Gendered Dignity at Work[1]

Vincent J. Roscigno
Ohio State University

Jill E. Yavorsky
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Natasha Quadlin
University of California, Los Angeles

Scholars have long noted paradoxical results surrounding women's higher-than-expected job appraisals, particularly in the face of persistent pay gaps, segregation, discrimination, and glass ceilings. Part of the problem is that traditional appraisal indicators (e.g., job satisfaction) typically reflect an amalgam of intrinsic and extrinsic evaluations and omit from consideration power-laden, gendered workplace interactions. In this article, we focus on and suggest an alternative conception—dignity at work and its central elements, respect and recognition—to more convincingly capture women's job-specific experiences and associated inequalities. Our analyses, drawing on nearly 6,000 full-time workers from the General Social Survey (2002–18), clearly demonstrate that women experience less dignity at work than do men—dignity that is notably undercut by firsthand encounters with workplace gender discrimination and sexual harassment. We conclude by underscoring the importance of women's workplace dignity and the need for ample recognition of the unjust gendered encounters many women continue to experience.

Gender inequalities in contemporary employment persist in the United States and abroad despite growing parity in job experience, tenure, and educational qualifications (e.g., DiPrete and Buchmann 2013; Blau and

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Kahn 2017; Kalev and Deutsch 2018). Especially pronounced, according to sociological and economic research, are lingering wage gaps (e.g., Cohen, Huffman, and Knauer 2009; Mandel and Semyonov 2014; Schäfer and Gottschall 2015; Blau and Kahn 2017), disparities in promotion (e.g., Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Arulampalam, Booth, and Bryan 2007; Blau and Devaro 2007), biases in hiring (e.g., Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007; Quadlin 2018; Yavorsky 2019), uneven allocation of job tasks (e.g., King et al. 2012), and persistent patterns of occupational sex segregation (e.g., Alonso-Villar, Del Rio, and Gradin 2012; Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012; Blau, Brummund, and Liu 2013). Do women, however, perceive of such treatment as unjust? Or are they apt to normalize such inequalities and consequently report similar job appraisals as men?

Gender similarity or difference in job appraisals is a poignant topic and one that is relevant to the study of gender inequality generally and sociology of the workplace, organizations, and the labor process in particular (Auspurg, Hinz, and Sauer 2017). It is also consistent with the sociological attention to distributive justice and how status structures shape reward expectations (e.g., Berger et al. 1977; Kalkhoff and Thye 2006; Melamed 2012). Prior research, in fact, has established that negative appraisals tend to erode mental and physical health, self-esteem, professional efficacy, interpersonal relationships, and job engagement (Maslach, Schaufeli, and Leiter 2001; Robbins, Ford, and Tetrick 2012; Prottas 2013). It is perhaps for this reason that scholars such as Hodson (2001; see also Bolton 2007) have pointed to the relevance of and greater need for sociological reflection and analyses of "dignity at work." Yet, specific attention to dignity in gender and workplace inequality literatures is seldom systematically broached aside from comparative analyses of men's and women's evaluations of job satisfaction. Findings in this regard have been mixed, leading some to conclude that there is a "female paradox," wherein women experience substantial labor market inequalities, yet report similar or even higher levels of job satisfaction than men (e.g., Mueller and Wallace 1996; Younts and Mueller 2001; Zhou 2015; Buchanan and Milnes 2019).

Part of the challenge, we believe, lies in moving sociological analysis beyond reliance on general indicators like job satisfaction as proxies for the dignity that one derives from employment (see also Judge et al. [2010] for a review). More detailed and job-specific measures that capture interpersonal respect from colleagues or assessments of fairness would, in our view—and that of scholars who explicitly consider the construct of dignity (e.g., Bolton 2007; Liebig and Sauer 2016; Lucas et al. 2017)—likely better capture the employment experiences and inequalities that women reflect

Roscigno, Department of Sociology, 238 Townshend Hall, 1885 Neil Avenue Mall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210. E-mail: Roscigno.1@osu.edu

upon. Few analyses to date, however, have explicitly considered key elements of workplace dignity and their relevance to gender, let alone how they might be impacted by relatively prevalent forms of inequality-laden, gendered treatment on the job—the most explicit being employment-based gender discrimination and sexual harassment (e.g., McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone 2012; McCann, Tomaskovic-Devey, and Badgett 2018; Dobbin and Kalev 2019; EEOC 2019). Without doing so, sociological work runs the risk of drawing erroneous conclusions and obfuscating the unequal employment conditions that many women navigate.

In this article, we build on prior satisfaction and dignity literatures—as well as core findings from research on gender, work, and inequality—to explicitly address the issue of gendered dignity in employment. Specifically, we unpack prior work on job appraisal and satisfaction; advance a multidimensional conception of gendered dignity at work (with respect and fairness appraisals as particularly central); and reorient analytic attention toward the potential impact of explicitly gendered treatment on the job (i.e., discrimination and sexual harassment). Such gendered treatment, which disproportionately impacts women and is hardly rare (Zippel 2006; Roscigno 2007; McCann et al. 2018; Dobbin and Kalev 2019; Hart 2019; Saguy and Rees 2021), likely carries important consequences for the dignity or lack thereof that women experience. Our analyses, which draw on approximately 6,000 full-time workers from five waves of the General Social Survey (2002–18), are rich and well-suited to these foci and include multiple measures central to the construct of dignity; respondents' reports of workplace gender discrimination and sexual harassment; and pertinent background controls (e.g., other status attributes, job tenure, tangible employment returns, geography, time period). Our findings offer substantial leverage on the question of gendered dignity in employment and the consequences of unequal treatment in a way that few prior studies have. We conclude by discussing the implications for future analyses of gender inequality and work and for theoretical conceptions of workplace organization, its gendered character, and the pertinence of proximate interactions for the dignity (or indignity) that individuals experience.

