

DISSERTATION

THE ALETHEIA PROJECT:
AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN HIGHER
EDUCATION FACILITIES MANAGEMENT

Submitted by

Lindsay Wagner

School of Education

In partial fulfillment of requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2020

Doctoral Committee:

Advisor: D-L Stewart

Susana Muñoz

Sue Doe

Z Nicolazzo

Copyright by Lindsay Wagner 2020

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

THE ALETHEIA PROJECT: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES MANAGEMENT

I am a female, queer, White, working class, androgynous person working in the higher education facilities management industry. After spending fifteen years at one institution, holding positions ranging from plumber to director of operations, I had lost myself in my work. This study is an autoethnographic exploration of my experiences with sexual harassment and microaggressions in the higher education facilities management industry. In an effort to make sense of my experience I explore the literature to gain an understanding of what constitutes sexual harassment, theories of why it occurs, and training methods that are being used. I was unsatisfied with what I found. Theories were largely based on the gender binary and associated with heterosexual attraction. Existing research was heavily quantitative leaving little opportunity for exploration of individual experiences. This work aims to fill those gaps in the literature.

Using memory recall exercises, I wrote a personal narrative highlighting experiences throughout my life that are associated with my identity and sexual harassment. Upon completion, I read and reread the narrative. When I came to a spot with which I was uncomfortable, I stopped and wrote letters to either you—the reader—or the person involved in the memory. Pseudonyms were used in all the letters. People are only described by their relationship to my employment role. These letters allowed me to explore my actions and reactions and gain a better understanding of my experience. Using intersectionality and affect theory I analyzed these data

and discovered that work becomes property much like education and Whiteness. The sexual harassment that I endured and at times participated in was not related to the gender binary or heterosexual attraction. It was a means of protecting the work as property.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Studying myself was a difficult process. I am grateful for the love and support of my partner, Sarah. She endured two years of me being more silent than normal. She let me be angry and sad and mad and depressed and frustrated without having to explain why. She gave me the space I needed to feel so many things I had never allowed myself to feel before. I love you, Sarah. Thank you for being you. You are my favorite.

This project would not have been possible without The Crew. It seems you always knew when to send words of encouragement. Every time I was about to give up, someone would text or call. Someone was always available to review my work or discuss a random idea. You all pushed me to become a better person and I am grateful. You will all forever be family to me. Thank you.

I am grateful for the love and support of my parents. This came in the form of constantly asking if I was done yet, which definitely kept me motivated to finish. I am grateful for the work ethic that you instilled in me. You are both amazing people that I love dearly. Thank you for everything you have done for me.

I am grateful for Dr. Stewart, my advisor, and my committee, Dr. Muñoz, Dr. Nicolazzo, and Dr. Doe. You all supported me, challenged me, and pushed me to be a better researcher. I never dreamed of working with such amazing researchers and scholars. At first, I was terrified to share my work with you. When I did, the outpouring of support was incredible. Thank you.

DEDICATION

Dear Pop,

This is for you.

Love, Lindsay

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	11
History of Sexual Harassment	11
Definitions of Sexual Harassment	13
Legal Definitions of Sexual Harassment	16
Values and Beliefs	18
Current Trends and Sexual Harassment Incidence Rates	19
Reactions to Sexual Harassment in Fields Dominated by Cisgender Men	21
Theories of Sexual Harassment	24
The Natural/Biological Model	24
The Organizational Model	25
The Socio-Cultural Model	27
The Sex-Role Spill-Over Model	29
Tokenism	30
Sexual Harassment Training Methods	33
Pre-Training and Post-Training	34
Delivery Method	35
Theoretical Prospective	36
Intersectionality	36
Being White and Doing Intersectionality	39
Affect Theory	40
Intersectionality Plus Affect Theory	43
Summary of the Literature	44
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	45
Positionality Statement	46
Worldview	47
Methodology	47
Methods and Analysis	52

Conclusion	55
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS	56
The Kitchen Table	56
The Dress	57
Flowers	58
Fishy	59
Boobie All Gone	59
First Job	60
Kathy	60
The Sharpie	61
Second Job	62
Boobs	63
Aunt	63
This is Twelve	64
Smear the Queer	65
152#	66
Gun Poem	66
Kiss	67
A Man's Work	68
Jock/Nerd/Stoner	69
Him	69
Injury	70
God	71
Band Geek	72
Student Worker	73
Scrotum	74
Tools	75
General Maintenance Mechanic	75
Establishment	76
Chip	77
Swing Shift	78
Plumber	79
Broom	79
Token	80

Project Manager.....	81
Shopping.....	82
Cubicle Language.....	84
Androgynous and Possibly Pregnant.....	84
Who is the Project Manager?	85
Table Manners	86
Director of Utilities and Infrastructure.....	87
Mattress Shopping.....	87
Raise?	89
Evaluation.....	89
Director of Operations.....	90
Shaved Head.....	91
The End	92
Consultant.....	92
Ass Slap.....	93
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION	95
Summary of the Study	95
Discussion of Findings	97
My Experience.....	97
Complicit	100
Elucidating Complicated Intersections.....	103
Lessons Learned	104
Comparing the Findings to the Literature	106
Values and Beliefs	107
Reactions to Sexual Harassment	107
Sexual Harassment Theory.....	108
Nature/Biological Model.....	108
The Organizational Model.....	109
The Socio-Cultural Model.....	109
The Sex-Role Spill-Over Model.....	109
Tokenism	110
Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research.....	110
Policy.....	111
Practice	114

Research	117
Conclusion.....	119
Post Defense: A Letter to My Future Self.....	119
REFERENCES	121

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Dear Pop,¹

Last night I was lying in bed with Elizabeth² just about to drift off to sleep when she rolled over to kiss me good night. It ended up being an awkward side kiss, making us giggle. She asked me if anyone had kissed me like that before and I thought for a second and suddenly had an intense memory. You kissed me like that. Your side kisses were generally coupled with a pinch, followed by you telling me to “Be good.” A flood of other memories rushed in and I stayed with them until I found what I have been looking for. You did something for me that I never thanked you for. You wrote me a letter with black pen on a yellow legal pad in your shaky all caps printing. I was 19 years old at the time and in my first relationship with a woman. She was ten years older than me and had a five-year-old son. The relationship became a thing only because the first time I slept at her house her ex-boyfriend broke in and tried to kill me. He tackled me to the floor and straddled me, wrapping his hands around my neck in attempt to choke me. He gave up when the sirens got close. After that she had a breakdown and ended up in the hospital. I stayed around because I fell in

¹ In order to preserve the natural flow of the letters contained in this research I elected to use footnotes for citations that occur within the letters, knowing that this not APA formatting.

² To preserve anonymity and confidentiality pseudonyms are used for all persons involved in my research.

love with her son. She eventually got better and I brought her and her son home for Christmas. As you probably remember, it did not go well.

I still have the letter and I dug it out of the filing cabinet this morning. In the letter you told me how my actions made you feel. You did this in a way that instantly dropped my defenses and made me think. Your words were firm, but they wrapped around me and I felt your love. I felt an invitation to share my feelings, to be vulnerable. Ultimately, the letter you wrote opened up true dialogue about sexuality between us, and eventually the entire family. Your willingness to be vulnerable and share your feelings made it safe for me to do the same.

I have been trying to figure out where I am going with this dissertation for months. How can my stories of sexual harassment in higher education facilities management possibly make an impact on others? What exactly am I trying to achieve by sharing my experience? The questions go on and on. Reading your letter cleared all that up. Correspondence is actually a form of feminist research.³ It is my intention to be vulnerable and write letters in attempt to create dialogue. The process of writing these letters is going to be emotionally demanding, but likely also therapeutic giving me an opportunity to work through the traumas that I experienced.⁴ I

³ Kralik, D., Koch, T., & Brady, B.M. (2000) Pen pals: Correspondence as method for data generation in qualitative research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31(4), 909-917.

⁴ Grinyer, A. (2004). The narrative correspondence method: What a follow-up study can tell us about the longer term effect on participants in emotionally demanding research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(10), 1326-1341.

want my letters to open up dialogue in the workplace like your letter opened dialogue in the family. I want feelings to be shared and differences to be embraced as opportunities. I want the chance to be myself, my true self, at work. I want others to have that same opportunity. I believe the first step in contributing to this change in the workplace is telling my story and reentering the professional world as the true me. Thank you for writing the letter.

Love, Lindsay

A few years ago, I was attending a mixer hosted by the city utility department. I was there representing the university. I remember what I was wearing because for some reason I always do. It was a dark grey Antonio Melani suit that had an elevated rough texture to the fabric. All my suits at that time were designed by Antonio Melani because that is all Dillard's carried and Dillard's was the only option in town for suits. The pants belonging to this particular suit were a little high waisted and the jacket a bit shorter, which required that my green pinstriped shirt be tucked in. The combination of the high waist and tucked in shirttail were adding to my anxiousness as I walked around shaking hands. Towards the end of the evening, I thought I had shaken all the hands, but one more reached out to me. I remember hands like I remember what I was wearing. This was a big hand with dirt or grease under the tips of the nails. The handshake was strong. We exchanged introductions. I said, "I am the Director of Operations." He said, "Do you have a name?" In that moment I realized I had lost myself in my career.

Dear Mom and Dad,

First, I would like to thank you for copulating. I appreciate this opportunity at life and I intend to make a difference. I have been reading a lot of Heidegger lately.⁵ He developed a care structure that consists of facticity, fallenness, and existentiality. Facticity is the idea that we are thrown into the world where we are, in my case that was in Lake Havasu, AZ. There were White people and straight people and people that really loved God. Diversity was nonexistent. You taught me to love all people, to be colorblind. I know now that does not cut it, but I do not fault you for that. Fallenness is the likelihood that we will fall away from the potentials that exist in life because we will default to anonymous forces. I went to college wanting nothing more than to prove to you that I could be successful. I wanted to make you proud. I worked hard and moved up in the facilities management department very fast. You were proud, but I was uncomfortable. You saw this as success, but I felt as if I had fallen away from my potential in life and given into the anonymous forces that Heidegger talks about. I was making decisions based on the anonymous "they" and striving to meet "their" definition of success, not my own. Heidegger refers to the "they," as Das Man. Existentiality is seeing and

⁵ Heidegger, M., Macquarrie, J., & Robinson, E. (1962). *Being and time*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

deliberately pushing toward one's deepest destiny in life. I quit that job that made you so proud and I know you do not understand why. As I pursue additional education I am making constant discoveries about myself that fallenness had prevented for so long. Many of these discoveries have been painful. You are proud of my career, but I am ashamed. I have contributed to sexism, racism, and classism. I have exploited my White privilege. My eyes have been opened to my fallenness and I cannot ignore what I see. I know what I am supposed to do and I am going to push toward it through the synchronous actions of everyday life and research. It will require vulnerability, transparency, and analysis of my life. Things are going to come out that will make you uncomfortable. Please just love me and know I am doing the work I need to do.

Love, Lindsay

I spent 15 years working in higher education facilities management at a state university. Facilities management is responsible for the maintenance and operations of institutional buildings and grounds, and in some cases includes the production and distribution of utilities. Facilities management departments include a range of positions from vice president to custodian with education levels ranging from PhD to GED. The department includes a large body of skilled trades workers including boiler operators, electricians, plumbers, HVAC technicians, locksmiths, painters, and carpenters. Generally, there are very few women employed in the skilled trades or in leadership positions.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, women comprised 46.8% of the total U.S. labor force in 2010. However, a number of occupations in the United States still have relatively few women working in them. As of 2010, Department of Labor numbers still show the percentage of women who work in the construction trades to be less than 3%. (Wagner, Kim, & Gordon, 2013, p. 1)

Because facilities management is comprised of multiple skilled building trades, it falls under the job classification of construction trades. “Gender segregation is most evident in the skilled building trades (such as plastering, plumbing, carpentry, and joinery) where women comprise 0.2 to 0.3 percent of the workforce” (Ness, 2012, p. 655). Despite the skewed gender ratio, research has shown that women enjoy the relative freedom that working on a jobsite offers and find the physical work empowering and rewarding (Ness, 2012; Denissen, 2010). I love working on jobsites. The feeling that comes with physically creating something is amazing, but the sexual harassment and microaggressions that come along with the work are exhausting. When I think back on my experiences on different jobsites I wish the stories that came to mind were heroic tales of delivering impossible projects on time and on budget, but they are not. The stories that come to mind are all about sexual harassment.

Dear Colleagues,

I came to you as an 18 year old. I was eager to prove myself and was passionate about my work as a maintenance mechanic in the Facilities Services department, but I was not like you. You were all cisgender men and much older than me. I was often asked how I penetrated the ‘good old boys’ network as I climbed the ladder. Back then I would laugh that question off

with a shrug and a smile. I now see that I was part of your network because I learned to act like you. I mimicked your behaviors. I treated people like you did. I shrugged things off I should have protested. I developed into you, an old White guy, not into me. I have been given the opportunity to further my education and in doing so I have realized I am not presenting my true self because I know you would not like me. I am finally ok with that. I have gratitude for the experiences I have had and the opportunities that I have been given, but I have changed and the industry needs to change. We maintain and operate space on university campuses. Space plays many roles, but the most important is safety. Feeling included is part of feeling safe. Our work is paramount in the creation of an inclusive campus. If the industry itself is not inclusive how can we participate in the creation and maintenance of inclusive space on campuses?

I am going to share my experience using the autoethnographic research method. This approach will allow me to face the power structures that have shaped my experience through self-reflection in an attempt to redevelop and ultimately reclaim myself.⁶ Please be open to this and consider the impact vulnerability could have on the future of this industry and the future of higher education.

Regards, Lindsay

⁶ Tierney, W. G. (1998). Life history's history: Subjects foretold. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 4, 49-70.

Story can be analysis. Ellis (2004) stated, “Stories are the way humans make sense of their worlds. Stories are essential to human understanding and are not unique to autoethnography. Stories are the focus in Homeric literature, oral traditions, narrative analysis and fairy tales” (p. 32). When the giant hand with dirty nails was wrapped around mine and the question, “Do you have a name?” reverberated in my head, my world crumbled. Who had I become? Since that handshake, I have been slowly unpacking my experiences in higher education facilities management. Asking the questions: What happened to me regarding sexual harassment and micro aggressions during my 15-year career in higher education facilities management? How and why was I complicit in the events that occurred? How do my experiences elucidate the complicated intersections between race, class, gender identity, and sexuality within an organization? What can be learned from my experiences that could help me and others in the future? Using memory recall exercises and journaling techniques that are used in autoethnographic research, I have realized that during my career in facilities management, a field dominated by cisgender men, I endured the exploitation of sexual power in the forms of sexual harassment, and sexual coercion, and took no action.

Dear Reader,

I hope you are here reading these words and thinking about the many roles you play in life, and embracing the potential that vulnerability has for pushing us forward in a more positive and collective direction. I am a working class, White, androgynous, queer, female, working in higher education facilities management which is dominated by cisgender men, and

as I reflect on my experiences, I see moments I did not live up to my full potential. I did not share my feelings or myself. I chose silence.

Work consists of formalized tasks governed by policies and procedures blended with casual interactions that occur in places like the break room. Inequalities associated with gender, race, and class tend to surface during these informal interactions that are not work, but not social either.⁷ It is in these unprotected in-between spaces that each of us has the opportunity to be human and share our stories. These spaces are not governed by official policies. It is in them that we have the opportunity to learn about and embrace the different forms that we come in, and the different ways we experience and understand the world. These are the spaces that allow for growth. In them we have the opportunity to push each other toward full potential.

Doing the work itself should be easy. Tasks are laid out. On the jobsite the work is the work. There is an obvious shared goal of completing the work, so why is it that we all have stories that go beyond the work? As each of us slog through our daily routines we encounter culture and each of us experiences that encounter differently. Expression of the experience should be shared.⁸ I want to know what it feels like to be you and I want to share

⁷ Wright, T. (2016). Women's experiences of workplace interactions in male dominated work: The intersections of gender, sexuality, and occupational group. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), 348-362. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12074>

⁸ Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture & truth: The remaking of social analysis*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

what it feels like to be me. It is my hope that you spend time in between my words thinking about the in-between space in the workplace, thinking about how you have the opportunity to reach your full potential and propel others towards theirs. In this space, you must be vulnerable. As a feminist researcher I will share personal experiences to shed light on my everyday experiences of the friction that exists between my reality and dominant gendered ideologies.⁹ I am going to tell my story in hopes that it will encourage you to tell yours. I believe our stories hold the power that will help us reach full potential.

Regards, Lindsay

⁹ McKeown, J. (2015). "I will not be wearing heels tonight!" A feminist exploration of singlehood, dating, and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 47, 485-500.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

As memories surfaced, I became more and more confused about what was considered sexual harassment and why it occurred so I looked at the history of sexual harassment in an attempt to place myself in the broader context of the issue. I worked through the definitions of sexual harassment and the role that values and beliefs play in defining what constitutes sexual harassment. I looked at research on reactions to sexual harassment from cisgender women in fields dominated by cisgender men. I then transitioned to looking at why sexual harassment occurs by reviewing research studies on the theories of sexual harassment. This is followed by a review of sexual harassment training methodology. I searched the literature to make meaning of experiences I had and choices I made in relation to my career. I searched the literature for myself. As memories surfaced, I wrote letters and bits of personal narrative. I conclude with my theoretical prospective.

History of Sexual Harassment

Sexual power has been used against people disempowered through systemic violence throughout United States history, particularly during the period of African enslavement (Cohen, 2016). “Following the period of slavery and conquest white identity became the basis of racialized privilege that was ratified and legitimated in law as a type of status property” (Harris, 1993, p. 1714). Slaves were emancipated, but the associated power structure did not dissolve. During slavery and beyond, Black women were not seen as having sexual autonomy. Their bodies were free to sexual use and abuse which extended into the workplace.

Assaults, both physical and verbal, from cisgender men in supervisory positions were commonplace in the early 20th century as women were employed in manufacturing and clerical

positions. Women had two choices, endure the harassment or quit (Cohen, 2016). Silence was the popular coping mechanism, but there were efforts to raise the standards of living for working women (Cobble, 2014). “In 1919, in the immediate aftermath of World War I, women labor reformers from nineteen nations and three continents gathered in Washington D.C., to hammer out a set of international labor standards and worker rights” (Cobble, p. 1052). Despite these early efforts, women rarely opened up about what they were going through in the workplace. The issue of sexual harassment did not become pressing until the 1960s and 1970s, when women’s participation in the workplace increased.

The term “sexual harassment” was not coined until 1975 when an incident that occurred at Cornell University made the news.

A former employee of the university, Carmita Wood, filed a claim for unemployment benefits after she resigned from her job due to unwanted touching from her supervisor.

Cornell had refused Wood’s request for a transfer, and denied her benefits on the grounds that she quit for personal reasons. (Cohen, 2016, p. 3)

Women in support of Wood formed a group called Working Women United and shared their own stories of harassment. Eventually, Working Women United made the news and the term “sexual harassment” was used in a headline (Cohen, 2016).

The Wood incident initiated increased awareness of sexual harassment as an issue. *Redbook* conducted a survey in 1976 which showed 80% of respondents had experienced sexual harassment on the job, and *TIME* reported that 18 million American women were sexually harassed at work in 1979 and 1980 (Cohen, 2016). As awareness of sexual harassment increased, so did the pushback, but feminist attorney Catharine MacKinnon did not let it stop her. She is credited with distinguishing between two types of harassment, *hostile working environment* and

quid pro quo. Eleanor Holmes Norton, the director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was a key influencer in the overhaul of workplace equality law that allowed sexual harassment to be recognized as a violation of women's rights (Cohen, 2016). "By 1977, three court cases confirmed that a woman could sue her employer for harassment under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, using the EEOC as the vehicle for redress" (Cohen, 2016, p. 3).

The Supreme Court has heard multiple sexual harassment cases since 1977. One of the most notable was in 1998 when the Supreme Court ruled that same-sex harassment was also unlawful in the workplace (Cohen, 2016). The prevalence of sexual harassment incidents is still high across many industries despite all the legal victories. This does not mean efforts against sexual harassment have failed; it means that there is still work to do.

Definitions of Sexual Harassment

In 2008, Justine Tinkler (2008) used data from a nationwide study of sexual harassment in United States' federal workplaces to investigate how legal understandings, opinion about the regulation of sexual harassment, and social status affected whether people defined uninvited sexual jokes or remarks as harassment. Tinkler introduced her quantitative study by highlighting the differences in the way individuals defined sexual harassment. Tinkler listed definitions provided by a coffeehouse employee and an undergraduate student resident advisor, both men, and the EEOC definition (Tinkler, p. 417). Tinkler explained the narrowness of the coffeehouse employee's definition, pointing out men are identified as the harassers and women as the victims.

In contrast, the student's definition uses language similar to the EEOC definition of sexual harassment and clearly indicated application to employees of either gender (Tinkler, 2008).

Given that both respondents reported having been informed of their university/workplace sexual harassment policy, the extent of difference between these two definitions raises important theoretical and empirical questions about how personal beliefs and values interact with legal information to inform definitions of sexual harassment. (Tinkler, 2008, p. 418)

Denissen (2010) researched ways women in the building trades responded to sexual conduct that occurs in the workplace. Tradeswomen were interviewed and women in an apprenticeship program were observed. It was determined that tradeswomen interpreted sexual conduct based on workplace norms as opposed to definitions provided in training (Denissen, 2010).

Dear Katie,

Sitting in the parking lot where you used to pick me up in your white Toyota Tacoma, I started thinking way back to the beginning of this adventure. It started with you. My first day on campus I saw you and your student workers coming in and out of the downstairs maintenance office with armloads of tools and light bulbs and blind slats. It was the third day before I had the courage to come and talk to you. I distinctly remember my hands sweating and my stomach fluttering. Mandy and Jenny, both with short boyish haircuts, men's jeans, and work boots, were sitting in the office with you. I asked for a job before ever introducing myself, and it was on that day that my fifteen-year stretch as a university employee started.

You were the only female mechanic in the organization, and at that time, Mandy, Jenny, and I were the only female students. All of us queer, and you, a bible-thumping Christian. We made quite the team. You were a talented mechanic and I truly appreciate the general maintenance skills you taught me: how to change a ballast, how to fix a leaky sink, how to adjust shower mixing valves, how to unclog drains. All have proved to be valuable skills in life, so thank you. Thank you for opening up a world of opportunity that I never even dreamed a possibility.

There is something though, that has bothered me over the years. You hid from reality and encouraged us to do the same. When we faced adversity: crass comments and whistles from contractors, insinuations of weakness from the male mechanics, or unfair divvy of new tools, your response was silence. You always said, "Just keep your head down, stay quiet, and do your job and they will eventually leave you alone." I unfortunately listened to you.

