6-27-2011

"Hey Lady, You're Hot!" Emotional and Cognitive Effects of Gender-Based Street Harassment on Women

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“HEY LADY, YOU’RE HOT!”

EMOTIONAL AND COGNITIVE EFFECTS OF GENDER-BASED STREET HARASSMENT ON WOMEN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Psychology

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August 2011

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On a daily basis, women in public places are the targets of cat calls, crude comments, and all other manner of behaviors which have been labeled street harassment. The current study seeks to add to the sparse data regarding women’s experiences of street harassment by using an experimental between-groups design to measure the emotional and cognitive effects of witnessing street harassment in a short film clip. While participants in the experimental group watched a film clip of a woman being harassed by men as she walked down the street, participants in the control group watched a film clip showing a neutral street scene. Self-report scales were used to measure the dependent variables of self-objectification, negative and positive affect, and fear of rape. A scale for measuring the frequency of women’s past experience of street harassment, the Street Harassment Scale, was also developed with the hopes of furthering research in this area. The 28 item scale demonstrated high internal reliability (Alpha = .97). A factor analysis confirmed two factors used to construct the Hostile/Threatening Subscale and Complimentary/Benevolent Subscale with each subscale also showing excellent internal reliability.

Results from 79 female college student participants indicated that women reported experiencing high levels of street harassment ranging from minor and seemingly complimentary to severe and frightening. Subjectively complimentary/benign harassment was reported as more common than hostile/threatening. Participants in the experimental

group did not report significantly different levels of self-objectification or fear of rape. However, the women who watched the video of street harassment did report significantly higher levels of anger than women who watched a film clip of a neutral street scene. Data also indicated that the more experience women had being harassed in the past, the more negatively they responded to the film of street harassment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor and friend, Maureen C. McHugh, for all of her guidance, inspiration, and support in not only my dissertation process but my entire graduate school career. She is a mentor in the truest sense of the word and I feel blessed to have met her. I would also like to acknowledge my committee members, Anson Long and Margaret Reardon, for being such valuable sources of information, help, and encouragement.

My family and friends have been wonderful to me throughout this process, especially my mother, Diane Rabinowitz, my father, Michael Sullivan, and my brother, Shlomo Bear. Thank you for putting up with my grouchy moods and hyperbolic whines. Thanks to my good friend, Becky Parker, for being both my accountability buddy at the library and the coffee shop as well as my procrastination partner. And finally, I would never have been able to finish this dissertation let alone make it through graduate school without the love and support of my husband, Justin Cummings.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

On a daily basis, women in public places are the targets of catcalls, unwanted touches, crude comments about their appearance or sexual predilections, and all other manner of harassment. Two of the first scholars to study the phenomenon of street harassment, Benard and Schlaffer (1981), found that women on the streets of Vienna were harassed regardless of their age, weight, clothing or race by men of every different race and socio-economic level. Gardner (1995) defined street harassment as "that group of abuses, harryings, and annoyances characteristic of public places and uniquely facilitated by communication in public" (p. 4). The prevailing societal opinion on street harassment is that it is annoying but not really such a big deal. It is just boys being boys.

Janet Swim and her colleagues found that everyday sexist events, including degrading or objectifying comments, do in fact have a negative impact on women's psychological well-being (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Fergusan, 2001). Experiences of sexism made women feel less comfortable in their environment, more angry and depressed, and were even related to a decrease in their self-esteem. This finding was not specific to the experience of being harassed on the street; however, several theorists have looked at how street harassment in particular may have a negative impact on women's psychological wellness.

Not surprisingly, the few studies that have been done show that, in fact, street harassment makes women feel sexually vulnerable, since most of the comments are sexual in nature. Macmillan, Nierobisz, and Welsh (2000), using data from the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey of 12,300 Canadian women, found that being harassed on the street by a stranger had a strong impact on a woman's view of her own safety across situations.

Gardner (1995) interviewed hundreds of women about their experiences of street harassment and found that, for the overwhelming majority of women, such experiences made them feel more vulnerable and more conscious of their bodies as objects on parade for the

enjoyment or degradation of strange men. She theorized that even unsolicited complimentary comments by strangers serve to make women feel as if they are guests in public spaces that are controlled by men.

The present study seeks to add to the sparse literature studying the prevalence of gender-based street harassment and how it affects the women who are its targets. Using the theoretical foundations of Gardner (1995) and Swim (2001), I conceptualize street harassment as a form of everyday sexism that intrudes into a woman's privacy and reminds her of her own sexual vulnerability. In order to further the study of street harassment, I created a new measure entitled the Street Harassment Scale that measures the frequency of a variety of specific harassment experiences ranging from complimentary to hostile and benign to threatening. Building off of the large body of literature regarding Objectification Theory, the current study used an experimental model to attempt to prime a state of self-objectification using a film portraying street harassment. It was predicted that participants would report increased states of self-objectification, negative affect, particularly feelings of anger, discomfort, and fear, and a heightened fear of rape in response to the street harassment film.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Daily Sexist Events

Despite the advances in gaining equal rights for women in the United States over the past hundred years, sexism still affects the lives of all women. Sexual assault and sexual harassment in the workplace are two widely recognized sexist events that continue to occur at an alarming rate in western culture and are perceived as being extremely harmful not only to the women who are victims but to society as a whole. However, while men and women alike are quick to acknowledge the existence of and to rail against rape and sexual harassment, they often overlook the day-to-day experience of more subtle and less obviously traumatic forms of sexist discrimination against women (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997; Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). There is ample research demonstrating that women experience discrimination in many areas, from the workplace, where they are paid less then men for the same work and are more likely to be laid off, to the receipt of health care, which is disproportionately tailored to target men (see Landrine & Klonoff, 1997 for a review). In addition to differential treatment by gender, sexism can be seen in the still frequent use of sexist jokes, both derogating women and giving support to stereotypical gender norms, as well as subtle sexist language (LaFrance & Woodzicka, 1998; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, & Stangor, 2005). The anticipation of sexist experiences influences women's choices about when and whether to avoid or enter certain situations, thereby causing women to structure their activities and environment to minimize the anticipated distress and damage that they experience from these sexist events (Swim, et al., 1998).

In the past decade, daily experiences of sexist events have been re-conceptualized as a subtype of daily hassles (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). While major life events, such as the death of a family member or the loss of a job, have long been causally linked to physical and mental illness, smaller-scale, daily annoyances have also been shown to cause an increase in stress and illness (Evans, Jacobs, Dooley, & Catalano, 1987; Weiten, 1998). Researchers studying daily

hassles have defined them as "irritating, frustrating, distressing, demands that to some degree characterize everyday transactions with the environment (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981, p. 3)." Kanner and his colleagues found that not only are the experiences of daily hassles positively correlated with psychological symptoms, they actually account for more of the variance in psychological symptoms than do major life events. Therefore, the more daily hassles a person endures the more vulnerable he or she may be to psychological distress and psychiatric symptoms.

Using the data from large-scale epidemiological surveys, Kessler and McLeod (1984) found that women experience significantly more daily hassles than do men. They theorized that this difference might be due to increased life stressors associated with female gender roles. Although past studies had postulated that women cope with daily stressor less effectively than do men, Almeida and Kessler (1998) showed that the actual number of daily stressors mediated the experience of distress in couples. They studied a sample of couples and found that wives experienced greater exposure to more frequent daily stressors than husbands. In addition, Mayberry and Graham (2001) found that negative interpersonal hassles are particularly predictive of symptoms of stress and women report experiencing more interpersonal stressors and stronger emotional reactions to these stressors than do men (McIntire, Korn, & Matsuo, 2008). McIntire, Korn, and Matsuo cautioned, however, that men may be less inclined to report strong emotional reactions because of the impact of social desirability.

If women are experiencing a greater number of hassles, as the literature repeatedly suggests, perhaps it is because certain hassles are specific to the lives of women. It has already been explained that sexism and sexist discrimination are frequent experiences for women. Therefore, daily exposure to non-violent sexist events could account for women's higher number of daily hassles. Landrine and Klonoff (1997) made the case for this argument using data from their landmark measure, the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE) (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). They conceptualized sexist events as "discriminatory acts or events that happen to women because they

are women (p. 22)" and hypothesized a link between women's disproportionately high rate of depressive and anxiety disorders (Myers, et al., 1984) and their exposure to sexist events. In fact, because the experience of sexist events is far more demeaning and unfair than the experience of non-gendered stressors (e.g. misplacing one's keys), Landrine and Klonoff predicted that sexist events would have an even more dramatic impact on mental health than would daily hassles. Because daily stress has already been shown to have a negative effect on physical and mental health, Landrine and Klonoff argued that simply by showing a correlation between sexist events and stress related symptoms they could then assume causality.

In order to construct the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE) scale, Landrine and Klonoff asked 120 women in a large airport to describe, in writing, the "worst thing that [had] ever happened to or been done to them because they are women (1997, p. 12)." What they found was that, although a startling number of women reported hostile and physical acts, the overwhelming majority of events described were subtle, everyday experiences of being treated differently because of gender. They put it succinctly:

> Many woman (thankfully) have not been sexually harassed by their boss, or beaten up or raped. Instead what bothers many women are the daily, ongoing petty acts of discrimination—being ignored, treated as if they are stupid, excluded, ridiculed, called names, and treated in an unfair way by their families, lovers, employers, and coworkers alike (p. 17).

These qualitative descriptions of pervasive sexist experiences were used to construct the survey questions on the SSE in order to gain quantifiable data on the frequency of women's experience of daily sexism. Some examples of 23 items that make up the SSE include: "How many times have you been made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm because you are a woman?", "How many times have you heard people making sexist jokes or degrading sexual jokes?", and "How many times have you been treated unfairly by teachers or professors because you are a woman?" (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995). Factor analysis of subsequently

gathered data revealed four factors of sexist events: Sexist Degradation and Its Consequences, Sexist Discrimination in Distant Relationships, Sexism in Close Relationships, and Sexist Discrimination in the Workplace.

The results from several different samples showed that about 99% of women acknowledged experiencing sexist discrimination at some point in their lifetime and an almost equally large percentage reported experiencing such events in the past year. Landrine and Klonoff (1997) found that the frequency of experienced sexist events did not vary depending on the income or educational attainment of the woman, suggesting that women of all socio-economic levels experience similar levels of sexist discrimination in their daily lives. However, differences were found on other demographic variables. Single women reported experiencing more sexist events than married women and minority women reported being called sexist names more often than white women and experiencing more sexism in their relationships with family than did white women. Perhaps not surprisingly, women in their early 20's reported more experiences of sexist events than did women 30 and older, specifically of sexist degradation and name-calling.

Finally, Landrine and Klonoff (1997) found that when using both the SSE and a measure of non-gender related daily stressors, the SSE was the single best predictor of psychiatric and physical symptoms. Multiple regression analysis showed that the frequency of sexist events accounted for 10-16% of the variability in measures of symptoms of anxiety, depression, obsessive-compulsivity, menstrual pain, and interpersonal sensitivity. According to the authors,

> Given that generic stressful life events have been demonstrated to *cause* the symptoms in question, it is highly likely that sexist events similarly cause those same symptoms—and that is how and why they were found to be related to those symptoms (p. 75).

Subsequent studies have supported Landrine and Klonoff in their findings that women's experience of daily sexist events negatively impacts their mental and physical health (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Corning, 2002; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Moradi, & Funderburk,

2006; Zucker & Landry, 2007; DeBleaere & Moradi, 2008). When comparing men and women, Klonoff, Landrine and Campbell (2000) found that women who experienced very few incidents of sexist discrimination reported depressive, anxious, and somatic symptoms at a similar level to the male participants. But the women who reported experiencing significantly high numbers of sexist events reported a great deal more mental health symptoms then the men. Zucker and Landry (2007) used the SSE to examine the possible link between experiencing sexist events and smoking. They found that the frequency of sexist events is positively correlated with smoking and drinking behavior in women. Therefore, Zucker and Landry conclude, the use of alcohol and tobacco might be a coping strategy that women use to deal with the distress caused by sexism. It is important to remember, however, that correlation does not equal causation and women who use tobacco may spend more time in environments where sexist hassles occur more frequently (e.g. bars, saloons). When Moradi and Subich (2003) used the SSE, the Schedule of Racist Events (SRE), and the Brief Symptom Checklist to examine how sexist and racist events interact to affect African-American women in college and community samples of women, they found that sexist events accounted for a unique variance in psychological distress over and above racist events. In qualitative questionnaires, the participants noted that the distinction between racist and sexist events was artificial, in their experience, because they experienced oppression as an African American woman, not as distinctly African American and women.

In order to avoid the limitations of retrospective studies, Swim and her colleagues examined the prevalence and impact of what they termed "everyday sexism" using daily diaries instead of retrospective surveys (Swim, et al., 2001). In a series of three studies, the authors had male and female participants fill out qualitative and quantitative questionnaires asking about any gender related incidents that they observed during their day. Participants were asked to rate the degree to which they felt the incident reflected sexism as well as their own emotional responses to the event. Swim and her colleagues also looked at how the participants' scores on measures of modern sexism interacted with their responses in the diaries as well as which responses correlated

with measures of self-esteem and daily mood states. The results from the three studies indicate that sexist hassles are a common experience for women; these events occur on average once or twice a week for college age women. The authors categorized the experiences as falling into one or more of three categories: incidents involving 1) traditional gender role prejudice, 2) demeaning and derogatory comments and behavior, or 3) sexual objectification (2001). Although male participants also reported experiencing sexist events, the frequency of women's experiences was much higher than that of men, especially of sexual objectification. Perhaps most important was the finding that the most common emotional response to sexist events was anger and the frequency of sexist events was positively correlated with higher levels of anger, depression, and feelings of discomfort. Swim and her colleagues conclude:

> The mundane nature of these incidents does not mean that they are inconsequential. The present studies have shown them to have measurable, detrimental impact on women's and men's psychological well-being (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Fergusan, 2001, p. 51).

Street Harassment

One type of daily sexist event that may negatively contribute to women's mental health and wellbeing is gender-based street harassment. Although some feminist scholars and researchers have discussed and studied it (e.g. Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Gardner, 1996; Swim, et al., 2001), street harassment has enjoyed very little empirical research and has generally been viewed by the public as a sometimes flattering, perhaps annoying, trivial detail of urban life. However, the little research that has been done on the effects of street harassment suggest that, far from being experienced as merely annoying, such behavior can cause women to feel angry, uncomfortable, frustrated, and fearful (Macmillan, Neirobisz, & Welsh, 2000; Lenton, Smith, Fox, & Morra, 1999; Gardner, 1995). The frequency of these experiences is associated with decreased feelings of safety in public places, increased fear of being sexually assaulted, and agoraphobia (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Lord, 2009; Macmillan, et al., 2000).

Although public harassment is directed towards individuals belonging to various groups, including people of ethnic minorities, those with disabilities, and those who identify as homosexual (Fogg-Davis, 2006; Gardner, 1995), I have chosen to focus on gender-based street harassment. Within this category, there are many different types of harassing behaviors, ranging from staring openly at a woman's breasts to complimenting her on her breasts to grabbing her breasts. Verbal comments can seem flattering, such as telling a woman that she is beautiful, or they can appear flirtatious, such as asking a woman for her telephone number. They can also appear blatantly hostile, such as calling a woman a bitch or a whore. However, the characteristics that unite all of these behaviors under the banner of street harassment are the following:

> (1) the targets of street harassment are female; (2) the harassers are male; (3) the harassers are unacquainted with their targets; (4) the encounter is face to face; (5) the forum is a public one, such as a street, sidewalk, bus, bus station, taxi, or other place to which the public generally has access; but (6) the content of the speech, if any, is not intended as public discourse. Rather, the remarks are aimed at the individual (although the harasser may intend that they be overheard by comrades or passers-by), and they are objectively degrading, objectifying, humiliating, and frequently threatening in nature (Bowman, 1993, p. 524).

In her groundbreaking ethnographic study of street harassment, Gardner (1995) identified specific types and subtle characteristics of harassment. After interviewing 506 targets and perpetrators of street harassment, Gardner concluded that harassment can be categorized as an "access information intrusion", an "exploitation of presence", a "street remark", or a combination of all three. Harassment that attempts to access a woman's information can range in severity from asking for a woman's phone number on a busy street to following her at night for many blocks. Exploitation of presence violates a woman's physical space and ruffles her calm, dignified exterior. Examples of this type of harassment include blocking a woman's path, touching, hitting, tripping or poking. Street remarks are most often evaluative and sometimes come in the form of

eloquent innuendos, effectively redefining a mundane activity or situation by giving it sexual undertones. Although commenting on a stranger's inappropriate behavior is within the realm of accepted public behavior, such as when the person cuts in line or is wearing a costume (Goffman, 1963), "in men's street remarks to women, however, men treat women engaged in a perfectly satisfactory achievement of gender as if their performance was in some way flawed; that many women react to this with anxiety or confusion is understandable (Gardner, 1995, p. 146)."