GENDER, JOB APPRAISAL, AND THE FOCUS ON DIGNITY

Prior literature on women's workplace experiences, similar to more general sociological literatures on job appraisal, draws mostly on survey measures of job satisfaction. Although certainly useful, it is important to recognize that satisfaction is a relatively abstract concept that, according to Hodson (2003, p. 292), reflects a summary indicator that "builds on both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards and includes a consideration of available alternatives. . . . The general and summary nature of job satisfaction is thus both a strength

and a limitation." Kalleberg (2011) concurs, noting how satisfaction most often captures some combination of job rewards and characteristics but also expectations and values (see also Zhou 2015). This stands in contrast to recent theoretical specificity surrounding workplace dignity—which we draw from momentarily—that (1) points to job appraisal as fundamentally centered on morality and justice, (2) highlights its deeply social-interactional foundations, and (3) usefully differentiates between "dignity *in* work" and "dignity *at* work" in ways that can be systematically analyzed.

Few analyses of the workplace have explicitly considered gender and dignity aside from what is implied by important research on workplace control (Crowley 2013), masculinity and blue-collar work (Padavic 1991; Williams 1995; Lamont 2002), and sexualized interactions and harassment (Chamberlain et al. 2008; Lopez, Hodson, and Roscigno 2009). More often, research has identified or parsed gendered patterns of job satisfaction. As noted above, evidence in this regard is generally mixed, concluding that there is either no gender difference or that women express somewhat higher overall satisfaction. Consideration of such findings, especially when discussed alongside our attention to and conception of workplace dignity, is both warranted and long overdue.

Many prior analyses posit that a lack of significant differences by gender or even women's higher levels of job satisfaction (in the face of persistent gender inequalities in employment) may be the result of women's distinct psychological dispositions or value orientations. Some literature, for instance, poses the possibility that women place lower value on economic returns to employment than men (e.g., Phelan 1994; Mueller and Wallace 1996; Mueller and Kim 2008); place less emphasis on their employment experiences than on other roles, such as caregiver (e.g., Quinn, Staines, and McCullough 1974; Crosby 1982; Sekaran 1985); or see other women as their referent rather than comparing their job-specific experiences to men (Major and Forcey 1985; Mueller and Wallace 1996).

Research has uncovered little or mixed support for the first two explanations above, which pertain most directly to distinct dispositions, and moderate support for the latter regarding women's reference group comparisons (Auspurg et al. 2017; Hodson 1989; Qian and Fan 2019). Buchanan (2005), for instance and in contrast to dispositional arguments, finds that women place a higher value on economic returns than do men. Valet's (2018) recent findings regarding wage-specific satisfaction, which draw on the German Socio-Economic Panel, provide some evidence that women's generally higher satisfaction levels dissipate in male-dominated compared to female-dominated contexts. The assumption here is that men become the reference group in male-dominated occupations and unequal wage returns consequently become more evident to women (see also Ferrer-i-Carbonell 2005; Senik 2008; Clark and Senik 2010; Buchanan and Milnes 2019). Auspurg

et al. (2017, p. 203), drawing on vignette analyses, find little support for the reference hypothesis. Instead, they conclude that men's and women's appraisals "are imprinted by specific experiences in the labor market: that is, the social construction of status mediated by social interactions in the workplace."

Such findings are important, to be sure, yet questions surrounding even gender similarity in job appraisals, along with gendered interactions implied by Auspurg et al. (2017), persist and warrant further sociological interrogation. Why would or should women—who, on average, experience wage disparities, firm and occupational segregation, glass ceilings, exclusion, harassment, and myriad other forms of inequality—have appraisals that are even *comparable* to those of men? Part of the problem, we believe, surrounds ambiguity in what indicators such as *job satisfaction* are capturing. If it is indeed the case, as suggested previously, that such measures reflect a blend of intrinsic and extrinsic job orientations and valuations, then negligible or paradoxical results may be misleading relative to women's more concrete job experiences and inequalities. To this point, the growing literature on care work—a context wherein women are very highly represented—points to the fact that respondents often describe their jobs in intrinsic terms, detached from more extrinsic realities surrounding depressed returns, lower status, and poor treatment in the course of their employment (e.g., Folbre 2001; England 2005; Dwyer 2013; Hebson, Rubery, and Grimshaw 2015).[2]

None of our discussion thus far should be taken to suggest that indicators like satisfacton are not useful for broad or even aggregate assessments of worker contentment at a given workplace. They surely are. Rather, we believe that clear conceptualization and measurement of dignity may be more informative when gauging the gendered character of workplace experiences. Although certainly a somewhat abstruse sociological construct in the past or, in other cases, defined mostly in terms of factors that likely undermine it (e.g., bullying or incompetent supervision; see Bolton [2007] and Sayer [2007] in these regards), recent theoretical elaboration regarding workplace dignity has been more precise. This work suggests that the dignity-centered nature of job appraisal is primarily morality and justice centered and derives from relational interactional processes—processes that confer on individuals a

[2] In this regard, Folbre (2001) uses the phrase "prisoner of love" to highlight women's acceptance of lower-status jobs and the intrinsic rewards/altruistic motivations undergirding them, a fact that also makes it difficult for them to bargain for higher pay, since doing so might entail withholding care from recipients, customers, patients, etc. In such contexts, women may initially describe their jobs more positively than what their pay or experiences would otherwise suggest because of the intrinsic fulfillment of work associated with caring or helping others.

sense of human worth (Bolton 2007; Lamont 2002; Liebig and Sauer 2016; Lucas et al. 2017). Consensus, in fact, has begun to emerge that dignity is a multidimensional construct (Bolton 2011) and one that fundamentally rests on respect and recognition (Hodson 2001).