Regards, Lindsay

Despite knowing their rights as defined by EEOC, Denissen (2010) showed tradeswomen often justify unacceptable behavior considering it as part of the job necessary to tolerate in order to be accepted. This result supports Tinkler's (2008) findings that "suggested a complexity in the way people reconcile their knowledge of the law with their personal view about power and social interaction in the workplace" (p. 440).

Dear Reader,

To me, sexual harassment is a stare. I have felt stares like unwanted hands on my body holding me against my will. To me, sexual harassment is a comment. I have felt words move in and envelop my body momentarily paralyzing me. To me, sexual harassment is an uninvited touch. I have felt this touch penetrate my skin and shake my spirit. To me, sexual harassment is an attitude. I have felt like a prop, an object, a muse. To me, sexual harassment is anything that prevents me from feeling safe.

Regards, Lindsay

Legal Definitions of Sexual Harassment

Harassment on the basis of sex is a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It is defined in Title 29 of the Code of Federal Regulations as follows:

§ 1604.11 Sexual harassment.

(a) Harassment on the basis of sex is a violation of section 703 of Title VII. Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. The principles involved here continue to apply to race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) In determining whether alleged conduct constitutes sexual harassment, the Commission will look at the record as a whole and at the totality of the circumstances, such as the nature of the sexual advances and the context in which the alleged incidents occurred. The determination of the legality of a particular action will be made from the facts, on a case-by-case basis.

(c) [Reserved]

(d) With respect to conduct between fellow employees, an employer is responsible for acts of sexual harassment in the workplace where the employer (or its agents or supervisory employees) knows or should have known of the conduct, unless it can show that it took immediate and appropriate corrective action.

(e) An employer may also be responsible for the acts of non-employees, with respect to sexual harassment of employees in the workplace, where the employer (or its agents or supervisory employees) knows or should have known of the conduct and fails to take immediate and appropriate corrective action. In reviewing these cases the Commission will consider the extent of the employer's control and any other legal responsibility that the employer may have with respect to the conduct of such non-employees.

(f) Prevention is the best tool for the elimination of sexual harassment. An employer should take all steps necessary to prevent sexual harassment from occurring, such as affirmatively raising the subject, expressing strong disapproval, developing appropriate sanctions, informing employees of their right to raise and how to raise the issue of harassment under Title VII, and developing methods to sensitize all concerned.

(g) Other related practices: Where employment opportunities or benefits are granted because of an individual's submission to the employer's sexual advances or requests for

sexual favors, the employer may be held liable for unlawful sex discrimination against other persons who were qualified for but denied that employment opportunity or benefit. (Labor, 2018)

Supreme Court decisions have led to modifications in the Federal Regulation multiple times. In the 1986 case *Meritor v. Vinson*, the Supreme Court added further specification indicating behaviors must be sufficiently severe or pervasive to alter the work environment such that one egregious incident or a repeated pattern of less serious incidents could constitute illegal sexual harassment. The EEOC issued amended guidelines in 1990 that specified conduct must be offensive and unsolicited. On a case-by-case basis, the EEOC is responsible for determining if the victim protested the sexual attention. In the 1993 case *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, the Supreme Court ruled that harassment would be determined not only by what the victim perceived, but what a “reasonable person” would perceive.

Values and Beliefs

The legal definition and the power it holds are contingent on the values and beliefs of individuals (Marshall & Barclay, 2003). This was evident in the Denissen (2010) research discussed above. The women observed and interviewed interpreted sexual conduct based on workplace norms as opposed to definitions provided in training. Their beliefs that sexual misconduct was an industry norm held more power than the legal definition they were provided in training. Tinkler (2008) stated, “the role of beliefs should depend on (1) variations in how easy/difficult it is for ordinary citizens to interpret and know how to behave according to law, (2) the extent to which law threatens everyday patterns of behavior, and (3) the social status of groups whose interests the law protects” (p. 423). The dependence on values and beliefs evident in the Denissen research can be attributed to dimensions two and three. Sexual harassment

threatens the everyday patterns of behavior that are present in the building trades, and it threatens the dominant social status of men in the industry, thus values and beliefs blur the meaning of the legal definition.

Dear Bruce,

You were the eighth person to hold the AVP position during my time at the university. It was obvious that you had no idea what to think of me from the beginning. I made you uncomfortable. When we would talk, you would constantly wring your hands. I always wanted to comment about how small and feminine they looked, but I kept it to myself. I just want you to know I also kept my frustration to myself. You said I did not get a raise to accompany my job reclassification like Bob because he had a wife and children to support and I was single. You suggested I find a husband and have children, not work so hard. If life had take-backs, I would want this moment back. I wouldn't keep the frustration to myself. My unexpressed frustration manifested into sickness. You know that saying, you make me sick? Well, it was not a saying in this case. You fucking made me sick.

Regards, Lindsay

Current Trends and Sexual Harassment Incidence Rates

In late 2017, *The New York Times* published reports of alleged sexual harassment and sexual assault by famous entertainment producer Harvey Weinstein. The number of accusers quickly grew to 84. Accusations against others in the media and entertainment industry, such as Matt Lauer and Senator Al Franken, followed. The #MeToo Movement's exposure on social

media outlets increased. According to metoomvmt.org the #MeToo Movement was founded by Tarana Burke in 2006. The intention of the movement was to assist survivors of sexual violence in finding ways to heal. The ultimate goal was to show survivors they are not alone. Simply using the hashtag #MeToo in my Facebook status allowed me to publicly acknowledge that I had experienced sexual harassment in a way that felt safe because it was very clear that I was not alone in my experiences. The flood of media coverage led to multiple news agencies and other organizations trying to gather statistics to gauge just how big this issue really is. Most of the surveys conducted had small sample sizes, and low statistical credibility. It is clear more research on sexual harassment and sexual coercion in the workplace is needed.

The most recent empirical study providing statistics on the frequency of the occurrence of workplace sexual harassment indicates that 50 percent of working women and 30 percent of working men reported experiencing sexual harassment (McLaughlin, Uggan, & Blackstone, 2012). Other available statistics include the EEOC and Fair Employment Practices Agency's (FEPA) reported complaints from 1997 to 2011. The total number of complaints filed declined by 28.5 percent. The percentage of the charges filed by men increased by 15.3 percent. Even though there was a decrease in the overall number of complaints, the number of settlements increased 60 percent and complaints resolved with a ruling of "no reasonable cause" increased by 28 percent. The percentage of merit resolutions increased by 39 percent. The monetary benefits distributed increased from \$49.5 million to \$52.3 million. Overall the number of complaints came down, but the number of complaints that were settled increased and monetary benefits increased. The decline in formal complaints can be associated with Denissen's (2010) findings that determined tradeswomen interpreted sexual conduct based on workplace norms as

opposed to definitions provided in training and thus may not report incidents of sexual harassment.

Reactions to Sexual Harassment in Fields Dominated by Cisgender Men

Despite the high number of incidents of sexual harassment reported in survey data, few victims ever make formal complaints (Marsh, 1997). Using in-depth interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, Denissen (2010) looked at how women in the building trades interpreted and responded to sexual conduct at work. Denissen discovered tradeswomen used informal social control mechanisms to remedy a harassment situation before even considering a formal action.

Dear Reader,

The guys created the three-second rule. You could look, but only for three seconds. We would drive around campus and look. “Blonde, three o’clock, ass on the right, bikini on the lawn.” The look lasted three seconds, but the commentary carried on for the entire shift. I participated, I looked, and I commented, because if I did not the attention would be refocused on me.

“You’re a dyke, you know you want to look.” I am ashamed.

Regards, Lindsay

“The work culture in the building trades often involves a range of sexual conduct including pornography, foul language, and sexualized stares, comments, gestures, pictures, and jokes” (Denissen, 2010, p. 305). Denissen provided three distinct categories of harassment experienced by the tradeswomen: “does not cross the line,” “I do not know where the line is,” and “crosses the line” (p. 305). Certain actions that are commonplace on the jobsite such as swimsuit calendars and sexualized comments and gestures fit legal definitions of sexual harassment, but

the research indicated that women in the building trades categorized these incidents as “does not cross the line” (Denissen, 2010). The second category, “I do not know if it crosses the line,” posed a much more difficult situation for tradeswomen.

The interactional expectations surrounding humor may also create ambiguity in how tradeswomen interpret the sexual conduct of their coworkers. Many of the comments that tradeswomen encounter at work are presented in the form of a joke and carry with them the expectation that they will be responded to lightly. If tradeswomen attempt to reinterpret sexualized comments as trouble or harassment, they may be labeled as socially inept for responding out of frame, i.e., misunderstanding the joke or failing to have a sense of humor. (Denissen, 2010, p. 307)

Being in an uncomfortable situation and not being able to safely communicate the discomfort is very difficult and can create anxiety. If the tradeswoman is uncomfortable, but responds to the joke lightly, she will increase the likelihood of being included in the workgroup, but she is doing it at the expense of her self-respect (Denissen, 2010). The final category, “crosses the line,” included any action that pushed a tradeswoman to take informal or formal action.

The relief measures that Denissen (2010) identified were cognition and emotion management, modifying one’s own appearance, situational withdrawal and quitting. Gruber and Bjorn (1986) surveyed 150 women in unskilled blue-collar jobs and a content analysis of the answers yielded eleven ways of responding to harassment.

The variable measuring the directness or assertiveness of the response to the harasser was developed by categorizing the 11 types into three levels as follows: “passive” (ignoring it, walking away, pretending not to notice); “deflective” (using humor, stalling, telling coworkers or friends, responding mildly); and “assertive” (attacking verbally, responding

physically, talking or threatening to take the matter to someone in a position of authority). Approximately 29 percent of the women gave passive responses; nearly 45 percent used deflective responses; and slightly less than 26 percent gave assertive responses. (Gruber & Bjorn, 1986, p. 819)

Dear Mark,

The first time we met you asked, “Did your shirt come with those bumps.” I had to work with you that night, and I was scared. We were soldering relief lines in the steam tunnels and your belly prevented you from fitting in the pipe chase, so I had to do it. This pattern continued. You would ask about the bumps in my shirt. I would have to work with you. I would do the work and you would stand around. I never said anything to you. I did your work and got away from you as fast as I could. If you were to ask me again, I would proudly tell you that they are boobs not bumps, and unlike your belly they do not prevent me from getting work done.

Regards, Lindsay

Both Denissen (2010) and Gruber and Bjorn (1986) found women in fields dominated by cisgender men generally responded to sexual harassment by passively accepting it as part of the workplace culture. This passive acceptance comes with a cost. Women are faced with the emotional turmoil that it causes and often forced to deal with it alone (Gruber & Bjorn, 1986, p. 819). Unfortunately, there are many barriers present that prevent women from engaging in collective action to overcome sexism (Radke, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2016).

Theories of Sexual Harassment

As stated above, the term “sexual harassment” was not coined until 1975. In the early 1980s, the focus of sexual harassment research shifted to the development of theory that could be used to explain the act of sexual harassment. The first major research project focusing on sexual harassment theory was conducted in 1982. Tangri, Burt, and Johnson (1982) discussed multiple proposed theories, but none which had been tested for usefulness and applicability. The researchers selected the Natural/Biological Model, the Organizational Model, and the Socio-Cultural Model then empirically tested each using a database of survey information from more than 20,000 federal employees (Tangri et al., 1982). Gutek and Morasch (1982) proposed a fourth model, the Sex-Role Spill-over Model, around the same time. The final theory that will be discussed is Tokenism. This theory was not developed specifically for sexual harassment, but it is applicable. Kanter (1977) theorized the ratio of socially and culturally different groups in an organization could have an effect on the interactions that take place between the groups represented in the organization. Each theory is discussed in summary below.

The Natural/Biological Model

The Natural/Biological Model was derived from the review of court cases (*Bundy v. Jackson*, 1981; *Dothard v. Rawlinson*, 1977). The model is based on the denial that workplace sexual behavior be considered discriminatory (Tangri et al., 1982).

The Natural/Biological Model is based upon three assumptions: a) men have a stronger sex drive than women which forces them to sexually aggress without intent to discriminate, b) men and women are naturally attracted to each other and will engage in mutually enjoyed “sex play” in the workplace (*Miller v. Bank of America*, 1979), and c)

true sexual harassment is committed by only a small subgroup of “sick” men (*Corne & DeVane v. Bausch & Lomb*, 1975). (Marsh, 1997, p. 4)

Essentially this theory suggests that sexual harassment is nothing but normal heterosexual courting that is occurring in the context of the workplace. The results of the Tangri, Burt, and Johnson (1982) research indicated that the federal employees that completed the survey rejected attitudes endorsing the Natural/Biological Model. The other major issue with this model is it rejects the possibility of same-gender harassment.

The Organizational Model

The Organizational Model is based on power as opposed to natural desires. The way an organization is structured and practices within an organization may precipitate sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 1979).

According to the Organizational Model, victims would be those low in organizational power, while harassers would have high organizational power. The acts of harassment increase with increase in power differential, consequences are greatest for victims with the least power, and the organization indirectly or directly supports such acts as a means to maintain the power hierarchy. (Marsh, 1997, p. 5)

Based on this model, women in positions of power would be far less likely to experience acts of harassment.

The Tangri et al. (1982) research found partial support for this model. Their results showed support for the harasser profile; victim response, reported outcomes, and consequences were consistent with what would be predicted using this model (Tangri et al., 1982). The findings of other empirical studies looking at the correlation of organizational power and sexual harassment have been less consistent. Schneider (1987) discovered organizations that practiced

decentralized decision making reported lower incidents of sexual harassment. In more recent research, it has been proposed that among the military, the private sector, the public sector, and academia, the military would have the highest rate of sexual harassment due to high structure and stratification, while academia would have the lowest because there are only small power differences present. The findings however proved otherwise. The military did indeed have the highest rate of harassment, but academia was second (Hies, Hasuserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003). According to the Organizational Model, as an individual's level of authority increases, risk of harassment should decrease, but there are studies that have found this is not the case for either men or women (Uggen & Blackstone, 2004).

Dear Reader,

In the field and on the job site there were comments. "Be a good woman and make the coffee." "You can hang back and clean the truck." "Did your shirt come with those bumps?" "You handle pipe well." In the office there were comments. "He got a raise because he has a wife and kids to support." "Grow some hair and I will hire you." "It is probably her time of the month." "You are working too hard. You should consider marriage and kids before it is too late." As I moved up in the organization, it did not stop. It was the same, but different.

Regards, Lindsay

The Socio-Cultural Model

The first model looked at the individual and sex drive, while the second model looked at power structures in an organization. The Socio-Cultural Model looks at the big picture, examining the social and political context in which sexual harassment is created and occurring. This model is feminist in orientation, implicating sexual harassment as a consequence of the gender inequity and sexism that is prevalent in society (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). The feminist perspective is that all forms of sexual harassment are linked to the dominance and superiority of men in society. Engaging in sexual harassment is a means of maintaining the existing gender hierarchy (Pina et al., 2009). The inferior position of women, in the workplace and society, is both a consequence and a cause of sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 1979).

As such, the model predicts that a) women are the most likely victims and men are the most common harassers; b) that more severe acts of sexual harassment will be prevalent (e.g. sexual coercion and assault); c) that the victims will react passively and without support; d) that the acts will serve to keep women subordinate, and e) will occur most frequently in highly skewed sex-ratio settings. (Marsh, 1997, p. 7)

This model is validated by the Dennisen (2010) study presented earlier in that women in the building trades are likely victims, they tend to react passively, and they work in a setting with a highly skewed sex-ratio.

Dear Professor Motter,

I do not remember in which class this occurred because I unfortunately had you for many others. As you know I was the only female in my graduating class, and I was the only female sitting in this lecture. I did my best to blend in with the boys, boots and jeans, flannel button down,

and a Carhartt jacket. My head was shaved then because having a bunch of hair under a hardhat is hot as hell in the summer. Regardless of my conformist appearance, I have boobs that make my presence obvious in a group of men. You knew I was there. Your lecture was on time management. You said, "Some guys use day planners, some guys use palm pilots, and some guys use their wives." I remember what it felt like when the room erupted in laughter, and I saw your ego inflate with the room's approval. I felt my face flush and I wanted to slide down the front of my seat and hide under the table. I said nothing, and the moment passed, but I haven't forgotten. Please think of this in the future, because one day there will be a person strong enough to deflate your ego sitting in my seat.

Regards, Lindsay

Much like the organizational model, Tangri, Burt, and Johnson (1982) found only partial support for the socio-cultural model. Educational differences between victims and harassers, and the attitudes of women respondents were themes in the survey responses consistent with the model (Tangri et al., 1982). "The approach of feminist socio-cultural explanations of sexual harassment appears to be over inclusive and simplistic" (Pina et al., 2009, p. 131). Since the coining of the term sexual harassment in 1975, and theory development and testing in the 1980s, gender and the stereotyped expectations of gender behavior have evolved. This shift is unfortunately not coupled with a decline in sexual harassment, but it does weaken the socio-cultural model in that the lines between gender roles are becoming more and more blurred.

The Sex-Role Spill-Over Model

The Sex-Role Spill-Over Model was proposed by Gutek and Morasch (1982). Similar to the Socio-Cultural Model, the Sex-Role Spill-over Model is based on the premise of societal gender-based expectations spilling over into the workplace regardless of relevance or appropriateness, which causes women to feel like they have to act in “feminine” ways such as nurturing.

The spill-over is believed to occur for three related reasons: a) gender identity is a more salient cognitive schema than is work identity (e.g. we tend to think “woman” before “teacher”), b) women may feel more comfortable in these prescribed sex-roles if doing so facilitates acceptance from the males in the workplace, and c) the most common interactions men have with women occur beyond work-based settings (e.g. as parents, lovers, spouses, siblings) which may predispose men to treat women at work in a similar manner, rather than with a work focus. (Marsh, 1997, p. 8)

To test their model, Gutek and Morasch (1982) surveyed 827 women in Los Angeles, California regarding the social-sexual behaviors that they experienced in the workplace. The results showed initial support for the model. The researchers indicated this model provided a more holistic explanation of sexual harassment than the previous three models they discussed. The problems with the model discovered in other research were the minimization of perpetrator characteristics, as well as possible organizational and situational variables (Pina et al., 2009). The theory does not take into account power dynamics associated with organizational structure, or the differences between male-dominated workplaces and integrative workplaces (Pina et al., 2009). Also, there is very little research into how this theory relates to men working in non-traditional work environments (Gutek, 1982).

Dear Crew,

As your supervisor, I had high expectations. I was driven and out to prove that the swing shift was a productive means of resource allocation, in other words, protecting your asses from being laid off. In order to accomplish this, I had to provide you with firm direction, and be sure you stayed on task. I did this so we could be successful, and we were. I gave the credit to the team, because you deserved it. I just want you to know I did not deserve to be called Mom every time I provided a directive.

Regards, Lindsay

Tokenism

Unlike any of the theories presented thus far, Kanter (1997) based the explanation for harassment entirely on the ratio of socially or culturally different groups within an organization. Kanter theorized that the number of socially or culturally different groups within an organization affected treatment and behaviors towards those groups. Kanter termed minority members “tokens” when present in a skewed group (85:15 ratio). The “tokens” receive a greater amount of attention and thus are subject to social isolation and discrimination (Kanter, 1977). Many researchers have used this theory and have findings that both support and refute it.

Dear Ray,

I am going to get straight to the point. You are not funny. You are an asshole. Yes, I know the side-cutting pliers in your tool bag are called dikes,

and yes I like women but I do not identify as a dyke, so you should know that I used those dikes from your tool bag to snip off your obviously small manhood many times in my mind. Also, the fact that I sleep with women does not mean I want to drive around campus and comment on the appearance of every woman we pass. I am not the "token dyke." Hopefully, you have had a chance to grow up since we have worked together.

Regards, Lindsay

Izraeli (1983) conducted an empirical test of Kanter's (1997) theory using a union organization to examine the dynamics that are set in motion when women make up only a small portion of group membership. "We found considerable support for Kanter's general argument that the sex ratio of a group's membership affects its culture. Attitudes reflecting boundary heightening, role entrapment and asymmetrical power relationships are more apparent in skewed than in balanced committees" (Izraeli, 1983, p. 160). Spangler, Gordan, and Pipkin (1978) conducted an empirical test of Kanter's theory using survey questionnaires distributed randomly to law students at seven schools with a sample size of 1,370 and a response rate of 70 percent. The researchers used data from two of the schools, one with 33 percent women and one with 20 percent women to examine performance pressure and role entrapment. Their findings supported Kanter's theory indicating that in the school with the skewed sex ratio women's performance differs from men's more than in the school where women make up a larger proportion of the student body (Spangler, Gordan, & Pipkin, 1978). Alexander and Thoits (1985) also looked at student performance and found token women underperform, but token men do not, which indicates the theory cannot be generalized to all tokens, but only low status tokens. In a later

study, Sax (1996) looked at how college students were affected by the proportion of women in their majors:

The results of this study indicate that the gender composition of a major has no effect on men's and women's grades in college, academic self-concept, mathematical self-concept, and social self-concept, and no effect on men's satisfaction with their major or women's persistence in their major. (Sax, 1996, p. 412)

In 1983 Fairhurst and Snavely indicated there is a clear need for more empirical work investigating the impact of numerical imbalances that account for the intersection of race, class, and gender. According to my review of the literature, that additional empirical work has not been conducted since Yoder (1994) indicated that increasing the number of women in an organization does not address the larger issue of gender discrimination. Zimmer (1988) explained:

The major limitation to this approach is its failure to acknowledge the degree to which organizational structures and the interactions that take place within them are embedded in a much broader social system of structural and cultural inequality between the sexes. This does not mean that changing organizational structures in the workplace will have no effect. But in a sexist context, such changes may produce few benefits for women because even when organizational structures are set up to eliminate discrimination, males may be able to develop informal strategies for applying discrimination and limiting women's chances for success. (p. 71)

As with all the theories discussed, there seems to be a shortfall in creating a theoretical model that can be used to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace. Regardless of the ongoing issues related to defining and explaining sexual harassment, organizations are responsible for training employees on law and policy.

Sexual Harassment Training Methods

Sexual harassment is a constant concern for leaders, human resource professionals, and employees largely because of the government-required training used to communicate the law and policies, but there is far more to worry about. Walsh, Bauerle, and Magley (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of studies and found workers who experience sexual harassment in the workplace report lower satisfaction with their coworkers, supervisors, and their work. They reduced organizational commitment and their psychological well-being is negatively affected. Sexual harassment is illegal under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as explained above. To avoid liability, organizations use various sexual harassment training methods. Programs and policies are generally in agreement with the guidelines provided by the EEOC and involve the implementation of a zero-tolerance policy, the development of procedures for reporting and responding to a sexual harassment incident, and the delivery of a required training program (Walsh, Bauerle, & Magley, 2013, p. 216).