Obviously, these categories of harassment are not mutually exclusive and a harassing behavior can be a combination of these types. For example, by following a woman a harasser both intrudes on her private information by seeking to know where she is going or where she lives and also exploits her presence in public. What does seem common to all types of street harassment is that it is often "stealthy, quick, silent and unseen" (Gardner, 1995, p. 148). Because of this, the target's attention is often diverted and the harassment comes too unexpectedly and quickly for a woman to satisfactorily react. When harassment is more overt, harassers often inject humor into their behavior thereby making the woman the butt of the joke and leaving her unable to make a serious or satisfactory response. It also depoliticizes the harassing behavior, making it seem lighthearted and non-threatening (Gardner, 1995).

Another defining characteristic of street harassment is that it occurs in public spaces where specific, unspoken codes define appropriate behavior between strangers so that people can move about in public without feeling threatened. One of these social norms, described in detail by Goffman (1963), is the norm of "civil inattention". Civil inattention generally forbids strangers from giving each other too much attention in public. Although there are certain legitimate phrases that strangers can say to each other when passing on the street, such as a brief greeting or asking for the time, all other speech is discouraged. Just as with speech, civil inattention dictates that directly looking at a stranger is appropriate only for a brief moment and then only in the face. In sum, civil inattention allows individuals to maintain a sense of privacy and to feel protected from the intrusion of strangers into their private space (Goffman, 1963).

When a man makes a sexually suggestive comment to or about a female stranger on the street, looks fixedly at her body as she walks past him, or reaches out to touch her, it would seem that this is a blatant violation of the social norm of civil inattention. If street harassment does, in fact, violate a social norm, then it would stand to reason that harassers form a special category of men and such behavior is abnormal and infrequent. Interestingly, neither of these things appears to be true. Although most women and men alike assume that the majority of perpetrators of street harassment are working-class and of a minority race, interviews with perpetrators and targets indicate that harassers are men of every race, age, socio-economic status, and cultural background (Gardner, 1995; Benard & Schlaffer, 1981). When looking at the frequency of street harassment, data is sparse. However, the only two large-scale surveys measuring the frequency of street harassment of women found that between 85 and 91% of the Canadian women sampled had experienced some type of street harassment after the age of 16 and 36% reported experiencing it in the last year (Lenton, et al.,1999; Macmillan, et al., 2000). Both of these surveys defined street harassment more narrowly than the previous definition dictates; therefore, these numbers probably underestimate the frequency of street harassment as it is defined in the current study.

In a survey study of "stranger harassment" with a sample of 228 female college students, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) found that 30% of the women sampled reported getting catcalled, whistled or stared at every few days, over 70% reported receiving unwanted sexual attention at least once a month, and over 30% reported being forcefully fondled or grabbed at least once a month. After interviewing 100 women recruited from public spaces, Nielsen (2000) found that 61% reported being made the target of sexually suggestive comments "every day" or "often". As part of an anti-street harassment campaign, a group of female teenagers surveyed peers in their urban neighborhood and found that 36% of teenagers surveyed said that they were catcalled once a day or more (Roberson, 2005). With the results from these various surveys indicating that most women experience harassing behavior from male strangers in public at least once in their lifetime and as much as every day, it would seem that another social norm or code is guiding the behavior.

Because the analyses discussed are all based on the assumption that men are the perpetrators of street harassment against women, with the exception of women harassing men as a form of protest of or response to male harassment of women, it is logical to assume that street harassment functions in some way to maintain or construct gender roles. Gardner asked both targets and perpetrators why they believed street harassment occurred and the responses indicated that the interviewees either romanticized or politicized the encounter. Within the romanticized perspective, men and women often interpret street harassment as flattery, chivalry, or a form of courtship. Those who used politicized interpretations of street harassment, on the other hand, might view it as either righteous retaliation against the women's liberation movement or as a continuation of the violence against women that is perpetrated in the forms of workplace sexual harassment and domestic violence.

Lenton and her colleagues (1999) reviewed three possible theoretical explanations for street harassment. The socio-structural explanation proposes that men harass women in order to assert their power over women within the social hierarchy. In the current hierarchy, men have access to significantly more power and resources than do women. This argument points to the fact that the targets of public harassment are members of groups that are discriminated against, including racial minorities and those with disabilities.

The socio-cultural theory, on the other hand, proposes that street harassment serves as a way to construct gender and maintain the norms that control gender (Lenton, et al., 1999). Men often harass in groups and report that it increases their feelings of male solidarity and their sense of their own masculinity (Gardner, 1995; Benard & Schlaffer, 1981). Because street harassment is frequently sexually suggestive, it also reinforces norms of heterosexuality. This explanation is supported by instances in which men harass other men who do not appear sufficiently masculine by calling them "faggot" or "queer". For women, harassment emphasizes their role as sexual objects and the harassers' role as sexual predators, a gender role paradigm that is also

overwhelmingly evident in media constructs of gender (Kilbourne & Jhally, 2001). The objectifying nature of street harassment is an area that will be explored in more depth shortly.

Important to the socio-cultural theory is the idea that harassment in public serves to remind women that they are violating the female gender role merely by being out on the street (Lenton, et al., 1999). Until quite recently in history, women were discouraged from leaving the private sphere of the home unaccompanied and the only women who spent significant time on the street were prostitutes (Gardner, 1995; Benard & Schlaffer, 1981). Because, as Bowman (1993) states, "harassment makes the urban environment uncomfortable, hostile, and frightening for women (1993, p. 539)" it causes them to restrict their mobility in order to spend less time there.

This idea has been supported by research findings. In her interviews with women, Gardner (1995) found that many women changed their route to work when faced with daily street harassment and sometimes even quit their jobs if they experienced harassment that was particularly threatening. Lord (2009) surveyed 133 randomly selected undergraduate women and found that the more negatively they reacted to street harassment, the more likely they were to report restricting their mobility. Lord used these findings to confirm the previous suggestion of McHugh (2004) that street harassment may be a contributing factor to agoraphobia, a disorder significantly more common for woman then for men (American Psychiatric Association, 2001).

The third explanation proposed by Lenton and her colleagues (1999) is the social control theory, which argues that men harass women on the street in order to assert their social dominance and reify the status quo. This theory puts street harassment on a continuum with sexual assault and rape, arguing that, as Fogg-Davis (2006) eloquently states:

> Just as rape is not about sex, street harassment is not about flirtation or courtship. Both acts are meant to assert male dominance over women in situations where women appear vulnerable, and both leave psychological wounds on women's lives that are rarely tended to, let alone acknowledged (p. 65).

Support for this theory can be seen in the fact that harassers often escalate the aggression and hostility of their comments when women retaliate angrily to street harassment (Lenton, et al., 1999).

While each of the three theories (socio-structural, socio-cultural, and social control) provide a different perspective on the possible function of street harassment, it is important to look more closely at how street harassment affects the women it targets. Using data from the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey that surveyed 12,300 Canadian women, Macmillan and her colleagues (2000) found that the more experiences a woman had being harassed in public and the more varied these experiences, the less safe she felt in public. In fact stranger harassment had a much larger effect on women's perception of safety than did sexual harassment in the workplace. Stranger harassment was associated with increased fears about safety while walking alone at night, using public transportation, and walking alone in a parking garage. The authors argue that street harassment causes women to feel less safe in public because it is a unique combination of unwanted sexualized interactions with people who are unknown. This may cue women to perceive the male harassers as potential rapists rather than as potential guardians, leading women to be aware of their own sexual vulnerability and, therefore, feel unsafe in public spaces (Macmillan, et al., 2000).

Reviewing the literature on perceptions of safety from criminal activity, it is immediately evident that women are significantly more fearful of being victimized than are men (Gordon & Riger, 1989; Harris & Miller, 2000; Rozee, 2000). This is despite numerous data showing that men, in fact, are significantly more likely to be the victims of crime (Lenton, et al., 1999; Ferraro, 1996). However, when Ferraro (1996) controlled for the fear of rape and focused on fears of other crime, she found the men actually display higher levels of fear of murder and assault than do women. Ferraro concluded that the fear of rape actually causes women to fear all crime more because any face-to-face crime against women, such as burglary, could theoretically lead to rape. Warr (1985) surveyed urban women and found that young women fear rape more than any other

criminal offense including murder, assault and robbery. This fear causes women to take certain lifestyle precautions, such as limiting where and when they go out and whether they go places alone.

Although the fear of rape is a completely rational fear of men's violence, developed from personal and societal history of violence towards women in the home, workplace and public, it is also inflamed and manipulated by the media, advertising, and society at large (Stanko, 1995). Women receive messages from the time they are small to both fear rape and to avoid situations that could lead to rape. However, because rape is not under their control this leads to a constant low-level fear whenever they leave the house (Gordon & Riger, 1989). It is probably for this reason that men are not aware of the fear that street harassment triggers. They simply do not have the same reasons to fear it because they are not socialized to fear rape.

Women who immediately resist rapists are less likely to be raped, but it is difficult to know that a man is planning to rape until it is too late. Therefore, attending to intuition and gut reactions is an important survival skill (Gordon & Riger, 1989). Unfortunately, women are also taught to ignore such reactions of fear, anger, and discomfort when they are harassed by unknown men on the street. This places women in a horrible double-bind: if they react based on their feelings they are discredited and often ridiculed; whereas if they do not react and suppress those feelings they disconnect themselves from important inner cues and may put themselves at risk for victimization (Bowman, 1993).

In their phone survey of 1,990 randomly selected Canadian women age 18 to 65, Lenton and her colleagues (1999) asked about the frequency of victimization of several types of crime, including harassment by unknown men in public. They also asked women about their fear of crime and strategies used to protect themselves. Out of the 91% of sampled women who reported experiencing street harassment, 75% reported feeling fear immediately following the harassment. 20% reported feeling angry. Only 2.9% reported feeling nothing. Almost 20% reported still feeling upset or afraid about harassment that had occurred years before. In addition, the most

commonly reported behavioral reaction to the harassment was an alteration of the woman's own behavior to reduce the risk of future victimization (Lenton, et al., 1999). This supports the proposition that street harassment causes women to experience negative emotional reactions, including anger, discomfort, and fear and that harassment may trigger women's awareness of their vulnerability to sexual assault.

Hadleigh-West (1998) strengthens this theoretical connection between a woman's experience of street harassment and her fear of men and of rape. In her film, *War Zone*, Hadleigh-West confronts men who harass her and other young women as they walk down the street. She films the harassers while asking them to talk about their reasons for making comments about an unknown woman's appearance and sexuality. The perpetrators of harassment are often caught off-guard and express surprise, alarm, and even hostility at her attempt to turn the attention from her body and the bodies of other women to their own behavior. In this way, Hadleigh-West puts the perpetrators into the same position of discomfort and self-consciousness that is often experienced by their targets (Hadleigh-West & Levine, 1998). Openly filming a stranger on the street is an invasion of privacy, as stated by many of the men caught on tape, similar to openly sexualizing a stranger on the street. In addition to illustrating how street harassment invades women's privacy, Hadleigh-West also provides examples of how the seemingly innocuous ritual can become threatening to women's sexual safety. Once a woman has been sexually assaulted by a stranger on the street, all other street harassment becomes potentially threatening. Even if a woman has never been assaulted, street harassment reminds her of the constant danger that such an event could occur.

Self-Objectification

It has been theorized that, in addition to causing women to feel sexually vulnerable, street harassment may also cause women to feel self-conscious and be concerned or embarrassed about their appearance. Feminist theory has discussed at length how the feeling of self-consciousness about one's body and appearance can be problematic for women. When a woman is regularly

reminded that her appearance is the most salient and important thing about her and that this appearance does not match the societal ideal, she may suffer a range of negative consequences.

In modern society, maintaining physical attractiveness is a daily obsession for women. While in the past, researchers and theorists speculated that this focus on maintaining one's beauty was due to women's innate narcissism, research now clearly shows that the cause lies not in women themselves but in the societal pressures placed upon them (Kilbourne & Jhally, 2001; Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). In particular, women are faced with a daily onslaught of sexual objectification wherein they are viewed as a collection of physical attributes and body parts valued only in terms of how much pleasure they provide the viewer (Bartkey, 1990). This can be seen in the common method used by advertisers and music video directors of showing close-up images of women's breasts or their legs as well interpersonal encounters wherein women become aware that the man with whom she is speaking is looking at her breasts instead of into her eyes. Many types of street harassment are also clearly sexually objectifying, such as when men comment on a woman's breasts or buttocks as she walks by on the street.

When a woman is sexually objectified, she becomes compartmentalized into what can be sexualized and these sexualized parts are then seen as defining her as a person. She loses the complexity that is common to all people and becomes simply a body to be ogled or derided. Although men can be sexually objectified, it is by and large women who are victims. Whether this is because objectification perpetuates societal norms regarding male dominance or results from evolutionary directives is open for debate. What is clear is that women experience a constant onslaught of objectification, whether it is in the media (Kilbourne & Jhally, 2001) or in interpersonal encounters (Frederickson & Roberts, 1997), and they are constantly reminded that their level of physical attractiveness has an enormous impact on their success in life, love, and the workplace.

Frederickson and Roberts (1997) developed Objectification Theory as a conceptual framework within which sexual objectification can be understood and its effects studied. They

theorize that, because it becomes an unavoidable part of a women's daily life when she reaches puberty, sexual objectification has significant negative effects on a woman's self-construct and, consequently, her mental and physical wellbeing. They state that "a critical repercussion of being viewed by others in sexually objectifying ways is that, over time, individuals may be coaxed to internalize an observer's perspective on self (p. 179)", a phenomenon they label "self-objectification". When a woman self-objectifies, she sees herself as a body to be seen and evaluated instead of as an agent of action. Competency becomes less important than beauty and she spends an inordinate amount of mental energy monitoring her body for flaws. This, in turn, reduces the amount of mental energy that can be dedicated to peak emotional experiences, which have been shown to be crucial in maintaining good mental health. Frederickson and Roberts also propose that self-objectification causes women to feel shame and anxiety that, taken with the reduced ability to experience flow, might explain the higher base rates of depression and anxiety disorders among women.

In their parallel theory, McKinley and Hyde (1996) describe self-objectification as "objectified body consciousness", an experience that they deconstruct into three distinct elements: 1) body surveillance, 2) internalization of cultural body standards, and 3) beliefs about appearance control. According to McKinley and Hyde,

> Constant self-surveillance, seeing themselves as others see them, is necessary to ensure that women comply with cultural body standards and avoid negative judgments. Women's relationship to their bodies becomes that of object and external onlooker; they exist as objects to themselves. Women learn to associate body surveillance with self-love, health, and individual achievement (p. 183).

The core of objectified body consciousness, or self-objectification as I will now call it, is a comparison between one's own body and the cultural ideal. Unfortunately, this ideal is very rarely achieved and, therefore, the comparison often leads to shame and a constant preoccupation with minimizing the discrepancy between one's own body and the cultural ideal.

Since the publication of objectification theory, researchers have quickly built a large body of work supporting its applicability as a theory as well as testing the purported negative effects of self-objectification. Measures of self-objectification, including the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) and the Self-Objectification Questionnaire (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998), have allowed for quantification and statistical analysis of the experience. Results from both experimental and correlational studies support the hypothesis that internalizing societal standards of beauty leads women to monitor their bodies and feel ashamed when they do not match the ideal (Sinclair, 2006; Moradi, Dirks, & Mateson, 2005; Posavac, Posavac, & Posavac, 1998). There have also been multiple findings suggesting that self-objectification is a contributing factor in the development of mood and eating disorders in women (Myers & Crowther, 2008; Greenleaf & McGreer, 2006; Moradi, et al., 2005; Sinclair & Myers, 2004; Tiggemann & Williamson, 2004).

In their extensive review of the literature, Moradi and Huang (2008) find consistent support for the idea that self-objectification can be primed using laboratory techniques simulating sexually objectifying contexts. This is important because it indicates that while chronic levels of self-objectification vary between women depending on each woman's life-long experiences being objectified, self-objectification levels also vary within a given individual depending on the situation (Moradi & Huang, 2008, Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). Because of this, self-objectification is often conceptualized as being both a state and a trait. However, defining self-objectification as a trait implies that it is innate and relatively unaffected by environment, an implication that is theoretically invalid (Moradi & Huang, 2008). It may be more helpful to differentiate between self-reported, habitual self-objectification and contextually heightened states of self-objectification.