Recent literatures have highlighted two key aspects of dignity—dignity *in* work and dignity *at* work—that help elucidate what scholars mean by respect and recognition and that provide a useful analytic alternative that can arguably better capture women's appraisals within otherwise unequal contexts. *Dignity in work* (or inherent dignity) entails an individual being "treated as valuable in their own right and not just as a means to an end. In this regard, Lucas et al. (2017, p. 1507) point out that there is an expectation for respectful treatment by bosses, peers, subordinates, customers, and other individuals salient to one's work roles." *Dignity at work* (or earned dignity), which is more specific to recognition, draws attention to the relevance of micropolitical distribution and remuneration (Sayer 2007) and, more pointedly, the extent to which workers observe and experience just rewards and equal opportunity (Bolton 2007)—a central emphasis in literatures on social justice perceptions (see Liebig and Sauer 2016; Auspurg et al. 2017). While by no means exhaustive, respect and recognition reflect two of the more central dimensions of workplace dignity. As such, and within employment contexts that are characterized by gender disparities, on average, we should thus expect the following:

Hypothesis 1.—*Although they may report similar levels of job satisfaction as men, women will experience lower levels of workplace dignity. More specifically, women will experience less respect within their current workplaces and report a greater sense of injustice when it comes to both pay and opportunities for advancement compared to men.*

We recognize, of course, that the dignity one derives from employment can be mitigated or exacerbated depending on other influential status attributes. On this point, intersectional scholarship (e.g., P. Collins 2000; Browne and Misra 2003; Harnois 2015) has drawn particular attention to the importance of gender but also social class status and race/ethnicity in shaping opportunity, exclusion, and relative levels of disadvantage. Inequality analyses such as that by Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey (2012) are likewise informative, pointing to lingering employment disadvantages surrounding gender and race in their analyses of Civil Rights stagnation beginning in the 1980s. Kalev's (2014) insights on corporate downsizing similarly reveal notable and multiple status vulnerabilities owing to persistent biases and limited workplace accountability (see also Byron 2010). Finally, recent analyses point to greater exposure of lower occupational status workers to various forms of managerial malfeasance and constrained routes to upward mobility (Roscigno, Lopez, and Hodson 2009; Crowley 2012). It is for this reason that, along with our principal focus on gendered dignity, we also analytically

consider possible variations among women by occupational status and race/ethnicity—described in detail in the methods and results sections below.

GENDERED INTERACTIONS AT WORK AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR DIGNITY

The dignity derived from one's job, to be clear, is not simply a matter of individual status. Rather, the capacity for one's worth as an employee and human being to be validated or undermined is shaped in fundamental ways by the contexts, interactions and valuations that individuals experience in the company of others (Hodson 2001; Sayer 2007; Auspurg et al. 2017). Context, and more specifically organizational practices and the relations therein, can confer respect and recognition through the structuring and dissemination of opportunities and rewards (Bolton 2007; Castilla and Benard 2010). Social relationships and associated interactions in the workplace, both horizontal (i.e., coworkers) and vertical (i.e., supervisors), are likewise integral to the dignity one gains in the course of work (Lamont 2002; Crowley 2012; Roscigno, Sauer, and Valet 2018). Important for our purposes is the fact that, according to large bodies of scholarship on gender, work and inequality, women are acutely vulnerable in all of these regards.

Classic theoretical work regarding gender has made the compelling case that organizations, and what occurs within them, are far from gender neutral (Acker 1990). Rather, both normative practices and structural dimensions of organizations tend to amplify the salience of gender in ways that ensure the maintenance and reproduction of patriarchy (see also Martin 2004; Risman 2004; Ely and Padavic 2007). The consequences include women's devaluation and pay disparities (e.g., Budig and England 2001; Mandel and Semyonov 2014), gender segregation (e.g., Wharton and Baron 1987; England et al. 1988), uneven tensions in family-work balance (e.g., Bielby and Bielby 1989; Glass and Camarigg 1992; Kelly et al. 2014; C. Collins 2019), unequal hiring and promotion outcomes (e.g., Castilla 2008; Quadlin 2018; Weisshaar 2018; Yavorsky 2019), and motherhood and pregnancy-based discrimination (e.g., Kelly and Dobbin 1999; Correll et al. 2007; Byron and Roscigno 2014). Such inequalities are likewise reinforced through more hierarchical and power-laden interactions that are often gender based and targeted, as suggested by analyses of sexual harassment, general bullying at work, and supervisory malfeasance (Welsh 1999; Einarsen et al. 2003; McCarthy and Mayhew 2004; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Dobbin and Kalev 2019).

Although hardly inclusive of all gendered treatment in the workplace, gender discrimination and sexual harassment represent the most overtly gendered forms of structural and interactional inequality that women confront on the job, with possible implications for dignity and its associated

elements of respect and recognition (Welsh 1999).[3] As highlighted by relatively recent and rich analyses, such encounters in the workplace are far from rare, and they quite disproportionately impact women compared to men (McLaughlin et al. 2012; Dobbin and Kalev 2019; EEOC 2019).[4] They are, however, significantly underreported owing to limited understandings of Civil Rights protections, bureaucratic and legal resource barriers, and fear of employer retaliation (Berrey, Nelson, and Nielsen 2017; McCann et al. 2018; Roscigno 2019). Such underreporting makes self-reports of discrimination and sexual harassment—which undoubtedly also include a subjective component patterned by demographic characteristics and other intersecting statuses according to social psychological literatures (e.g., Kobrynowicz and Branscombe 1997; Major, Quinton, and McCoy 2002; Harnois 2014)—all the more valuable for sociological analyses.[5]

Particularly relevant to our core argument and analysis, given the points raised above, are the implications of discrimination and harassment for dignity, or lack thereof, in women's employment experiences. Although some prior work has effectively highlighted, often through experimental designs, the more tangible consequences of discrimination for hiring, wages, and segregation (e.g., Blau et al. 2013; Mandel and Semyonov 2014; Quadlin 2018; Yavorsky 2019), few if any analyses to our knowledge have considered let

[3] We see this line of argument as consistent with Crowley's (2013) emphasis and findings regarding gender-laden aspects of workplace control: that women relative to men are more likely to experience direct (i.e., face-to-face) forms of supervision given the types of jobs they hold. Although our theoretical and analytic attention is not on types of workplace control, per se, Crowley's findings nevertheless are relevant to our emphasis on gendered evaluations, opportunities, and experiences of discrimination and harassment.