Sexual harassment training is ubiquitous, with over 90 percent of all businesses conducting some form of sexual harassment training. These high levels of training activity might be cause for celebration if we were confident that sexual harassment training was effective in achieving organizational goals. Unfortunately, we know surprisingly little about the circumstance under which sexual harassment training creates positive change. (Perry, Kulik, Bustamante, & Golom, 2010, p. 187)

Considering the sexual harassment incident rate discussed above, it is evident the current training methods are not an effective means of reducing sexual harassment in the workplace.

Pre-Training and Post-Training

Individual characteristics, needs assessments, and motivational characteristics are all pre-training factors that can potentially influence training effectiveness (Salas, Cannon-Bowers, Rhodenizer, & Bowers, 1999). Research and theory related to workplace training of all types stresses the necessity for a pre-training assessment of need at the individual, job, and organizational level. The information from the assessment helps determine who should be trained, what method would likely be the most successful and what content needs to be covered (Perry et al., 2010). The effectiveness of training is entirely dependent on meeting the needs identified in the assessment for both individuals and the organization (Alvarez, Salas, & Garofano, 2004). Conducting an assessment prior to training allows for the identification of characteristics associated with the individual, job role, and the organization that could influence the effectiveness of the training. “For example, individual characteristics (previous experience with training, abilities, attitudes, self-efficacy, and motivation) have been found to play a role in training effectiveness” (Perry et al., 2010, p. 189).

The actions on the opposite end of the training are also very important. Factors that affect post-training activities include individual characteristics of the trainee such as attitude, organizational climate, motivation to transfer knowledge, and maintenance of knowledge (Perry, Kulik, & Bustamante, 2012). Supervisor support and buy in to the information delivered in training has been found to greatly impact trainee motivation to implement what they learned in training in their day to day activities (Salas et al., 1999). “Post-training activities ensure that training is transferred back to the job. Therefore, the more research-recommended post-training activities in which an organization engages, the more effective the training is likely to be” (Perry

et al., 2012, p. 592). The results of the Perry et al. (2010) study indicated that pre-training and post-training activities are more strongly related to training transfer than the actual training.

Dear Reader,

Post-training consisted of joking about sexual harassment at the lunch table and trying to determine who was the worst on the crew. That is when I should have said FUCK YOU ALL, but I stayed silent and chuckled.

Regards, Lindsay

Delivery Method

Sexual harassment training can be delivered two ways, by a person or virtually. The use of technology for training delivery has drastically increased over the years (Preusser, Bartels, & Nordstrom, 2011). Some of the advantages associated with computer-based training found in the literature included self-paced instruction, just-in-time learning, uniform content, and cost efficiency. It has also been found that computer-based training decreases the cognitive load because the individual can focus on the lesson alone without having the distraction of other participants in a classroom environment (Lidner & Jarvenpaa, 1993). A few of the disadvantages of computer-based training are the resistance of older employees, lack of computer skills, and lack of computer availability (Preusser et al., 2011).

Preusser, Bartels, and Nordstrom (2011) sampled 70 employees: 34 men, and 36 women, from a mid-sized public university. Participants were given a pre-test to assess current knowledge then half were provided computer-based training and half were provided instructor-led training. Following the completion of training, the participants were given a post-test

equivalent to the pre-test. The purpose of this research was to examine whether computer-based sexual harassment training generated more positive reactions and increased learning outcomes than traditional instructor-led training. The researchers found participants were equally satisfied with both delivery methods. The hypothesis that instructor-led training would yield more positive reactions was not supported. Both delivery methods increased participant knowledge. The researchers concluded that computer-based training might be a viable alternative to instructor-led training in certain situations (Preusser et al., 2011).

Theoretical Prospective

I have come to realize being Lindsay is more than the embodiment of my individual identities: female, queer, White, working class, and androgynous. I cannot tell you what it is like to be female, or to be White because my identities are not additive (Bowleg, 2008). I am Lindsay, a female, queer, White, working class, androgynous person. As I reflected on my career and worked to make meaning of events that occurred, I used a lens that allowed a complete view of myself and the power structures that shaped my experiences. I also wanted to share what my experiences feel like. I explored my experiences with sexual harassment in higher education facilities management with the combined theoretical perspectives of intersectionality and affect.

Intersectionality

The term “intersectionality” was introduced to the academy by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Crenshaw demonstrated how power structures such as the legal system, and discourses such as feminism and anti-racism often presented identities as isolated and mutually exclusive. However, because Black women hold multiple minoritized identities, they faced “theoretical erasure” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139). Crenshaw made an analogy to a four-way intersection with traffic moving in all directions explaining discrimination, like traffic, can flow in multiple

directions. If an accident occurs, it could be the result of traffic from a single direction, or from multiple directions. If a Black woman is injured in the intersection, it could be the result of both sex discrimination and race discrimination. (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149). Crenshaw also explained determining fault in an accident is not always easy because evidence often indicates simultaneous fault. When fault cannot be clearly determined often no one is held responsible and the victim receives no retribution. In non-metaphorical terms Crenshaw suggested,

Black women can experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by white women and Black men. Black women sometimes experience discrimination in ways similar to white women's experiences; sometimes they share very similar experiences with Black men. Yet often they experience double-discrimination – the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 149)

Before continuing the discussion of intersectionality as a theoretical prospective used within the academy it is important to look at the history.

In the 1960s and 1970s, there were many social movements led by racially minoritized groups. Men were generally leading these movements which led women of color to create their own movements and writings (Collins & Bilge, 2016). The publications of Black women during this time outlined their experiences (e.g., Combahee River Collective, 1982; Morága, 1983; Morága & Anzaldúa, 1983). These writings present the goals and purposes of intersectionality. Thus, Crenshaw's coining of the term intersectionality, "provided a name for a pre-existing theoretical and political commitment" (Nash, 2008, p. 3).

After Crenshaw (1989), intersectionality was further developed by advocates of Black feminism. "Although their plight was unique in some ways, Black women also recognized that

they had something in common with other groups whose life experiences were structured by two or more disadvantageous categories” (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 90). As intersectionality expanded into other disciplines it was defined as “the interaction [among] categories of differences in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power” (Davis, 2008, p. 68). Intersectionality has evolved to be considered an epistemological perspective or research paradigm (McCall, 2005; Shields, 2008).

Scholars use intersectionality as “a critical analytic lens to interrogate racial, ethnic, class, ability, age, sexuality and gender disparities and to contest existing ways of looking at these structures of inequality” (Thornton-Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 1). According to Lewis (2013) and Tomlinson (2013), intersectionality has become a “traveling theory” that has touched almost every academic discipline, including higher education (Harris & Patton, 2018). The increased use of intersectionality across academic disciplines has contributed to what Nash (2017) referred to as the “intersectionality wars” (p. 117). These so called wars involve the dispute of “its histories and origins, its methodologies, its efficacy, its politics, its relationship to identity and identity politics, its central metaphor, its juridical orientations, its relationship to ‘black woman’ and black feminism” (Nash, 2017, p. 118).

Harris and Patton (2018) “examined how researchers in higher education do and undo intersectionality and, subsequently, how intersectional analysis may advance a radical social justice agenda in higher education” (p. 347). Harris and Patton did not provide a prescriptive way to use intersectionality. Rather, they provided four ways that intersectionality may be undone. “First, intersectionality may be undone through scholars’ use of intersectionality as a buzzword, which both dilutes and commodifies the concept” (p. 352). Second, it is undone by only

connecting intersectionality with feminism, failing to center race in the analysis while focusing on gender, class, and other identities (Harris & Patton, 2018, p. 353). Third, intersectionality is undone by practicing poor citation practices. “Who scholars cite is a political act and creates a genealogy of ideas that dis/empower the originators of such ideas” (Harris & Patton, p. 353). Last, intersectionality may be undone by reducing it to a tool that allows for the analysis of multiple identities but fail to connect experiences with structures of power (p. 354). Being mindful of the ways that intersectionality may be undone, I intend to create transformative knowledge that could potentially transform the facilities management industry within higher education.

Being White and Doing Intersectionality

When intersectionality is used to frame individual experiences, scholars argue about to whom it applies (Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Carbado, 2013; Crenshaw, 2011). Alexander-Floyd (2012) believed intersectionality should only be used for the exploration of Black womanhood, but Carbado (2013) and Crenshaw (2011) believed the theory should be used to explore other populations and intersections as well. Carbado (2013) argued intersectionality should be used to map the social structure accounting for both the privileged and the oppressed. “Framing intersectionality as only about women of color gives masculinity, whiteness, and maleness an intersectional pass” (Carbado, 2013, p. 841).

Crenshaw (1989) used the analogy of a basement containing “all people that are disadvantaged on the basis of race, sex, class, sexual preference, age and/or physical ability” (p. 151). Crenshaw explained the people in the basement are stacked up in order. The people on the bottom are disadvantaged by multiple factors, and the people at the top by one factor. People who are not disadvantaged at all are on the floor above the basement. There is a hatch in the

basement ceiling that grants access to privilege. This hatch is generally only available to those that have a singular disadvantage and are otherwise privileged. People disadvantaged by multiple factors are generally not permitted to use the hatch unless they can somehow pull themselves into the groups that are permitted through the hatch.

I am a working class, White, androgynous, queer, female, working in the higher education facilities management industry. Because I am White, I was able to pull myself through the hatch. Whiteness is my only advantaged identity, the other four are considered disadvantaged. For me, that somehow that allowed me to pull myself through the hatch involved hiding my sexuality and class, and not speaking about my gender identity. It involved mimicking the behaviors of cisgender white men. It involved being silent and ignoring the existence of a power structure. Getting through the hatch did not erase the effects my disadvantaged identities. Getting through the hatch allowed me to access professional opportunities. But I was not given those opportunities; it was an assimilated version of me. Using intersectionality as a theoretical tool allowed me to explore my experience with sexual harassment in higher education facilities management based on my identity and the power structure that forms the workplace environment. This exploration sheds light on the experiences with the power structure in higher education facilities management for one individual, but what about everyone else?

Affect Theory

On January 21, 2017, over five million people participated in 673 separate marches across the globe in protest of the 2016 presidential election of Donald Trump (Gantt-Shafer, Wallis, & Miles, 2019). “Teresa Shook and Bob Bland conceived of the Women’s March as an expression of their disgust and outrage over Trump’s election, but they did so with what appeared to be little knowledge of prior movements by groups historically marginalized by the

power structures in the United States” (Gantt-Shafer, Wallis, & Miles, 2019, p. 223). Receiving ongoing criticism, the organizers brought on three women of color as co-chairs for the event. “Even with the group of organizers dedicated to intersectionality and inclusivity, many potential marchers were skeptical of the solidarity espoused by what appeared to be a growing sea of cisgender White women in pink pussy hats” (Gantt-Shafer, Wallis, & Miles, 2019, p. 223). The conflicting viewpoints did not keep people from attending the Women’s March. Gantt-Shafer et al. (2019) used the theories of intersectionality, affect, and emotion in an attempt to understand the participation of diverse voices. Their research ultimately provided a deeper understanding of how identity, power structures, affect, and emotion played a role in the assemblage of bodies at the Women’s March.

“Affect is the nonconscious and unnamed, but nevertheless registered, experiences of bodily energy and intensity that arises in response to stimuli impinging on the body” (Gould, 2009, p. 19). Affect has the potential, if it is strong enough, to prompt an awareness of the feeling and ultimately an expression of the feeling which is an emotion (Gould, 2009). Gould summarized, “affect is what makes you feel an emotion” (p. 22). Since affect is a response to stimuli impinging on the body and recognition of that feeling leads to expression of an emotion it is clear that emotion is not internal or specific to an individual. Emotion is regulated by culture and experience (Gould, 2009). Gantt-Shafer et al. (2019) discussed multiple examples of affective intensity regulating emotion during the Women’s March.

At the beginning of [Janelle] Monáe’s song, one researcher witnessed a White woman standing in front of her becoming very impatient and irritated that the program on the stage was still continuing. A second woman next to her, whom she apparently did not know and who had remarked earlier on how long the speeches were taking, turned to her

and said, “No, this is why we are here. We are mothers and daughters and sons. We have to let them speak.” The White woman did not argue or disagree. Instead, she was moved—moved to move her body to the rhythm of the song, moved to join in the call and response, and moved as an impression was made. Identity—as mother, as daughter—was at play here, but it was an encounter mobilized by affect. Words were spoken and registered, yet nonconscious affective intensities also flowed through the two women and through the crowd. As each mother on stage took a turn saying her child’s name and having it repeated by the crowd, the powerful song about police brutality against Black men and women mobilized affect and (re-)created the march-as-event, making an impression. Identity then, at least temporarily, became less important than connection, relations, and affective intensities. The first woman’s original feeling of irritation was repurposed through her interaction with the second woman. The interaction shifted her affective state from one of disenchantment to one of a feeling of shared power, potential, and possibility. Her movement and participation in the communal call and response revealed the transformation of an “ugly feeling” into a new affective intensity of joy and connection. (Gantt-Shafer et al., 2019, p. 234)

The researchers paid attention to both the identity of these participants as well as the affective processes occurring. “This focus provided a means of understanding how emotion and affect connect with identity in intersectional coalition building where, despite differing positionalities, there is a shared relationship to power” (Gantt-Shafer et al., 2019, p. 236).

When I think about affect and the generation of affective intensity in relationship to my life experiences the first thing that comes to mind is CrossFit. CrossFit is high intensity functional fitness that is taught in a group setting. The workouts are generally long and grueling

and geared toward elite level athletes. The identities of the participants generally vary greatly in terms of gender, sexuality, race, class, and physical ability. After initial instruction is given to a class there is a 3-2-1 countdown to begin the workout. There is an affect associated with that countdown, an adrenaline surge. As everyone in the group works to complete the workout the affective intensity in the room builds. Regardless of your identity you are working toward one goal, completing the workout, and the energy of the group becomes a motivating factor. Despite the fact the workouts are painful and difficult, the affect associated with working out in this environment makes people want to come back. I go back because of the affective intensity.

Intersectionality Plus Affect Theory

Exploring sexual harassment in higher education facilities management with the combined theoretical perspective of intersectionality and affect increases the transformative moments this research could encourage. I have never shared my experiences with anyone. As I worked through recall exercises I began to realize I carry my experiences in my body in the form of affect. I experience feelings and twinges in my body when I think about certain situations. I experience the power structures that shape my work environment in a way that is directly associated with my identity. Others experience the power structures in their work environment based on their identity. The possible common ground is affect, or the feelings we carry in our bodies. Going back to Crenshaw's (1989) basement analogy, we are all in different places in the stack of people. I can only explain my experience in relation to my position in the stack. It is my hope that my explanation causes people to feel the affect that is carried in their bodies and encourages them to share their experiences. More people sharing could generate the affective intensity necessary to transform the higher education facilities management industry.

Summary of the Literature

The term sexual harassment was not coined in the U.S. until 1975 despite the fact that the behavior consistent with what would be defined as sexual harassment had been occurring long before. A substantial amount of research has been done on sexual harassment, but that research has produced multiple definitions and understandings of the key constructs (Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold, & Ormerod, 1988). Research pertaining to women in fields dominated by cisgender men highlights the issue of sexual harassment as a cultural norm and thus further complicates defining what constitutes sexual harassment. Training is conducted in 90 percent of workplaces, yet sexual harassment is still occurring at a consistent and, in some cases, increasing rate. To date, there are very limited means of measuring the success of training programs.

I did not find myself in the literature. I am a working class, White, androgynous, queer, female working in the industry of higher education facilities management. I did not find a definition of sexual harassment that completely defines my experience in the literature, and I have yet to find a theory that explains my experience. There were pieces and parts of me represented in separate research studies, but never all of me. The feelings that sparked the letters embedded above are just pixels of a much larger picture. I found myself questioning the role my androgynous appearance played. What about being White? What about my sexuality? How can my participation and assimilation be explained? I was left with so many questions. I found myself wanting more, wanting access to personal narratives of other people sharing their experiences, wanting to know what they feel. These desires are gaps that present an opportunity for me to tell my story through an intersectional lens paying close attention to affect. By sharing my story, I work to explain what it feels like to try and fit into a part in the power structure that is the reality of my day-to-day experience (McKeown, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

My search of the literature was disheartening. I felt very little connection between my experiences and the reviewed research. The value of my story is clear to me, however, as I think about telling it, I imagine the possible reactions from family, friends, and colleagues. The images that come to mind stimulate a feeling that I have experienced since I was small. It has never been about me, or my comfort. It has always been about the comfort of those around me. I remember things way too vividly. Way back when I was still pooping in diapers I recall people saying, “Your son is so cute,” “What a cute little boy,” “Your boy is beautiful.” My mom was quick to correct always just saying, “girl.” It was the look on her face that I can still see. Every time it was like everything inside her, mind and heart and guts, would sink down pulling her face down with it. I hated that look. I did not care about being called a boy. I have honestly never felt any attachment to any form of gender label. I am Lindsay. What I do feel over and over again is the same feeling I felt when I was a child watching my mom’s face sink. It happens when I am at dinner with colleagues and the wait staff refers to me as Sir. It happens when I am in a public restroom and a little old lady looks up at me and tells me I am in the wrong bathroom and then realizes that I am not. It happens when the grocery checker says, “Thank you sir.” It happens all the damn time. My androgynous appearance makes other people uncomfortable as does my sexuality, and my willingness to openly discuss my experiences with microaggressions and sexual harassment. I have never firmly declared my gender or given it a label of any sort because of the look. I have never been open about my sexuality at work because of the look. I have never told my story because of the look. In this moment the thought of the looks that my research will produce is terrifying, however it is time to tell my story.

Positionality Statement

As I have previously stated, I am a working class, White, androgynous, queer, female, working in the higher education facilities management industry. I will start with being female. I was assigned the sex classification of female at birth, but it has never really meant anything to me, other than I have boobs and I bleed every 28 days. It is sort of strange, I have never desired permanently changing any of that, but I have never embraced it either. It was not until I really analyzed my actions and reactions in past experiences that I realized how much my gender identity, or repressed presentation of my true gender identity plays a role. I find myself questioning my gender identity, deeply considering the possibility that I am, in fact, a man. Regardless of the confusion associated with identifying as a man or a woman, I am androgynous. I do not fit the masculine or feminine gender roles defined by society. I am simply Lindsay. As far as my sexuality goes, I have never thought much about that either. I love whomever I choose to love, and identify as queer. I am currently in a long-term relationship with a woman whom I love very much. I am White, and because of that I am afforded privilege. I paid little attention to race growing up and when I entered the academy as a student and then as an employee I was able to more easily to navigate systems and structures of power than people of color. I grew up in a working class family. My parents often worked two jobs, and I have worked since I was 10 years old with no gaps in employment. My career in higher education facilities management started in the trades. I worked as a maintenance mechanic and a plumber before becoming a project manager and eventually a director. I always thought if I put my head down and plowed forward in my career I would be successful and that success would make me feel whole and fulfilled. It has actually just led to a bunch of rubble piles that need to be picked through and sorted out.

Worldview

Imagine a miserably hot and humid day, one of those days that the air feels too heavy to breathe. Now imagine stepping out of the shower in preparation for a long day of meetings and deadlines. You reach for thin, loose clothes that will flow and breath. Coffee, maybe a little breakfast, the news, and then off to work, but before you step outside, you have to layer up. You stop at the coat closet and add a layer to hide sex classification, then one to cover sexuality, then another to conceal class. If you are White you may now fit the part. You are ready to step into your day of meetings and deadlines. You arrive at your first meeting with all the layers in place. You are hot and uncomfortable. Despite all your efforts to keep the layers intact you still just do not quite fit. You endure looks, maybe comments, and in some cases a feeling of complete invisibility. You return to your office and add another layer. Try again. Add a layer. Try again. Add a layer. At the end of the day there are so many layers and you do not have the energy to strip them all away. This layering happens over and over until you forget what is under them. Transformative research contains a plan for action and reform leading to life changes in participants, institutional change, and change in the researcher (Creswell, 2014). I am not the only one who layers up to fit a part, and some are not even provided the opportunity to layer up. Through research, I want “to challenge the status quo of oppressive, hegemonic systems in order to bring about a more equitable society” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 230). I want to shed the layers and encourage others to do the same, exposing differences, and reshaping organizations.

Methodology

I will examine my fifteen-year career that spanned many levels in a single organization in the construction and facilities management industry using autoethnographic methodology. Autoethnography challenges, through self-reflection, dominant power structures in an effort to

gain ground in places that have historically disregarded anyone that does not fit the part (Tierney, 1998). Carolyn Ellis (2004) stated,

Auto-ethnography refers to writing about the personal and its relationship to culture. It is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness. Back and forth auto-ethnographers gaze: First they look through an ethnographic wide angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations. As they zoom backward and forward, inward and outward distinctions between the personal and cultural become blurred, sometimes beyond distinct recognition. (p. 38)

Ellis (2004) further explained autoethnographic texts can appear in various forms such as: short stories, poetry, fiction, novels, photographic essays, scripts, personal essays, journals, and social science prose. “As a form of writing and communicating, autoethnography has become a rallying point for those who believe that the human sciences need to become more human” (Bochner, 2013, p. 50).

I have always loved writing and receiving letters. I had my first pen-pal when I was in second grade. I remember the excitement of seeing the manila envelope of letters on the teacher’s desk. I would bounce my knees and bite my nails in anticipation of being handed my letter. What questions would she have for me? What were her answers going to be? Would she send any pictures? In a sense I was researching her and she me through our correspondence. I distinctly remember writing these letters and feeling like I could say things that I was not able to say out loud, which was empowering. I wrote letters throughout my childhood to pen-pals, family members, and the editor of the local newspaper. A letter from my grandfather I recently

revisited made me realize that I want to write to the people involved in my story and I want to write to you, the reader.

Autoethnography is not just about telling my personal story in hopes someone connects with it and takes action. I go further, reflecting upon and analyzing my story. The importance of reflection, analysis, and interpretation within the broader context of culture is repeatedly discussed in the literature describing the autoethnographic method (Chang, 2008; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). “Without analysis, personal stories can read as confessions, rather than examples that challenge dominant ideological structures” (McKeown, 2015, p. 489). The letters I wrote serve as a means of analysis. I wrote to you—the reader—and to others involved in my personal narrative.