In their pioneering experimental study, Fredrickson and her colleagues found that self-objectification could be primed merely by having participants try on a swimsuit and that the effects of this self-objectification were significantly more negative for women than for men

(Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998). In the experiment, male and female college students were randomly assigned to try on either a swimsuit or a sweater alone in a room with a full-length mirror and, while in the dressing room, were then asked to take a food taste test and a math test. Results showed that wearing a swimsuit caused both men and women to score significantly higher on measures of self-objectification. However, while this primed self-objectification caused men to feel silly and awkward, it caused women to feel disgust, revulsion, and body shame. In addition, the women who had tried on a bathing suit scored significantly worse on the math test and displayed more restrained eating than women wearing a sweater. No such differences were found for men. The authors concluded from these results that the negative consequences of self-objectification are not part of a general human condition but rather are socialized to primarily impact young women because of the cultural focus on objectification of the female body. In addition, they concluded that certain situations prime women to self-objectify and to feel "on display" (Fredrickson, et al., 1998).

Subsequent studies have replicated and expanded these findings. In order to test whether it was stereotype threat and not self-objectification causing the differences in women's math test scores, Quinn and her colleagues replicated the experiment using the Stroop Color Word Test instead of a math test (Quinn, Kallen, Twenge, & Fredrickson, 2006). Reflecting the previous findings, women wearing swimsuits were significantly slower in identifying words than women wearing sweaters thus providing additional support for the hypothesis that self-objectification strains the attentional resources of women. Quinn, Kallen, and Cathey (2006) tested women after they had changed back out of the swimsuits and sweaters and found that the temporary increase in self-objectification actually persisted even after they were wearing regular clothing. Specifically, the more shame women felt, the more likely they were to continue to self-objectify.

Others have explored additional contexts that may temporarily heighten self-objectification. Roberts and Gettman (2004) presented randomly assigned participants with a word scramble exercise comprised of either words focusing on body and beauty ideals or on

competency. They found that women in the objectifying word group exhibited higher levels of shame and appearance anxiety and than did women exposed to competency words. In addition, women presented with objectifying word scrambles rated the physical aspects of sex as less appealing than did the women in the control group. Consistent with previous findings, no significant differences were found between the men in each group. Roberts and Gettman (2004) concluded that because priming works to evoke an entrenched schema about a given situation or stereotype, the schema of self-objectification must be very well developed and deeply encoded if exposure to a few scrambled words alone can evoke it.

Inherent in objectification theory is the idea that self-objectification occurs when young women begin to internalize the male gaze. Feminist theorists describe the male gaze as the objectifying gaze that women endure daily and which they learn to anticipate and prepare for (Bartkey, 1990). Calogero (2004) combined this idea with the previous studies on priming self-objectification by telling female participants that they were either going to meet with a male experimenter or a female experimenter or telling them nothing. The women who anticipated talking with a male experimenter endorsed significantly higher levels of body shame and social physique anxiety than women in the two other groups. Calogero concluded that these women anticipated the male gaze and, therefore, began self-objectifying in order to monitor their appearance in preparation.

Interestingly, a recent study by Gervais, Vescio, and Allen (2011) found that women subjected to the sexually objectifying gaze of a male confederate did not report higher states of self-objectification. However, they did do significantly worse on a math test than women not subjected to such a gaze. The authors conclude that the male gaze activates stereotype threat, in essence reminding women that women are not expected to be very good at math causing them to become more anxious and less able to perform. It is important to note that neither Gervais and her colleagues or Calogero (2004) were studying the sexually objectifying gaze of a stranger on the street.

Although no experimental studies have yet been done to investigate the effects of street harassment on self-objectification, the previous studies mentioned do suggest that street harassment increases self-objectification. Fairchild and Rudman (2008) and Lord (2009) are the only researchers to study the link between street harassment and self-objectification directly using survey methodology. While Lord did not find a statistically significant correlation between frequency of street harassment experiences and self-objectification, she did find that the strength of women's negative emotional response to harassment was significantly positively correlated with self-objectification. A limitation to Lord's work is that she measured habitual, long-term levels of self-objectification using the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale rather than contextually heightened states of self-objectification.

Fairchild and Rudman (2008), on the other hand, found, using the Self-Objectification Questionnaire, that the frequency of past street harassment was significantly correlated with increases in self-objectification. The authors also assessed whether women blamed themselves for the harassment, whether they viewed the harassment as benign, and whether women used active or passive coping strategies to cope with street harassment. Results showed that women who responded to harassment either passively or by blaming themselves reported higher levels of self-objectification than women who coped actively (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). The authors concluded that "viewing stranger harassment as innocuous or complimentary does not protect women from self-objectification (p. 352)." These results make intuitive and theoretical sense, because the male gaze seems to be inextricably linked to street harassment, as is the impression that women targets are on display. Certainly male harassers are sexually objectifying their targets, either by ogling them or by verbally evaluating the target's body parts.

As mentioned above, some street remarks are interpreted as complimentary of women and, therefore, not harmful to them. Calogero, Herbozo, and Thompson (2009) studied the effects of complimentary remarks made by acquaintances to women about their body and appearance. They used the Verbal Commentary on Physical Appearance Scale (Herbozo & Thompson cited in

Calogero, Herbozo, & Thompson, 2009) to retrospectively measure the frequency and emotional reaction to received compliments and criticisms about physical appearance. They also presented female participants with the Self-Objectification Questionnaire (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998), the Body Surveillance subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996), and the Body Dissatisfaction subscale of the Eating Disorder Inventory-2 (Garner, 1991 cited by Calogero, Herbozo, & Thompson, 2009). Results showed that both strong positive feelings about compliments and strong negative feelings about criticisms were associated with increased body dissatisfaction and body surveillance. Women who scored higher on measures of trait self-objectification reported more body surveillance and dissatisfaction than did women who scored low. However, even women who reported low trait levels of self-objectification reported body dissatisfaction and surveillance equal to high self-objectifiers when they felt really bad about appearance criticisms. The findings from this study suggest that compliments about women's weight, shape, or appearance are associated with body dissatisfaction both among women who identify appearance as centrally important to their identity and women who do not. Even when women feel good about the appearance compliment, such comments do not appear to have a beneficial impact on body image or satisfaction about one's appearance. Therefore, remarks by strangers on the street that appear to compliment a woman's appearance probably have a similarly, if not more severe, negative effect.

In their review of the research and theory regarding sexual objectification, Szymanski, Moffit, and Carr (2011) point to the existence of sexually objectifying environments. They characterize such environments as promoting and deepening sexual objectification of women. According to the authors,

> [sexually objectifying environments] are ones in which (a) traditional gender roles exist, (b) a high probability of male contact exists (physically speaking, a male-dominated environment), (c) women typically hold less power than men in that environment, (d) a

high degree of attention is drawn to sexual/physical attributes of women's bodies, and (e) there is the approval and acknowledgment of the male gaze (p.20-21).

It could be argued that public streets can become sexually objectifying environments for many women, depending on the amount of street harassment they are exposed to and the acceptance of such behavior by other people in the area.

Measurement of Street Harassment

The frequency of and behavioral reactions to street harassment have been measured using a variety of measures; but, as of this time, there has been no uniform scale constructed to adequately capture the range and severity of harassing experiences. In studies by Lenton, Smith, Fox and Morra (1999) and Macmillan, Nierobisz, and Welsh (2000), frequency data was used from existing large scale data sets that had been gathered using surveys that included several questions about women's experiences of street harassment. Macmillan, Nierobisz and Welsh used data from the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey which surveyed 12,300 women and included 3 questions about unwanted attention from male strangers in public. Similarly, the data used by Lenton, Smith, Fox and Morra came from the survey of 1,990 randomly selected Canadian women and included 5 items specifically asking about street harassment: 1) a man stared at you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable, 2) a man shouted unwanted sexual comments at you, 3) a man indecently exposed himself to you, 4) a man followed you on foot or in a vehicle, and 5) a man touched or tried to touch you in a sexual away. Women were asked whether each experience had happened one time, more than one time, or never since age 16. A separate section in the survey asked about strategies women used to protect themselves from crime.

The only two surveys specifically created to measure the frequency of and reactions to street harassment were created by Fairchild and Rudman (2008) and Lord (2009). Fairchild and Rudman (2008) modified the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (Fitzgerald, 1996 cited in

Fairchild & Rudman, 2008) to measure the frequency of female college students' experiences of 9 types of stranger harassment. The 9 items ranged in severity and measured a variety of types (e.g. "Have you ever experienced crude and offensive sexual remarks, jokes, or actions from a stranger?", "Have you ever experienced catcalls, whistles, or stares from a stranger?", "Have you ever experienced direct or explicit pressure to cooperate sexually from a stranger?", and "Have you ever experienced unwanted touching, stroking, or hugging from a stranger?"). The measure then asked women to rate how often they had experienced each of these events using a scale of 1 (once) to 7 (everyday). The authors also modified the Coping with Harassment Questionnaire (Fitzgerald, 1990, cited in Fairchild & Rudman, 2008) to measure how actively or passively participants tended to respond to the harassment and whether they tended to be flattered or self-blaming.

Lord's (2009) measure of street harassment included 7 items that were to be rated on a Likert scale of 0 (Never) to 4 (almost always). Examples of the items include: "How often do men comment on your appearance?" and "How often do men touch you in a way that makes you uncomfortable (e.g. touching your waist, brushing a hand against your breast, squeezing your buttocks, etc)?" Lord's survey also asked how women have emotionally reacted to the experiences in general, asking them to rank how much they have felt anxious, afraid, angry, indifferent on Likert scale from 0 to 4.

While the street harassment measures of both Fairchild and Rudman (2008) and Lord (2009) are commendable in paving the road for a uniform way of measuring the frequency of street harassment, they do not adequately capture the complex dimensions of street harassment. Qualitative work by Gardner (1995) suggests that women experience various types of street harassment ranging from subjectively benign to severe, from complimentary to threatening, and

from joking to hostile. It is, therefore, necessary to create a scale that can capture the frequency of these dimensions.

CHAPTER 3

CURRENT STUDY

The current study seeks to contribute to the sparse literature on street harassment by investigating the frequency and effects of such harassment on the cognitive and affective experience of female targets using a simple experimental versus control design. Basing the design on the various studies in which a state of self-objectification was primed, the current study used a clip from the film, *War Zone*, by Maggie Hadleigh-West and Peter Levine (1998) as the independent variable that would experimentally simulate the experience of street harassment. The group who watched the *War Zone* clip was compared to a control group who watched a film clip of a neutral street scene. The participants who watched the film of street harassment were expected to instinctively access their existing affective and cognitive structures that had developed as responses to such experiences in the past. Having primed their instinctive emotional and cognitive reactions to street harassment experiences, these reactions were then measured using self-report measures. Simply asking participants to retrospectively recall their emotional responses to being harassed in the past would ignore the fact that affect is an acute, immediate experience that is difficult to remember accurately. Because the literature suggests that street harassment may cause the target to experience an increase in negative mood, objectified body consciousness, and awareness of her sexual vulnerability, the following hypotheses were predicted:

Hypothesis 1: Participants in the experimental group will score significantly higher on measures of self-objectification than participants in the control group.

Hypothesis 2: Participants in the experimental group will score significantly higher on a measure of their fear of rape.

Hypothesis 3: Participants in the experimental group will report significantly more negative affect and less positive affect than participants in the control group. Specifically, participants in the

experimental group will report higher levels of anger, frustration, fear, and shame than the control group.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Participants

Participants were 79 female undergraduate students randomly selected from the Indiana University of Pennsylvania subject pool. All of the women in the sample were between the ages of 18 and 25 with 91.1% of them younger than 22. They identified themselves predominantly as heterosexual with 8.9% of the women identifying as either lesbian, bisexual, trans, or "not sure". While 79.7% of the women identified themselves as white, 7.6% identified as African-American/Black, 3.8% identified as Hispanic/Latina, 2.5% identified as Asian-American, and 6.3% identified as other. The 5 women who chose the "other" category identified themselves as Pacific Islander, mixed African-American and white, Asian, Jamaican and Indian, and mixed African-American and Native American. Of the 79 participants, 41 were randomly assigned to the experimental group and 38 to the control group. They participated in the study as part of the Psychology 101 requirement in accordance with subject pool guidelines. Participants were not required to participate in the study and were given the option to fulfill the requirement in alternative ways, should they have desired.

Procedure

Participants completed the study in groups of 5-12. The study was introduced by a female researcher as being concerned with people's reactions to public places. Participants were then asked to sign a consent form before proceeding. The experimenter explained that all responses were confidential and participants could choose not to participate without losing course credit (see Appendix H).

Once all consent forms were signed and returned to the researcher, the group was randomly assigned to one of the two conditions based on a coin toss. The experimental group was shown a 45-second clip of the film *War Zone* (Hadleigh-West & Levine, 1998) featuring a woman walking down a busy city street with an audio track of men catcalling and verbally

harassing her. The participants in the control group watched a clip of equal length featuring a neutral scene filmed by an unseen person walking in an urban environment. Following the completion of the film, participants used individual computer monitors to complete measures of immediate affect, fear of rape, and self-objectification. In addition, they completed a measure of the frequency of past experiences of harassment and a demographic questionnaire. Participants were then thanked for their participation and given a debriefing form (see Appendix I) explaining the purpose of the study and providing contact information should participants wish for more information.

Measures

Frequency of Previous Harassment Experiences

In order to add to the sparse literature regarding street harassment frequency as well as to investigate the relationship between experiences of street harassment and responses to the experimental stimulus, it was judged important to gather data on the frequency of harassment experience for the women in our sample. Because there was no satisfactory scale specifically measuring the frequency of varying types of street harassment experiences, it was necessary to create a new scale. In her study of street harassment, Lord (2009) constructed an original scale with items asking about the frequency of general categories of street harassment. These general categories of street harassment were used as the basis for constructing items that asked about more specific experiences. In order to gather a broad array of experiences of street harassment, a discussion on an internet message board was initiated in which women were asked to describe specific experiences they had had of being harassed by men on the street. A large number of women, as well as some men, shared stories of experiences they had gone through themselves or witnessed (Sully, 2009) and also directed me to a previous discussion on the same topic where I was able to gather more narratives (Commonoperation, 2009). The narratives that were shared were used to construct a 28 item scale entitled the Street Harassment Scale (SHS). Using Calogero, Herbozo, and Thompson's (2009) work on the effects of positive and negative

comments on appearance as a theoretical guide, items were chosen to represent a range of experiences that could be labeled by the targets as positive (e.g. complimentary), negative (e.g. abusive), or neutral. Items also represent situations ranging from highly threatening to benign. Respondents are asked to indicate how often they have experienced each incident using a 7-point Likert scale with 0 being "never" and 6 being "multiple times a day".

The SHS also includes a sub-scale entitled Responses to Harassment. This sub-section lists 8 different behavioral responses, based on the literature (Gardner, 1995; Lord, 2009), discussions with women, and the narratives on the internet message board (Commonoperation, 2009; Sully, 2009) and asks participants to rank how often they have engaged in each behavior using a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 equal to "never" and 5 equal to "always". There is also an option to add additional responses not on the list in writing as well as space to provide comments. The SHS is attached as Appendix F.

Affect

The participants' current/immediate affect following the presentation of the film clip was measured using a slightly modified version of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The PANAS is self-report measure comprised of a 10-item positive mood scale and a 10-item negative mood scale and can be used to measure momentary or long term affect and mood. In the modified version, the items "angry" and "frustrated" were added to the negative scale and the items "pleased" and "giddy" were added to balance these new items on the positive scale. The Positive Affect scale measures the degree to which a person feels alert, excited and pleasantly engaged. When a person scores low on this scale it indicates a subjective feeling of lethargy and sadness. The Negative Affect scale measures the degree to which a person is experiencing a general negative mood state, including feelings of disgust, fear, anger, and nervousness. A low score on the Negative Affect scale indicates that the person feels calm and content. The authors cite evidence in the literature to suggest that the combination of high scores on the Negative Affect scale and low scores on the Positive Affect scale indicates the

presence of clinical depression and the measure is used in clinical as well as research settings. When tested on college student samples, the reliability was found to be good with an α = .86 to.90 for the Positive Affect scale and .84 to .87 for the Negative Affect scale. The scales have a low correlation with each other ranging from -.12 to -.23. Convergent and discriminant validity was found to be good (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The PANAS is attached in Appendix A.