[4] Vulnerability to gender discrimination and sexual harassment can be tied to other dimensions of status (Harnois 2015; Rospenda, Richman, and Nawyn 1998). Some work suggests that women of higher occupational status are particularly at risk of gender discrimination given that they are more likely to work in sex-integrated contexts and directly engage in mobility contests and interactions with male supervisors and coworkers (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Wolford 2005; Roscigno 2007). Research on sexual harassment is mixed, with some suggesting that women of higher position and power are more likely to be targeted (e.g., McLaughlin et al. 2012) and other work pointing to uniform vulnerabilities across the occupational hierarchy and/or across racial and ethnic groups (Berdahl 2007; Roscigno 2019). In both cases, women with higher occupational status may be more likely to recognize forms of gender discrimination or sexual harassment due to their higher education, greater likelihood of knowing their employment rights, and/or greater involvement with human resource professionals (e.g., during hiring or promotion processes) (Roscigno 2019). We consider these possibilities in supplementary analyses, discuss pertinent variations in our findings, and report them in our appendixes.

[5] We return to this point in our data discussion. Self-reports and the naming of discrimination and harassment are, in and of themselves, an important sequential point in the identification of inequality and the legal claims-making process. Moreover, and owing to the underreporting of such instances through legal and/or Civil Rights channels, self-reports are likely more inclusive of less powerful individuals and, in our case, women across a wider swath of the occupational hierarchy.

alone systematically analyzed the implications for workplace dignity. This is unfortunate especially given the ramifications of unjust gendered encounters for women's mental health and commitment to work (Maslach et al. 2001; Robbins et al. 2012; Prottas 2013; Harnois and Bastos 2018). Discrimination and sexual harassment indeed represent moments of specific and unjust actions that workers experience; dignity, our outcome of interest, on the other hand, reflects a general appraisal of the respect and recognition conferred while on the job.

Understanding workplace dignity, its gendered character, and its potential roots in gendered treatment on the job provides overdue sociological recognition of the organizational and relational foundations of justice appraisals and, in our case, those pertaining to work. It is precisely for this reason, in fact, that legal scholarship in the United States and Europe has long made clear that gender discrimination and sexual harassment reflect issues of not only fairness, but worker dignity (Austin 1988; Bernstein 1997; Friedman and Whitman 2003; Saguy 2003). Building on these points and the work referenced above regarding gendered organizations, inequality, and the relevance of proximate interactional experiences, we expect:

Hypothesis 2.—*Discrimination and sexual harassment in employment will be negatively related to the dignity that women experience in the context of their jobs. Specifically, on-the-job encounters with gender discrimination and sexual harassment will be negatively associated with women's sense of respect, assessments of fairness in pay and promotion opportunities, and perhaps even general levels of job satisfaction.*

Prior research on gender and job appraisals has, in our view, been confounded by inconsistent findings—findings that tend to rely on abstract assessments of work and that likely omit or obscure relevant dimensions of workplace dignity (i.e., respect and recognition) that may be particularly poignant for women's job experiences. Moreover, and despite substantial bodies of research on gendered status processes, inequality at work, and unequal contexts and relations, few if any studies of job appraisal to our knowledge have systematically incorporated explicitly gendered interactional encounters into their analyses. The data from which we draw and our analyses, discussed next, allow us to do so and in a manner that contributes in important ways to scholarship on gender, workplace inequality, and justice.

DATA AND MEASUREMENT

Our analyses draw from the General Social Survey (GSS) to examine workplace dignity and satisfaction and their potential roots in power-laden and explicitly gendered interactional encounters. The GSS is a full-probability survey of English-speaking adults living in households in the United States

(for a full description of the GSS, see Davis, Smith, and Marsden [2007]). We limit our analyses to full-time workers with complete data on our dignity outcomes, which effectively capture the constructs of respect and recognition, as well as a more conventional measure of job satisfaction. These selection criteria result in samples of 5,824 (being treated with respect), 5,714 (fairness in pay), 5,477 (fairness in promotions), and 5,828 (job satisfaction) across five distinct GSS waves (2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, and 2018).

With regard to missing values on key explanatory measures and controls, we use multiple imputation, which accounts for statistical uncertainty in single imputations and, instead, replaces missing values across sample waves with predictions based on associations observed in the sample when generating imputed data sets. Results across the imputed data samples are pooled across waves. This helps account for variation within and between imputed data sets to arrive at unbiased standard errors of the coefficient estimates (Rubin 1987). We list the percentage imputed for each variable shown in table 1. For most variables, the percentage imputed is trivial (i.e., less than 1%). Only two variables, income (13% missing) and general happiness disposition (12% missing), had substantially more missing data. Supplementary analyses, reported in our appendixes, replicate our main results but with listwise deletion of missing data. These findings are consistent with those reported in our main analyses.[6]

These GSS data are nationally representative and rich on multiple outcomes pertaining to dignity and satisfaction; discriminatory and sexual harassment encounters; key status indicators, including occupational status and race/ethnicity; tangible returns to employment (e.g., wages); and sociodemographic controls. They are admittedly limited, nevertheless, by their cross-sectional character. It is for this reason that we draw causal interpretations with care and discuss implications of our findings and possible future research strategies (that would overcome cross-sectional limitations) in our concluding discussion.

Dignity and Job Satisfaction

One clear benefit of the GSS data lies in its rich indicators of workplace experience across multiple waves. Dignity, measured directly across five

[6] We use multiple imputation to maximize the number of cases available for analysis. This is especially important for supplementary modeling that disaggregates the larger sample (e.g., just women, single race/ethnicity groups, those of high vs. low occupational status) because sample sizes can get quite small without taking steps to augment missing data. Alternative analyses using listwise deletion are reported in appendixes. The results with and without imputation are similar, with one small exception: when we do not impute missing data, the interaction effect for "high-status worker × female" becomes marginally significant ($P = .06$).

waves beginning in 2002 and every four years through 2018, is especially central to our analyses and is captured with three discrete indicators that reflect dignity's two core dimensions noted earlier—respect and recognition.[7] These measures are used in binary form in our main analyses owing to somewhat skewed distributions, especially with regard to the measure of respect.[8] We nevertheless report parallel analyses on the original and more continuous versions of these measures in our appendixes—analyses that produce results that are largely consistent with those reported below.

Our measure of *respect* is quite straightforward, derived from a respondent's agreement or disagreement with the following: "At the place where I work, I am treated with respect." This indicator, originally captured in the GSS with a four-point scale, has been recoded dichotomously such that 0 reflects "disagree" or "strongly disagree," while 1 entails "agree" or "strongly agree." A notable 92% of respondents report experiencing respect, while 8% on average do not.