This study is an autoethnography, but the letters I included in this autoethnography are an invitation for response.¹⁰ Duoethnography is a methodology that allows researchers to correspond. The correspondence creates opportunity to generate new understanding of experiences that have been shared (Nicolazzo & Harris, 2014). “Correspondence is considered a form of feminist research, which aims to equalize the relationship between authors” (Muñoz & Velazquillo, 2019, p. 226). Autoethnography and personal narrative allow the researcher to focus on themselves as the research subject, “duoethnography recognizes the potential for new meaning to be made-and to have that new meaning effect change-as a result of the interaction between researchers who embody different identities, have different experiences, and make different meanings of their worlds” (Nicolazzo & Harris, 2014, p. 3). All of us are researchers, and I invite you—the readers/fellow researchers—to engage in an unofficial duoethnography in

¹⁰ lindsayevawagner@gmail.com

an effort to create new meaning.

Sharing my story will not be easy. As I discussed earlier, it brings up the childhood memories of my boyish appearance causing discomfort for others. It is time for me to stop worrying about the comfort of others and take ownership of the opportunity I have to create change. Using autoethnography as my methodology allowed me to tell my story, addressing the inequities and power differentials associated with my intersectional experience with the intention of changing myself, others, and the facilities management industry.

Cultivating reciprocity with and expecting a response from audiences thus becomes the means by which autoethnographies embrace vulnerability with purpose, make contributions to existing scholarship, and comment on/critique culture and cultural practices. These four characteristics respond to several perceived needs in research: to create particular and contingent knowledge and ways of being in the world that honor story, artfulness, emotions, and the body; to treat experience and individuals with responsibility and care; and to compel all who do, see, and listen to this work to make room for difference, complexity, and change. These characteristics also hint at the history of how and why autoethnography developed as qualitative, interpretive, and critical research method. (Holman Jones, Adams, & Ellis, 2013, p. 25)

“According to Heidegger, the self can only come to itself in a voluntary separation from other selves” (Theunissen, 1984, p. 284). I voluntarily separated myself because I want change. I want my separation to be an example that leads others to separate ultimately creating a transformation in the industry.

Dear Reader,

I expend an inordinate amount of energy each day hiding the parts and pieces of me that I think the world does not want to see. For example, when I was 12 or so I decided that the blond peach fuzz on my face needed to be shaved. I was really diligent about it, lathering up with shaving cream on a daily basis. Well, once you shave that peach fuzz away it grows back as whiskers. A whisker patch does not belong on a 38 year-old presenting as a woman, so I still shave it on a daily basis. There are days I will forget and leave the house with barely visible blond stubble. About halfway to work, I notice and have a complete panic attack, searching for a way to exit the freeway and head back the other direction. I will go to great lengths to hide my whisker patch.

Whiskers are just the beginning. I hide so much from even my closest friends and family. Hell, I even hide things from myself. Why? I have been thinking about this a lot lately, and I have realized I am not the only one hiding. We are collectively hiding. We present snap shots of our external selves on social media. These snap shots are calculated and maybe even staged. We spend endless hours scrolling through these pictures. We read bits of social and political commentary and we quickly judge without any further question or curiosity. We just mindlessly scroll the exterior world. It is like a perpetual game of hide-and-go-seek, except no one is looking inward so nothing is being found.

Think of it like this. We all have a flashlight. We can point it anywhere we want. In order to reveal a part of yourself to yourself you shine it inward and you can see just that piece of yourself that becomes visible in the beam of light in that moment, but nothing more. That is your truth or reality in that moment. You can point your light outward and conceal what you saw on the inside at any time, going back to mindless scrolling of snapshots on social media. Each of us is equipped with a flashlight and has the capability to reveal and conceal pieces of ourselves to ourselves whenever we want. The problem is we have become obsessed with shining our light on the external, on objects, convincing ourselves that is what is important. My fear is we are wasting our batteries on the external view.

Aletheia is a Greek word that means the state of not being hidden: the state of being evident. My goal in this project, The Aletheia Project, is to become evident to myself. I will shine my flashlight inward and reveal what I find. I am choosing to share this process with you in hopes that it makes you wonder what you could find if you redirect your flashlight inward.

Regards, Lindsay

Methods and Analysis

The questions that guided my autoethnographic exploration are as follows: What happened to me regarding sexual harassment and microaggressions during my 15-year career in higher education facilities management? How and why was I complicit in the events that

occurred? How do my experiences elucidate the complicated intersections between race, class, gender identity, and sexuality within an organization? What can be learned from my experiences that could help me and others in the future? These questions allowed me to explore sexual harassment in an industry dominated by cisgender men using an intersectional lens with focus on race, gender identity, sexuality, and class. The research questions are based on a specific 15-year period of my career. My identity development began long before this period, so it was necessary for me to start from the beginning. I started by writing a personal narrative that spans my life to date. I allowed myself the freedom to write and explore my personal story in ways that felt appropriate in the moment, describing the method as necessary within the narrative.

“Autoethnography often (although by no means always) blends methodological description into the narrative of the text, if in fact it addresses methodological issues explicitly at all” (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013, p. 64).

Sexual harassment is a very personal and vulnerable subject. Collecting data and analyzing data on sexual harassment seems counterproductive. The detailed intricacies of individual experiences and the associated feelings cannot be captured on a Likert scale. If data are collected in attempt to build theory, induction, how can a researcher possibly account for intersectionality? This issue is apparent in much of the current research, immediately evident in the constant reference to women. I am female, but I do not identify as a woman. Was my experience different because I am a queer or because I am androgynous, or because I am White and working class? The identity of woman does not describe me. The same problem occurs when using data to test a theoretical framework, deduction. Brinkmann (2014) described an alternative, abduction, which is not driven by data or theory; “It occurs in situations of breakdown, surprise, bewilderment, or wonder” (Brinkmann, 2014, p. 722). My research is based on what Brinkmann

calls “stumble data” (Brinkmann, 2014). Stumbling upon data is essentially a breakdown of one’s current understanding of something. Inquiry then becomes a means of regaining balance or sense-making (Brinkmann, 2014). By allowing myself to reflect upon my own experiences, being vulnerable in ways I never allowed myself to be in the past, I found many stumbling blocks that became my data. According to Brinkmann (2014),

On such occasions, we should, as qualitative researchers, allow ourselves to stay unbalanced for a moment longer than what is comfortable, for this is where we may learn something new. If something is ever “given” in human life, it is when something presses itself on us in a way that makes us stumble. (p. 724)

As I read and reread my personal narrative, I stumbled. At each moment I stumbled, I stopped and dug deeper into that moment, writing letters, looking at artifacts from the past, and journaling. Journal entries and letters will be included in footnotes at the stumbling point in the narrative. I continued until I made sense of each stumbling block.

Successful autoethnographic writing draws the reader in and invokes feelings of empathy (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013). Writing in this way required me to be more open and vulnerable than I have ever been. I explored my past in an intensely critical way and discovered fault in many of my actions and reactions. “Truth of autoethnographies can never be a stable truth because memory is active, dynamic and ever changing” (Bochner, 2013, p. 54). The important thing in this work is the affect or emotion. It would be impossible for me to reconstruct the past exactly as it was. There has been life in between then and now. In that life I have had experiences that have changed my view of the past. The same will be true in the future. I can only present my current memory and what I currently feel. The trustworthiness of this research is based in this vulnerability. The reader will understand my work through the lens of their own

lived experiences and memories. Working with memory in this way produces an emotional truth. Our stories reconfigure our past experiences in a way that can potentially push us toward a future that looks vastly different than our past, the propellant being affect not scientific fact.

Conclusion

In the following chapters, I offer the story of my life thus far highlighting my career in higher education facilities management and my experience with sexual harassment. I explored my experience through an intersectional lens while also considering affect. I wrote and I stumbled and each time I stumbled I stop and wrote more, expressing feelings and observations that surfaced. It is raw and vulnerable. I held nothing back. I hope there are spots that make you stumble, spots that cause breakdown, surprise, bewilderment, and wonder (Brinkmann, 2014). Please stay in those moments, explore within yourself, and share what you find with me, the person that caused you harm, or someone you trust.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

After sitting around thinking about my life and which events I should include in this narrative, I finally decided to start at conception and make a list of memories in order of occurrence. I then went back and started narrowing the list down to the memories that I felt played a role in my identity development and memories from my career that involved sexual harassment. After the list was final, I started writing. When I was done, I read it over and over and over, paying close attention to affect. When something made me restless, or made me sigh, or made my pulse increase I stopped and as suggested by Brinkmann (2014), spent time thinking about why I stumbled. At each point I stumbled I wrote additional letters and journal entries that are included in the footnotes. The journal entries are addressed to you the reader. Making sense of my experience was not a linear process. I suggest you read it as I wrote it, first reading the body of the text only, and then returning to read it again this time pausing where I stumbled to read the footnotes.

The Kitchen Table

In 1968, my Grandma traded a friend a floor buffer for a kitchen table. It was a round table. You could let down both sides and make it a rectangle of sorts or you could slide it apart and add a leaf in the center to make it an oval allowing more people to sit around it. It was simple, but functional. It had matching plain wooden chairs with no cushions. The table moved from Indiana to Arizona in 1969. My mom moved with it. She was in seventh grade at the time. In 1978, my parents got married and my Grandma gave them the table for a wedding gift. They moved the table into the married housing campus apartment in which they lived. I was born while they lived in that apartment. I ate meals at this table my entire childhood. I sat at this table

and colored in coloring books and sometimes on the table with my brothers. I cried about lima beans and fish sticks at this table. I did all my homework at this table. In 2005, my parents decided to get a new table and offered me the simple round table. I jumped at the chance to have it in my house. It has moved with me many times and I am sitting at it now as I start this narrative. I was also sitting at this table on my 30th birthday drinking whiskey. I had had enough whiskey to feel like I needed to thank my parents for copulating. I called, and in my inebriated state decided to ask where I was conceived. My dad said, "On the kitchen table." Apparently, this is the place for beginnings.

The Dress

I was born in early February. I met Pop, my Grandpa, for the first time around Valentine's day. I do not remember it, but I have seen the pictures. I was wearing a dress that my Aunt made. It was red with white hearts. My Mom still has it.¹¹ I think she keeps it around as a memory of the last time I willingly wore a dress.

¹¹ *Dear Mom,*

The red dress with white hearts was the first one. I do not remember, but I would assume I did not put up much of a fight when you dressed me. I am sure there were dresses in between, but the next dress I remember was an Asian style dress from my teenage years. It was black with flowers and it zipped in the back. The first time it was zipped up in the dressing room panic set in. I could not get myself completely out of the dress without help. I looked in the mirror and I did not see myself. I felt like I was in a costume. I pulled and tugged at it and squirmed around as you tried to tell me how beautiful I looked. I did not feel beautiful. I wore it to a wedding. There is a picture of me in the dress with a baseball hat on backwards. I remember taking the hat from one of the boys and putting it on as soon as the ceremony was over. I wore it for the entire reception. I had to wear that dress again for the National Honor Society induction ceremony, and once again it felt like Halloween. I wore tall Doc Marten boots with it the second time.

The next and last dress I remember was the dress I wore to prom. It was my junior year of high school. I was the student government Vice President and thus obligated to go because the juniors hosted the prom. I was sick the entire day. It was a stomach situation not caused by bacteria but caused by the dress. The thought of having to wear it made me sick. I got dressed and posed for the required pictures with the guy I attended with. We were just friends. The dress was a black lace type of deal and about shin length. It looked like a doily that you would find on

Flowers

I remember the carpet and how it felt in between my fingers. It was long green shag carpet that was sometimes raked and sometimes vacuumed. I was down on the carpet playing with some toys and my Grandma was on one couch and my Mom was on the other. Both had recently had surgeries. My Grandma had a mastectomy and my Mom had some extra ribs removed. This meant that they had one good arm between them to handle me. I was just about a year old at the time. My Grandpa was running the catering business that he owned which kept him away for 18 hours a day. My Dad was at the police academy. There were flowers all over the apartment that had been sent by well-wishers. Having just learned to walk, I decided that it would be a good idea to get as many of these flowers as possible and place them on top of my

an old ladies table. It was definitely not the typical prom dress. Again, you told me I looked beautiful, but I did not feel beautiful.

When I was home about six months ago there was a surprise party for Dad's boss. You asked if I wanted to go. I immediately felt sick. The same sick feeling I had the day of the prom. I knew there would be a suggestion of what I should wear. I was just about to defend my proposal for this research, so much of this history was on my mind. I decided to tell you what it feels like to be me. I told you that I do not feel beautiful in dresses or flowery shirts or feminine clothing of any kind. I told you that I do not feel beautiful in make-up. I told you that I feel like an alien attending events like Dad's work situation. I said I hate feeling like I am an embarrassment. I hate the moment that happens over and over where you or Dad introduce me as your daughter and the person gets this horrified look on their face and does not really know what to say to me, then I have to see your face drop, and hear you scramble for words justifying my worth as a human, "She is getting her doctorate." I think I am ok with who I am and what I look like, but in moments like these I struggle because I feel like who I am is hurting you. Telling you all of this was a really big deal for me. I felt so much relief. I wanted to say thank you for listening and most of all thank you for not texting me hair cut suggestions anymore. You are an amazing mother and I love you very much.

Love, Lindsay

Mom and Grandma. I remember the feeling in my body that led to this decision. It is my first memory of a sensation.¹²

Fishy

I took my first poop in the toilet at 18 months. I remember it very clearly. I hopped off and looked in the toilet bowl and stood there screaming, “fishy.” Sort of funny considering I would later become a plumber. Plumbers sometimes refer to poop as brown trout.

Boobie All Gone

I mentioned earlier that my Grandma had a mastectomy. She used a prosthetic breast. At night she would store it in a form that sat on the back of the toilet. I loved to play with it. It was jiggly and lifelike. We were in the grocery store and I was riding in the kid section of the cart. As we made our way past the frozen vegetables, I pulled my grandma’s shirt away from her chest and announced to the world, “boobie all gone.” She proceeded to try and quiet me down and refocus my attention on ice cream bars. I did quiet down, but it was not because of ice cream. It was because I was busy biting the nipple right off the prosthetic.¹³

¹² *Dear Reader,*

It was an agitation, like suddenly I needed to move but I was not sure why. It was a discomfort in my body. I distinctly remember laying on my back on the shag green carpet trying to squirm away from the feeling. I could see my Mom laying on the couch covered in a blanket. I could see my grandma on the other couch. I remember their faces. I remember thinking that something was wrong with their faces. I remember them saying, “Owie,” whenever I would come close. The agitation in my body turned to an emotion. I am not sure what to call it. Maybe care, maybe concern, maybe love, maybe helplessness. I have felt this sensation many times since. It always starts the same way, in my body. It usually leads to irrational actions, but regardless, it makes me move. I believe this is affect.

Regards, Lindsay

¹³ *Dear Meem-*

I am sorry for biting the nipple off your boob. I doubt I said sorry back then. I also want to say thank you. Thank you for keeping your boob on the back of the toilet. Thank you for showering with me when I was little and letting me see your chest with one boob. Thank you for

First Job

I was probably three by now. I rode with my Grandpa to deliver sandwiches in the small towns surrounding the one we lived in. I memorized the route. I knew all the people at our stops. Pop would sit me up on a bar stool at one of my favorite stops and get me a Shirley Temple. I loved working with him. If I was not out with him, I was in the kitchen helping. I would stand on a chair and peel hard boiled eggs that would eventually make their way into egg salad sandwiches. I would taste test snickerdoodle cookies. I loved all that too. I have been going to work as long as I can remember.¹⁴

Kathy

Kathy was the most beautiful girl I have ever seen. She was Black. The first Black child I had ever met. I thought nothing of her race because I was taught to be colorblind.¹⁵ I met her on

the humility you showed every time we would swim, and you would have to ring out the foam boob in your bathing suit. Thank you being ok with having one boob. Mostly, thank you for surviving.

Love, Lindsay

¹⁴ *Dear Reader,*

I loved working from the very beginning. I would tell everyone that would listen about delivering sandwiches and working in the kitchen. I wore my job like a badge of honor. It was mine, I owned it. My feeling about work hasn't changed much. I value work. It is important to me. I attribute this to the work ethic of my parents and grandparents. My grandma is still working at the age of 87. In my family, a working class family, jobs seem to become part of our identity.

Regards, Lindsay

¹⁵ *Dear Reader,*

I stumble here because I am embarrassed. My entire childhood I was so proud of my beliefs. I had been taught that all people are equal, that skin color meant nothing. I thought I was such a great person. I was not a racist. I now know that colorblindness is racism. My insistence on colorblind ideologies was a blatant denial of history as well as the continued perpetuation of race discrimination. We are not all equal. I am White and because of that I am privileged.

Regards, Lindsay

the first day of kindergarten. She was five years old just like me, but she was tall, really tall. If I stood next to her my head was at her chest level. For some reason, she was developing faster than most five year-olds and she had boobs. We became fast friends. Every time I was around her my palms would sweat and my stomach would feel weird. She moved away sometime in the middle of the year and it was a long time before I felt that feeling in my stomach again.¹⁶

The Sharpie

I was good at school. It came easy for me. I set a high standard for myself early on by consistently bringing home high grades and good behavior reports. When you consistently do well it becomes the expectation and people stop noticing that you are doing well, so no attention is paid for continuous success. I remember sitting in the back of the classroom in the second grade feeling completely invisible. I had taken a black Sharpie from the teacher's desk and decided I was going to get myself in trouble so someone would pay attention to me. I proceeded to color my entire left hand black. It took the teacher a while to realize what I was up to, but when she did all hell broke loose. My mom worked at the school as an aid. The teacher pushed the intercom button and buzzed the office, "Please send Mrs. Wagner to my classroom immediately." This is not the outcome I had hoped for. I had failed to consider the fact that my Mom worked down the hall. There would be no trip to the office for me to sit and wait for my parents to be called. There would be no prolonged drama at all. My mom arrived and took me into the bathroom to wash my hand, calmly informing me that what I had done was not

¹⁶ *Dear Reader,*

The feeling came back the first time I kissed a girl my freshman year of college, and it has happened every time I have kissed a girl since. It is in my body and always has been.
Regards, Lindsay

appropriate. She quickly escorted me back to class and went on her way. My hand was black for weeks.

Second Job

I actually had to interview for this one. I was ten and I wanted to work at the bait and tackle shop across the street from my house. My brothers and I would frequently stop in and buy packs of gum and containers of night crawlers for our fishing adventures. The owner and the old men that hung out in the store would always chat with us about the fish that they had caught. The shop rented pontoon boats to tourists. When the boats were returned, they would have to be cleaned which consisted of sweeping the sand off the deck and wiping down the seats. I had watched the old man that owned the shop do this many times and I had always wanted to help. He did not have any help wanted sign in the window and he had never indicated that he needed help with this task, but I was determined to make it my job. My Mom made me put on some nicer clothes and we rehearsed what I should say. Before I left, she suggested I put a yellow barrette in my hair. I had no interest in the barrette, which resulted in the first of what would be many arguments about the same thing over the course of my childhood: me needing to look like a girl. I did not wear the barrette, but I did get the job.¹⁷

¹⁷ *Dear Reader,*

Looking like a girl seemed to be all about pink and bows, dresses and skirts, hairdos, crossed legs, make-up, shaved legs and pits, and boobs. I have boobs but that was never enough. When my mom suggested the yellow barrette my chest tightened and my shoulders rounded and slumped. It felt like I was trying to pull myself inside myself. As I write this many other occasions of being provided suggestions about how I could look more like a girl flood my mind and my chest is tightening and my shoulders are rounding. I am pulling myself in. This is affect. I carry these experiences with me in the form of this sensation/feeling that occurs in my body.

Regards, Lindsay

Boobs

I got boobs around this time, fourth grade, I think. I was terrified of them growing.¹⁸ I would constantly pull my shirt away from my chest. I would even run down the basketball court holding my shirt out with one hand and dribbling the ball with the other. I refused to wear a normal bra. I had to have a super tight sports bra and the only time I would take it off was to shower. I even slept in it.

Aunt

My dad wore Levi's 501 jeans with a button fly. I loved the way they looked. There was something about the button fly. I never had a pair of my own. Maybe because they did not make them for girls back then, or because they were not available at Wal-Mart where most of our clothing came from. My dad would sometimes work a second job framing houses. Because it was so hot where we lived in Arizona the construction crews would start work at 2:00 a.m. and be done with their day by 10:00 a.m. This schedule allowed my dad the opportunity to frame and then come home and go to his 'normal' job as a state park manager. He ripped a pair of his jeans while framing one day, and I found them in the trash. I was probably about 12 years old at the time. It is important to note I was roughly the same size then as I am now—5'9", tall, and somewhere around 150 pounds. My dad is six feet tall and somewhere around 190 pounds. He had a 32" waist. I probably had a 30" waist. Anyway, I pulled the jeans out of the trash with the excitement of finding a treasure. I cut them off right above the rip and they became my new

¹⁸ *Dear Reader,*

Boobs. When they came I did not want them. I did everything I could to smash them as flat as possible. I still do that today, but I do not really want them gone. I guess I am ambivalent about my boobs.

Regards, Lindsay

favorite shorts. I would wear them with a plain white Hanes t-shirt. I felt good in them, which was a rare feeling for me when it came to clothes.

I had them on when my Aunt and Uncle came to visit. I was outside doing something in the yard with my brothers when they arrived. We stopped what we were doing and met them on the porch. The usual required awkward hugs occurred, and we made our way off the porch and back to playing in the yard. Just as I started to make my break my Aunt looked me directly in the face and said, “You look like a man.” I felt a sensation in my body that I had never felt before.¹⁹ I cannot remember if I said anything back, but I remember the feeling clearly.

This is Twelve

Oliver Miller was my favorite Phoenix Suns player. For my 12th birthday, my uncle took me to a game. My dad drove me to Phoenix. We arrived the morning of my birthday and I attended the game with my uncle that evening after dinner at a Mexican food restaurant. It was amazing. The power of the cheering crowd was something I had never experienced before. I yelled and clapped and had a really great time. We got home that evening and I had to pee. I dropped my pants and found a spot of blood on my underwear. I knew this was eventually going to happen because I had recently had a sex education class at school. The nurse stood up in the front of the classroom and explained periods and how you could hold your breath and squeeze

¹⁹ *Dear Aunt,*

I think of this moment often. When you told me I looked like a man the feeling in my body was almost electric. It manifested into simultaneous horror and excitement. Horror because I knew, or had been told over and over, that I was supposed to look like a girl, and excitement because you validated what I felt. It was the first, and possibly only time that someone has directly told me that I look like a man. I am misgendered on a daily basis, but that is somehow different. I feel like I should be telling you what a complete asshole you are for saying this to me as a child, but honestly, I appreciate this moment.