Self-Objectification

Self-objectification was measured using the Surveillance Subscale from the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, a 24-item scale developed based on Objectification Theory (OBCS; McKinley & Hyde, 1996). Responses are marked on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 7 being "strongly agree", and NA as an option when the respondent does not feel that the question applies to her. The authors engineered three separate studies using both college age and middle age women as participants in order to develop and establish the validity and reliability of the scale. Through factor analysis, three separate subscales were identified: Body Surveillance, Body Shame, and Appearance Control Beliefs. The Body Surveillance subscale reflects the extent to which a woman views her body from the perspective of an outside observer and, because it is more sensitive than the other subscales to changes in self-objectification, the Body Surveillance subscale has often been used to measure states of self-objectification (see Moradi, & Huang, 2008). The authors report that the scale shows good discriminant and convergent validity (McKinley & Hyde, 1996). The internal reliability for the Surveillance Subscale was found to be moderate to high in all of the studies with α = .76-.89. The OBCS Surveillance Subscale is attached as Appendix D.

The Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ) was used as an additional measure of participants' states of self-objectification. Noll and Fredrickson (1998) developed the SOQ to measure self-objectification as defined by Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) in their Objectification

Theory. The SOQ consists of a list of 12 body attributes that are to be ranked in the order of their subjective importance from 1 (most important) to 12 (least important). Six of the items are considered directly reflective of self-objectification (e.g. physical attractiveness, weight, sex appeal, etc.) while the other 6 items are related to physical health and/or ability (e.g. physical fitness, stamina, muscular strength, etc.). The measure is scored by adding up the numbers used to rank the 6 self-objectifying attributes and then dividing the total by 6. Higher scores reflect increased states of self-objectification. The SOQ is a commonly used measure of contextually heightened states of self-objectification in the literature (see Moradi & Huang, 2008 and Szymanski, Moffit, & Carr, 2001 for reviews) and convergent and discriminant validity have both been found to be good (Noll & Fredrickson 1998; Moradi & Huang, 2008). The SOQ is attached in Appendix C.

In order to test whether the experimental stimulus (e.g. film clip) was effective in priming a state of self-objectification for participants, a manipulation check was constructed. Four short words were chosen that reflect elements of self-objectification (e.g. fat, leg, face, hot) and one word having nothing to do with self-objectification was chosen (e.g. pot). One letter from each word was removed and participants were asked to add the letter that completes the word. The manipulation check was scored by adding up the number of completed words that matched the self-objectification choice. The manipulation check is attached in Appendix B.

Fear of Rape

To measure participants' fear of rape, the Fear of Rape Scale (FORS; Senn & Dzinas, 1996) was used. The FORS is a 30-item measure developed using prior literature regarding victimization as well as the authors' interviews with women. The items assess women's emotional and behavioral reactions to situations that might be perceived as threatening. Responses are marked on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing "very safe" and 5 representing "very unsafe". The authors report a Spearman-Brown split-half reliability coefficient of .92, good

internal reliability with $\alpha = .91$, and good construct validity. The FORS is attached as Appendix E.

Demographic questionnaire

Participants' demographic information was assessed using a 5-item questionnaire. Items measure race, age, sexual orientation, and current type of residence (e.g. dorm, off-campus, etc.). One item asks whether the participants moved to Indiana from rural or urban areas. The questions are multiple choice with the option to write in a response if none of the choices match with the participant's experience. The questionnaire is attached as Appendix G.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Frequency of Street Harassment

In order to conduct research on street harassment, it was important to gather data regarding the frequency and types of harassment experienced by women. To this end, the Street Harassment Scale was created. Twenty-eight items were constructed, based on a previous scale measuring the frequency of street harassment created by Lord (2009) and descriptions of experiences of women who posted on an internet message-board. The items were conceptualized as representing a range of experiences on two dimensions: benign to severe and complimentary to hostile. Preliminary testing indicated that this new scale has excellent internal reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .97 for the current sample. SPSS version 17 was used to conduct all analyses.

Because the Street Harassment Scale was created for this study and had never been previously used, exploratory factor analysis was performed to determine the underlying factor structure and whether all items measured the desired construct. A principal components analysis (PCA) was performed using SPSS Version 17. Prior to the analysis, the suitability of the data for factor analysis was assessed. Exploration of the correlation matrix revealed many coefficients of .3 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value was .92, surpassing the recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance, supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix (Pallant, 2007).

Principal components analysis revealed the presence of four components with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 54.3%, 9.2%, 5.4%, and 3.7% of the variance respectively. Inspecting the Scree Plot (Figure 1), there appeared to be a break after the second component. Therefore, it was decided to force a two factor model and evaluate the results.

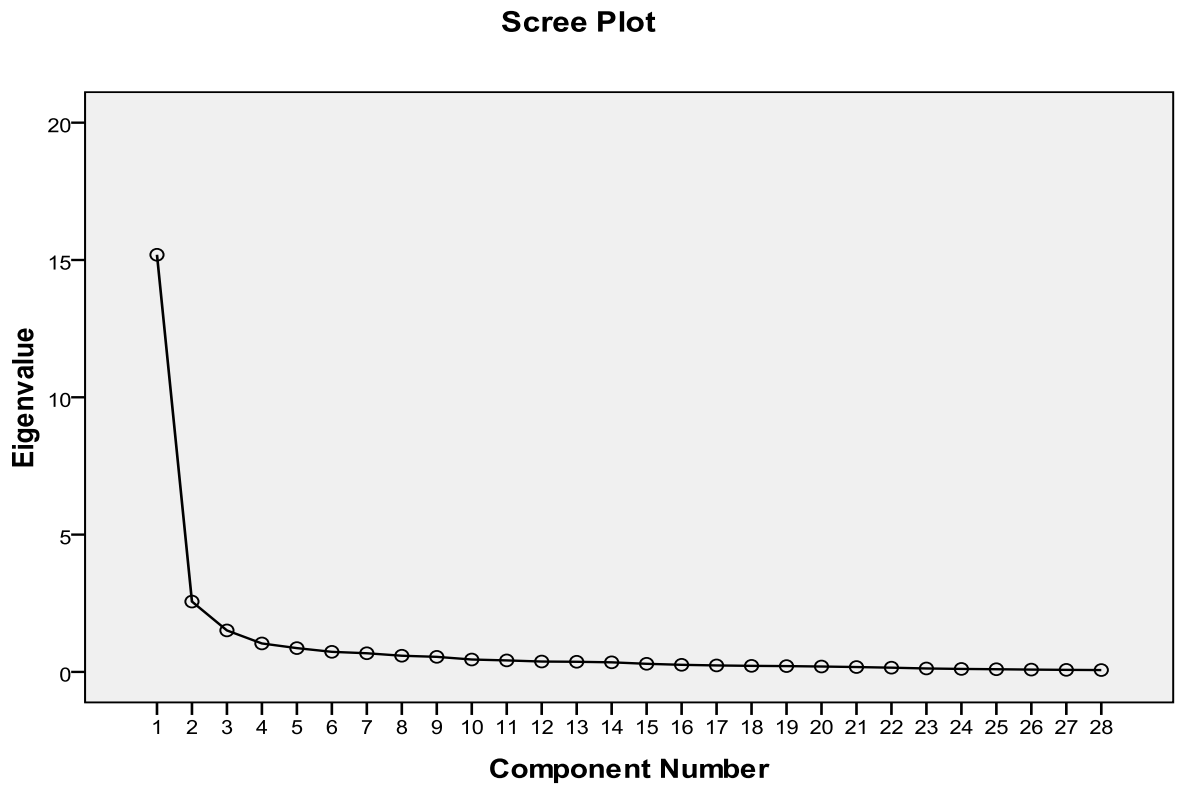

Figure 1

Scree plot for factor analysis of Street Harassment Scale.

Principal components analysis was performed again, this time forcing a two factor solution and using oblimin rotation to aid in the interpretation of these two components. The two-component solution explained a total of 63.4% of the variance, with Component 1 contributing 54.3% and Component 2 contributing 9.2%. The oblimin rotation revealed 14 items loaded strongly on Component 1 only, 6 loaded on both Components 1 and 2, and 8 loaded only on Component 2 (Table 1).

Reading the items that loaded on Component 2 and comparing them to the items that only loaded on Component 1, a clear pattern emerges (Table 1). While the items that load solely on Component 1 could be interpreted as flirtatious, complimentary, and/or non-threatening (e.g.

"How often has a man asked for your phone number?" and "How often has a man blown you kisses or made other romantic gestures?"), the items on Component 2 are more sexually aggressive, hostile, and/or threatening (e.g. "How often has a man offered you money for sex when you were either walking or standing and waiting for someone?" and "How often have men physically assaulted you as you walked past them [e.g. slapping your buttocks, punching you, tripping you, poking you]?"). The items that load relatively highly on both are somewhat ambiguous and could be interpreted as either threatening or complimentary depending on the situation and the harasser (e.g. "How often has a man walked past you and commented on your weight, saying that he approves of your size?").

Therefore, the Street Harassment Scale appears to consist of both a complimentary/benevolent factor and a threatening/hostile factor. These two factors correlate highly with each other (r =.57). This high correlation is understandable given that if a woman experiences a great deal of complimentary street harassment she probably experiences a corresponding amount of more sexually explicit and threatening harassment.

Having established that our new scale exhibits excellent reliability and a strong factor structure that clearly conforms to our theory, the frequency of harassment reported by our sample was then examined. As can be seen in Table 2, a total of 97.5% of the women in our sample reported being harassed in some form at least once in the past year. Of those women, 31.6% reported experiencing street harassment a few times in the past year and 12.6% reported that they had been harassed on the street once a month or more. Only 2.5% reported being harassed almost every day. The percentage of participants in each category can be seen in Figure 2.

Table 1

Pattern Matrix for Principle Component Analysis with Oblimin Rotation of Two Factor Solution of Street Harassment Scale Items (N = 79)

Street Harassment Scale Items	Component 1	Component 2
10) How often has a man complimented your appearance (e.g. "you have beautiful eyes", "nice legs", "you're beautiful")?	**.97**	-.10
11) How often has a man asked if you have a boyfriend or are married?	**.92**	-.11
14) How often has a man asked you for your phone number?	**.89**	-.07
22) How often has a man stared at you in a sexual way as they walk past you on the street (e.g. leering, eyeing you up and down)?	**.88**	-.08
1) How often has a man whistled, yelled, or honked at you from his car while you were walking/waiting for the bus/riding bike?	**.85**	-.06
6) How often has a man asked you for your name?	**.84**	-.08
24) How often has a group of men made gestures and calls for you to come over to where they are standing?	**.84**	.03
15) How often has a man yelled things like "hey sexy!" or "you're fine!" from a car while driving past you as you are walking or waiting for someone?	**.81**	.12
2) How often has a man blown you kisses or made other romantic gestures to you on the street?	**.78**	.13
7) How often has a man told you how pretty or attractive you are as you walk down the street and then repeated these comments louder, trying to get your attention?	**.71**	.18
8) How often has a man slowed down his car so that he can drive beside you as you walk and either watch you or speak to you?	**.66**	.22
21) How often has a man walked past and directed non-verbal sounds at you (cat calls, wolf whistles, etc.)?	**.66**	.20
3) How often has a man told you to smile?	**.65**	-.04
19) How often has a man approached the male person you are walking or sitting with and complimented him on your appearance or on his successful conquest of you?	**.58**	.22
17) How have men touched you as you walked past them (e.g., touching your waist, brushing a hand against your breast, grabbing your hand, etc.)?	**.50**	**.37**

Table 1 Continued

Pattern Matrix for PCA with Oblimin Rotation of Two Factor Solution of Street Harassment Scale Items (N = 79)

Street Harassment Scale Items	Component 1	Component 2
20) How often has a man yelled comments about your appearance at you while you are jogging?	**.45**	**.36**
28) How often have men physically assaulted you as you walked past them (e.g. slapping your buttocks, punching you, tripping you, poking you)?	.01	**.89**
5) How often has a man offered you money for sex when you are either walking or standing waiting for someone?	-.14	**.86**
25) How often has a man pulled his car over as you are walking and asked you to do sexually explicit things with him?	.03	**.80**
4) How often has a man made negative comments about your appearance as you walk by (e.g. "keep the legs, lose the face")?	-.18	**.79**
27) How often has a man showed you his penis on the street?	.08	**.74**
18) How often has a man called you insulting names to you as you walk past (e.g., "whore" or "bitch")?	.06	**.67**
13) How often has a man made sexual comments to you and then followed you as you walk?	.29	**.67**
9) How often has a man made sexually explicit gestures to you as you walk (e.g., pantomiming a blow job, grabbing his crotch)?	**.34**	**.60**
26) How often has a man called for your attention and when you ignore him begun shouting insults at you?	**.34**	**.57**
16) How often has a man walked past you and commented on your weight, saying that he approves of your size?	**.41**	**.49**
23) How often have construction workers yelled compliments to you about your appearance as you walked past their work site?	**.30**	**.47**
12) How often has a man commented on your weight saying that you are either too fat or too skinny?	.24	**.31**

Table 2

How Often Participants Experienced Street Harassment as Measured by the Street Harassment Scale (N = 79)

	Frequency	Percent
Never	2	2.5
Once in the Past Year	42	53.2
A Few Times in Past Year	25	31.6
Once a Month	6	7.6
A Few Times a Month	2	2.5
Almost Everyday	2	2.5

Because watching the experimental film clip may have caused women to remember more experiences of harassment and, therefore, score higher on the SHS, an independent samples t-test was conducted to compare SHS total scores for experimental and control groups. There was no significant difference between the mean SHS scores for control (M = 2.38, SD = .83) and experimental (M = 2.70, SD = 1.22); t (77) = 1.31, p = .20 (two-tailed). However, because the mean scores for the experimental group were higher than for the control groups, it was decided to report the means for each item on the scale separately for experimental and control group. The means and standard deviations are listed in Appendix J.

Because factor analysis indicated the presence of two strong factors, the SHS was separated into subscales. The 16 items that loaded .45 or greater on Component 1 after oblimin rotation (Table 1) were used to construct the Complimentary/Benign Subscale. Conversely, the 9 items that loaded .45 or greater on Component 2 comprised the Hostile/Threatening Subscale. Both subscales exhibited excellent internal reliability with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .96 for the Complimentary/Hostile Subscale and .92 for the Hostile/Threatening Subscale. The frequency analysis indicated that participants reported experiencing higher levels of Complimentary/Benign harassment (M = 3.05, SD = 1.22) than Hostile/Threatening harassment (M = 1.77, SD = .95). While only 1.3% of participants reported never having experienced

Complimentary/Benign harassment, 16.9% reported never experiencing Hostile/Threatening harassment. See Table 3 below for the breakdown of frequency.