Recognition, the other dimension of workplace dignity, is captured with two discrete indicators. Consistent with pertinent literatures surrounding justice perceptions (e.g., Auspurg et al. 2017), these two indicators reflect whether the respondent views distributional processes and associated rewards as just. *Fairness in pay* in the GSS reflects respondents' level of agreement (across five response categories) with the following: "How fair is what you earn on your job in comparison to others doing the same type of work you do?" Like our indicator of respect, this is dichotomized in our analyses such that 0 reflects "somewhat less" or "much less" pay than the respondent believes they deserve, while 1 represents situations in which respondents feel that they make "about as much as they deserve" to "much more than they deserve." About 59% of respondents report making as much as they deserve or more, while the remaining 41% view their pay compensation as unjust at their workplace and relative to their peers. *Fairness in promotion*, originally captured across a four-point scale, is respondents' agreement or disagreement with the statement that "promotions (at your main job) are handled fairly." This indicator is likewise recoded such that 0 captures those who believe this to be "not too true" or "not at all true," while 1 reflects the view that

[7] We recognize that the concept of dignity might also be captured with other indicators, including job attributes or informal recognition by work colleagues. Indeed, and although we believe that respect and formal recognition are especially central to the construct of dignity, we acknowledge other streams of work that operationalize dignity in alternative ways (see, e.g., Crowley 2013; Lucas 2015; Tiwari and Sharma 2019). We return to this issue and such considerations in our discussions and conclusion section.

[8] To use the more continuous/ordinal versions of these outcomes generally violates assumptions surrounding normal distributions. Moreover, and in our view, it is more substantively meaningful to distinguish between, for example, those who *do* and *do not* feel respected at work instead of predicting respondents' feelings on a 1–4 scale.

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS, GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY, 2002–18

	Variable Description	Mean (SD)	% Imputed
Dignity outcomes and atisfaction:			
Respect at work	R reports being treated with respect at their current workplace (0 = no; 1 = yes)	.92	. . .
Fairness in pay	R reports that they are paid fairly relative to others doing similar work (0 = less to much less than they deserve; 1 = as much to much more than they deserve)	.59	. . .
Fairness in promotions	R reports that promotions at their main job are handled fairly (0= not too true to not at all true; 1 = somewhat to very true)	.72	. . .
Job satisfaction	R reports being satisfied with their main job (0= not too satisfied to not at all satisfied; 1 = somewhat to very satisfied)	.90	. . .
Discrimination and sexual harassment:			
Gender discrimination	R reports being discriminated against at job because of their gender (0 = no; 1= yes)	.06	.3
Sexual harassment	R reports being subject to sexual harassment while on the job in the last 12 months (0 = no; 1= yes)	.03	.4
Status Attributes			
Female	Respondent's sex (0 = male; 1 = female)	.47	. . .
Race/ethnicity (ref = White):			
Black	R is Black	.13	.2
Hispanic	R is Spanish, Hispanic, or Latinx	.12	.2
Other race	R is other race/ethnicity (non-White)	.05	.2
Age	R's age in years	41.87 (12.49)	.3
Education	Total number of years of schooling completed by R	14.01 (2.83)	.1
(ln) income	Natural log of R's income (recoded to income category midpoints)	1.45 (.94)	13.1
High-status worker	Dichotomous indicator from ranking of 539 occupational categories; derived from SEI10 (low = 0; high = 1). Used only in interaction analyses	.47	.6
Married	R reports being married at the time of the survey	.56	. . .
Number of children	Number of children respondent reports having (0 = no children; 1 = one child; 2 = two children; 3 = three; 4 = four; 5 = five+)	1.63 (1.47)	.1
Controls:			
Job tenure	Number of years at job with current employer	7.91 (8.85)	.4
(ln) organizational size	Natural log of number of people working at R's work site (recoded to category midpoints)	4.32 (2.11)	1.0
General happiness disposition	Degree to which respondent reports general happiness (0 = not too happy; 1 = pretty happy; 2 = very happy)	1.24 (.61)	11.9
Hours worked	Number of hours R worked in the last week (divided by 10)	4.58 (1.18)	.3

TABLE 1 (*Continued*)

	Variable Description	Mean (SD)	% Imputed
Sector (ref = extractive & other):			
Core	Employed in core sector (e.g., manufacturing, transportation, construction, communication trades)	.27	. . .
High-wage service	Employed in high-wage service sector (e.g., law, banking, insurance)	.35	. . .
Low-wage service	Employed in low-wage service sector (e.g., retail, restaurants, personal services)	.34	. . .
Public sector (ref = private)	Employed by federal, state, or local government (0= no; 1 = yes)	.18	. . .
Residence (ref = suburban):			
Urban	R resides in a large or relatively large urban locale (0= no; 1 = yes)	.58	. . .
Rural	R resides in a rural locale (0 = no; 1 = yes)	.11	. . .
GSS year (ref = 2002):			
2006	Wave of the GSS	.24	. . .
2010	Wave of the GSS	.15	. . .
2014	Wave of the GSS	.17	. . .
2018	Wave of the GSS	.19	. . .

NOTE.—N = 5,838. R = respondent. Descriptive statistics are weighted. For imputed variables, means are calculated across imputed data sets, and SDs are shown for m = 1 (where applicable).

this is "somewhat true" or "very true." In our sample, about 72% of respondents believe promotions are at least somewhat fair, versus 28% who do not.

Given that prior research on job assessment and gender has mostly focused on *job satisfaction*, we believe that satisfaction is important to include as an outcome alongside our indicators of dignity. Doing so provides for comparison across outcomes and allows us to consider whether gendered interactional experiences (e.g., gender discrimination and sexual harassment on the job) are associated with not only the dignity (or the lack thereof) that women experience, but also their general satisfaction levels. The GSS measurement of job satisfaction is consistent with prior work on the topic and is indicated by responses to the following: "All in all, how satisfied would you say you are with your job?" For comparative consistency, we recoded the four-point response categories into a binary outcome such that 0 reflects "not too satisfied" or "not at all satisfied," while a 1 indicates respondents that report being "somewhat satisfied" or "very satisfied." Fully 90% of respondents are at least somewhat satisfied, and the remaining 10% are not too satisfied or not at all satisfied with their jobs.