Thanks, Lindsay

your abs to relieve cramps if you had them, which turns out to be complete bullshit. Anyway, I sat there on that toilet staring at my underwear feeling terrified.²⁰ I rolled up some toilet paper and used that as a makeshift pad. My dad and I drove home the next morning and I told my mom about the blood. She handed me a box of pads and said, “Happy Birthday.”

Smear the Queer

I had traveled to northern California with my grandparents in an off-white Ford F150. We were visiting my aunt and uncle and my three cousins, twin girls and one boy, all older than I was. The girls were in high school and the boy middle school. I was in the sixth grade. We went to the high school football game on Friday night. One of the girls was the drum major of the marching band and the other the captain of the color guard. I hung out with the boy. At half time his friends played in the endzone of the football field. Smear the queer was the game. From what I remember that meant the person with the football was the target. I wanted so badly to not only be excepted by my cousin’s friends but to be cool. I was the only girl out there and the opportunity to smear the queer was presented to me. A boy who was smaller than I was was running straight toward me with the ball. I braced and as he got close, I stuck my leg out about knee height. He hit it full force and went from vertical to horizontal in a split second and once he was horizontal, he did not move. All the boys gathered around, yelling and kicking at the kid that I leveled. He was crying and remained face down in the grass. Many of the boys smacked me on

²⁰ *Dear Period,
I hate you.
Love, Lindsay*

the back and playfully pushed me around affirming my epic smear, which is exactly what I wanted.²¹ It felt horrible.

152#

In seventh grade science we were learning about the body or maybe about mass. We had to weigh ourselves one at a time at the front of the classroom. I mentioned earlier I was fully grown in the sixth grade. I am fairly tall, 5'9", and I have a muscular athletic build. I weighed in at 152 pounds. As I stood on the scale, I could feel my face turning red and hot. I wanted to run out of the room and never return. Instead I started taking Ex-Lax by the handful.²²

Gun Poem

Also, in the seventh grade, later in the year, I wrote a poem about suicide. I formatted the words on my paper in the shape of a handgun. I played all the sports and had many friends. School was easy and I was doing really well, but something was not right. I was not excited

²¹ *Dear Smear,*

I am sorry. I can still see your face. I can see you running toward me, vulnerable. I can feel the anticipation and determination in my body. I can feel my stomach climb into my throat as it did after you were on the ground. This was the first time I remember intentionally causing harm to someone else for personal gain. The first time that my desire to be accepted and included pushed me to do something that I knew was wrong. By sending you through the air I became cool. I established myself as a badass. It has happened many times since. I have done hurtful things to establish my position. Not in the violent physical way that I took you down, but in ways that are just as painful. I carry this mistake in my body and I will forever.
Regards, Lindsay

²² *Dear Mrs. Tee,*

I did not weigh myself before your class, but I have almost every day since. Every day before I get on the scale my body tightens in fear of what that number will be just like it did that first time. Because of your class the number on the scale has an association with so much more than the weight of my body. That number has become a perceived marker of success and failure, of aesthetic, of status even. May I suggest that if you are still teaching you remove this lesson from your plans.
Regards, Lindsay

about boys. I was not excited about fashion. I felt like an alien. I worked hard to hide this feeling and to act happy and pretend to like the things my friends liked, but I got tired.²³ I was proud of the gun poem. It conveyed my emotions perfectly. I read it and reread it over and over before I handed it in. Teachers have obligations that I was not aware of. I answered the phone that night when the teacher called my parents.

Kiss

My best friend's big brother was on the high school baseball team and toward the end of eighth grade my friend and I started going to watch games. We were sitting in the bleachers at the baseball field. The softball field was not far away. There was no game going on there. The field and the dugouts were dark. The boys who were with us had dared one of their friends to make out with me in the softball dugout. I had no idea what was going on. I had never kissed a boy and really had no desire to. Eventually after whispers and giggles and teasing that I did not realize was about me, the boy asked me if I wanted to walk over to the softball field. For some reason I agreed. We walked over in silence and sat down in the dugout. He leaned over and kissed me. It was a mess of a kiss, his tongue all over. He put his hands on my boobs on the

²³ *Dear Reader,*

I stumble here because I am tired now. Tired in much of the same way I was tired then. As I read and reread these memories and feel the intense affect and emotion associated, I realize I am in the same place now that I was then. I am not saying I am suicidal, but I do acknowledge that suicide is a choice that we each have in every moment. I am saying I see a pattern emerging. Each of these memories brings up more memories with the same bodily sensations and emotions. When I closely examine my actions and reactions it becomes more and more clear that they are almost always associated with advancement in a mainstream societal sort of direction. They are associated with power. Even at this point in the seventh grade I was doing things I did not necessarily want to do. I was doing them because I was being told that they would get me somewhere. I was hiding myself, which was possible because I am White.

Regards, Lindsay

outside of my t-shirt. For a minute he just held them, then he squeezed them like they were the bulbs on bike horns.²⁴ I remember looking out onto the empty softball field, his tongue in my mouth and his hands honking my boobs thinking about how awesome it was going to be to play on the high school field next year.

A Man's Work

My grandpa sold the catering business and went to work for the vending company across the street. I worked with him after school and full-time during the summer. We loaded vending machines at the factories, the community college, and the hospital. I would do all the heavy lifting because he was getting old and had suffered multiple heart attacks. We were loading the machines at the hospital one afternoon and I was lifting cases of soda off the truck and loading them onto a dolly. An older woman started yelling, "That's a man's work." She repeated herself over and over until my grandpa took over lifting the cases. I am not much of a talker and neither was he. We pulled away in silence, both feeling something but not sharing.²⁵

²⁴ *Dear Ryan,*

This moment always returns to me not because of the sensation or associated emotion, but because of the complete lack of both. I literally felt nothing. It was almost like I was outside of my body and not involved. Do not take it personally.

Regards, Lindsay

²⁵ *Dear Pop,*

I felt sad. Sad for you. Work was very important to you. I watched you work 18 hours a day my entire childhood and pour your heart into your business. You were well known and well respected in town. Your body was ready to rest, but you were not. I was doing everything I could to extend your work life, but it was slipping away. It was not the fact that what I was doing was a man's work, but it was your work and I understood that.

Love, Lindsay

Jock/Nerd/Stoner

Most days I wore camouflage pants from the Army surplus store, a tie-dye Led Zeppelin t-shirt, and purple fuzzy Doc Marten boots. I would rotate through a collection of music t-shirts: Rage Against the Machine, Metallica, Grateful Dead, and Beck. Game days we were required to wear some sort of team shirt. I would wear the shirt, but I refused to wear khaki pants. I would run extra laps as punishment. I played three sports for most of high school, so I was always in season. My best friend since kindergarten also played all the sports, but she did not dress like me. She was into fashion and boys and very much fit in the popular crowd. I did not really have a crowd. I sort of hung out with everyone. I took all the Advanced Placement (AP) classes which made me a nerd of sorts. I liked to eat lunch at the table with the nerds because they were always talking about the books we were reading, and I enjoyed those conversations. I hung out with the stoners outside of school. They had bands and listened to the good music. I did not smoke pot. Well, I did once in high school and the clock started dripping off the wall and the hand that was strumming the guitar became part of the guitar and I felt like I was floating. It was horrible. Anyway, for the first three years of high school I was Lindsay the jock/nerd/stoner who did not really fit anywhere, but sort of fit everywhere.

Him

I had a boyfriend for a while. He drove an El Camino. He played bass in a blues band with which I later also played. He smoked cigarettes and pot. He wore tie-dye and appeared sort of dirty all the time. He worked in his uncle's welding shop, so his hands were callused and never really came clean. He was not interested in school. We would play music and make out.

He had a beard and I loved it.²⁶ We broke up during basketball season of my junior year not because there was something wrong, but because my coach was his English teacher and told him that he could not date me during the season. I am pretty sure they made some sort of deal because he passed English.

Injury

I started playing basketball and softball when I was five years old. I was good. By the age of ten I was playing softball on teams that traveled out of the city and played year-round. After eighth grade, I had to stop all other extra circular activities such as band so I could make all the practices and games for basketball and softball. It was fully expected that all the investment my parents had made, both money and time, was going to pay off in the form of a college scholarship. During my junior year of high school, it was looking promising. I had good seasons in both sports, but at some point during the year I injured my knee. I played through the pain thinking that it would eventually go away. It did not. By the time my senior year rolled around I was tired. I was pushing for something that I did not even know if I actually wanted. I found myself wondering who I was without sports and news stories and attention, so I quit. I quit everything.²⁷ My parents were not happy.

²⁶ *Dear Reader,*

I love beards. I have secretly always wanted one. I remember the beard my dad had when I was young. I remember what it felt like against my face. I remember my boyfriend's beard and the way that he played with it all the time. I imagine being able to do that every time I see someone with a beard. As I write this my hand gravitates to my chin and I can almost feel a big thick beard. I find comfort in this feeling.

Regards, Lindsay

²⁷ *Dear Reader,*

At this point I was Lindsay Wagner the athlete. My entire life was defined by sports. Attention I received was based on my athletic abilities. I was given privileges and opportunities that other students were not because I was an athlete. I remember the day I decided I was done. I

God

My first encounter with God happened when I was twelve or thirteen. I stole a cigarette from my Dad and put it in the space in between my boobs in my sports bra. I rode my bike down to the lake shore and sat there for a minute. As a kid I had always been against smoking, but for some reason I thought I needed to know what it was like. My parents did not take us to church as kids. They taught us very strict morals and values and left the rest up to us to figure out. So, with a cigarette in my boobs I wanted a sign that there was a higher power. I picked up a rock and yelled, "God if you are real make this rock float." I tossed the rock into the water and it sank to the bottom. I pulled the cigarette out from between my boobs and smoked it.

This second encounter also involved a cigarette. I was not playing sports anymore, so I decided to take up smoking. I smoked Camel stove pipes, no filter. My dad had helped me restore a 1961 VW bus. I was pulling into the parking lot of the school and quickly finishing a smoke when a guy from my class walked up to the bus and asked if I wanted to join his band. I did not really have a lot going on other than work and school, so I said yes. He gave me an address and told me to come to a practice that night. I rolled up in the bus smoking a cigarette and realized that I might have made a mistake. It was a Baptist Church. Eventually I was saved, and we played big shows in stadium style churches in California.²⁸ I carried around a bible for a

was sitting in my room and felt like I was hiding. Not in my room, but in sports. Sports had become a means of establishment, like smearing the queer. I was using them as a vessel to move away from myself.

Regards, Lindsay

²⁸ *Dear Reader,*

When there are thousands of people singing and moving, you cannot help but be moved. I was convinced that this feeling could be mine always and I prayed the prayer. I was saved from my sins. It was not God that I found, but affective intensity, which I realized is only good when you are signing and moving and being moved. It brings me back to the article that I discussed in

bit and told many of my friends that they were going to hell. I was dunked in holy water wearing board shorts and a t-shirt and somehow convinced my dad that he should also be baptized.

Toward the end of my senior year I had some realizations about the church and decided to leave.

Band Geek

Having previously worn the Jock/Nerd/Stoner label I added band geek my senior year. I was in a guitar class that was taught by the band director. She somehow convinced me to join the marching band. The last time I had been in band was in the eighth grade and the most recent instrument I had played was the trumpet. I had no desire to continue playing the trumpet. She was a percussionist and convinced me that I would make a good drummer. She gave me lessons before and after school and I marched in the band as the lead snare drummer that year. I played the drum set in jazz band and a variety of things in concert band. I worked hard. She was convinced I should audition for a scholarship at the state college that I was planning to attend, so I did and somehow, I got it.²⁹

Chapter 2 regarding the Women's March and role affect had in bringing the crowd together. In church and at that march the energy of crowd draws people in creating affective intensity. When we walk away it slowly dissipates. I guess I stumble here because I want my research to create sustained affective intensity. I think it is possible. If one person reads this and it has affect and inspires that person to share their experience and the process is repeated there is potential.
Regards, Lindsay

²⁹ *Dear Ms. P,*

You are dead. The cancer got you. You were younger than I am now when it happened. I never said thank you. I do not think I realized what you actually did for me until after you were gone. You knew I was different. You saw me before I saw myself and you were gracious enough to simply provide me a space to flail while simultaneously teaching me a skill that ultimately got me into college. Thank you.
Love, Lindsay

She was gay. I did not know. I just thought she lived with a woman that she called her roommate. I was completely oblivious. My parents were not. They did not like the fact that I spent so much time with her. She moved at the end of my senior year and I helped her and her roommate. I packed them up and loaded their U-Haul. I even drove with them to their new town and unloaded. I was still oblivious. She broke up with her roommate during my freshman year of college. Her roommate eventually became my first girlfriend.³⁰

Student Worker

I had never seen girls that looked like me before. Girls that wore baggy pants and boots and flannel. Girls with short hair. There was a maintenance office in the bottom of my dorm. I walked past it at least 50 times the first day I lived there. There was a girl with short dark hair and wallet chain and a girl with short red hair. The redhead had a tank top on with her baggy jeans and boots and I could see hair under her armpits. I had stopped shaving mine when I quit sports and was no longer subjected to the locker room judgement. The boss was also a woman. She had long blond hair and wore those high waisted jeans with a leather work belt, button up shirt tucked in. They all three had big key rings attached to their belts. By the end of the day I worked up enough courage to go in and ask for a job. It was the first day of my career in higher education facilities management.³¹

³⁰ *Dear Reader,*

It was the exact same feeling I felt in kindergarten, sweaty palms, weird stomach. It is the affect that precedes love or lust maybe, regardless, I am queer.

Regards, Lindsay

³¹ *Dear reader,*

I find myself wondering if I ended up on this career path because I saw two girls who looked like me. I mean it is deeper than that, but not much. I quickly realized that facilities management/construction provided me an excuse for the way I dressed. I had to dress in Carhartt pants and boots and flannel because I was going to get dirty. I had to shave my head

Scrotum

We were an all-female crew of student workers with a female boss. We were responsible for the general maintenance of four dorm buildings. One was an all-male dorm, one was an all-female dorm and the other two were mixed, alternating between male and female floors. They were all traditional style, meaning there were community bathrooms and showers. Working in a male bathroom required completely shutting the bathroom down. One day I was laying on my back on a bathroom floor trying to reattach a urinal to the wall. We had just worked to unclog the entire bank of urinals. You may not know urine crystallizes. Urinals are designed to limit the amount of water used in a flush. Basically, just enough water to wash the pee through the trap is released. Often times men fail to flush at all, so concentrated urine sits and crystallizes creating a maintenance nightmare. Anyway, I was laying on my back putting the urinal back on the wall. Both doors had closed for maintenance signs hanging from chains that stretched across the opening. As I was fumbling with the last bolt someone stepped in beside me. I figured it was one of my coworkers until I heard a zipper come down. I looked up at a scrotum and froze.³² The guy looked down at me and said, “You are a dyke, what do you care.” He zipped up and walked out.

*because it was hot under the hardhat. Did this career path simply provide me with yet another opportunity to hide from myself?
Regards, Lindsay*

³² *Dear Scrotum,*

*Laying there on the floor looking up at your scrotum was the first time that I found myself completely paralyzed by fear. I could not move my body. Every time I was alone working in a men’s bathroom after this, I saw your scrotum. I felt the fear again and again. Every sound would make me jump. I can still see it today, and the thought brings the same flood of fear. I hope someday you find yourself on your back with an unexpected scrotum above your head. Actually, I do not, I do not wish that upon anyone. I do hope that you understand the consequences of your actions.
In Terror, Lindsay*

Tools

The boss was very protective of her tools. She was incredibly organized. Each tool had a place and a particular way to roll the cord for storage. She could tell if someone had moved something even a fraction of an inch. She was the only full-time female employee in the trades and her student workers were the only female student workers. She kept to herself as much as possible. Often the men would help each other on larger jobs, but she never called for help. All the maintenance offices were on the same master key, so if one mechanic needed something that maybe another mechanic had they could call over the radio and ask to borrow it and then just open the office and retrieve it. The men knew my boss kept her tools very organized and did not appreciate them being moved. They would enter the office and borrow things without permission and if they returned them at all, they would return them dirty and not properly rolled up.³³ She would never say anything to them or indicate this bothered her. She would just clean the tool and store it the way she preferred. After a while she would make one of us stay in the office at all times as a guard of sorts.

General Maintenance Mechanic

I started college on a music scholarship. After one year I was pretty sure that I had no interest in continuing as a music major, but there was the scholarship problem. If I quit the

³³ *Dear Reader,*

I stumble here as I read because I see another pattern emerging. It seems that work becomes property. When you own property, you protect it. In this case it seems that that my boss was protecting her actual physical property by staging us as security guards. Her resistance to ask for help was a means of defending her work as her property. The other mechanics were protecting their property, their work, from the perceived threat of a woman taking it by harassing us. Almost like we were trespassing and being repeatedly run off.
Regards, Lindsay

percussion studio, I would lose my scholarship. About the same time one of the General Maintenance Mechanics had to take a medical retirement. Knowing that fulltime university employees got free tuition, I applied. I got the job and immediately dropped my scholarship. I took some random classes the next semester trying to figure out if I wanted to be a poet or a construction manager. Construction management eventually won my heart.

Establishment

Suddenly I had my own tools, and my own office, and my own student workers. I was barely 19 years old. My students were all males, a few of them older than me. I had to quickly establish myself. Like I said before, my ex-boss was previously the only full-time female. Now there were two of us. I wanted to do things differently than she did. I volunteered to help on big jobs outside of the buildings that I was responsible for. I invited the guys to my office for coffee. I would ask questions even when I already knew the answers. I would laugh at their horrible sexist jokes. I would at times even tell a few. The relationship I had with my ex-boss, now coworker, quickly ended.³⁴ I established myself as one of the boys.

³⁴ *Dear Reader,*

I am a complete asshole. After working with the all-female crew for a year I was on my own. Instead working with them to increase our presence and support each other I chose a different path. I thought that I could break through and be the bridge between the women and the rest of the mechanics. In my body it was that same desire I felt when I was playing smear the queer as a kid. I wanted so bad to be accepted, to be cool. The other mechanics were testing me. Speaking poorly about my old boss. I should have stood up for her. I should have stood up for myself, but I participated. I fueled the fire. I was rewarded for it, but it felt horrible. I became one of the boys. In order to maintain my position, I had to continue and as I did the horrible feeling faded. When you feel something over and over you eventually become numb. When I think back on this, it was the beginning of a horrible pattern. Affect is the sensation that occurs in the body that then leads to feeling an emotion. I started to become numb. The sensation was occurring in my body, but I would ignore it and suppress the emotion. The emotion seems to be coming out now. It has been stored up. I am a damn mess.

Regards, Lindsay

Chip

I was the only female in my class in the construction management program. My advisor was the director of the program. When I would visit him in his office, he would go on long senseless rants about women in politics. Some of his favorites were Condoleezza Rice and Janet Reno. His basic point was successful women kept their personal life personal, or maybe did not even have one at all. He would say, “They could be fucking aliens and we would never know.” He knew that I was queer and apparently this was his way of letting me know that in order to be successful in the industry my sexuality would have to be excluded from my work identity. He told me I was my own worst enemy, and I walked around with a chip on my shoulder.³⁵ His advice, “Knock the chip off your shoulder and just accept things as they are. You are not going to change them, so learn to live with them.”³⁶

³⁵ *Dear Dr. Rose,*

I took your advice and kept my private life private. I avoided any public display of affection. I went to all work-related dinners and events alone. I never mentioned my personal life in professional settings, until recently. I decided to be open about my personal life and invite my partner to work events. I discovered something interesting. The advice you gave was not to protect me, but to protect you. It was not about my comfort. It was about yours. I am glad I finally figured it out.

Regards, Lindsay

³⁶ *Dear Reader,*

I stumble here because I think this is about property too. Remember the analogy Crenshaw (1989) used that involved the basement and people stacked vertically, feet on the shoulders of the one below. The people at the bottom of the stack hold multiple minoritized identities, and people toward the top only one. There is a hatch in the basement allowing access to the floor above. I was able to pull myself through because I am White. The advice Dr. Rose gave me was an attempt to protect his property (the space above the basement ceiling) from my sexuality. This advice was given for his benefit, not mine. It was an attempt to sustain his comfort.

Regards, Lindsay

Swing Shift

The Director of Operations decided to create a swing shift. It was staffed with a plumber, an HVAC technician, an electrician, and a general maintenance mechanic. I was at the point in my construction management degree during which I really wanted to get on a jobsite and get some experience. I decided to pursue the swing shift position so I could work for a construction company during the day. I did not have to interview for the position, I was just moved into it. It was a lateral move.

As a preventative maintenance crew, we would work through one building at a time. The electrician would go through every electrical panel tightening each connection point. The HVAC technician would service all the air-handling units, changing filters and belts. The plumber would fix any leaks in mechanical rooms and exercise supply line valves, as well as jet the sewer lines from the main to the building. I would go through the building and change any light bulbs that were out, flush every toilet dealing with any clog, fix any leaking faucets, and then help whomever needed it. I always ended up with the plumber, it seemed.

The plumber was fat. His belly hung way over the top of his belt and space between the buttons of his shirt gapped. He drank fountain soda out of a huge mug that had a stained plastic straw. He smoked cigarettes and flicked them onto the ground next to the ash tray. Every day when I got to work, he would say, “Did your shirt come with those bumps?” He would laugh, then we would get in the truck and head out. Much of the work that he was required to do was located in tight spaces. He did not fit in tight spaces, so I did his work.³⁷

³⁷ *Dear Mark,*

The first time you asked about the bumps in my shirt you caught me off guard. I honestly did not really understand what you were talking about. It took me a few days of you asking the same question to understand that you were asking about my boobs. When I did realize it, I

Plumber

I did all the work for the plumber for about six months before I became the plumber.³⁸ I was riding with him one night and he hit a kid on a skateboard in a crosswalk. The kid got up and yelled at the plumber. The plumber yelled back and drove away. We were in a labeled state vehicle. I was stuck in the truck with him and I knew if I called the police he would hurt me. I sat in silence as he continued to rant about the idiocy of college students. He pulled into a parking garage, rolled down his window and started chain smoking. Toward the end of the shift he called our supervisor and told him that he had hit a kid, but the kid got up and rode away before he could stop him. The kid never reported the incident to the police, so nothing ever happened, except maybe karma. A few weeks later child porn was found on the office computer and traced back to the plumber's log-in. He was fired, and that is how I became the swing shift plumber.

Broom

During the day, I worked as a laborer for a HVAC contractor. They had a shop in which they built duct work for both residential and commercial jobs. I sometimes worked in the shop

experienced the same feeling I did when there was a scrotum above my head, paralyzing fear. Every time I got in the truck with you, I would sit as close to my door as possible and keep one hand on the handle. I would imagine pulling the handle and rolling out to escape if you ever reached over toward me. You kept saying it every day, and eventually I became numb. I would forget to hold the handle. Funny thing though, I was numb then, but as I read and re-read I can feel it in my body again. It is still here. I have been carrying it.