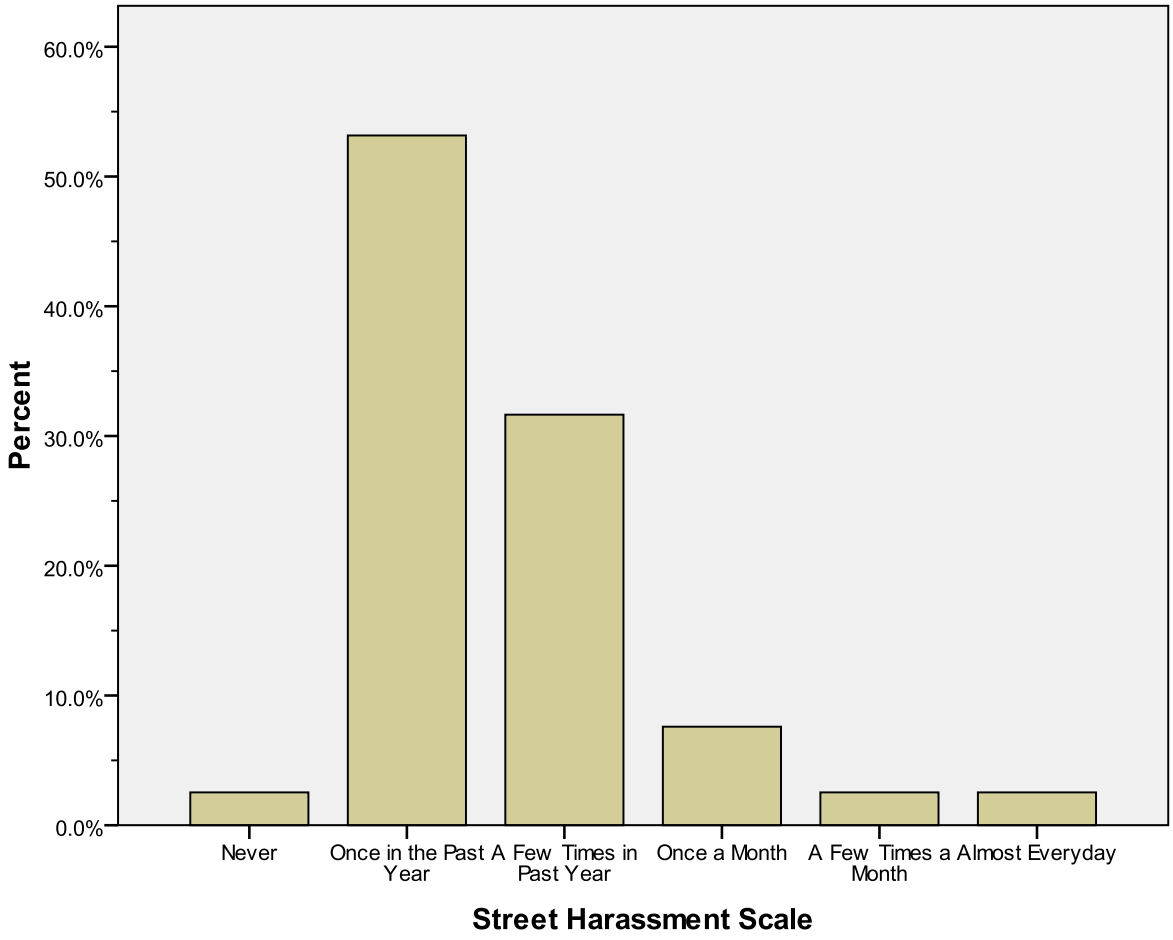

Figure 2

Percentages of women reporting experiencing harassment based on Street Harassment Scale scores (N = 79).

Table 3

How Often Participants Experienced Complimentary Street Harassment as Measured by the Positive Street Harassment Subscale (N = 79)

	Complimentary/Benign		Hostile/Threatening	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Never	1	1.3	13	16.9
Once in the Past Year	23	29.1	55	71.4
A Few Times in Past Year	25	31.6	6	7.8
Once a Month	18	22.8	1	1.3
A Few Times a Month	2	2.5	1	1.3
Almost Everyday	5	6.3	1	1.3

Responses to Harassment

Based on previous anecdotal and qualitative studies, a brief Response to Harassment Scale was constructed as an addition to the SHS. Investigating women's responses and reactions to street harassment was not the primary aim of this study; however, it was still deemed important to collect some exploratory data in this area. Participants were asked to rank each of 8 behavioral responses to harassment based on how often they have engaged in the behavior. As can be seen in Table 4, by far the most commonly engaged in response was to "ignore the man", with 92.4 % reporting that they always or sometimes engaged in this behavior and only 7.6% reporting never having used this strategy. The two least commonly engaged in behaviors were "ask the man to explain himself" and "notify a police officer or other authority" with only 13.3 % and 10.1% of participants reporting sometimes or always engaging in these behaviors respectively.

Several participants chose to use the space provided to write in other responses to street harassment as well as comments. One participant reported that she "enjoyed being glanced at", another wrote that she always "pretended to be on the phone or texting someone", and the last commenter added that she tended to "roll [her] eyes". Only 4 women wrote additional comments that are illuminating as qualitative data. One participant noted that she did not consider her experiences of street harassment "serious or harming to me in any way" while another woman

noted that “my own boyfriend disrespects me in these ways so I feel like what would stop a stranger from doing so?” Another participant described a recent experience: “just this past Easter weekend I had guy tap me on the shoulder and say I was cute, but i just kept on walking because i was on a mission trying to find my lost wallet downtown Harrisburg! :).” Finally, one woman wrote, “I was raped at the age of 14. I am wary but I always carry pepper spray and i am rarely alone.”

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for the Responses to Harassment subscale of the Street Harassment Scale (N = 79)

	Range	M	SD	Always	Sometimes	Never
Ignored the man.	4	4.14	1.22	53.2 %	39.2%	7.6 %
Laughed at the man.	5	3.32	1.36	20.3%	63.3%	16.5%
Called a friend or family member to tell him/her about the experience.	5	2.97	1.54	22.8%	50.4%	26.6%
Glared at the man in an angry way.	5	2.62	1.50	15.2%	51.9%	32.9%
Walked into a store to get away.	5	2.47	1.43	11.4%	54.5%	34.2%
Yelled something back.	5	1.78	1.15	2.5%	45.6%	51.9%
Asked man to explain himself.	5	1.16	.79	1.3%	14.0%	84.8%
Notified a police officer or other authority.	5	1.13	.81	1.3%	8.8%	89.9%

Fear of Rape

After examining the frequency of harassment experienced by the women in our sample, we then moved on to analyzing the data from the dependent measures. First, the Fear of Rape Scale (FORS) was examined. To test the internal reliability of the FORS, we computed the Cronbach's alpha coefficient and found it to be .93. This indicates that the scale shows excellent internal reliability for our sample. We then calculated the mean, standard deviation, and range for the entire scale as well as for each item on the scale. This data is included in table form as Appendix 2 and a graph of the distribution of means is included as Appendix K.

In order to test whether the mean score on the FORS for the experimental group was lower than the mean for the control group, an independent-samples t-test was conducted. As a reminder, lower scores on the FORS indicate a higher fear of rape. Results indicated no significant difference between the mean score of the control group (M = 3.08, SD = .77) and of the experimental group (M = 2.86, SD = .69); t (77) = -1.34, p = .09 (one-tailed). The magnitude of difference between the means was medium (mean difference = .22, 95% CI: -.55 to .11); Cohen's d = .30.

Self-Objectification

The Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ) and the Body Surveillance Subscale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (OBCS-Surveillance) were both used to measure participants' reported levels of self-objectification. The data from the OBCS Surveillance subscale were incomplete for 2 participants, therefore only the data from 77 participants were used for this measure. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .78 for the OBCS-Surveillance subscale, showing adequate internal reliability. Because the SOQ asks participants to rank the items, it was not possible to compute Cronbach's alpha for this measure. The mean, range, and standard deviation were computed for each scale total and for the individual items on each scale and are attached in Appendices M and N.

To test whether participants who watched the experimental film clip reported significantly higher levels of self-objectification than participants who watched the control film clip, a one-way between groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed using experimental condition as the independent variable. The dependent variables used to measure self-objectification were the OBCS-Surveillance Subscale and the SOQ. Preliminary tests indicated that the data did not violate the assumptions of linearity, multicollinearity or homogeneity of covariances. However, Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances revealed that the data for both dependent variables violated the assumption of homogeneity of variances. To compensate for this, the alpha level was set to .025 instead of .05 (Pallant, 2007). There were no significant differences between the control and experimental groups for either of the self-objectification measures; F (2, 74) = .15, p = .87; Wilks' Lambda = 1.00; partial eta squared = .00.

Because of initial concern that the experimental film clip may not prime participants to a state of self-objectification, a manipulation check had been used. This consisted of a series of word completion tasks in which participants were asked to fill in the missing letter for 5 short words. Four of the five incomplete words could be completed to reflect an aspect of self-objectification (e.g. FAT, FACE, LEG, and HOT). For each participant, the words reflecting self-objectification were counted up and a new variable was created with this total number. A *t*-test was then performed to test whether the experimental and control groups differed on this variable. There was no difference between the mean for the experimental group (M = 1.32, SD = .82) and control group (M = 1.26, SD = .95); t (77) = .27, p = .79 (two-tailed). The effect size was negligible with Cohen's d = .06.

Affect

The Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) was used to measure participants' immediate affective states. We first tested the reliability of the two subscales, the PANAS Negative Subscale and the PANAS Positive Subscale, because we planned on using them as

separate measures. Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .83 for the PANAS Positive Subscale, and .89 for the PANAS Negative Subscale indicating that both subscales show reliability for our sample. Descriptive statistics for the total scores for each subscale as well as the individual items were then computed and can be viewed in Appendix P and Appendix Q, for the Negative Subscale the Positive Subscale respectively.

We had predicted that participants who watched the experimental video clip of street harassment would score higher on the PANAS Negative subscale, specifically on items of anger, frustration, shame, and fear, and lower on the PANAS Positive subscale than participants in the control condition. To test this hypothesis, a one-way between groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed using experimental condition as the independent variable and the Positive and Negative subscales of the PANAS as dependent variables. Preliminary tests of the assumptions of normality, linearity, homogeneity of variances-covariance matrices, and multicollinearity were conducted and no major violations were found. An examination of the means revealed participants in the experimental condition scored slightly higher on the Negative PANAS (M = 19.07, SD = 7.35) than did participants in the control condition (M = 17.42, SD = 5.49). Interestingly, this pattern was also true for the Positive PANAS, with the experimental group scoring slightly higher (M = 25.34, SD = 6.76) than the control group (M = 24.24, SD = 8.39). However, these differences were not statistically significant, F (1, 77) = .65, p = .524; Wilks' Lambda = .98; partial eta squared = .017.

Although no significant differences were found between conditions for the total Negative and Positive PANAS scores, the hypothesis had specified differences for anger, frustration, shame and fear. Therefore, independent samples t-tests for each of these items ("angry", "frustrated", "ashamed", and "scared") were performed to test whether there were significant differences in the means of the control and experimental groups. Although the experimental group scored slightly higher for "scared", "ashamed", and "frustrated" (see Table 5), these differences were not statistically significant. However, there was a significant difference between

the mean scores for "angry" with the experimental group (M = 1.68, SD = .99) higher than the control group (M = 1.32, SD = .74); t (77) = 1.86, p = .03 (one-tailed). There was a medium magnitude effect size with Cohen's d = .41 (Howell, 2002).

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations for Individual Items of Interest on the Negative Subscale of the PANAS

Item	Condition	Mean	SD
Scared	Experimental	1.29	.75
	Control	1.16	.37
Ashamed	Experimental	1.34	.76
	Control	1.13	.53
Frustrated	Experimental	1.95	1.22
	Control	1.61	1.10
Angry	Experimental	1.68*	.99
	Control	1.32*	.74

* Difference between means is significant at the .03 level (1 tailed)

Past History of Street Harassment

In order to explore the relationship between participants' past experiences of street harassment and their responses on the dependent measures in the experimental condition, a series of Pearson product-moment correlations were computed. Preliminary analyses revealed no major violations to the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. The complete correlation matrix showing relationships between all measures is attached in Appendix R. As can be seen in Table 6 below, there was one strong correlation. For those participants who watched the experimental film clip, the reported frequency of past street harassment had a strong positive correlation with reported negative affect (r = .54, n = 39, $p \leq .01$).

To explore whether a similar relationship existed between the dependent variables even when participants had not watched the experimental video clip, Pearson product-moment correlations were also computed with data from the control group. No significant correlations were found (see Table 7).

Table 6

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between A Measure of Frequency of Street Harassment and Measures of Affect, Self-Objectification, and Fear of Rape for Experimental Group (N = 41)

	Street Harassment Scale
PANAS Negative Affect Subscale	.54**
PANAS Positive Affect Subscale	.17
OBCS Surveillance Subscale	.00
Self-Objectification Questionnaire	-.11
Fear of Rape Scale	-.08

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Table 7

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between A Measure of Frequency of Street Harassment and Measures of Affect, Self-Objectification, and Fear of Rape for Control Group (N =38)

	Street Harassment Scale
PANAS Negative Affect Subscale	.12
PANAS Positive Affect Subscale	-.13
OBCS Surveillance Subscale	-.05
Self-Objectification Questionnaire	-.19
Fear of Rape Scale	-.21

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

To determine whether the type of street harassment experienced in the past by participants impacted their affective responses to the experimental film clip, Pearson product-moment correlations were also performed for both the Complimentary/Benign Subscale and Hostile/Threatening Subscale of the SHS with the dependent measures. Again, only the PANAS Negative Affect Subscale was significantly correlated with one of the SHS subscales and, interestingly, only with the Hostile/Threatening Subscale (r = .32, n = 41, $p \leq .05$) not the Complimentary/Benign Subscale (r = .25, n = 41, $p \leq .05$). The correlation matrix is included as Appendix S.

Race

Because previous literature has suggested that African-American and Latina women report experiencing a higher level of street harassment then Caucasian women (Lord, 2009; Fogg-Davis, 2006), we examined the street harassment scores by race. The relatively small samples of women identifying as either Black/African American, Latina, or Asian necessitated that we group minority women together to compare their experiences with those of white women. An independent t-test was then conducted with race as the independent variable and the Street Harassment Scale is the dependent variable. No significant difference was found between minority women (M = 2.56, SD = 1.41) and white women (M = 2.54, SD = .96); t (77) = -.06, p = .95 (two tailed).

To test whether women who identified as a race other than Caucasian differed significantly from women who identified as Caucasian on any of the dependent measures, independent t-tests were performed. Non-Caucasian women scored significantly lower (M = 2.57, SD = .66) than white women (M = 3.07, SD = .72) on the FORS, indicating that they report an overall higher fear of rape; t (77) = 2.51, p = .01 (two tailed). No other significant differences were found between means on other measures, as can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Measures for White and Minority Participants

	Minority (n = 14)		White (n = 63)	
Item	M	SD	M	SD
PANAS Negative	15.14	2.38	18.71	6.41
Self-Objectification Questionnaire	4.71	14.63	1.11	16.96
OBCS Surveillance Subscale	3.24	.92	2.93	1.13
Fear of Rape Scale	2.50*	.68	3.07*	.72
Street Harassment Scale	2.41	1.13	2.54	.96

*Difference is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Sexual Orientation

It may be that women who identify as non-heterosexual, such as lesbian or queer, are targeted more often or less often by street harassers than are straight women. As yet, there is nothing in the literature to indicate whether or not this is the case. Unfortunately, because of the small sample size of non-heterosexual women in the current sample (9%), it was not possible to test whether heterosexual and non-heterosexual women differed on the Street Harassment Scale.

How Geography Relates to Street Harassment

It is often assumed that women are harassed more frequently in urban areas than in small towns or rural areas. Because of this, participants were asked whether, before they came to college, they lived in a city, a suburb, a small town, or a rural area. A Pearson product moment correlation was then conducted between the total Street Harassment Scale and this item. The

weak, positive correlation between the two variables was not statistically significant, $r = .17$, $n = 79$, $p = .14$.

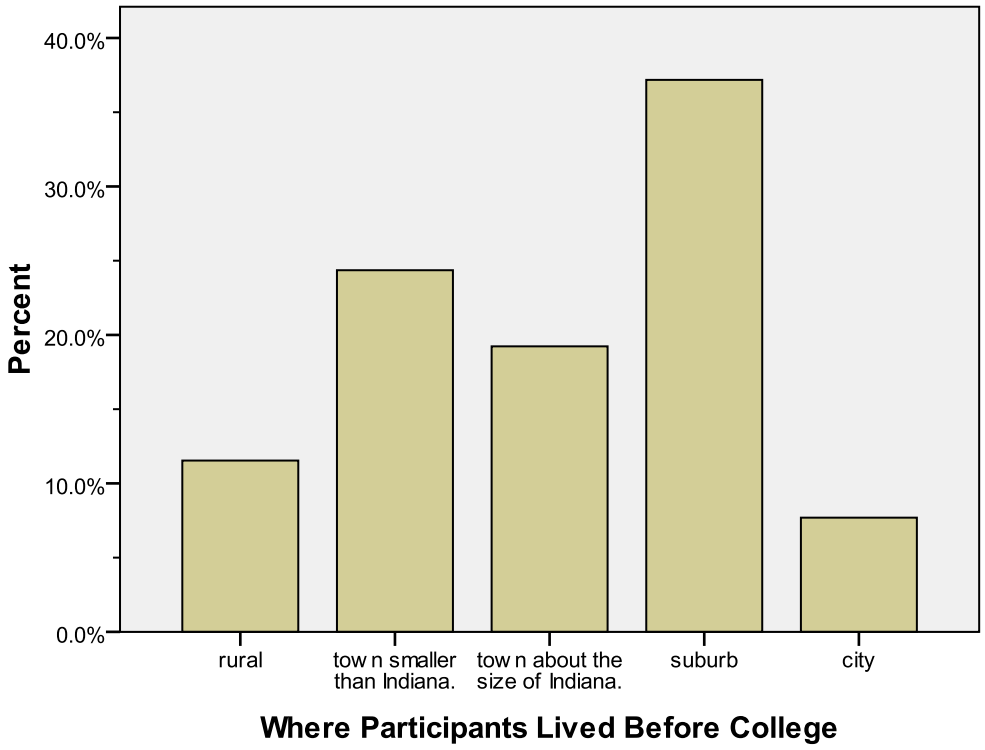

Figure 3

Graph showing breakdown of where participants lived before coming to college (N = 79).