Importantly, our three dignity-specific outcomes are not gender specific in their question wording, nor do they invoke language or reference to

discrimination or harassment. As such, we see them as distinct from, although certainly potentially related to, respondents' reports of workplace gender discrimination and sexual harassment. To be sure, there may be a reciprocal association especially between gender discrimination and assessments of fairness in pay and promotion—a reciprocal association wherein interpretations of unfairness could arguably impact the likelihood of respondents suggesting or recognizing that they have experienced gender discrimination. Our view that these indicators are, in fact, distinct, however, is supported by (1) the fact that the gender discrimination and sexual harassment questions in the GSS reflect experiences respondents specifically recall, interpret, and name as gender discrimination and sexual harassment, whereas our indicators of dignity are much more general in character; and (2) our findings, which reveal strong associations between both gender discrimination and *respect* (which has less to do with tangible—i.e., pay and promotion—workplace rewards) and between sexual harassment and two of our three dignity outcomes.[9]

Workplace Discrimination and Sexual Harassment

Another clear benefit of the GSS data lies in its rich indicators surrounding the gender-specific targeting of women in particular. Experiences of *gender discrimination* on the job, measured directly across five waves beginning in 2002 and every four years through 2018, are especially important in this regard.[10] Employed respondents were asked, "Do you feel in any way discriminated against in your job because of your gender?" Approximately 6% responded in the affirmative to this question, with a significantly higher rate for women than men (as discussed in our results).

Along with gender discrimination, we consider an additional indicator of gendered interaction and workplace injustice: sexual harassment. *Sexual harassment* has a more restrictive temporal component in the GSS and is captured using the following question: "In the last 12 months, were you sexually harassed by anyone while you were on the job?" It is notable that even

[9] Sexual harassment tends to be more associated with hostile environment claims than with tangible pay or promotion grievances (Quick and McFadyen 2017). The fact that it is associated in our analyses with respect, remuneration relative to promotion opportunities, and even general satisfaction levels lends some support to our contention that sexual harassment represents an affront to dignity and is an experience that is also conceptually distinct from dignity.

[10] The 2016 GSS does not include the same workplace discrimination question used in the current study; it also does not include some of our other indicators and controls. Thus, we limit our analyses to the uniform gender discrimination indicator used in the 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014, and 2018 waves.

with the temporal restriction to the last 12 months, about 3% of respondents report experiencing sexual harassment.[11]

We certainly recognize that these measures of gender discrimination and sexual harassment reflect reports by respondents, rather than actual legal claims that have been vetted or verified by neutral legal parties or Civil Rights organizations. Self-reports are, nevertheless, important for several reasons. First, we know that there is tremendous underreporting when it comes to official legal claims of gender discrimination and sexual harassment. This is due to several factors, including limited knowledge among victims of what constitutes illegal treatment in the workplace, significant bureaucratic and resource barriers that decrease the likelihood of the filing of charges, and the high likelihood of employer retaliation and its discouraging impact on those who file an official claim or those considering doing so (Berrey et al. 2017; Dobbin and Kalev 2019; Roscigno 2019). These facts make self-reports valuable for sociological analyses but also probably even more representative than legal claims (Roscigno 2019). Second, as has been noted by inequality and legal scholars, subjective identification of discrimination and harassment, whether verified or not, is essential to processes of inequality recognition and legal rights mobilization (Hirsh and Kornrich 2008; Nielsen and Nelson 2005). In fact, such "naming" of discriminatory or sexually harassing acts is a necessary condition to claiming legal rights in the first place (Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat 1981; Hirsh and Lyons 2010).

Gender and Other Potentially Influential Status Attributes

Gender is measured dichotomously, with 47% of the sample women and the remainder men. We also consider other background attributes that may be influential for either assessments of dignity and satisfaction or consequential relative to gender discrimination or sexual harassment. We use the census race/ethnicity designations as well as the *Hispanic* variable in the GSS to construct our indicators of *race/ethnicity*. The resulting categories, considered in all analyses that follow, are *White* (69%), *Black* (13%), *Hispanic* (12%), and *other* (non-White) race/ethnicity (5%).[12] *Age* (mean = 41.87) is measured continuously in years.

We know from prior work that higher occupational positioning in the labor market can offer greater rewards and/or protective resources against

[11] Overlap between gender discrimination and sexual harassment could be problematic for interpretation, yet such connections are minimal in these data, suggesting that they largely capture unique gender-targeted experiences. The correlation between the gender discrimination and sexual harassment, in fact, is only .21.

[12] Using the GSS measures above also allows us to identify 3% of the sample as Asian. Yet, given the very small cell sizes if treated uniquely, we collapse these individuals into the "other" category by necessity.

status threats. Conversely, if closure pressures and mobility contests rise with occupational rank, then we might expect the dignity that women derive from their jobs to be more highly contested at higher levels of status. For these reasons, and to decipher which might be the case, it is important to include various dimensions of occupational positioning. We do so by including indicators of *income* and *education* in our main modeling. Beyond allowing for analyses of whether workplace dignity varies, the inclusion of income and education helps ensure that any observed effects of gendered workplace encounters (e.g., discrimination and sexual harassment) are not being driven by educational variations or the material returns one receives from employment.

Some of our analyses also make use of a general indicator of *occupational status*, drawn from the GSS measure SEI10. We use this indicator in our supplementary modeling of variations in dignity by other status markers. SEI10 is a socioeconomic index based on the 2010 census occupational classification, estimated across 539 occupational categories. It is calculated from both earnings (SEI10INC) and the percentage of those who had a college education or greater within occupational groups (SEI10EDUC; Hout, Smith, and Marsden 2016). This measure provides a good overall summary indicator of occupational standing and class position (Morgan 2016). For reasons of interpretability, we dichotomize it into high (=1; reflecting those with an SEI score ≥ 47.9) versus low (=0) occupational rank in order to assess patterns among women in our sample.

