; $r_c =$ corrected mean weighted correlation; Bold = The 95% confidence interval of r_c does not include zero. ^a Q statistic has p < .05

Table 7

Meta-Analytic Matrix used in the Path Analysis

	Job stress	OTSH	Gender harassment	Sexual coercion	Unwanted sexual attention	Organisational commitment	Co-worker satisfaction	Supervision satisfaction	Work satisfaction
OTSH	.21 (.10, .30)							-	
	(.18, 5)								
Gender harassment	.22 (.16, .27)	.46 (.34, .57)							
	(.18, 3)	(.39, 3)							
Sexual coercion	.07 (.02, .13)	.20 (.02, .36)	.65 (.50, .78)						
	(.06, 2)	(.17, 3)	(.55, 9)						
Unwanted sex. attention	.11 (04, .26)	.30 (.13, .47)	.85 (.75, .92)	.86 (.73, .94)					
	(.09, 2)	(.26, 3)	(.70, 10)	(.74, 9)					
Org. commitment	16 (29,02)	29 (40,18)	17 (24,11)	<i>12</i> (13, - .10)	15 (20,10)				
	(13, 6)	(25, 5)	(14, 5)	(10, 4)	(13, 5)				
eatisfaction	27 (35,19)	29 (32,25)	28 (40,15)	16 (27, - .06)	21 (32,10)	.40 (.30, .40)			
	(23, 9)	(25, 6)	(23, 5)	(14, 4)	(18, 4)	(.34, 6)			
satisfaction	34 (39,28)	35 (45,26)	36 (45,26)	29 (47, - .09)	36 (44,28)	.36 (.15, .55)	.48 (.40, .56)		
	(29, 9)	(32, 6)	(30, 3)	(25, 2)	(31, 2)	(.31, 6)	(.42, 16)		
Work satisfaction	14 (26,02)	25 (40,09)	19 (28,10)	12 (15, - .10)	18 (22,14)	.58 (.35, .77)	.39 (.35, .43)	.37 (.22, .50)	
	(12, 6)	(22, 5)	(16, 4)	(11, 2)	(15, 2)	(.50, 5)	(.34, 14)	(.32, 13)	
Mental health	34 (41,27)	24 (29,18)	34 (44,24)	<i>36</i> (51, - .19)	39 (50,27)	.27 (.17, .37)	.30 (.25, .34)	.32 (.25, .39)	.28 (.20, .35)
	(28, 30)	(21, 8)	(29, 9)	(31, 6)	(33, 9)	(.23, 10)	(.25, 14)	(.28, 13)	(.24, 11)

Note. OTSH = Organizational Tolerance for Sexual Harassment. Mean corrected correlations (r_c) are italicized. Values in parenthesis following r_c indicate the lower and upper bound of the 95% CI of the r_c . Values in parenthesis below indicate r (uncorrected mean correlation) and k (number of studies).

Table 8

Moderation Analysis for Occupational Contexts

		k		r_c	95% <i>CI</i>	
Variables	Context		r		L	Н
General H	Health					
Sex	ual harassment (SH)					
	General	11	22	27*	40	13
	Male dominated	7	14	17*	25	09
Mental he	ealth					
Sex	ual harassment (SH)					
	General	17	20	24*	30	1′
	Male dominated	19	27	31*	36	20
Free	quency of SH					
	General	15	21	25*	32	13
	Male dominated	15	28	32*	38	2
Free	quency of General SH					
	General	11	21	25*	34	1:
	Male dominated	12	30	35*	43	2
Gen	der harassment					
	General	5	21	25*	37	12
	Male dominated	4	42	50*	71	24
Unv	vanted sexual attention					
	General	5	23	26*	37	1:
	Male dominated	4	48	57*	82	2
Low	frequency/high intensity					
	General	5	20	23*	34	12
	Male dominated	4	45	53*	78	19
Higl	h frequency/low intensity					
	General	9	22	25*	33	1

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Male dominated 9 -.32 -.37* -.43 -.30 Note. k = number of samples; r = mean weighted correlation; $r_c =$ corrected mean weighted correlation; L = Lower limit; H = Higher limit. * The 95% confidence interval does not include zero.

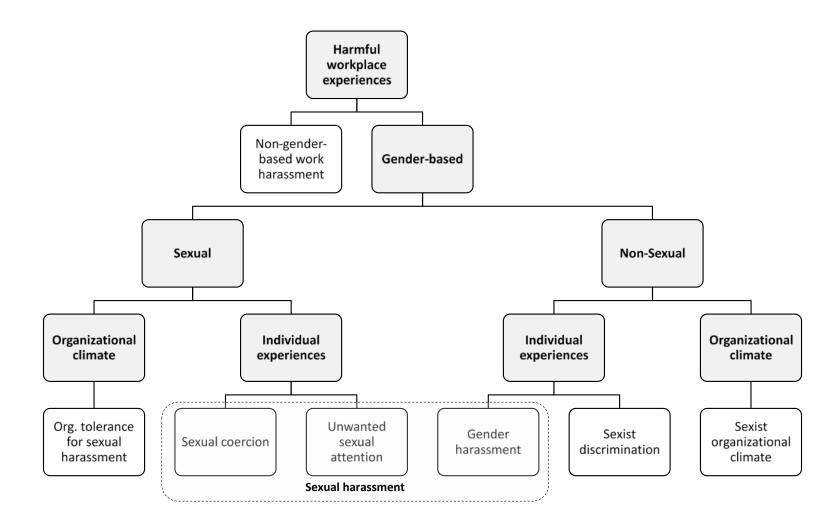


Figure 1. Classification of harmful workplace experiences reported in previous research.