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Measuring the Experience

Before the current study, no uniform scale existed that could be used to measure the frequency of various types of street harassment ranging from subjectively benign to hostile and from complimentary to threatening. Therefore, in order to measure our participants' past experiences of and reactions to a range of street harassment, the Street Harassment Scale was constructed. Lord's (2009) scale, measuring the frequency of broad categories of street harassment, influenced the categories of items used in the Street Harassment Scale (SHS) as did Calogero, Herbozo, and Thompson's (2009) work measuring the relative effects of both compliments and insults about a woman's weight. Because data from both extant studies of street harassment (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995; Lord, 2009) and anecdotal stories suggest that street harassment behaviors range from subjectively complimentary to hostile and from benign to threatening, the 28 items on the Street Harassment Scale were chosen to represent this range. The results from our factor analysis support this theory. The two factors that emerged clearly represent hostile/threatening harassment and complimentary/benign harassment, consistent with our conceptualization of street harassment. This provides evidence that the Street Harassment Scale exhibits good construct validity as well as strong internal reliability and face validity. In addition, both subscales showed excellent internal consistency. It is important to note that the small sample size used in this study limits any conclusions about the strength of the scale. In the future, it will be important to test the reliability and validity of the Street Harassment Scale using a larger sample size, enabling stronger conclusions to be drawn from the factor analysis.

The data collected using the Street Harassment Scale support previous studies of street harassment frequency in showing that the vast majority of women have been the targets of male harassment on the street. In our sample of female college students, 97.5% reported being harassed at least once in the past year and 15.1% of those women reported that such harassment occurred

once a month or more. These data are not surprising, given that most men and women view catcalling and objectifying behavior as common occurrence on the street. These results are also consistent with previous research on the frequency of sexist hassles done by Swim, Cohen and Hyers (2001) finding that female college students experienced an average of one or two sexist hassles every week.

After looking at the frequency of reported harassment experiences in general, we investigated the frequency of both subjectively benign and complimentary harassment versus hostile and threatening harassment. Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants reported many more experiences of subjectively benign/complimentary harassment than hostile/threatening harassment. While almost all participants (98.7%) reported experiencing complimentary/benign harassment at least one time in the past year and more than half (66.2%) reported experiencing it a few times a month or more, the majority of women (88.3%) reported experiencing hostile/threatening harassment only once in the past year or less (88.3%) and a significant number of participants (16.9%) denied ever having experienced such harassment. Although there is no firm research to support any conclusions about this, it can be hypothesized that both the intent of harassers and the reaction of targeted and witnessing women are very different for these two types of harassment. It may be that benign/complimentary street harassment fits better with the socio-cultural theory with men engaging in such behavior to assert their masculinity, while hostile/threatening street harassment functions to assert male dominance and control according to the social-control theory (Lenton, et al., 1999). The present study does not investigate the motivation and context that surround the behavior of street harassment and future research is needed.

Included in the Street Harassment Scale is a subscale measuring the frequency of common reactions to street harassment. This subscale was included with the understanding that women employ various behavioral responses depending on both the type of harassment, personal factors, and the environmental context (e.g. whether the woman targeted feels relatively safe or in

danger). The 8 different responses on the scale were chosen based on what women on an internet message board reported doing in reaction to street harassment. Based on the fact that only three women added additional responses in the space provided, it appears that this subscale adequately represents the most common range of responses women engage in. By far the most common response endorsed by the women in our sample was ignoring the harasser. The second most common reaction was to laugh at the man in response to harassment. The least common responses were to yell back at the harasser, ask him to explain his comment, or to notify police.

This pattern of responses to street harassment suggests that the women in our sample may feel more comfortable using passive responses that do not require them to confront the harasser. One explanation for this is that women feel unsafe confronting a man on the street who has just made a sexual comment or gesture. Another possibility is that ignoring or laughing at street harassment is used by women to trivialize the harassment experience and keep themselves from giving it too much importance. When such experiences are considered mundane, women may not want to expend energy on each and every man who harasses them.

It is hoped that research in the future will further investigate the behavioral reactions of women to street harassment and how these reactions serve the women who employ them. In their recent chapter on street harassment, Sullivan, Lord, and McHugh (2010) suggest that women can employ a behavioral analysis of the benefits and risks of assertive versus passive responses to a street harasser in order to balance the need for activism with safety. There has been an advent in the past few years of websites, such as HollaBack! and StopStreetHarassment.com, that provide women a means of either posting photographs online of their harassers or sharing stories of experiences and reactions (Kearl, 2010). The increasing popularity of these websites suggests that many women react negatively to street harassment and they are eager for an assertive behavioral outlet for these negative feelings. The present study merely scratches the surface of this rich area.

Experimental Manipulation

Because the few studies that have focused on street harassment up until this point have primarily employed qualitative and correlational methods, any conclusions about the direct effects of such behavior on the women who experience it is subject to the limitations of all correlational data. We hoped to investigate the effects of street harassment using an experimental method which would, therefore, allow us to conclude causation. Because directly subjecting the women in our study to street harassment would have been difficult, if not impossible, and would also have raised ethical concerns, it was decided that using a film clip of another woman being harassed would be a useful alternative. The film, *War Zone*, was chosen because it contains documentary footage of men of different ages, races and socio-economic statuses harassing Maggie Hadleigh-West as she walked down the street. It was theorized that, although the women in our study would not be harassed themselves, by witnessing another woman being harassed they would be primed to remember their own previous experiences of harassment and would re-experience the emotions and thoughts that occurred for them during those experiences. Unfortunately, results indicate that this experimental manipulation did not work as had been hoped.

Based on the hypothesis that street harassment causes women to feel more sexually vulnerable, to increasingly self-objectify, and to feel more negative emotions, especially anger, shame, fear, and frustration, measurement scales were chosen to measure these three domains. The specific scales used were the Fear of Rape Scale, the Self-Objectification Questionnaire, the Body Surveillance Subscale of the Objectified-Body Consciousness Scale, and the Positive and Negative Affect Scale. Out of these four measures, the only one that differed significantly between the women who watched the clip of street harassment and the women who watched a clip of a neutral street scene was the individual item “anger” on the Positive and Negative Affect Scale. There are several possible explanations for these results which will be explored below.

Fear of Rape

Although the mean for the Fear of Rape Scale was slightly lower for the experimental group, indicating that the women who watched the film clip of street harassment reported slightly more fear of rape, this difference was not statistically significant. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the difference was not merely due to chance. One conclusion that could be drawn from these results is that witnessing a woman being harassed does not cause women to report an increased fear of being raped. Previous research has found a strong correlation between the frequency of street harassment experiences and feelings of being unsafe in public places (MacMillan et al., 2000) as well as a common reaction of fear in street harassment victims directly after the harassment and even years afterwards (Lenton, et al., 1999). Perhaps witnessing another woman being harassed does not cause similar reactions of fear about sexual vulnerability.

On the other hand, these results may also be an artifact of the scale used. Of the items on the Fear of Rape Scale, many measured behavioral patterns guided by concern over one's sexual vulnerability (e.g. "If I have to walk outside late at night I take precautions", "I am especially careful of wearing the 'proper' clothes" etc.). Therefore, the Fear of Rape Scale may have measured a somewhat ingrained pattern of thinking and acting. While the experimental film clip may have made the participants more aware of their immediate vulnerability to rape, it makes sense that this would not be reflected on the scale scores because while we sought to measure state changes the scale we used measured fear of rape as a trait.

Another possible explanation for why participants in the experimental group did not report higher levels of fear of rape is that watching a film of another woman being harassed simply did not prime the participants to their own experiences of harassment. The women who participated were twice removed from the experience in that they were watching the event on a film screen and they were watching it happen to someone else. The woman in the film is not herself visibly fearful because she has a film crew with her also. It may also be that watching

another woman with a film crew being harassed in vivo does cause the viewer to fear for her own sexual safety; however, the experience of watching it on film may not have this effect.

Therefore, these results do not indicate that witnessing street harassment increases women's fear of rape. But, they also do not indicate the opposite.

Self-Objectification

The results from both measures of self-objectification and the self-objectification manipulation check suggest that watching the short film clip of a women being harassed did not prime the participants to a state of heightened self-objectification. None of the measures showed significantly higher reported levels of self-objectification in the experimental group as compared to the control group. One possible explanation for this result is that watching street harassment does not cause women to self-objectify. In support of this conclusion, Gervais, Vescio and Allen (2011) found that although women exposed to the sexually objectifying gaze of a male confederate did significantly more poorly on a math test it was not due to self-objectification, which was not reported as any higher than for women who were not subjected to such a gaze.

Another explanation is that, while watching someone being harassed in real life might cause women to self-objectify, watching the event on film does not. Not only did the camera separate the viewers from the event, but the short film clip may not have been long enough to cause the participants to feel involved and present in the situation. In addition, sitting in a classroom laboratory surrounded by other women certainly does not evoke the reality of what has been argued is the sexually objectifying environment of a public street (Szymanski, Moffit, & Carr, 2011).

The dearth of results from past studies of the causes of self-objectification casts doubt on the first explanation and supports the initial hypothesis that street harassment does cause women to self-objectify (e.g. Calogero, Herbozo, & Thompson, 2009; Quinn, Kallen, Twenge, & Fredrickson, 2006; Roberts & Gettman, 2004). Calogero (2004) found that simply telling female participants that a male experimenter would be coming into the room to talk with them

caused these women to report higher levels of self-objectification. Linking this to theory regarding the impact of the male gaze, Calogero proposed that the women in her study began preparing for being looked at and objectified by the male experimenter by self-objectifying. If merely anticipating being talked to and looked at by a man could cause a women heightened levels of self-objectification then it would stand to reason that actually being ogled and verbally evaluated, whether that evaluation is complimentary or insulting, by a man on the street would cause similar increases in self-objectification. Perhaps the women in our experimental group watched the film clip of another woman being watched but did not anticipate being watched and objectified themselves.

Affect

While the total level of reported negative and positive affect did not differ significantly between the experimental and control groups, the women who watched the film clip of street harassment did report a significantly higher level of anger than women watching a neutral street scene. Therefore, our hypothesis that women who witnessed street harassment would report higher levels of negative affect, specifically anger, frustration, fear, and shame, and lower positive affect was not fully supported. As with the data described above, these results may be a consequence of the limitations in our experimental design.

It makes intuitive sense that watching a film clip of a woman being harassed on the street can make a woman viewer angry for a variety of reasons. In their research using daily diaries, Swim, Cohen and Hyers (2001) also found that the most common emotional response to sexist events was anger. Participants might be reminded of, and react with anger to, the differential treatment of people based on gender. They might think it unfair that the women in the film clip, like themselves and other women, are subjected to unwanted comments on a regular basis just because she is a woman in a public place. Another explanation for the higher level of anger in the experimental group is that some participants might have felt angry at the woman being harassed

because of internalized misogyny or the belief that the film clip was made by a feminist and a negative view of feminism.

Past History of Street Harassment

One interesting finding was that the frequency of past experiences of street harassment, as measured by the Street Harassment Scale, was strongly positively correlated with reported negative affect in the experimental group. The same relationship was not found in the control group. In other words, of the women who watched the clip of street harassment, those who reported experiencing more harassment themselves in the past reacted with stronger negative emotions to the film. Higher levels of negative affect have been found to correlate with increased risk for mental health problems (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Separating the subscales revealed that past experiences of hostile/threatening harassment were related more strongly to negative emotional reaction to the film. However, complimentary/benign street harassment was also associated with an increase in negative responses.

Therefore, if women are confronted with street harassment often and with each confrontation they experience increased negative affect, the cumulative effect of mundane experiences of street harassment may be stronger and possibly more detrimental to women than any individual experience. This finding is consistent with previous data showing that women who report experiencing frequent sexist hassles report worse mental health symptoms than women who report few sexist hassles (Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000).

Demographics

Any researcher would be remiss in failing to address how the demographics of the sample may have limited or enriched the findings. Unfortunately, the small number of women in our sample who identified as African-American, Latina, Asian-American and other minority races necessitated that we group the sample into “white” and “not white” to have the statistical power necessary to study racial differences. No difference was found between the reported frequencies of street harassment of these two groups. This is inconsistent with previous research which has

suggested that minority women, especially African-American and Latina women, endure more incidents of sexist name calling (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997) and street harassment than do white women (Fogg-Davis, 2006; Lord, 2009). However, one difference found was that minority women reported a higher fear of rape than white women, across both experimental and control groups. The limited racial representation in our study is an unfortunate limitation and future research is needed to investigate the interaction between the experience of racial oppression and street harassment. Qualitative reports from minority women indicate that the intersection of sexism and racism is experienced as distinct from sexism alone (Moradi & Subich, 2003).

Similar to race, women identifying as gay, lesbian, trans, bisexual, or queer were also sparsely represented in our sample. The sample size of LGBTQ women was not high enough to provide adequate statistical power to test differences. Future research should investigate whether non-heterosexual women experience street harassment differently than heterosexual women because of the added oppression of heterosexism.

The age range of 18 to 25 of the current sample is appropriate for studying street harassment. Developmentally, women in this age group have been found to experience the most sexist hassles (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997) and are, consequently, probably the most likely age group to be harassed by men on the street. However, future research on the impact of age on frequency and type of harassment (e.g. hostile versus complimentary) would be valuable to our understanding of the phenomenon.

In order to see if the frequency of harassment participants experienced was positively related to the size of urban area they lived in, we asked participants to identify the multiple choice item that best represented where they lived before coming to college (e.g. city, suburb, small town, rural area). No correlation was found between the population size of the participants' previous home and the frequency of past experiences of street harassment. However, the study was conducted in the spring semester, suggesting that participants had lived in their current college town for at least 8 months and, therefore, most of the street harassment they had

experienced in the past year was in or around the University. Therefore, individual differences were muddied by the fact that participants all lived in a town of equal size for 8 months. Because anecdotal narratives suggest that women are harassed more frequently in large urban areas than they are in small towns, it would be helpful to clarify this using future research. This seems especially important because our definition of street harassment defines the harasser as a stranger to the female target and in a small town there are fewer strangers.

Conclusion and Future Directions

In conclusion, this study attempted to engage and measure the immediate affective and cognitive experience of women in order to evaluate the traditional assumption that street harassment is both benign and mundane. The results of our study support the latter half of the assumption, finding that the vast majority of women report being harassed by male strangers frequently. Whether it is benign or harmful is less clear. Clearly, women's anger increased when confronted with street harassment. It may be that, while some participants became angry seeing another woman being harassed on film, they did not feel personally involved and, therefore, they did not feel vulnerable.

It must be acknowledged that watching a film clip in the safety of a college classroom surrounded by women is a very different experience from walking down the street and being directly confronted with street harassment, either personally or as a witness. The every-day, affective experience is fundamentally difficult to capture using traditional methods. Gervais and her colleagues (2011) recently studied the effects of the male sexually objectifying gaze by creating a live enactment in a lab setting and certainly this would be an ideal way to evoke the immediate effects on women. However, it would be unethical to recreate some forms of street harassment, especially the more hostile/threatening types. Perhaps future research could employ another method such as asking female participants to write a detailed account of their last experience of street harassment as a way to evoke the experience in a more immediate way.

The more the everyday experience of street harassment is addressed through both quantitative and qualitative research in the scientific community as well as conversation and confrontation in our personal communities, the more likely it will be that street harassment be viewed as unacceptable behavior in a free society. The increase in activism and the creation of policy and outreach to combat street harassment speaks to the need for women to feel safe and welcome on the streets of the cities in which they live (Kearl, 2010). However, in order to evaluate whether such policy changes are effective, it will be important to measure whether the frequency of street harassment decreases as a result. To that end, it is hoped that the Street Harassment Scale constructed for this study can be of use in the future.

CHAPTER 7

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Appendix A

PANAS

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to the word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at this present moment. Use the following scale to record your answers.

1	2	3	4	5
very slightly or not at all	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely

_____ interested

_____ distressed

_____ excited

_____ upset

_____ strong

_____ guilty

_____ scared

_____ hostile

_____ enthusiastic

_____ proud

_____ angry

_____giddy

_____ irritable

_____ alert

_____ ashamed

_____ inspired

_____ nervous

_____ determined

_____ attentive

_____ jittery

_____ active

_____ afraid

_____ pleased

_____ frustrated

Appendix B

WS

Please complete each word below by placing a letter in the space provided. Use the first word that comes into your mind.