Because prior work has suggested that job appraisals may also be shaped by familial obligations, we include indicators of whether the respondent is *married* and how many *children* they have, if any. As noted previously, some prior literature on satisfaction has speculated or tended to assume that women's commitments to employment differ from men's, or that women's traditional caregiving roles may have an impact on their overall satisfaction levels. Our analyses and controls allow us to take this into account, and with a more detailed focus on gendered patterns of dignity. Approximately 56% of sample respondents across the GSS waves report being married at the time of the survey, while the average number of children reported is 1.63.

Other Controls

Our models also account for job tenure, hours worked, organizational size, general happiness disposition, economic sector, urbanicity/rurality, and GSS wave. *Job tenure* is measured as the amount of time (in years) that the respondent has been working at their current place of employment. The mean for this measure is 7.91 years, with a standard deviation of 8.85. Along with our selection of full-time workers, we control for *hours worked*, which reflects the number of hours respondents reported working in the past week (mean = 45.8 hours; SD = 11.8). *Organizational size* in the literature is

sometimes equated with levels of bureaucracy (e.g., Astley 1985; Haveman 1993) and may also capture demographic implications for workplace experiences and social relations. Organizational size is derived from a question asking, "About how many people work at the location where you work?" Responses were coded in the GSS across seven size categories and then recoded to midpoints with the natural log used in our analyses.

It is important to ensure that reports of dignity and satisfaction, as well as any influential relations tied to occupational status, race/ethnicity, and/or workplace experiences, are not being driven by more general background dispositions. For this reason, we include in our modeling a control for general happiness. Specifically, the GSS asked respondents, "Taken all together, how would you say things are these days—would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" We include this indicator throughout our modeling. Notably, and as our results show, general happiness is associated with assessments of workplace dignity and satisfaction. Yet, it does not account for observed divergences among women and men and does not explain away the effects of gender discrimination and sexual harassment reported in our analyses.[13]

The sectoral distinctions we consider (i.e., *core, high-wage service, low-wage service, public sector*) are consistent with conventional breakdowns in the labor markets literature and help account for potential effects associated with type of work. For instance, there are variations between public- and private-sector work in terms of gender segregation (e.g., Browne and Misra 2003; Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012) and levels of protection against unfair workplace practices. *Public sector* is measured dichotomously with private sector as the referent, and was derived directly from the GSS measure WRKGOVT, which differentiates those who work for federal, state, or local government from those who are employed in the private sector. Specific private sectoral locations (i.e., core, high-wage service, low-wage service) are captured with the GSS measure INDUS10, which includes relatively detailed three- and four-digit aggregate sector codes.[14]

[13] Although our measure of general happiness could capture an underlying disposition of optimism given that it theoretically encompasses an evaluation of one's life beyond work, one's general happiness could also be influenced by not getting the respect or renumeration deserved at work (i.e., lower dignity at work) or experiencing gender discrimination or sexual harassment. In other words, the relationship may be reciprocal with lower dignity at work, for instance, reducing one's general happiness.

[14] Core sector employment includes industries such as construction; manufacturing; materials and food processing; communications; and transportation. High-wage service sector employment entails industries such as finance and banking; administration; wholesale sales; justice and law; and management and scientific consulting. Low-wage service-sector employment includes retail sales; administrative and educational support services; health and related support services; childcare; food services; and other personal services. The omitted category includes extractive industries and others that do not fit into the designations above.

We also control for *urbanicity/rurality* to account for potential spatial effects that may be due to (1) local variations in cultural milieu that might intensify or diminish the salience of status-based divisions and inequalities and/or (2) political differences that might heighten the relevance and likelihood of status-based grievances. In these regards, some literature points to spatial variations in the extent of gender inequality (e.g., Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; McCall 2001; Quadlin and Doan 2018) or in status salience and claims-making owing to local politics, legal-judicial processes, and even proximity to EEOC or Civil Rights Commission offices (e.g., Hirsh 2009; Skaggs 2009). Rural and urban residence are each coded dichotomously, with suburban as the referent.

Given potential variations in reliability, all models control for the *GSS wave* being used. Recent analyses by Hout and Hastings (2016) of core GSS items between 2006 and 2014 demonstrate significant reliability (i.e., over .85) overall, especially on demographic indicators, but somewhat less reliability when it comes to both the 2007–9 recession period and indicators that have more subjective dimensions such as interpretations of inequality, broadly speaking.[15] We control for GSS wave in the models that follow in an effort to account for this as well as the possibility that perceptions of gender inequality become more or less salient based on prominent events or media attention.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY AND RESULTS

Our analyses proceed in two steps. First, and relative to our central focus, we analyze the extent to which there are gender gaps in dignity and satisfaction among full-time workers. Using logistic regression, we model the following four outcomes: (1) being treated with respect, (2) fairness in pay, (3) fairness in promotions, and (4) job satisfaction, relative to gender specifically. Importantly, these models account for other status attributes (e.g., race/ethnicity, education, pay, marital status) as well as organizational and spatial controls and dispositional differences in happiness. The inclusion of satisfaction as an outcome provides some leverage on our initial question and contention that the construct and operationalization of dignity will likely better capture women's work-specific appraisals.

The second portion of our analyses analytically interrogates our second core argument: that gendered interactional experiences in the workplace (i.e., discrimination and sexual harassment) are especially poignant for women's

[15] In this regard, Hout and Hastings (2016) are referring to the GSS questions regarding attributions surrounding race or gender inequality generally, not reports of whether respondents have personally experienced gender discrimination or sexual harassment. The caution they offer regarding variation in reliability across waves is nevertheless well taken and reflected in our inclusion of these controls.

appraisals of work and the dignity (or lack thereof) they experience. We briefly note women's greater vulnerability to gender discrimination and sexual harassment—a pattern established in prior work—and turn specifically to the implications for women's dignity and satisfaction. Like our prior models, these models control for other potentially influential dimensions of status and key controls. We also offer supplementary analyses that examine (1) the degree to which observed gender gaps in dignity are explained by women's disproportionate experiences of discrimination and sexual harassment on the job and (2) whether the patterns reported vary significantly by race/ethnicity and/or occupational status. Our findings in both regards are reported in figures and appendixes, and discussed within our main findings.