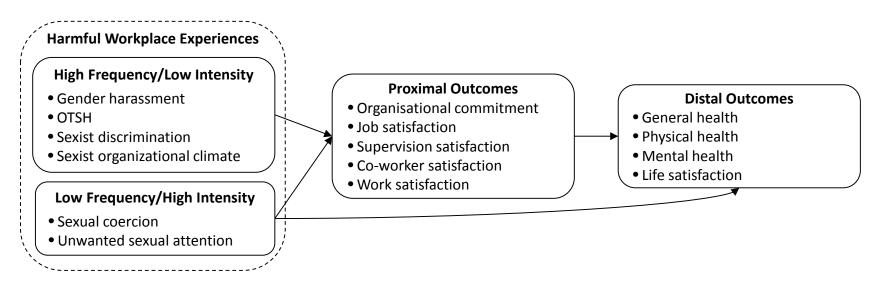


Figure 2. Relation between harmful workplace experiences, proximal and distal occupational well-being indicators.

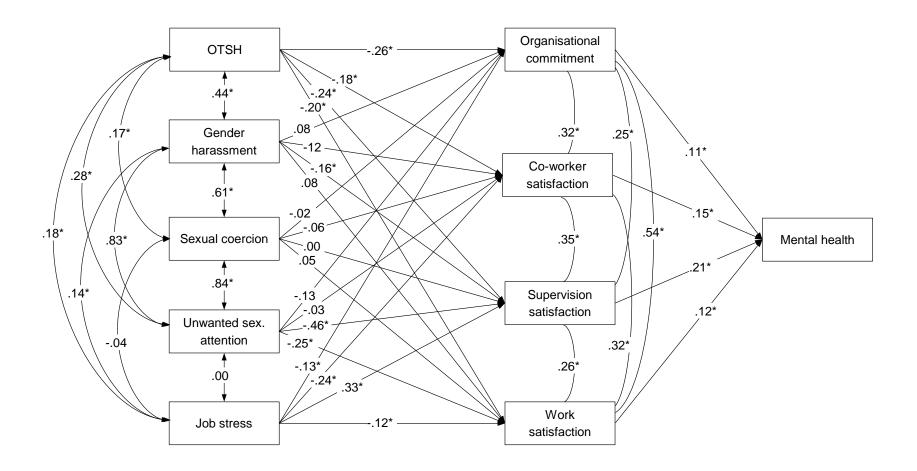


Figure 3. Fully mediated model with standardized regression weights. OTSH = Organizational tolerance for sexual harassment. X^2 (5, N = 681) = 97.6, p < .01; AGFI = .68; CFI = .88; RMSEA = .17; * standardized regression coefficients are significant at p < .05.

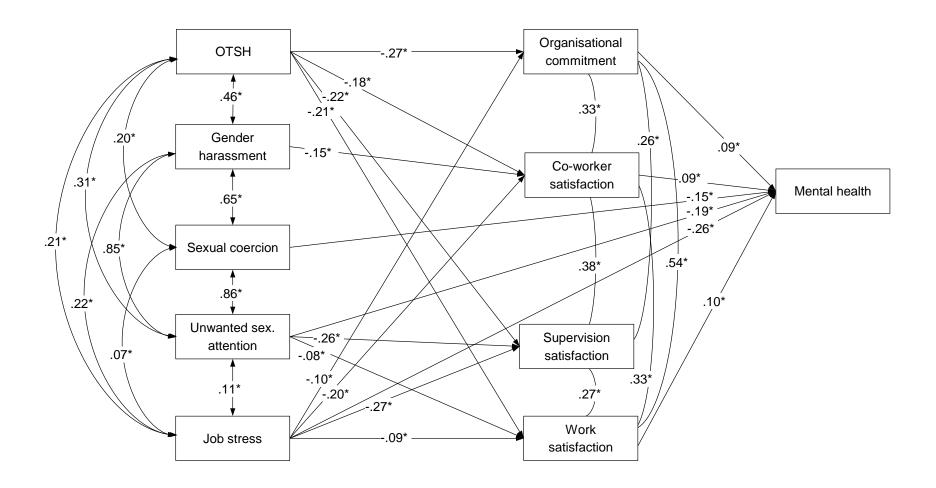


Figure 4. Partially mediated model with standardized regression weights. OTSH = Organizational tolerance for sexual harassment. X^2 (12, N =

681) = 12.5, p = .41; AGFI = .98; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .01; * standardized regression coefficients are significant at p < .05.