__ A T

L __ G

__ A C E

__ O T

P __ T

Appendix C

SOQ

Please rank the following 12 body attributes in the order of how important they are to your self-concept of your body. You should rank the thing that is most important about your body as a 1 and then rank the rest in ascending order with the thing that is least important ranked 12.

_____ physical attractiveness

_____ muscular strength

_____ coloring

_____ physical coordination

_____ weight

_____stamina

_____ sex appeal

_____ health

_____ measurements

_____ physical fitness

_____ muscle tone

_____ physical energy level

Appendix D

OBCS

INSTRUCTIONS:

Circle the number that corresponds to how much you agree with each of the statements on the following pages.

Circle NA only if the statement does not apply to you. Do not circle NA if you don't agree with the statement.

	Strongly Disagree			Neither Agree nor Disagree			Strongly Agree	Does Not Apply
1. I rarely think about how I look……...1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
2. I think it is more important that my clothes are comfortable than whether they look good on me…… 1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
3. I think more about how my body feels than how my body looks…… 1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
4. I rarely compare how I look with how other people look…… 1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
5. During the day, I think about how I look many times…… 1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
6. I worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good…….. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
7. I rarely worry about how I look to other people……1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA
8. I am more concerned with what my body can do than how it looks……1	2	3	4	5	6	7		NA

Appendix E

FORS

INSTRUCTIONS:

For the statements followed by the numbered scale ranging from "Always" to "Never", circle the number that corresponds to how often you engage in the behavior described.

> For example, if the statement says "When I am happy, I feel like singing" and you rarely feel like singing when you are happy, then you would circle 4 or 5.

For the questions followed by the numbered scale ranging from "Very Safe" to "Very Unsafe, circle the number that corresponds to how safe you feel in the situation described.

> For example, if the question asks "How safe do you feel while driving a car?", and you generally feel safe while driving a car then you would circle a 2.

	Always				Never
1. Before I go to bed at night I double check to make sure the doors are securely locked…….....1	2	3	4	5	
2. When someone rings/knocks at my door I ask who it is (or look through the peephole) before I open the door ……..1	2	3	4	5	
3. I think twice before going out for a walk late at night…….....……..1	2	3	4	5	
4. If I have to take the subway/bus alone at night I feel anxious …….. 1	2	3	4	5	
5. I avoid going out alone at night…… 1	2	3	4	5	
6. I ask friends to walk me to my car/the subway if it is late at night…… 1	2	3	4	5	
7. I think about the shoes/clothes I am wearing in terms of my ability to run in a dangerous situation…….. 1	2	3	4	5	

	Very Safe				Very Unsafe
8. In general how safe do you feel at night? ……1	2	3	4	5	

	Always				Never
9. When I am walking alone I think about where I would run if someone came after me……..1	2	3	4	5	

10. I have turned down invitations/opportunities because I didn't want to risk coming home alone afterwards……	1	2	3	4	5
11. I feel confident walking alone late at night…….	1	2	3	4	5
12. I am especially careful of wearing the "proper" clothes…….	1	2	3	4	5
13. If I was waiting for an elevator and it arrived with one man alone inside, I would wait for the next one…….	1	2	3	4	5
14. I am wary of men…….1		2	3	4	5
15. I am afraid of being sexually assaulted……1		2	3	4	5
16. If I have to walk outside late at night I take precautions……...1		2	3	4	5
17. In general, I am suspicious of men……..	1	2	3	4	5
18. If it was dark and I had to walk to my car, I would make sure I was accompanied by someone I trusted……..	1	2	3	4	5
19. If I was driving alone and I had to park my car I would try to park on a well lit street……..	1	2	3	4	5
	Very Safe				Very Unsafe
20. How safe do you feel going into public washrooms in subways or malls?.....	1	2	3	4	5
21. How safe do you feel in your apartment/house when you are by yourself?.....	1	2	3	4	5

	Always				Never
22. I am afraid of men……	1	2	3	4	5
23. I carry objects (keys, knife, something sharp) when I walk alone at night…….	1	2	3	4	5
24. When I'm walking out alone at night I am very cautions……..	1	2	3	4	5
25. If I heard that someone had been sexually assaulted in my neighborhood, I wouldn't leave the house unless I really had to…….	1	2	3	4	5
26. When I am choosing a seat on the bus or subway I am conscious of who is sitting nearby……	1	2	3	4	5

	Very Safe				Very Unsafe
27. How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night?.....	1	2	3	4	5
28. If I am going out late at night, I avoid certain parts of town……...	Always 1	2	3	4	Never 5
29. When I get on the bus/streetcar/subway I take a seat that allows me to keep an eye on those sitting nearby……	1	2	3	4	5
30. The possibility of rape affects my freedom of movement……	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F

SHS

Think about <u>the past year</u> and think only about men you have never met before. For each question, circle the number that corresponds to how often you have experienced the event according to the following scale:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	**Once in the past year**	**A few times in past year**	**About once a month**	**A few times a month**	**Almost everyday**	**Multiple times a day**

When you are in public (on-campus or off-campus):

1) How often has a man whistled, yelled, or honked at you from his car while you were walking/waiting for the bus/riding bike?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

2) How often has a man blown you kisses or made other romantic gestures to you on the street?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

3) How often has a man told you to smile?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

4) How often has a man made negative comments about your appearance as you walk by (e.g. "keep the legs, lose the face")?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

5) How often has a man offered you money for sex when you are either walking or standing waiting for someone?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

6) How often has a man asked you for your name?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

7) How often has a man told you how pretty or attractive you are as you walk down the street and then repeated these comments louder, trying to get your attention?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

8) How often has a man slowed down his car so that he can drive beside you as you walk and either watch you or speak to you?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	**Once in the past year**	**A few times in past yea**	**About once a month**	**A few times a month**	**Almost everyday**	**Multiple times a day**

9) How often has a man made sexually explicit gestures to you as you walk (e.g., pantomiming a blow job, grabbing his crotch)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

10) How often has a man complimented your appearance (e.g. "you have beautiful eyes", "nice legs", "you're beautiful")?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

11) How often has a man asked if you have a boyfriend or are married?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

12) How often has a man commented on your weight saying that you are either too fat or too skinny?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

13) How often has a man made sexual comments to you and then followed you as you walk?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

14) How often has a man asked you for your phone number?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

15) How often has a man yelled things like "hey sexy!" or "you're fine!" from a car while driving past you as you are walking or waiting for someone?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

16) How often has a man walked past you and commented on your weight, saying that he approves of your size?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

17) How have men touched you as you walked past them (e.g., touching your waist, brushing a hand against your breast, grabbing your hand, etc.)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

18) How often has a man called you insulting names to you as you walk past (e.g., "whore" or "bitch")?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	**Once in the past year**	**A few times in past year**	**About once a month**	**A few times a month**	**Almost everyday**	**Multiple times a day**

19) How often has a man approached the male person you are walking or sitting with and complimented him on your appearance or on his successful conquest of you?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

20) How often has a man yelled comments about your appearance at you while you are jogging?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

21) How often has a man walked past and directed non-verbal sounds at you (cat calls, wolf whistles, etc.)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

22) How often has a man stared at you in a sexual way as they walk past you on the street (e.g. leering, eyeing you up and down)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

23) How often have construction workers yelled compliments to you about your appearance as you walked past their work site?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

24) How often has a group of men made gestures and calls for you to come over to where they are standing?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

25) How often has a man pulled his car over as you are walking and asked you to do sexually explicit things with him?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

26) How often has a man called for your attention and when you ignore him begun shouting insults at you?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

27) How often has a man showed you his penis on the street?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

28) How often have men physically assaulted you as you walked past them (e.g. slapping your buttocks, punching you, tripping you, poking you)?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

What have been some of your responses to these experiences? Please rank each of the following behaviors in terms of how often you have used them in response to harassment. Use a scale of 1 to 5 to indicate how often you have used the behavior (1 = never, 5 = always). Feel free to comment and/or add your own.

___ Ignored the man.
___ Laughed at the man.
___ Yelled something back.
___ Called a friend or family member to tell him/her about the experience.
___ Walked into a store to get away.
___ Glared at the man in an angry way.
___ Notified a police officer or other authority.
___ Asked man to explain himself.

Other:_____

_____

Appendix G

DQ

Please circle the letter in front of the option that best explains your situation. If none of the options provided applies to your life and experience, use the space provided to write in. For question 5, please write your age in the space provided.

1. Before coming to college, I lived in a
    a) town about the size of Indiana.
    b) town smaller than Indiana.
    c) town larger than Indiana.
    d) rural area.
    e) city.
    f) _____.

2. I currently live
    a) in a dorm.
    b) in an apartment on campus not with family.
    c) in an apartment off campus not with family.
    d) with my family in Indiana.
    e) with my family outside Indiana.
    f) _____.

3. I identify myself as
    a) African-American.
    b) Hispanic/Latina.
    c) White.
    d) Asian-American.
    e) _____.

4. I identify my sexual orientation as
    a) lesbian.
    b) heterosexual.
    c) bisexual.
    d) trans.
    e) not sure.
    f) _____.

5. I am _____ years old.

Appendix H

Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to participate because you are a student in the General Psychology course at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

The purpose of this survey is to examine women's experiences in public places. We are interested in how you react to others specifically when you are walking along a public street. You will be asked to watch a short film clip and will also be given several questionnaires to fill out. The entire study should not last more than forty-five minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study without adversely affecting your relationship with the research investigators at IUP. Your decision will not result in any loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing or services you receive from the University. The questionnaires are anonymous and will not be used to identify particular individuals in need of psychological treatment. The information you provide us will be considered only in combination with that of other participants. The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but your identity will be kept confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below and return it to the person administering the questionnaires. After you watch the film clip and complete the questionnaires, you will be given an information sheet that will provide contact information if you wish to receive results of the study.

_____ _____

Participant Name Date

_____

Participant Signature

Student Researcher:

Harmony Sullivan, M.A.
Doctoral Candidate, Clinical Psychology
Uhler Hall
1020 Oakland Ave
Indiana, PA 15705

Faculty Supervisor:

Maureen McHugh, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology
Uhler Hall 103
1020 Oakland Ave.
Indiana, PA 15705

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

Appendix I

De-Briefing

Thank you for participating in our study. The following information is provided to you so that you will know the purpose of the research study.

We are interested in women's reactions to being harassed on the street. The characteristics that define street harassment are the following:

> (1) the targets of street harassment are female; (2) the harassers are male; (3) the harassers are unacquainted with their targets; (4) the encounter is face to face; (5) the forum is a public one, such as a street, sidewalk, bus, bus station, taxi, or other place to which the public generally has access; but (6) the content of the speech, if any, is not intended as public discourse. Rather, the remarks are aimed at the individual (although the harasser may intend that they be overheard by comrades or passers-by), and they are objectively degrading, objectifying, humiliating, and frequently threatening in nature (Bowman, 1993, p. 524).

Previous research indicates that women react to street harassment in diverse ways. Some research indicates that women may experience anger, powerlessness, and fear as a result of being harassed. Street harassment may even have a negative impact on a woman's psychological wellbeing. However, very little research has been done up until this point in time. The study you have just participated in examines whether street harassment impacts women's sense of themselves in terms of their bodies and/or increasing their sense of their own vulnerability to rape. It also examines the emotional reactions women have to witnessing street harassment.

We are examining this by exposing some groups to a video of street harassment and some groups to a video depicting a neutral street scene. The hypothesis is that women who view a scene in which a man is harassing a woman on the street will experience more negative feelings, such as anger and frustration, than the women who watch the neutral film clip. We also hypothesize that the women who watch the clip of street harassment will show more concerns about body image and more fear of being vulnerable to rape.

For further information about women's experiences of street harassment it is suggested that you read:

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

You can also watch the entire film from which the short street harassment clip was taken:

Hadleigh-West, M. (creator/director), & Levine, H. (producer). (1998). *War Zone* [motion picture]. Available from Media Education Foundation, 60 Masonic St., Northampton, MA, 01060.

If you would like any information about the results of this study once it is completed, feel free to contact the investigator:

Harmony Sullivan, M.A.
(412) 596-6432
spmn@iup.edu

You may also contact the supervisor:
Maureen McHugh, Ph.D.
(724) 357-2448
mcmchugh@iup.edu

Appendix J

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on the Street Harassment Scale (SHS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

		Experimental			Control	
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
1. How often has a man whistled, yelled, or honked at you from his car while you were walking/waiting for the bus/riding bike?	6	4.22	1.57	6	3.97	1.48
2. How often has a man blown you kisses or made other romantic gestures to you on the street?	6	3.05	1.82	6	2.63	1.38
3. How often has a man told you to smile?	6	3.49	1.76	6	3.37	1.75
4. How often has a man made negative comments about your appearance as you walk by (e.g. "keep the legs, lose the face")?	6	1.66	1.35	6	1.66	1.55
5. How often has a man offered you money for sex when you are either walking or standing waiting for someone?	3	1.17	.59	6	1.21	1.02
6. How often has a man asked you for your name?	6	4.10	1.72	6	3.92	1.44
7. How often has a man told you how pretty or attractive you are as you walk down the street and then repeated these comments louder, trying to get your attention?	6	3.51	1.72	6	3.08	1.55
8. How often has a man slowed down his car so that he can drive beside you as you walk and either watch you or speak to you?	6	2.93	1.71	5	2.34	1.49
9. How often has a man made sexually explicit gestures to you as you walk (e.g., pantomiming a blow job, grabbing his crotch)?	6	2.15	1.42	6	2.13	1.40
10. How often has a man complimented your appearance (e.g. "you have beautiful eyes", "nice legs", "you're beautiful")?	6	4.00	1.76	5	3.76	1.30

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on the Street Harassment Scale (SHS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

		Experimental			Control	
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
11. How often has a man asked if you have a boyfriend or are married?	6	3.76	1.71	5	3.55	1.35
12. How often has a man commented on your weight saying that you are either too fat or too skinny?	6	2.20	1.57	6	2.03	1.48
13. How often has a man made sexual comments to you and then followed you as you walk?	6	2.00	1.58	5	1.63	1.03
14. How often has a man asked you for your phone number?	6	3.71	1.75	4	3.26	1.37
15. How often has a man yelled things like "hey sexy!" or "you're fine!" from a car while driving past you as you are walking or waiting for someone?	6	3.61	1.77	5	3.05	1.34
16. How often has a man walked past you and commented on your weight, saying that he approves of your size?	6	2.15	1.56	5	1.79	1.28
17. How have men touched you as you walked past them (e.g., touching your waist, brushing a hand against your breast, grabbing your hand, etc.)?	5	2.34	1.41	4	1.87	1.02
18) How often has a man called you insulting names to you as you walk past (e.g., "whore" or "bitch")?	5	1.73	1.21	6	1.87	1.30
19. How often has a man approached the male person you are walking or sitting with and complimented him on your appearance or on his successful conquest of you?	5	2.54	1.72	3	1.87	.91

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on the Street Harassment Scale (SHS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

		Experimental			Control	
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
20. How often has a man yelled comments about your appearance at you while you are jogging?	5	2.37	1.73	4	2.05	1.41
21. How often has a man walked past and directed non-verbal sounds at you (cat calls, wolf whistles, etc.)?	6	3.02	1.73	5	2.55	1.35
22. How often has a man stared at you in a sexual way as they walk past you on the street (e.g. leering, eyeing you up and down)?	6	3.59	1.63	5	3.45	1.64
23. How often have construction workers yelled compliments to you about your appearance as you walked past their work site?	5	2.20	1.57	4	1.97	1.26
24. How often has a group of men made gestures and calls for you to come over to where they are standing?	6	2.95	1.67	4	2.63	1.55
25. How often has a man pulled his car over as you are walking and asked you to do sexually explicit things with him?	5	1.51	1.19	1	1.05	.23
26. How often has a man called for your attention and when you ignore him begun shouting insults at you?	5	2.17	1.58	3	1.58	.89
27. How often has a man showed you his penis on the street?	5	1.51	1.36	2	1.08	.36
28. How often have men physically assaulted you as you walked past them (e.g. slapping your buttocks, punching you, tripping you, poking you)?	5	1.83	1.43	5	1.39	1.10

Appendix K

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on Fear of Rape Scale (FORS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