Regards, Lindsay

³⁸ *Dear Reader,*

I supported the power structures that were in place. I see that now, but back then I thought I was brave. I thought I was tough and that if I put up with the bullshit I would be rewarded. In a way that was true. I kept having jobs fall into my lap and the women that were standing up or refusing to participate were not given those same opportunities. I was being rewarded for being one of the boys. I was awarded for assimilating.

Regards, Lindsay

knocking tin together and I sometimes worked in the field. Because of my plumbing background I would often be used in the field to solder heating water pipe. I spent nearly a year on a jobsite at the university. They were building a new engineering building. Every day when I arrived on site the same guy who actually worked for a different contractor would be waiting at our gang box with a broom. He would walk over, hand me the broom and say, “get to work.” Every day I would listen to him laughing as he walked away, I would set the broom down and get my tools.³⁹

Token

When I was in school, I was on a construction management competition team. We traveled to Reno, Nevada to attend the Associated Schools of Construction competition each year. Each team of four was provided with a set of plans and instructions and over the course of 24 hours had to estimate the cost of the project and develop a schedule and site plan. We had to figure out how to deal with all the logistical issues associated with the site and surrounding area. All the information was then presented to a panel of judges. Things often got heated between the four team members. There is a lot of work to be done in a very short amount of time and overnight, so no sleep. The point of this is to emulate the stress of managing a large construction project. Anyway, at some point during the night I had a difference of opinion with one of the guys about the piping and instrument diagram. A piping and instrument diagram is a type of drawing that allows an engineer to show the miles and miles of process piping involved in a

³⁹ *Dear Broom Guy,*

What was your point? Did you think that I would wear down over time if you kept handing me a broom? Did you think you were funny? Were you trying to tell me that I should be sweeping and not soldering pipe? If that was the case, why? Am I on to something in seeing work, construction and maintenance work in particular as the property of working class men? Did you see me as an intruder?

Confused, Lindsay

large commercial building without actually putting it on the drawing. It is a difficult diagram to read because you have to go back to the floor plans, find the start and end point of the pipe, then determine that distance in order to estimate labor and material costs. I was the only one on the team with experience in the field and all my experience was with process piping, so I should have been considered the expert⁴⁰. The disagreement ended with one of the guys yelling, “You are just our token woman. That is the only reason you are here.” For the rest of my undergraduate experience, I was referred to as “Toke,” or “The Token.”⁴¹

Project Manager

I graduated and was ready to be a project manager. I was offered multiple jobs with big construction companies all of which built biopharmaceutical plants. My experience with process piping made me the perfect fit for biopharma construction, but I had no interest in building pill factories. I decided I wanted to stay in higher education. The department was going to be posting two project management positions within six months of my graduation, so I decided to keep working the two jobs I had and wait. After graduation, the HVAC company I had been working

⁴⁰ *Dear Team,*

Did you think that you were going to get points for having a woman on your team? Did you think I was going to sit in the corner and iron your clothes for the presentation and bring you coffee all night? If that was the case, you brought the wrong damn woman. I would just like to remind you that if I had not been there you would have been in a world of hurt considering I was the only one who knew how to read piping and instrument diagrams.

You are Welcome, Lindsay

⁴¹ *Dear Reader,*

The university had many rules associated with hiring. The applications had to be reviewed by a committee and scored based on a matrix. The five-person committee had to include a minority and a woman. I kept getting asked to serve on interview committees for various trades positions. After this happened three or four times, I mentioned something to my supervisor about it being weird. He laughed and said, “You are the token woman in the trades.”

Regards, Lindsay

for during the day moved me into a project management role and allowed me to start estimating and managing small projects. When the university job posting came around, I was really excited. I met and exceeded all the job qualifications plus I had worked at the university for over five years at this point and knew all of the state rules and regulations associated with construction. My application was good. I had strong letters of recommendation from people all over the University. I bought a business suit, dark gray with a light blue shirt, and prepared questions I wanted to ask in the interview. The interview went great. I felt amazing when it was over. I thought for sure I would be hired. I waited and waited and waited and heard nothing. I finally asked the department's HR representative and she told me I should be receiving a letter in the mail. Sure enough, it came that day. I did not get the job. I took a few days to calm down and then went and talked to the director of the planning and development department. I wanted to know what I could do to better prepare myself for the next opportunity. I stood in his doorway and asked if he had a minute. He said yes, but did not invite me in. I asked from the doorway what I needed to do to be ready for the next opportunity. He said, "Grow some hair and I will hire you."⁴²

Shopping

I eventually got hired as a project manager after growing out my shaved head. It was the perfect job because it focused on utility infrastructure projects, my wheelhouse. I had to go

⁴² *Dear HR,*

In the future can you please include the hair requirements in the job description. It seems to me they should be listed with the other requirements like 'must lift 50 pounds' and 'must possess a driver's license.' Just add something like must have hair at least two inches long. Knowing the requirement ahead of time would have saved me some humiliation.
Regards, Lindsay

shopping for business clothes. I owned nothing but Carhartt work pants and boots. Dillard's was the only place that sold business suits in town. I went one day after work not really knowing what I was even looking for. I was of course dressed in Carhartts and boots that had a day's worth of work on them. I wandered through the racks of suits and floral print flowy shirts soon realizing that there was a sales associate stalking me. She never came close enough to ask if I needed help, but she was always close enough to see exactly what I was doing. It soon became clear that she thought I was going to rob the place. I eventually found every grey and black suit available and paired them with plain colored non-flowy button-down shirts. I went into the dressing room and the sales associate came with. She stood outside the dressing room the entire time I was inside. I learned quickly to never shop at Dillard's dressed like a plumber.⁴³

⁴³ *Dear Reader,*

I quickly realized the world saw me as a completely different person in a suit. I did not get followed around in stores. People would say hello and hold doors for me. I was still the same working-class woman under the suit, but the world did not see it that way. Because I am White, the suit was enough to hide my class. I had a few interesting moments on the first project that I managed. It was a remodel of the second floor of the administration building, which included the office of the Provost, the office of the President, and the office of the Vice President. The project involved replacing all the flooring and had to be done during the night to avoid any disruption of university business. That meant that I had to be there overnight. I notified the university police we would be in the building. The first night went off with no issues. The second night did not. Someone reported lights on in the administration building and flashlights being used behind the building. I was still smoking at the time, so I headed out back for a cigarette and walked into a situation. Two of the flooring guys, both Latino, were standing outside the door with their hands up and about twenty feet away there was a university police officer with his gun drawn. I walked right in between the officer and the guys and tried to explain. The gun was lowered, but that was not the end of it. Despite the fact that they realized we were supposed to be there the officer ran the IDs of both the men. One was arrested. They did not run my ID.

The President's office had a private bathroom. The tile was replaced as part of this project. In order to do that you have to remove the toilet and give the mortar and grout time to cure before putting it back. Because this work was done at night the toilet was left off. At about 10am the next morning I got a call requesting that the toilet be put back on. The contractor had worked all night and was not scheduled to return until the next night. I took matters into my own hands and borrowed some tools from the university plumber and went and set the President's toilet myself. Just as I finished, he had come into the office. I came out of the bathroom and let

Cubicle Language

I made the transition from the field to the cubicle overnight, well my body did. My brain lagged a little behind. I had learned to communicate in the field, to be one of the guys. I spoke like them. All the project managers sat in cubicles in this weird second floor space in the Facilities Services building. There were eight or ten of us crammed in along with some interns. You couldn't even whisper without everyone hearing it. In the field "fuck" seems to find its way into nearly every sentence at least once. I had to quickly learn cubicle language.

Androgynous and Possibly Pregnant

Spending 80 hours a week in the field apparently burns more calories than spending 40 hours a week primarily in a cubicle. I fluffed up a bit as my body made the transition from physical work to a desk job. I was walking through the front office of the Facilities Service building one morning and the HR woman yelled at me from her desk as I walked by. She said, "Lindsay, that is quite an androgynous suit. Are you pregnant?" I was so caught off guard by the pregnant comment that I momentarily forgot about the androgynous part. I turned bright red and quickly let her know that I was not pregnant and moved on. Later in the day I was sitting in my cubicle thinking about how fat I must appear, and then remembered the other word she had used. I Googled androgynous to see exactly what it meant. Androgyny is the combination of masculine and feminine characteristics into an ambiguous form. Wow, not only is my suit androgynous, but so am I.⁴⁴

*him know I had taken care of his toilet and he responded, "Why would you do that." Apparently, he had never seen a White woman in a suit set a toilet.
Regards, Lindsay*

⁴⁴ *Dear Reader,*

Who is the Project Manager?

The university used a project delivery method called Construction Manager at Risk (CMAR). CMAR is different from the traditional design, then bid, then build method. The University would select a design professional via an interview process. First, the companies would respond to questions presented in a Request for Proposal and submit a fancy booklet of information. The selection committee would score every booklet and narrow the field down to three or four companies. Those companies would then be asked to create a presentation to present to the selection committee. Finally, the university would select a design firm. The design firm would then work with the university to create a preliminary program for the building. A program is basically just a statement that conveys the purpose of the building and approximate size. Once that is complete a new Request for Proposal is created. This time for a contractor. The same process occurs with booklet scoring and then interviews. The only difference is the design professional is added to the selection committee. At the beginning of every interview the selection committee would be introduced. It was a very formal process that was managed by a university purchasing agent. It seemed without failure about halfway through the interview while talking about site logistics the company would ask, "Who is the project manager?" Despite the fact I had introduced myself and all the documents clearly listed me as the project manager they could not wrap their head around a young woman being in charge. There would be an awkward

Androgynous. It was a new word for me. I sat at my desk looking at the google images and feeling excitement build in my body. There was a word for me. For what I felt, for what I looked like. I quickly forgot about the pregnant part. The thing is, this woman was not really recognizing me as androgynous. When women are pregnant they tend to wear loose fitting clothes that would likely be considered androgynous.
Regards, Lindsay

pause in the flow and could see concern on their faces.⁴⁵ I would turn red and the interview would continue.

Table Manners

Shortly after becoming a project manager, I joined a professional organization for facilities managers in higher education. I started going to conferences and after people realized I was not someone's daughter tagging along, I quickly got involved, taking a board position at the regional level. I met a woman from Utah and we became great friends. I grew up in a working-class family. Going to Taco Bell was a fancy dinner for us, so the first banquet I attended was a bit difficult for me. I had no idea that I was supposed to put the cloth napkin on my lap when I sat down. I did not know I was supposed to wait to eat until everyone was served. I did not understand why I had so many forks. I also had never eaten a meal that involved talking. Growing up the food was put on the table and we would eat and move on. My new friend from Utah grew up in a completely different situation and took it upon herself to educate me. It is a damn good thing I met her when I did, because things would have likely gotten pretty awkward.⁴⁶ Needless to say, I am now mostly functional in community eating situations.

⁴⁵ *Dear Reader,*
Situations like this made me anxious. I would have nightmares about fake projects I would be attempting to manage, but I was invisible. I would be talking, but no one would hear me. I would move around the room and wave my hands and they could not see me. I would wake up in a puddle of sweat.

Regards, Lindsay

⁴⁶ *Dear Sally,*
Thank you for your friendship. I was nervous at first. I had never had a female friend in the profession. Since that first time we met and you so graciously taught me how to eat, you have taught me so much more. You have helped me get here to this point of wanting to make sense of everything, of wanting to make a difference. You have always been gently directing me back to myself.

Thank You, Lindsay

Director of Utilities and Infrastructure

I was 27 years old. I had just finished my master's in administration and had been a project manager for about two and a half years at this point. We had a consultant filling the roll of Vice President of Facilities Services. The previous VP had been let go. The consultant was hired to clean house. The Director of Utilities and Infrastructure had been a mentor to me for many years. I worked with him a lot because I managed all the utility construction projects. The university administration apparently had a different opinion about him, because he was one of the people the consultant eliminated. The position was left empty for a month or so. I had completed some of the duties I knew needed to be handle that were associated with construction projects. One day I got called to the corner office and the consultant/acting VP had me sit down at her conference table. I was shaking. I was sure I was being fired as well. She pushed a piece of paper across the desk and said she would like to offer me the Director of Utilities and Infrastructure position on an interim basis. I experienced a huge range of emotions. I was really excited and felt really guilty at the same time. I had a ton of respect for the person who was fired, and I was about to benefit from his misfortune.⁴⁷ I took the job, and it was eventually made permanent.

Mattress Shopping

⁴⁷ *Dear Frank,*

It is odd that I am addressing you here in this context because you always called me Dr. Wagner. I remember saying, "maybe someday." Anyway, I still do not know why you were fired. It really does not matter. I have always felt guilty for being the beneficiary in that situation. I always wonder why I was chosen. Did I check a box for the consultant? Did they tell her to hire a woman, or did they tell her to hire someone for far less money? Was I the only idiot willing to do the job on an interim basis? Who knows? Regardless, I took the job and still, to this day, I feel guilty about it. I am sorry.

Regards, Lindsay

A new VP was eventually hired. He was a short, older man about five years away from retirement. He wore suits that were many sizes too big for him. The sleeves would come down and nearly cover his hands. I did some research and learned he had been fired from his previous institution. There were four directors who reported directly to him. I was the youngest by at least 25 years. There was another female director. She was over finance and human resources and also close to retirement. The new VP rented a condo in a neighborhood called Country Club. It was on the golf course. His wife did not come with him at first and his things did not come either. I would assume there was some sort of trial period agreed to when he was hired. About a week after he arrived, he called me into his office and asked if I drove a truck. I did. He then said, “Good, you can take me to Sam’s Club to buy a mattress. A nice young female on my arm will get me some attention.” I drove him to Sam’s Club. He bought a mattress. I drove him to his condo and helped him unload the mattress and he asked, “Try it out?” I declined and drove him back to campus in silence.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ *Dear Reader,*

This has been one of the most difficult things to work through. As I read and re-read this memory, “Try it out?” bounces around in my head like a super ball. Just as I think it is calming down, it will ricochet off a different thought and start bouncing again. These words are not bouncing around because they are painful to me. Yes, the situation was uncomfortable, but at this point in my career I was mostly numb to things like this. It bounces around because my numbness led to others having to live through similar situations with this man. I selfishly chose silence because I feared losing the position I had established. My silence became a defense mechanism. It was the way I protected my property.

Regards, Lindsay

Raise?

I had been moved from interim to permanent in the Director of Utilities and Infrastructure job which should have involved a substantial raise. When the paperwork came through the raise was about half of what it was supposed to be. The Director of Operations was in the same situation as I was. He had been appointed when the consultant was acting VP and made permanent when the new VP was hired. He let me know that his raise was more than he expected. I went to the VP with my concerns and he told me that my raise was smaller because I was a single woman.⁴⁹ The other director had a wife and children to worry about.

Evaluation

Today, I continue to work with the higher education facilities management professional organization. I eventually held a position on the international board of directors and joined the faculty of their Facilities Management Institute. I travel two or three times a year to teach for them. I do not know the exact demographics of this organization, but I rarely have any women in my classes and most of the students are at least 20 years older than I am. Still, to this day, I have to spend a good chunk of time at the beginning of the class talking about the time I spent

⁴⁹ *Dear Bruce,*

You were in a position of power over me. You propositioned me for sex, but I do not believe that it was actually for sex. I am certain you would have had no idea what to do if I would have said yes. You exploited your power again by limiting my raise because I did not have a family. You did many other small yet inappropriate things that I am sure you thought would break me down and make me quit. I believe that you were threatened by me. You were uncomfortable having a young intelligent woman report to you. By harassing me you were protecting yourself and your established position. I see this, because I also did it. I did it passively, well mostly passively. My willingness to put up with your shit was passive harassment of every other person that you were harassing. I cannot blame you for that. But now that I see it, I will change.

Regards, Lindsay

working in the field. I have to work to earn respect in the classroom just like I did when I was in the field.⁵⁰ I love to teach and generally get really good reviews. A few years ago, after teaching a class on how to use the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator to enhance management skills I received the following review. “I need another diversity class! When the instructor walked in, I was like, OH NO! Now I really like her and enjoyed the class very much!”⁵¹

Director of Operations

The mattress VP only lasted about six months before he was fired. I was apparently not the only one he propositioned and apparently the others were much braver than I was and actually reported it. Anyway, the Director of Operations somehow got himself caught up in the situation as well and was fired along with the VP. Having worked in the trades for over five years I was a perfect candidate to step into the role. A new VP was hired, and I agreed to do the Director of Operations job on an interim basis for one year while maintaining my role as the Director of Utilities and Infrastructure. I worked at least 80 hours a week that entire year. By the end I did not even know what direction was up.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Dear Reader,*

Establishing respect in these classrooms becomes a dangerous dance. I find myself allowing students to express misguided beliefs without immediately redirecting them. I have to let the students air their racism and sexism allowing for the development of a complete picture of what they believe to be reality before I gently step in and start to rearrange that reality. I am tired of being gentle.

Regards, Lindsay

⁵¹ *Dear Student,*

I am glad you got over my gender or appearance or age or whatever it was that shut you down as you walked in the room. I hope in the future without additional diversity training you are able to be more open.

Regards, Lindsay

⁵² *Dear Reader,*

Shaved Head

I was starting to feel dissonance between my values and the values of the new VP. I had built relationships with the trades workers. I valued their opinions and listened to them before I made decisions. The new VP saw everything in black and white and managed very systematically. I am the opposite. I see people as people and work to provide them an individual platform that is going to make them as successful as possible. I was still doing both director jobs and with the help of a group of interns I created a sustainability challenge that involved head shaving. I cannot remember the details of the challenge, but we hosted a big BBQ for all the trades workers and student workers, and we hired a barber that was shaving heads in the back of a pick-up truck. Right in front of the new VP I sat in the back of that pick-up truck and got my head shaved. It felt amazing.⁵³

This was the beginning of the end. I had made it to a corner office and a front row parking spot. I had no friends, no partner, no life outside of work. I was completely numb. I had always believed once I was here, I would be able to be myself, the problem was I had no idea who I was.

Regards, Lindsay

⁵³ *Dear Reader,*

I can still feel the hair falling. I can feel my hand run across the stubble. I can feel the water hitting my head in the shower that night. I remember looking at myself in the mirror and thinking I had not seen myself in a long time. Why is hair such a big damn deal? Just recently I got a haircut. It was much shorter than I had gone in a long time. It felt really good. I felt good. I went to work and my boss, who is actually only in town a few days a month happened to be in the office for a meeting. He said to me, "Did your electricity get shut off?" I was confused and he could tell by the look on my face, so he continued. "Your haircut is a little harsh do not you think, is it hot in your house or something?" There it was again, that feeling in my body. The same feeling from way back when I stood in the office doorway and was told to grow some hair. Then humiliation.

Red in the Face, Lindsay

The End

I talked about this handshake way back in the first chapter, but I think it is important to talk about it again. I was attending a mixer at the City Utility Department. A man⁵⁴ stuck his hand out for me to shake. I did so and introduced myself as the Director of Operations. He asked me if I had a name. I had to think about it for a second before I could say, “Lindsay.” Convinced I needed to figure out who the hell I was, I wrote a resignation letter the next day, and soon left the university after fifteen years of employment.

Consultant

I was given the opportunity to interview for a project at a prestigious private university with a team of consultants. Guess what, they were all men and all older than I was. They had retired from their positions as vice presidents at various universities and now consulted for entertainment. I needed a job. We arrived for the interview and were taken into a small room with a projector. The interview team arrived all wearing very fancy suits with floral pocket squares and really shiny shoes. We started off with introductions and then got right into the questions. The interview was going really well until it got to my part. I was serving the role of utility and infrastructure subject matter expert. The university’s Director of Utilities⁵⁵ was on the

⁵⁴ *Dear Sir,*

Thank you. You are largely responsible for this attempt to make sense of it all. I wish I could sit down with you now and tell you who Lindsay is becoming, or more accurately who Lindsay has always been. Thank you for initiating my search. I will work hard to keep better track of myself so I can proudly introduce myself as Lindsay from now on.

Regards, Lindsay

⁵⁵ *Dear Greg,*

You made it pretty clear that your work is your property. Funny though that you were hiring a consultant to help you tend to it.

Regards, Lindsay

interview committee and he laid into me with questions. He asked questions of my past experience, projects in which I had been involved, central plants I had managed, and on and on. He asked questions far beyond the scope of work of the consulting project. This went on for over 90 minutes. We eventually ran out of time. I was sure the team had lost the project simply because they had asked me to be part of it. In consulting, we follow the 100-yard rule. After an interview you do not speak about the interview until you are at least 100 yards away from the building. We rode the elevator in silence and walked out of the building in silence and continued down the street in silence. Finally, the owner of the consulting firm says, “Holy shit, I have never seen anything like that. He grilled you and he could not get you. Nice job.” I was so relieved. We ended up getting the project.

Ass Slap

After leaving the university and beginning this research, I started to make small changes. I am open about my sexuality and I worry less about trying to look feminine. I am slowly just being Lindsay. I decided to invite my partner to attend a conference with me. I was planning on meeting some of the other faculty members with whom I teach in the lobby bar for a drink on the first night we were there. My partner came along. There were many people milling around the lobby chatting and I saw the dean of the program for which I teach. I went up to him and planned to introduce my partner. I put my hand out for him to shake and he pulled me in for a close hug. I am not much of a hugger and definitely have no interest in hugging professional acquaintances, especially this guy. His shirt is never buttoned all the way and his gray chest hair sticks out. He pulled me in so tight that my face landed right in it. He then proceeded to slap my ass, not once, but twice. He whispered in my ear, “I figure it is alright for me to do this since there is no other man doing it.” I did not know what to say or do, so I just chuckled and walked away. My partner

saw it all. That was her introduction to my professional life. She freaked out, “What the hell was that about?”