	Experimental			Control		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
1. Before I go to bed at night, I double check to make sure the doors are securely locked.	4	2.71	1.59	4	2.26	1.39
2. When someone rings/knocks at my door I ask who it is (or look through the peephole) before I open the door.	4	1.68	1.15	4	2.03	1.22
3. I think twice before going out for a walk late at night.	4	2.49	1.36	4	2.58	1.39
4. If I have to take the subway/bus alone at night I feel anxious.	4	2.15	1.33	4	2.37	1.26
5. I avoid going out alone at night.	4	2.34	1.24	4	2.58	1.41
6. I ask friends to walk me to my car/the subway if it is late at night.	4	2.41	1.23	4	2.71	1.49
7. I think about the shoes/clothes I am wearing in terms of my ability to run in a dangerous situation.	4	3.24	1.45	4	3.47	1.35
8. In general, how do you feel at night? [a]	4	3.51	1.14	4	3.39	1.18
9. When I am walking alone I think about where I would run if someone came after me.	4	2.59	1.18	4	2.87	1.49
10. I have turned down invitations/opportunities because I didn't want to risk coming home alone afterwards.	4	3.44	1.42	4	3.97	1.35
11. I feel confident walking alone late at night.[a]	4	2.71	1.27	4	2.97	1.15
12. I am especially careful of wearing the "proper" clothes.	4	3.32	1.11	4	3.34	1.28

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on Fear of Rape Scale (FORS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

	Experimental			Control		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
13. If I was waiting for an elevator and it arrived with one man alone inside, I would wait for the next one.	4	3.56	1.18	4	3.95	1.23
14. I am wary of men.	4	3.37	1.07	4	3.61	1.20
15. I am afraid of being sexually assaulted.	4	2.59	1.36	4	3.16	1.26
16. If I have to walk outside late at night, I take precautions.	3	2.22	1.13	4	2.66	1.38
17. In general, I am suspicious of men.	4	2.90	1.14	4	3.42	1.37
18. If it was dark and I had to walk to my car, I would make sure I was accompanied by someone I trusted.	3	2.46	1.03	4	2.66	1.34
19. If I was driving alone and I had to park my car I would try to park on a well lit street.	3	1.78	.96	4	2.11	1.11
20. How safe do you feel going into public washrooms in subways or malls? [a]	4	3.51	1.03	4	3.84	1.08
21. How safe do you feel in your apartment/house when you are by yourself? [a]	4	3.98	1.24	4	4.18	1.14
22. I am afraid of men.	4	3.83	1.09	4	3.92	1.05
23. I carry objects (keys, knife, something sharp) when I walk alone at night.	4	2.93	1.56	4	3.58	1.64
24. When I'm walking out alone at night I am very cautious.	3	2.24	.99	4	2.21	1.21
25. If I heard that someone had been sexually assaulted in my neighborhood, I wouldn't leave the house unless I really had to.	4	2.98	1.26	4	3.00	1.41

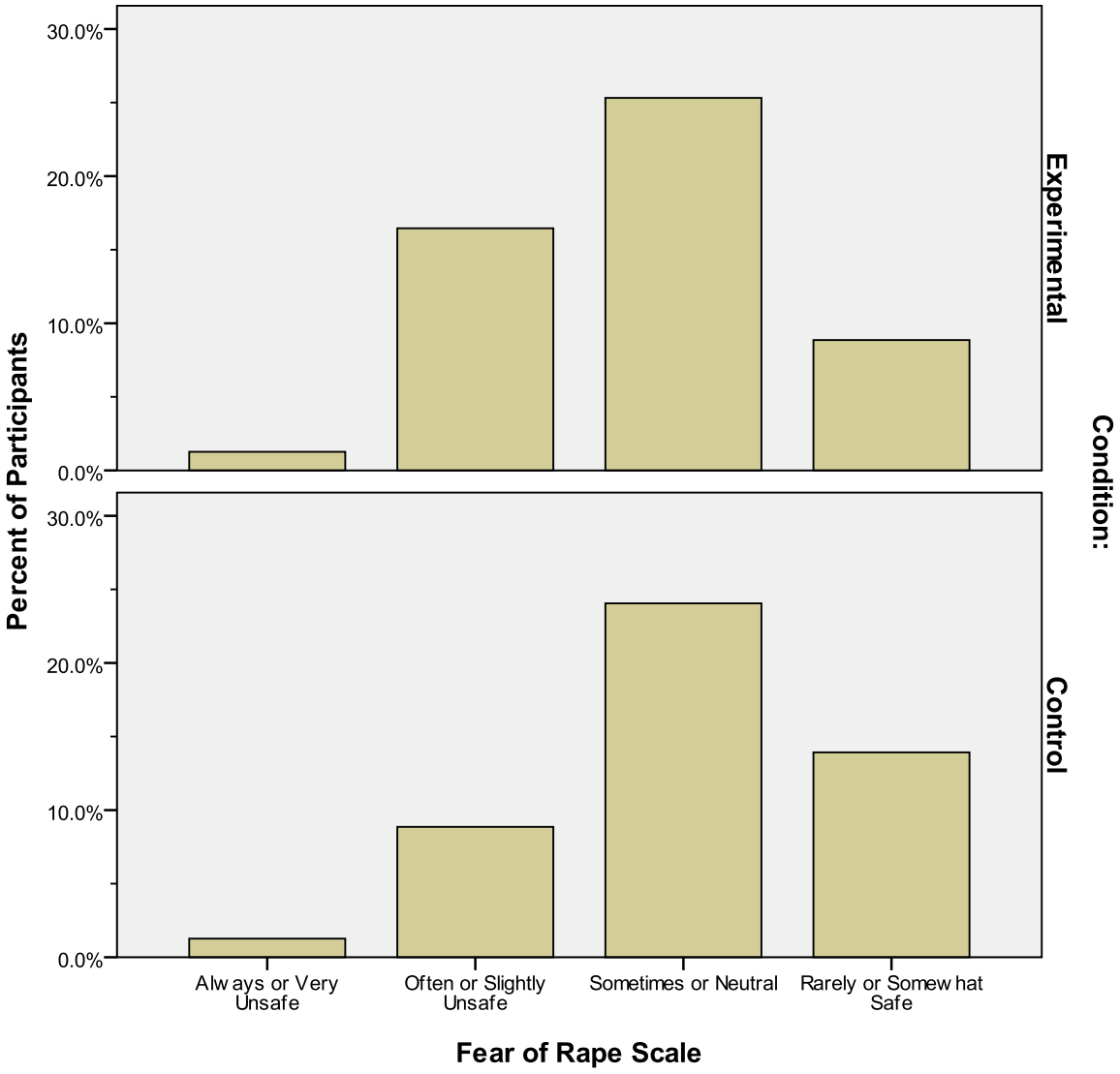
Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on Fear of Rape Scale (FORS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

		Experimental			Control	
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
26. When I am choosing a seat on the bus or subway I am conscious of who is sitting nearby.	4	2.39	1.38	4	2.42	1.39
27 How safe do you feel being out alone in your neighborhood at night? [a]	4	3.95	1.07	4	3.97	1.08
28. If I am going out late at night, I avoid certain parts of town.	4	2.22	1.13	4	2.42	1.46
29. When I get on the bus/streetcar/subway I take a seat that allows me to keep an eye on those sitting nearby.	4	2.90	1.41	4	3.05	1.36
30. The possibility of rape affects my freedom of movement.	4	3.49	1.55	4	3.76	1.32

[a] Items are reverse scored.

Appendix L

Frequency Graph for Fear of Rape Scale (N = 79)



Appendix M

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Scale Items on the Self-Objectification Questionnaire

	Experimental (n = 41)			Control (n = 38)		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
Physical attractiveness	10	4.05	2.68	11	3.84	2.75
Muscular strength	11	8.61	3.21	9	8.76	2.40
Coloring	11	8.80	3.10	10	9.39	2.82
Physical coordination	11	8.10	2.89	11	7.82	3.21
Weight	11	4.80	3.10	10	5.00	3.39
Stamina	10	8.44	2.77	10	7.55	2.96
Sex appeal	10	6.00	2.69	10	5.58	2.72
Health	11	2.66	2.63	11	2.92	2.66
Measurements	10	8.32	2.77	9	8.97	2.44
Physical fitness	11	4.98	2.64	9	4.87	2.51
Muscle tone	10	7.68	2.96	11	7.61	3.05
Physical energy level	8	5.56	2.68	11	5.68	2.78

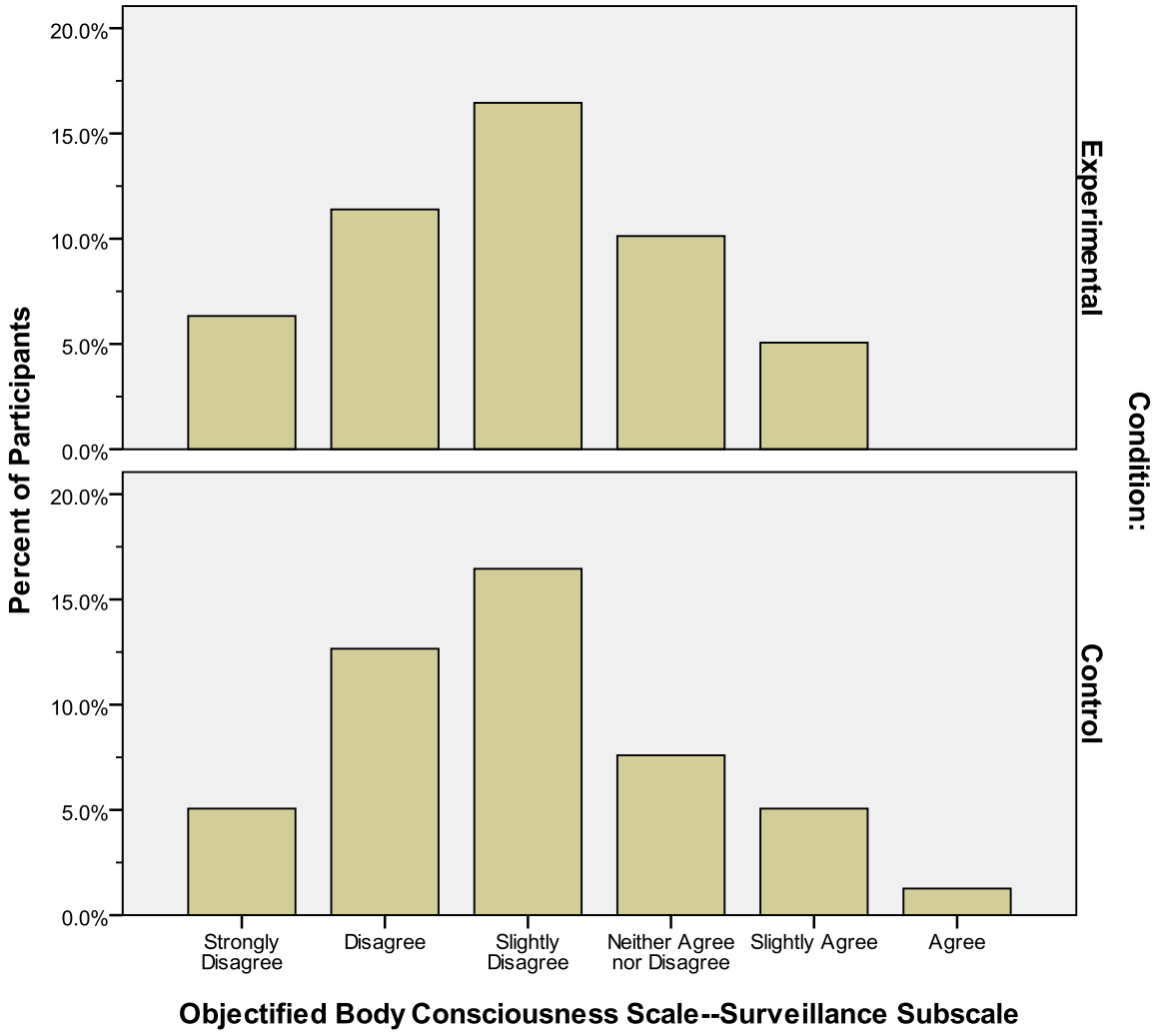
Appendix N

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (OBCS) Surveillance Subscale (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

	Experimental			Control		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
1. I rarely think about how I look.	6	2.56	1.72	6	2.29	1.87
2. I think it is more important that my clothes are comfortable than whether they look good on me.	6	3.75	1.89	6	3.63	1.84
3. I think more about how my body feels than how my body looks.	6	3.95	1.84	6	3.39	1.82
4. I rarely compare how I look with how other people look.	6	2.15	1.53	6	2.84	2.22
5. During the day I think about how I look many times.	5	2.56	1.45	6	2.84	1.78
6. I worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good.	5	2.73	1.40	6	2.61	1.78
7. I rarely worry about how I look to other people.	6	3.07	1.78	6	2.89	1.83
8. I am more concerned with what my body can do than how it looks.	6	3.72	1.66	6	3.47	1.84
Total OBCS Surveillance Subscale	3.8	2.97	1.03	5.1	3.00	1.17

Appendix O

Frequency Graph for Objectified Body Consciousness Scale—Surveillance Subscale



Appendix P

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on the Negative Affect Subscale of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

	Experimental			Control		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
Distressed	4	1.95	1.14	4	1.68	1.09
Upset	3	1.61	.92	3	1.50	.98
Guilty	3	1.32	.82	3	1.11	.51
Scared	3	1.29	.75	1	1.16	.37
Hostile	3	1.46	.87	2	1.26	.55
Angry	4	1.68	.97	3	1.32	.74
Irritable	4	2.10	1.18	3	1.71	.98
Ashamed	3	1.34	.76	3	1.13	.53
Nervous	4	1.56	.98	3	1.53	.76
Jittery	4	1.73	1.10	4	1.76	1.03
Afraid	4	1.32	.85	2	1.24	.49
Frustrated	4	1.95	1.22	4	1.61	1.10

Appendix Q

Descriptive Statistics for Individual Items on the Positive Affect Subscale of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) (Experimental n = 41, Control n = 38)

	Experimental			Control		
Item	Range	M	SD	Range	M	SD
Interested	3	2.66	.88	4	2.45	1.11
Excited	4	1.90	1.20	3	1.66	.97
Strong	4	2.24	1.09	4	1.87	1.10
Enthusiastic	3	1.83	.92	3	1.87	.99
Proud	4	1.95	1.14	3	1.71	.87
Giddy	4	1.66	1.04	3	1.58	.89
Alert	4	2.73	.95	4	2.71	1.31
Inspired	3	1.88	.84	3	1.63	.91
Determined	3	2.00	.98	4	1.92	1.22
Attentive	4	2.78	.94	4	2.71	1.11
Active	4	2.00	1.05	3	2.11	1.11
Pleased	3	1.71	.84	3	2.03	1.00

Appendix R

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Matrix with Dependent Measures and Street Harassment Scale (SHS) For Data from Experimental Condition (n = 39)

Scale	SHS	PANAS Negative	PANAS Positive	FORS	SOQ	OBCS
Street Harassment Scale (SHS)	1	.54*	.17	-.08	-.11	.00
PANAS Negative	.54*	1	.45*	.01	-.13	.03
PANAS Positive	.17	.45*	1	.29	-.05	.10
Fear of Rape Scale (FORS)	-.08	.01	.29	1	.03	-.17
Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ)	-.11	-.13	-.05	.03	1	.44*
Objectified Body Consciousness Surveillance Subscale (OBCS)	.00	.03	.10	-.17	.45*	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix S

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Matrix with Dependent Measures and Street Harassment Scale (SHS) Complimentary/Benign and Hostile/Threatening Subscales For Data from Experimental Condition (n = 39)

Scale	SHS—CBS	SHS—HTS	PANAS Negative	PANAS Positive	FORS	OBCS	SOQ
Street Harassment Scale—Complimentary /Benign Subscale (SHS—CBS)	1	.81*	.25	.11	.06	.03	-.15
Street Harassment Scale—Hostile/Threatening Subscale (SHS—HTS)	.81*	1	.32*	-.02	-.03	-.01	.02
PANAS Negative Affect Subscale	.25	.32*	1	.31*	.17	.01	.05
PANAS Positive Affect Subscale	.11	-.02	.31*	1	.15	.16	-.03
Fear of Rape Scale (FORS)	.06	-.03	.17	.15	1	-.16	-.03
Objectified Body Consciousness Scale—Surveillance Subscale (OBCS)	.03	-.01	.01	.16	-.16	1	.45*
Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ)	-.15	.02	.05	-.03	-.03	.45*	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).