I decided to take matters into my own hands and asked him later in the week if he had time to sit down and talk. He agreed to meet with me. I told him that what he did made me very uncomfortable. He interrupted and said he realized it was wrong. I briefly explained to him my research and shared with him some of my preliminary work. He called me a few days later, I am certain to be sure that I was not going to report him. On the call he said he had read my work and that he had a book idea for me. He suggested I write a book for men about how they should behave in professional situations and be sure I include examples of what they should do when women are using their sexuality against men. I asked him what he meant by that and he said he needed to know how to behave when women are purposefully flaunting their bodies and flirting with him. I had no idea sticking my hand out for a handshake was inviting of more. Needless to say, I am not writing a book for men.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Dear Clint,*

Every part of me wants to start this letter by saying, “This is for you,” but it is not. It is for me. It is for everyone else that you have harassed. It is for everyone who has been harassed. In Complete Disregard, Lindsay

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

I am exhausted. I had no idea the toll this research would take on my mental health and my physical body. There were days I stared at the screen for hours on end paralyzed by my thoughts. There were days I flooded my keyboard with tears. There were days I had to simply close the computer and walk away. This research brought back the past and forced me to feel things I was previously too numb to feel, and it amplified the present. At work, with my awareness heightened, sentences spoken and actions taken I would have never even thought about in the past became alarms. Despite the difficulty I am grateful for the opportunity to make some sense of my experience.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore my career in higher education facilities management in attempt to make sense and meaning of the sexual harassment I experienced. I was disheartened by my search of the literature. I discovered multiple definitions of sexual harassment, none of which I could fully embrace. Research pertaining to women working in fields dominated by cisgender men concludes that sexual harassment is a cultural norm but fails to delve into the effects of working in that culture (Buckner et al., 2014). Sexual harassment training is occurring in 90 percent of workplaces, yet rates of occurrence are holding steady, and in some cases increasing (Buckner et al., 2014). There is also little evidence that training is producing positive outcomes (Buckner et al., 2014).

I did not find what I was looking for in the literature. There were pieces of studies and parts of theories that sparked memories of my past. Emotions started to surface during the search; emotions I had been carrying in my body for years. In attempt to process and make sense

of these emotions, I wrote letters. Writing those letters allowed more memories to surface. It became clear that my story needed to be told. That my story could bridge gaps in the literature.

Many of the questions I had during the literature review involved my identity. Yes, I am a female, but I am more than that. I am androgynous, I am queer, I am White, I am working class. What role did my androgynous appearance play? What role did my sexuality play? What privileges did my race afford me? I also wanted to know what others have experienced and how others feel. The questions that surfaced led to this autoethnographic exploration of my career through an intersectional lens paying close attention to affect.

This autoethnography is more than my personal story. I analyzed and reflected on my experiences in attempt to understand and challenge the power structures involved in my story. I wrote a personal narrative focusing on individual memories. Because I wanted to understand the role my identity played in my experience, I felt it was important to begin the narrative with memories from my childhood. When the narrative was complete, I read and reread over and over finding spots that caused me to stumble, spots that made me uncomfortable (Brinkmann, 2014). At each stumble point, I wrote letters and in some cases journal entries in the form of letters to you the reader that allowed me to make sense of the moment.

Correspondence is considered a form of feminist research. Using correspondence allowed me to express myself in an uninhibited way, balancing the power between me and my correspondent (Muñoz & Velazquillo, 2019, p. 226). It felt safe to write these letters. In this moment, I have no plans of actually sending any of them, but the letters allowed me to work through my past, saying the things I was not able to before. We are all researchers of our own lives. Duoethnography is a methodology that allows researchers to correspond ultimately generating new understanding of shared experiences (Nicolazzo & Harris, 2014). I invited you to

write to me in Chapter Three. This project is an autoethnography, but if you chose to respond there is a potential for us to generate a new understanding of our experiences. In this chapter, I will answer my research questions, compare my findings with the literature, and discuss implications for theory and practice.

Discussion of Findings

I asked the questions: What happened to me regarding sexual harassment and microaggressions during my 15-year career in higher education facilities management? How and why was I complicit in the events that occurred? How do my experiences elucidate the complicated intersections between race, class, gender identity, and sexuality within an organization? What can be learned from my experiences that could help me and others in the future? Working through each question individually I provide an analysis of my experience.

My Experience

Over the course of my career I was sexually harassed. I endured comments about my physical body such as, “Did your shirt come with those bumps,” and “That is quite an androgynous suit. Are you pregnant?” I was told I had to grow some hair before I could be hired. There were constant indirect comments about the bodies of other women made in my presence, always associated with appearance. I was whistled at and cat-called. I was even directly propositioned, “Try it out?” he asked, after moving a mattress into his apartment. I was slapped on the ass when all I was after was a handshake. I was frequently reminded of gender roles. I was handed a broom upon arrival to a jobsite every day. I was repeatedly asked, “Whose daughter are you?” at professional conferences. I was denied a raise because I was a single female with no family.

If I would have been asked if I was being harassed five years ago, I would have said no. The harassment that I experienced quickly became normal, something I expected and developed a tolerance for, something that I felt I had to endure to be successful. When I think back on all of these experiences collectively it morphs into a movie scene. It was like a high school party, and I was the outsider who was not invited but showed up anyway. In this movie, over the course of the night I was picked on and pushed around and forced to do ridiculous things for the entertainment of others. After making it through a full night of harassment I was accepted, punched in the arm, and handed a beer with the expectation that when the next nerd knocked on the door I would participate in the harassing. What I am trying to convey is I never felt like it was about sex. I felt like it was about property. I was trespassing on the property of cisgender men. The harassment I experienced was an attempt to kick me off their property.

In order to explore this idea of construction and maintenance work that took place at the university being property, we must first discuss the origin of higher education to establish that education is, and represents, White property (Harris, 1993; Patel, 2015). “Between 1663 and 1769, nine colonial colleges were founded, the first being Harvard and the last Dartmouth College (Cohen and Kisker, 2010, p. 25). Colonizers who received educations at Oxford and Cambridge believed the establishment of colleges was necessary to maintain the wisdom of the classics, and to prepare men for service (Cohen and Kisker, 2010, p. 21). The men being prepared for service were White. Wilder (2013) explained these institutions were built at the expense of Native American lives and on the backs of Black slaves. “Even in the early years of this country, it was not the concept of race alone that operated to oppress Blacks and Indians; rather it was the *interaction* between conceptions of race and property that played a critical role in establishing and maintaining racial and economic subordination” (Harris, 1993, p. 1707).

Early research at these institutions worked to prove the inferiority of Black bodies to justify continued enslavement (Wilder, 2013).

Higher education was founded on the principles of whiteness. “Contrary to common parlance whiteness is not synonymous to white people” (Matias & Newlove, 2017, p. 317). Whiteness is the institutionalized expression of White supremacy, meaning that White people gain from systemic benefits over People of Color (Matias & Newlove, 2017). Whiteness is the use of ideologies, emotions, rhetoric, symbolism, and speech as a means of domination and control without recognizing the domination (Brown, 2009; Theoharis & Haddix, 2011; Matias, 2016; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995; Radcliffe, 2000; Stryker, 2009, Yancy, 2012, & Gillborn, 2009). Throughout history, minority populations have fought their way through the doors of these institutions, but to date whiteness prevails.

To explain how construction and maintenance work can be associated with the larger concept of education representing White property we have to look at nature. In *Emergent Strategy* Adrienne Maree Brown (2017) stated, “a fractal is a never-ending pattern. Fractals are indefinitely complex patterns that are self-similar across different scales. They are created by repeating a simple process over and over in an ongoing feedback loop” (p. 51). In nature there are fractals. Think about fungus and ferns and leaves. “The patterns of the universe repeat at scale. There is a structural echo that suggests two things: one, there are shapes and patterns fundamental to our universe, and two, that what we practice at a small scale can reverberate to the largest scale” (Brown, 2017, p. 52). Brown presented this concept as a means of social change, arguing what we practice on a small scale sets patterns for the whole system. I agree with this concept and would argue when it comes to power structures, they are replicated. Education is the property of upper class, White, straight, cisgender men. Going back to

Crenshaw's (1989) analogy of the basement I have previously discussed, education exists above the basement ceiling. It is available to those who squeeze through the hatch. Staying with the analogy, the construction and maintenance work that occurs within education is a fractal of education. The power structure is recreated. The work is claimed as the property of working class cisgender men who have recreated the same power structure they were up against again, repeating what the upper class, White, straight, cisgender men did to claim education as their property. In attempt to protect their property from me, working class cisgender men used sexual harassment as a defense mechanism.

Complicit

Let us go back to that high school party analogy for a minute. When I showed up on the doorstep of this party that became my career I did so with three other women. My first job at the university was as a student worker. My boss was a woman and there were two other student workers, also women. We were definitely not invited to the party, but we were let in. Instead of enduring harassment we huddled in the corner and did not engage with anyone. When I became a full-time mechanic, I made the choice to leave the corner. I was harassed and quickly accepted as one of the boys with the expectation I would participate in the harassment, and I complied. I participated in slander against my old crew and I did not step in and stop harassment that was occurring right in front of me. I did not report things that should have been reported and because of that many women endured harassment that could have been avoided. Silence became my defense mechanism. It was the way I protected my property, my work.

In Chapter Four I shared a story about a game of Smear the Queer I played when I was in sixth grade. I wanted so badly to be accepted I made the choice to completely level a boy, hurting him physically. After taking this action I was "cool." The desire to be accepted was so

strong. It was a physical feeling that took over my ability to reason. The first opportunity I had to participate in the slander of the other women was the same. I felt it in my body so strongly I was unable to control it. I just wanted to be accepted by the other mechanics. The feeling in my body afterward was also memorable, and in both cases the same. It felt absolutely horrible.

I have spent countless hours thinking about my actions and why I continued if the very first action felt horrible. I had to go back to the beginning of my life to make sense of it all. I have said over and over, I am a working class, White, androgynous, queer, female. I started working with my Grandpa when I was three years old. Work is very important to me. This job was however more than a job. Going back through the prominent memories of my childhood, I realized most of them are associated with gender identity. There are battles over clothing, secret excitement about being called a man, resistance to growing boobs, hatred of my period, and the desire to have a beard. When I saw the women in the maintenance office in my dorm dressed in work clothes, I experienced the same sensation in my body that I did when my aunt told me I looked like a man. It was incredible. I thought if I had the job, I would have an excuse to wear the clothes I wanted to wear. Essentially, I would have an excuse for being myself.

Above, I presented the idea of construction and maintenance work at the university being the property of working class cisgender men. Staying with the party analogy, this party has historically been their party. Minorities, such as women might be invited, but receiving the invitation requires the adoption of habits, known as assimilation (Ahmed, 2007; Montoya et al., 2015). I adopted the habits but I was never completely comfortable. Because I had struggled with my gender identity for so long the effect of being able express my desire to wear men's clothes and have a shaved head made it possible for me to develop calluses and become numb to the harassment. Once I was numb, the work became my property and I protected it.

As I advanced in the organization my role required business attire. The discomfort of assimilation became harder to ignore. I received comments about my androgynous suits and short hair often, but advancement in the organization allowed me to hide in a different way. I became Lindsay the project manager and Lindsay the director. These titles meant something to my family and the world it seemed. Saying, "I am the Director of Operations," upon introduction directed all attention to my career and away from my true identity. But, I could only handle hiding for so long.

If you think of identity like a blueprint: working class, White, androgynous, queer, and female make up the sections of my plan set. I am the builder of my life. If I do not find a site that is compatible with the entire plan set, I am forced to compromise or assimilate. That compromise leads to poor construction and ultimate failure. That is what I have done. I tried to build myself into a power structure that forced assimilation and I failed. I failed on multiple levels. Because I am White I made it through the hatch in the basement ceiling. It was uncomfortable, but I was there. Instead of using the opportunity to fight for everyone that was below I was silent. I hid. I protected property that in reality was never mine. This analysis is by no means an attempt to justify my actions. It is an attempt to make sense of my actions and build self-awareness so I can change. My silence was complicity, and I take responsibility for that, but it was also fear. I was afraid of being seen as weak. I was afraid of losing my job. I was afraid of losing the status that I thought I had gained. I needed to be seen as a team player that would not disrupt the culture of the industry. I will likely never find a building site within higher education suited for my plan set, but awareness of the power structure that is in place will allow me to fight for change by breaking my silence.

Elucidating Complicated Intersections

The university is White property which means it is the perfect building site for upper class, White, straight, cisgender men. Each one of us has a unique blueprint, and we are all looking for our building site, for our property. Like nature we create fractals, repeating patterns that establish power structures to protect our property we are able to claim. The harassment I experienced was always related to sex and gender, but I never felt like it was about sex. I felt like the construction and maintenance work had been claimed by working class, straight, cisgender men. I felt like I was trespassing. I felt if I wanted to stay, I had to assimilate.

Every individual in the organization has a unique blueprint and every individual is fighting for a piece of property. Unless your blueprint is White, straight, cisgender man you are forced to try and assimilate in some way. Because I am White, assimilation was possible, but because I am also queer, female, androgynous, and working class it was uncomfortable. Identity is addressed as if it were additive. As if pages of the blueprint can be torn out. I said earlier, sexual harassment training is occurring in 90 percent of workplaces, yet rates of occurrence are holding steady, and in some cases increasing, and there is little evidence that training is producing positive outcomes (Buckner et al., 2014). Could this be due to the fact that the issue is being reduced to men and women, ignoring the many other complicated intersections associated with harassment? When I reflect on my experiences, I feel if a piece of property within the organization would have been available for me to construct myself completely my story would be completely different.

There is something else that surfaced for me during this research and I feel like it is important to share. I have stated I was able to make it through Crenshaw's (1989) analogy of the basement hatch because I am White. I was given opportunities for advancement that did not

require me to apply or compete for positions. Exploring education as White property and my assimilation into the role of a White man it became clear to me that I would not have been handed those opportunities if I was not White. I went back and listed every co-worker that I had after becoming a project manager. They were all White.

Lessons Learned

To sum it up, I have learned that education is White property. Construction and maintenance work on the university campus is the property of working class, cisgender men. I was trespassing on their property or showing up to their party uninvited. I feel that the sexual harassment I experienced was not about sex. I feel that it was about protecting property and power.

I learned affects and their resulting emotions have played a huge part in decisions I have made. After spending time reflecting on the memories of my childhood and my career, I realized that in almost every short story I shared, I defined the sensation felt in my body or the affect that occurred at each one of those moments. As I wrote the stories, I felt those sensations again. As I started to closely pay attention to sensations in my body, I realized there are small triggers I experience on a daily basis that bring those sensations to the surface over and over again. If I do not pay close attention, it is easy to be numb to the sensations and ultimately avoid emotions. I never talked about the intensity of these sensations before. Writing about them made me realize how much power they hold. Essentially, I carry all of my experiences in my body. We all do, and we rarely share. Maybe sharing is the beginning of the process of tearing down the power structures that were created in a fractal pattern. “What we practice at a small scale can reverberate to the largest scale” (Brown, 2017, p. 52). Sharing could create affective intensity leading to increased understanding of why and how sexual harassment is occurring.

I learned my identity is intersectional not additive. Each one of us has a personal blueprint and all the pages are required for the complete construction of the self. In my case, attempting to hide or eliminate pages for the sake of assimilation did not work out. The discomfort I felt ultimately become too much for me to handle.

I learned that researching trauma is difficult and can have unfavorable effects on scholars. Using collaborative autoethnography Nicolazzo, Jaekel, Tillapaugh, and Perez (2020), all scholars with minoritized identities, investigated the effects of harm and/or trauma when conducting research within minoritized student populations. Four subcategories emerged in their research, harm as temporal, harm as affective, harm as embodied, and harm as shared (Nicolazzo, Jaekel, Tillapaugh, & Perez, 2020). The study revealed that the researchers were not prepared to cope with the vicarious trauma that they experienced during the research process. Working with research participants was re-traumatizing for both the participant and the researcher (Nicolazzo et al., 2020). I can definitely identify with that finding. I was not prepared for the re-traumatizing effects that the memory recall involved in my study provoked. As I analyzed the events that occurred over the course of my life the feelings that surfaced were intense. I struggled with conveying the feelings in a scholarly way. I constantly questioned myself. Is what I did really research? Nicolazzo et al. (2020), also struggled with the feelings that the research process brought to the surface and the possibility of the expression of feelings minimizing the credibility of the studies. The feelings are processed through the body and have an influence on the body (Nicolazzo et al., 2020). I experienced this in a few different ways. Some days it was complete mental and physical paralysis, and other days it was hyperactive energy. Depression took the biggest toll, being both mentally and physically painful. Finally, Nicolazzo et al. (2020), found that trauma is shared between the researcher and the participant

and the researcher and their partners, families, and communities. This was true for me as well. This research had an effect on my partner. My depression was and is hard on our relationship and I am sure it has affected other relationships in my life. My study is an autoethnography so there are no other participants, but I worry about the readers. It was my intention to make people feel in hopes that the feeling would initiate action. I often wonder if it is unfair of me to want that. This work will likely re-traumatize people, but I have to go back to the idea of truth not being facticity but feeling (Gilbert, 2016, p.98).

It is my hope the exploration and analysis of my personal experience grinds the calluses of others that feel they have no choice but to assimilate and endure. I see now I have a choice. I am definitely not the only one who has assimilated and felt the associated discomfort. That discomfort prevented me from reaching my full potential in the positions I held. I wonder what I am capable of, and what we are collectively capable of if we are provided the opportunity to fully develop our personal blueprints, to comfortably be ourselves.

Comparing the Findings to the Literature

In my search of the literature I looked at the history of sexual harassment, definitions of sexual harassment and the role that values and beliefs play in defining what constitutes sexual harassment, reactions to sexual harassment, theories of sexual harassment, and training methodology. I searched the literature in an attempt to make meaning of experiences I had and choices I made in relation to my career. I searched the literature for myself. I was initially disappointed with what I found; however, the literature supports the findings of this study associated with values and beliefs playing a role in personal definitions of sexual harassment and reactions to sexual harassment. There is little support in terms of theory.

Values and Beliefs

The power the legal definition of sexual harassment holds is based on individual values and beliefs (Marshall & Barclay, 2003). The role of values and beliefs is dependent on an understanding of the law, the extent to which the law threatens everyday behavior, and the social status of people the law is supposed to protect (Tinkler, 2008). The legal definition of sexual harassment threatens the everyday behaviors that are exhibited and threatens the dominant social status of cisgender men in higher education facilities management. Similar to what Denissen (2010) found, despite knowing my rights as they are defined by the EEOC, I justified the harassment I experienced as being a part of the job I had to tolerate in order to gain acceptance. Tinkler (2008) discussed the complexity of reconciling the law and personal views of power and social interactions at work. My reconciliation of the law and my personal views was definitely complex. I was initially willing to endure and participate in harassment because the industry provided me with an excuse to wear men's clothing and have short hair. When I transitioned from the field to the office my reason for justification shifted to the status that my titles provided. Both reasons are based on the culture of the industry providing me a hiding place where I could either express parts of my identity I had not previously been able to safely express or place my identity in the shadow of my professional success.

Reactions to Sexual Harassment

Both Denissen (2010) and Gruber and Bjorn (1986) found women in fields dominated by cisgender men respond to sexual harassment by passively accepting it as part of the workplace culture or by using informal social control mechanisms. Handling sexual harassment in this way takes an emotional toll. For 15 years, I passively accepted sexual harassment. I expected it daily and became completely numb to it. Denissen provided three distinct categories of harassment

experienced by the tradeswomen: “does not cross the line,” “I do not know where the line is,” and “crosses the line” (Denissen, 2010). I categorized certain things like the daily sexualized commentary, cat-calls, and whistles in the ‘does not cross the line,’ category. They were simply part of the culture. I categorized situations like the, “Try it out?” comment pertaining to the mattress that I had just moved as, “I do not know where the line is.” He did not touch me, so was it actually harassment? It was his word against mine and he is a Vice President. Would anyone believe me? I struggled with these situations the most, and it is these situations that seem the heaviest to carry in the body. There is one situation I categorize as “crosses the line.” I just wanted a handshake and I got a hug and a slap on the ass. Even though I felt that this crossed the line, I handled it informally, speaking to him directly as opposed to reporting it.

Sexual Harassment Theory

The sexual harassment theories that are prevalent in the literature include the Nature/Biological Model, the Organizational Model, the Socio-Cultural Model, the Sex-Role Spill-over Model, and Tokenism. None of these theories fully support my findings.

Nature/Biological Model

The Nature/Biological Model indicates the sexual behavior which occurs in the workplace is not intended to be discriminatory, suggesting sexual harassment is nothing more than natural heterosexual courting (Tangri et al., 1982). The harassment I experienced definitely did not feel like courting. Despite the fact that most of the harassment involved sexualized language or reference to my body I never felt like it was about sex or that it was a sexual advance. The other issue with this theory is that it does not take into account same sex harassment. I participated in the harassment of other women both directly and indirectly and I witnessed men being harassed by other men for refusing to participate in the culture.

The Organizational Model

The organizational model is based on power associated with the structure of organizations. According to the model, likely victims of harassment would be those with low organizational power and harassers would have higher organizational power (Marsh, 1997). My experience does not fit this model. The harassment I experienced was almost always from my equals or from people in positions I had the potential to achieve. According to this model, as the level of my authority increased, my risk of being harassed should have decreased, but that was not the case.

The Socio-Cultural Model

The Socio-Cultural model is feminist in orientation, defining sexual harassment as a product of the gender inequity prevalent in society (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). In this model engaging in sexual harassment is an attempt to maintain the existing gender hierarchy (Pina et al., 2009). According to the model the inferior position of women, in the workplace and society, is both a consequence and a cause of sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 1979). Again, this model is not definitive of my experience. I never felt it was about the maintenance of a hierarchy. I felt I had to prove I was worthy of being a part of the culture. That proof came in the form of adopting cultural habits and exhibiting the technical skills necessary in the industry. Once I had proved these things I was largely accepted, and no longer the target of sexual harassment from existing coworkers. Continuing harassment often came from new additions to the organization.

The Sex-Role Spill-Over Model

Proposed by Gutek and Morasch (1982), the Sex-Role Spill-Over Model is based on the premise of societal gender-based expectations spilling over into the workplace regardless of

relevance or appropriateness, which causes women to feel like they have to act in “feminine” ways such as nurturing. I never once felt I needed to act in a “feminine” way. I had a desire to own the work. I wanted to make the work mine. I felt I shared that desire with the men in the industry, but at times my desire to do things correctly and ensure my crew did the same resulted in me being called Mom, This indicates that my crew saw my actions as nurturing providing some support for this theory.

Tokenism

Kanter (1997) explained harassment of all kinds using the ratio of socially or culturally different groups within an organization. Kanter believed minority groups that existed in a skewed ratio received the greatest amount of attention and thus became victims of harassment. This model is not indicative of my experience either. It seemed it was always the newest person who received the most attention. If that person happened to be a man, they were also harassed. The male to male harassment took a completely different form and seemed to dissipate much quicker, but none the less harassment occurred.

Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research

In the following section I explain the implications for policy, practice, and research that resulted from this study. Each of the findings is presented as a call for action in the form of a letter. I address university administration regarding sexual harassment training methods and the need to reevaluate current policy. I address my colleagues in regards to practice. As facilities managers we build, maintain, and operate space on university campuses. We have an opportunity to breakdown institutional silos and participate in the fight for equity, inclusivity, and social justice, but we are currently holding ourselves back. Finally I write to you the reader, because we are all researchers. We all have stories that hold transformational power.

Policy

Dear University Administrators,

Remember Carmita Wood? She was an employee at Cornell University. She resigned because of unwanted touching from her supervisor. Cornell refused Wood's request for a transfer and denied her unemployment benefits because she quit for personal reasons. This occurred in 1975. The term sexual harassment was coined by the media when reporting on this story.⁵⁷ By 1977 the courts determined that women could sue their employers for harassment under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It was not until 1998 that the Supreme Court ruled same-sex harassment was also unlawful.

My journey in higher education started in 1999. As a student I had little knowledge of sexual harassment definitions and laws. I was harassed by both professors and fellow students. I do not recall any education or training being offered, and I had no idea where to turn for help.

As an employee I received training. It was an online training I had to complete once a year. It consisted of a self-guided presentation which provided the legal definitions of harassment and a few examples of sexual harassment. The examples always consisted of a graphical representation of a woman in a skirt. A man would ask her for a sexual favor and in return

⁵⁷ Cohen, S. (2016, April 11). A brief history of sexual harassment in America before Anita Hill. *Time*, 3-3.

promise a job related benefit. It was followed by a multiple choice question asking what type of harassment the graphic represented.

I have some news for you. I never wore a skirt to work, and I never experienced this type of harassment. I am not saying this example has not occurred. I am saying there is more to harassment than this. It is time to reevaluate the way sexual harassment is handled on university campuses. It is time for transformational change.

I challenge you to look beyond the gender binary. Look beyond sexual attraction. It is time to look at the complicated intersections of race, gender, sexuality, physical ability, and class that are associated with sexual harassment. I recently came across an article that makes eight proposals for enacting institutional change.⁵⁸ Please consider employing the following three proposals.

First, you can start “Valuing Minoritized Voices.” When considering changes in sexual harassment policy it is critical that you listen to victims of harassment. I mean truly listen. Listen beyond man and woman and beyond sexual advance. Listen beyond the gender binary. Listen beyond White. Listen beyond heterosexual. Listen beyond able bodied. Listen beyond the upper class. Listen beyond the legal definition of sexual harassment. Listen

⁵⁸ Stewart, D-L. (2018). Minding the gap between diversity and institutional transformation: Eight proposals for enacting institutional change. *Teachers College Record*, 120(14), 1-16. Retrieved from <https://www.tcrecord.org/22377>

to the weight carried in the minoritized voice. It is a reflection of what is carried in the body.

Second, "Reject the Traditional Norms." The current approach to sexual harassment training is a traditional norm. Remember that training graphic I mentioned earlier? The cisgender, heterosexual, White man and woman in an office engaging in a quid pro quo exchange? It is a traditional norm. That graphic did not represent me, and created confusion for me. It made me question if my experiences were actually sexual harassment. You should consider inviting members of minoritized groups to provide real life examples of harassment that is occurring on your campuses. Use those examples to create training material.

Third, "Award Outcomes Not Window Dressing." I remember eating pizza provided by the university Human Resources because my department had 100% completion of Safe Working and Learning Environment training. The completion of the training definitely did not result in a safe environment. As administrators please look beyond completion statistics. Look critically at the success of your programs. Do not just rely on quantitative data. There is more to sexual harassment than what can be recorded on a Likert scale.

It is you the administrator, you the leader, who can easily start a fractal pattern, initiating change. Your actions are mimicked. The current situation is evidence of that. If you change your actions and place emphasis

on inclusivity and social justice, people will follow. Things will change. It is my hope that breaking my silence will push you to break yours.

Regards, Lindsay

Practice

Dear Colleagues,

I did not tell my story in an attempt to villainize the higher education facilities management industry. I told my story because I see an opportunity to be better and I see an opportunity for us, as an industry to be better.

Equity, inclusivity, and social justice have become buzz words on campuses, as professors, staff, and students fight the power structure that holds education as White property. We have not yet realized our role in this fight.

We are stuck in the habit of trying to emulate those in power creating similar structures to protect the property that we have claimed. This is a tragic pattern considering the work we do on campus. We create and maintain the space used to carry out the educational mission of the institution. That space plays a huge role in equity, inclusivity, and social justice. The way we design it, the way we construct it, the way we distribute it, and the way we maintain it all matters. We cannot contribute to this fight without first fixing ourselves.

We have to open up a dialogue about our tendency to recreate the power structure that we work within. We have to discuss what we have individually experienced as a result even if it is privilege. We have to

realize each of us has a unique blueprint that is likely not being unrolled because of the power structure we have created. We have to get curious about one another and take responsibility for our own learning. We have to create safe spaces to share. We could start by holding equity, inclusivity, and social justice training.

This training could potentially bring to light the complicated intersections of each of our identities with the power structures that we are up against. If we work to understand each other, and I am talking across the entire organization from custodian to vice president, we will be better and we will be better able to understand what the students, staff and professors are up against. I told my story in hopes it would spark emotion in others. If we can open dialogue in our departments, we have the potential to generate affective intensity. It is this intensity that will enable us to create change.

If you are White and you are a man and you feel pissed off right now, you are experiencing White fragility. Maybe you feel guilty or embarrassed about your actions. Maybe you feel like all of this is bullshit. I challenge you to process and work through those feelings. Please do not just be pissed off and silent.

After we have fixed ourselves and become an inclusive industry that welcomes difference, we can join the fight. We can design spaces recognizing cultural differences, recognizing gender differences and identities, recognizing disabilities, and recognizing safety concerns. We can

design buildings recognizing that they have to be cleaned and maintained and there are design features that lead to ease of cleaning and maintenance. We can demand that contractors hired by our institutions represent women and minority owned businesses and that their workforce is representative of the local workforce. We can advocate for programs and organizations across campus that are not assigned equitable space. We can develop cleaning and maintenance schedules that are unbiased. If you feel that your institution is already doing these things, I challenge you to ask yourself why. Are you just checking boxes because you have been directed to do so, or do you understand? If you do not understand and you do not feel the why in your body, please educate yourself.

When I finished my construction management degree, I had the opportunity to leave higher education facilities management, but I did not want to. I wanted to work in higher education. I wanted to create and maintain buildings that had a higher purpose than strip malls and pill factories. I have to go back to Heidegger here.⁵⁹ He developed a care structure that consists of facticity, fallenness, and existentiality. Facticity is the idea that we are thrown into the world where we are. I am a higher education facilities management professional. Fallenness is the tendency to make decisions based on the anonymous “they” and striving to meet

⁵⁹ Heidegger, M., Macquarrie, J., & Robinson, E. (1962). *Being and time*. Malden, MA: Blackwell

“their” definition of success, not our own. I fell into this idea that I needed a piece of property, that I had to claim my work and protect it as mine. In doing that I lost myself and my why. Existentiality is seeing and deliberately pushing toward one’s deepest destiny in life. I am ready to unroll my blueprint, and I am not going to leave the industry to do so. That means I will ask that you refer to me by my name only, not she or her or he or him. I will wear a bow tie if I feel like it. If I want to shave my head, I will. I will bring my wife to conferences and dinners. I will introduce her as my wife. I may decide to grow a beard, I may not. Regardless of all that, I know I have the potential to make a difference. Please join me, because we as an industry have incredible potential in the fight to increase equity, inclusivity, and social justice on university campuses.

Regards, Lindsay

Research

Dear Reader,

During this entire process I found myself wanting to know what other people have experienced. Is it similar to my experience? Is it different? Were you silent? Did you take a stand? How did it feel in the moment? How does it feel now? Did you process the emotion or are you still carrying it? I have so many questions none of which are answered by current research. I see this as an opportunity to build new theory.

I have suggested that work is the property of cisgender men and sexual harassment occurs as a means of protecting their property. I have suggested that sexual harassment is not just the active behavior of offenders, but is also passive through the complicit inaction of those that witness harassment occurring. I have suggested that the resulting affect of sexual harassment on the target of the harassment is influenced by the gender identity, sexuality, and class status of the target. Finally, I have suggested that race is a factor in how potential targets of harassment may escape harassment by adopting the identity of the dominant majority in the organization.

We are all researchers and our stories are data. They are the data that will lead to the development of new theories that look beyond the gender binary and beyond heterosexual attraction, such as the theories I just presented. Theories that acknowledge complicated intersections involving race, class, gender, and sexuality. Our stories have the potential to influence policy and practice. Our stories matter. This research is just the beginning. I challenge you to use autoethnography as a research method to explore your experience with sexual harassment. I challenge you to participate in filling the existing gaps in the literature. We have an opportunity to create disruption with our stories, to make people uncomfortable. We can push the boundaries of research that have constrained us with quantitative methodologies and make room for our voices. We can make people feel.

Conclusion

Through correspondence we can generate a better understanding of ourselves and our experiences. Aletheia is a Greek word that means the state of not being hidden: the state of being evident. My goal for this project, The Aletheia Project, was to become evident to myself. I have a much greater understanding of myself, but I still find myself wanting to know what others have experienced. If you want to share your stories of harassment, or need a safe space to unroll your blueprint, or just want to write please do so.⁶⁰ This research does not have to end here.

Post Defense: A Letter to My Future Self

Dear Future Self,

I write because I know you will revisit this and wonder if you did the right thing. I have already defended this dissertation but I have not yet recovered. I replay nearly every word I said over and over in my mind. I replay the questions and comments from the committee. I struggle to believe the compliments. I struggle to believe that this research is enough to make me Dr. Wagner. I cannot see a clear future. Reliving the trauma that I experienced was not easy, but now that it is over it is the future that I worry about. I do not know how to be Lindsay, and stay in the facilities management industry. I do not even know if that is where I belong. I chose

⁶⁰ lindsayevawagner@gmail.com

to do this research and you are going to have to deal with the consequences.

Triggers that were buried are now on the surface and you are going to have to feel things. Please do not resort to silence. Please push forward and make this effort worthwhile. Fight for the change that you want in the industry. You are not alone in your experiences. Reach out and create community. Be a leader that initiates fractal patterns.

You will get tired and scared. You will struggle like I am now, but trust that you are doing the right thing. Trust that there will always be a job for you somewhere. Hell, you are a plumber after all. You can always fall back on your trade. There is no need to be paralyzed by fear. There is no need to worry about your title. You are Lindsay and that is all you ever need to be.

Love- Your Past Self

REFERENCES

- Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender and Society, 4*(2), 139-158. <http://dx.doi.org/129.82.28.144>
- Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society, 20*(4), 441-464.
- Alexander, V., & Thoits, P. (1985). Token achievement: An examination of proportional representation and performance outcomes. *Social Forces, 64*(2), 332-340. <http://dx.doi.org/129.82.28.144>
- Alexander-Floyd, N. (2012). Disappearing acts: Reclaiming intersectionality in the social sciences in a post-Black feminist era. *Feminist Formations, 24*(1), 1–25.
- Alvarez, K., Salas, E., & Garofano, C. (2004). An integrated model of training evaluation and effectiveness. *Human Resource Development Review, 3*(4), 385-416.
- Anderson, L., & Glass-Coffin, B. (2013). I learn by going. In S. Holman Jones, T. E. Adams, & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Handbook of autoethnography* (pp. 57-83). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Arditi, D., & Balci, G. (2009). Managerial competencies of female and male construction managers. *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management, 135*(11), 1275-1278. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1061/\(ASCE\)CO.1943-7862.0000100](http://dx.doi.org/10.1061/(ASCE)CO.1943-7862.0000100)
- Auspurg, K., Hinz, T., & Sauer, C. (2017). Why should women get less? Evidence on the gender pay gap from multifactorial survey experiments. *American Sociological Review, 82*(1), 179-210. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0003122416683393>
- Blakely, G., Blakely, E., & Moorman, R. (1998). The effects of training on perceptions of sexual harassment allegations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28*(1), 71-83.
- Bochner, A. P. (2013). Introduction: Putting meanings into motion. In S. Holman Jones, T. E. Adams, & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Handbook of autoethnography* (pp. 49-56). Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + lesbian + women ≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles, 59*(5-6), 312-325.
- Brinkmann, S. (2014). Doing without data. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 720-725. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1077800414530254>
- Carbado, D. W. (2013). Colorblind intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 38*(41), 811–845.

- Chang, H. (2008). *Autoethnography as method*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Chen, J., & Moons, W. (2015). They won't listen to me: Anticipated power and women's disinterest in male-dominated domains. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 18(1), 116-128. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430214550340>
- Cobble, D. (2014). A higher standard of life for the world: U.S. women's reform internationalism and the legacies of 1919. *The Journal of American History*, 100(4), 1052-1085. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jahist/jau005>
- Cohen, A. M., & Kisker, C. B. (2010). *The shaping of American higher education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Cohen, S. (2016, April 11). A brief history of sexual harassment in America before Anita Hill. *Time*, 3-3. <https://time.com/4286575/sexual-harassment-before-anita-hill/>
- Collective, C. R. (1982). A black feminist statement: The Combahee River collective. In G. T. Hull, P. Bell-Scott, & B. Smith (Eds.), *All the women are white, all the blacks are men, but some of us are brave: Black women's studies* (pp. 13-22). New York, NY: The Feminist Press.
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality (Key Concepts)*. New York, NY: Polity.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989(8), 139-168.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299.
- Crenshaw, K. W. (2011). Postscript. In H. Lutz, M. T. Herrera Vivar, & L. Supik (Eds.), *Framing intersectionality: Debates on a multi-faceted concept in gender studies* (pp. 221-233). Farnham, UK: Ashgate.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning conducting and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design qualitative quantitative and mixed method approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9(1), 67-85.
- Denissen, A. (2010). Crossing the line: How women in the building trades interpret and respond to sexual conduct at work. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 39(3), 297-327. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0891241609341827>

- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, C. S., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, and personal reflexivity. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 733-768). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fairhurst, G., & Snavely, B. (1983). Majority and token minority group relationships: Power acquisition and communication. *The Academy of Management Review*, 8(2), 292-300. <http://dx.doi.org/129.82.28.144>
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Weitzman, L. M., Gold, Y., & Ormerod, A. J. (1988). Academic harassment: Sex and denial in scholarly garb. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 12, 329-340.
- Fusilier, M., & Penrod, C. (2015). University employee sexual harassment policies. *Employee Responsibilities & Right Journal*, 27, 47-60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10672-014-9255-0>
- Gantt-Shafer, J., Wallis, C., & Miles, C. (2019). Intersectionality, (dis)unity, and processes of becoming at the 2017 women's march. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 42(2), 221-240. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2019.1616021>
- Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing*, 32, 90-94.
- Gould, D. B. (2009). *Moving politics: Emotion and ACT UP's fight against AIDS*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Grinyer, A. (2004). The narrative correspondence method: What a follow-up study can tell us about the longer term effect on participants in emotionally demanding research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(10), 1326-1341.
- Gruber, J., & Bjorn, L. (1986). Women's responses to sexual harassment: An analysis of sociocultural, organizational, and personal resource models. *Social Science Quarterly*, 67(4), 814-826. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42862160>
- Gutek, B., & Morasch, B. (1982). Sex ratios, sex-role spillover, and sexual harassment of women at work. *Journal of Social Issues*, 38(4), 55-74.
- Harris, C. I. (1993) Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1707-1794.
- Harris, J., & Patton, L. (2019). Un/Doing intersectionality through higher education research. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 90(3), 347-372. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2018.1536936>
- Heidegger, M., Macquarrie, J., & Robinson, E. (1962). *Being and time*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

- Holman Jones, S., Adams, T. E., & Ellis, C. (2013). *Handbook of autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Ibanez, M. (2017). Women in construction trades: Career types and associated barriers. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 60, 39-48. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2016.12.001>
- Ilies, R., Hasuserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported incidence rates of work-related sexual harassment in the United States: Using meta-analysis to explain reported rate disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, 56(3), 607-637.
- Izraeli, D. (1983). Sex effects of structural effects? An empirical test of Kanter's theory of proportions. *Social Forces*, 62(1), 153-165. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2578353>
- Kaiser, C., & Spalding, K. (2015). Do women who succeed in male dominated domains help other women? The moderating role of gender identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(5), 599-608. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2113>
- Kanter, R. (1977). Some effects of proportions on group life: Skewed sex ratios and responses to token women. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(5), 965-990. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777808>
- Kralik, D., Koch, T., & Brady, B. M. (2000) Pen pals: Correspondence as method for data generation in qualitative research. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31(4), 909-917.
- Labor, 29 C.F.R. § 1604.11 (2018).
- Lewis, G. (2013). Unsafe travel: Experiencing intersectionality and feminist displacements. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 869–892.
- Lidner, D., & Jarvenpaa, S. (1993). The uniform age confronts education: Case studies on electronic classrooms. *Information Systems Research*, 4, 24-54.
- Loosemore, M., & Waters, T. (2004, July). Gender differences in occupational stress among professionals in the construction industry. *Journal of Management in Engineering*, 20(3), 126-132.
- MacKinnon, C. (1979). *Sexual harassment of working women: A case study of sex discrimination*. Yale University Press.
- Marsh, T. (1997). Perceptions of university sexual harassment: The influence of gender, attitudes towards feminism, gay men, and lesbians, and past sexual experience. *UMI*, 1-102.
- Marshall, A., & Barclay, S. (2003). In their own words: How ordinary people construct the legal world. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 28(3), 617-628.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs*. 30(3). 1771-1800. <https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>

- McKeown, J. (2015). "I will not be wearing heels tonight!" A feminist exploration of singlehood, dating, and leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 47, 485-500.
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2012). Sexual harassment, workplace authority, and the paradox of power. *American Sociological Review*, 77(4), 625-647.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122412451728>
- Morága, C. (1983). *Loving in the war years*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Morága, C., & Anzáldua, G. (1983). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color*. New York, NY: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press.
- Muñoz, S., & Velazquillo, A. (2019). Activism, immigration, and graduate school: Letters of hope and solidarity. In A. Dache, S. Quaye, C. Linder, & K. McGuire (Eds.), *Rise up!: Activism as education* (pp. 225-242). East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Nash, J. C. (2008). Re-thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review*, 89, 1–15.
- Nash, J. (2017). Intersectionality and its discontents. *American Quarterly*, 69(1), 117–129.
- Ness, K. (2012). Constructing masculinity in the building trades: 'Most jobs in the construction industry can be done by women'. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 19(6), 654-676.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2010.00551.x>
- Nicolazzo, Z. (2015). "Just go in looking good": *The resilience, resistance, and kinship-building of trans* college students*. (Electronic Thesis or Dissertation). Retrieved from
<https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>
- Nicolazzo, Z, & Harris, C. (2014), This is what a feminist (space) looks like: (Re)conceptualizing women's centers as feminist spaces in higher education. *About Campus*, 18, 2-9. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/abc.21138>
- Nicolazzo, Z, Jaekel, J., Tillapaugh, D., & Perez, D. (2020). Temporalities of [no] harm: Navigating trauma through research with minoritized populations in higher education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2020.1720851>
- Perry, E., Kulik, C., & Bustamante, J. (2012). Factors impacting the knowing-doing gap in sexual harassment training. *Human Resource Development International*, 15(5), 589-608.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2012.726540>
- Perry, E., Kulik, C., Bustamante, J., & Golom, F. (2010). The impact of reason for training on the relationship between "best practices" and sexual harassment training effectiveness. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 21(2), 187-208.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hrdq.20043>

- Pina, A., Gannon, T., & Saunders, B. (2009). An overview of the literature on sexual harassment: Perpetrator, theory, and treatment issues. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 14*, 126-138. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2009.01.002>
- Preusser, M., Bartels, L., & Nordstrom, C. (2011). Sexual harassment training: Person versus machine. *Public Personnel Management, 40*, 47-62. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/009102601104000104>
- Radke, H., Hornsey, M., & Barlow, F. (2016). Barriers to women engaging in collective action to overcome sexism. *American Psychologist, 71*(9), 863-874. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0040345>
- Reed-Danahay, D. E. (Ed.). (1997). *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989). *Culture & truth: The remaking of social analysis*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Salas, E., Cannon-Bowers, J., Rhodenizer, L., & Bowers, C. (1999). Training in organizations: Myths, misconceptions, and mistaken assumptions. *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management, 17*, 123-161.
- Sax, L. (1996). The dynamics of "tokenism": How college students are affected by the proportion of women in their major. *Research in Higher Education, 37*(4), 389-425. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40196217>
- Schneider, B. (1987). Graduate women, sexual harassment, and university policy. *The Journal of Higher Education, 58*(1), 46-65.
- Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, 59*(5-6), 301-311. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8>
- Spangler, E., Gordan, M., & Pipkin, R. (1978). Token women: An empirical test of Kanter's hypothesis. *American Journal of Sociology, 84*(1), 160-170. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777983>
- Stewart, D-L. (2018). Minding the gap between diversity and institutional transformation: Eight proposals for enacting institutional change. *Teachers College Record, 120*(14), 1-16. Retrieved from <https://www.tcrecord.org/22377>
- Tangri, S., Burt, M., & Johnson, L. (1982). Sexual harassment at work: Three explanatory models. *Journal of Social Issues, 38*(4), 33-54.
- Theunissen, M. (1984). *The other: Studies in the social ontology of Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Buber*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Thornton-Dill, B., & Zambrana, R. E. (2009). Critical thinking about inequality: An emerging lens. In B. Thornton-Dill & R. E. Zambrana (Eds.), *Emerging intersections: Race, class,*

- and gender in theory, policy, and practice* (pp. 1–21). Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University.
- Tierney, W. G. (1998). Life history's history: Subjects foretold. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 4(1), 49-70.
- Tinkler, J. (2008). "People are too quick to take offense": The effects of legal information and beliefs on definitions of sexual harassment. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 33(2), 417-445.
- Tomlinson, B. (2013). To tell the truth and not get trapped: Desire, distance, and intersectionality at the scene of argument. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 993–1017.
- Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2004). Sexual harassment as a gendered expression of power. *American Sociological Review*, 69(1), 64-92.
- Wall, S. (2006). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(2), 1-11.
- Walsh, B., Bauerle, T., & Magley, V. (2013). Individuals and contextual inhibitors of sexual harassment training motivation. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 24(2), 215-237. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/hrdq.21158>
- Wright, T. (2016). Women's experiences of workplace interactions in male dominated work: The intersections of gender, sexuality, and occupational group. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), 348-362. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12074>
- Yoder, J. (1994). Looking beyond numbers: The effects of gender status, job prestige, and occupational gender-typing on tokenism processes. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57, 150-159. <http://dx.doi.org/129.82.28.144>
- Zimmer, L. (1988). Tokenism and women in the workplace: The limits of gender-neutral theory. *Social Problems*, 35(1), 64-77. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/80667>