Gendered Dignity and Appraisals of Respect and Recognition versus Satisfaction

One of our core positions, elaborated at the outset, is that general indicators such as job satisfaction may not be sufficient in capturing women's more specific workplace appraisals. This is particularly true if appraisals are rooted in a worker's sense of justice or, as noted in the workplace dignity literature, respect and recognition specifically. Results reported in table 2 allow us to address this expectation directly (hypothesis 1). We provide estimates of gender gaps across our three dignity outcomes—perceptions of being treated with respect, fairness in pay, and fairness in promotions—alongside our more conventional indicator of job satisfaction.

Result show that, relative to men, women have a lower likelihood of feeling they are treated with respect at work ($b = -0.31$, $P < .05$), report less fairness in pay relative to similarly situated coworkers ($b = -0.22$, $P < .01$), and report less fairness in job promotions in their current workplaces ($b = -0.31$, $P < .001$) net of other background attributes and controls. This is in contrast to job satisfaction where, consistent with some prior literature, we find no statistically significant difference between women and men ($P = .85$). To the extent that satisfaction is capturing an amalgam of extrinsic and intrinsic job assessments, as suggested earlier, one might expect that controlling for dignity measures in the modeling of satisfaction would help isolate satisfaction's intrinsic dimensions in particular and produce the very paradox (i.e., higher satisfaction for women) that some prior work refers to. Supplementary modeling, reported in appendix table A1, show this in fact to be the case.

Converting log-odds into ratios for interpretability highlights just how sizable the observed gendered gaps in workplace dignity reported in table 2 are. Women are about 27% less likely than men to experience respect at work, approximately 20% less likely to experience pay fairness, and about 27% less likely to evaluate promotional practices in their current workplaces as fair.

TABLE 2

LIKELIHOOD OF BEING TREATED WITH RESPECT, FAIRNESS APPRAISALS, AND SATISFACTION AMONG FULL-TIME WORKERS

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
Female	−.31*	−.22**	−.31***	.02
	(.13)	(.07)	(.08)	(.12)
Other background attributes:				
Black (ref = White)	−.05	−.21*	−.26*	−.11
	(.16)	(.09)	(.10)	(.16)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.33	−.07	−.16	−.07
	(.22)	(.11)	(.12)	(.18)
Other race (ref = White)	.15	−.05	−.13	−.17
	(.27)	(.15)	(.17)	(.22)
Age	.01	.00	−.00	.01*
	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)
(ln) income	.19**	.20***	.09	.17**
	(.07)	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)
Education	.04*	.03*	.05***	.03
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)
Married	.17	−.11	.06	−.01
	(.12)	(.07)	(.08)	(.12)
Children	.07	−.01	.00	.06
	(.04)	(.02)	(.03)	(.04)
Controls:				
Job tenure	−.00	.00	−.01*	.02
	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)
(ln) organizational size	−.08**	−.01	−.08***	−.05
	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)
Hours worked	−.03	−.10***	.04	.16**
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.05)
General happiness	.73***	.32***	.42***	.89***
	(.11)	(.06)	(.06)	(.10)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):				
Core	−.34	−.13	−.15	.29
	(.30)	(.17)	(.18)	(.27)
High-wage service	−.10	−.16	−.05	.20
	(.30)	(.17)	(.18)	(.27)
Low-wage service	−.24	−.26	−.13	.31
	(.30)	(.17)	(.18)	(.28)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.21	−.29**	−.20	.28
	(.15)	(.09)	(.10)	(.17)
Residence (ref = suburban):				
Urban	.19	.05	.09	.01
	(.12)	(.07)	(.08)	(.12)
Rural	.39	.09	−.17	.07
	(.21)	(.11)	(.12)	(.19)
GSS year (ref = 2002):				
2006	−.01	.07	.14	.13
	(.16)	(.09)	(.10)	(.15)
2010	−.15	−.16	.12	.09
	(.18)	(.10)	(.11)	(.17)
2014	−.25	.05	.16	−.18

TABLE 2 (*Continued*)

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
	(.18)	(.10)	(.11)	(.17)
2018	.09	.11	.56***	.06
	(.17)	(.10)	(.11)	(.17)
Constant	−.55	−1.70***	−.76	−2.43***
	(.73)	(.46)	(.50)	(.68)
N	5,824	5,714	5,477	5,828

NOTE.—Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data from General Social Survey, 2002–18.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

Especially notable is the consistency across the three dignity outcomes reported, suggesting that workplace dignity is, in fact, gendered. Moreover, these gendered patterns are robust in the face of key controls (e.g., other status attributes, income, job tenure, general happiness disposition, sector) and are consistent with both supplementary analyses using linear regression and analyses using listwise deletion of missing data instead of imputation (app. table A2).[16]

The results in table 2 are also largely consistent when we use the more continuous measurement of these outcomes provided in the original GSS response codings. The one exception pertains to respect, which becomes nonsignificant when the original four response categories are used (see app. table A3). As noted previously, however, this original coding is significantly skewed such that the dichotomous coding, reported in table 2, is more analytically appropriate. Taken together, these findings generally support our initial contention that more detailed appraisals of work, with a particular emphasis on dignity, are essential if one's interest lies in women's recognition of justice and/or inequalities. Although women and men, according to our main modeling, have similar overall perceptions of job satisfaction—an outcome that can be subject to idiosyncratic interpretation as prior research has suggested (Kalleberg 2011; Zhou 2015)—women are considerably less enthusiastic when it comes to particular aspects of their jobs tied to dignity.

[16] Following recent suggestions that nonlinear probability models such as logit or probit may be problematic for multistep modeling or group comparison (see, esp., Breen, Karlson, and Holm 2018), we reestimated the models reported using generalized linear models with robust SEs. The significant relationship between gender and dignity, and that pertaining to discrimination and sexual harassment (reported momentarily), are consistent regardless of the modeling strategy used.

Some findings pertaining to other status attributes and controls in table 2 are worth noting. Respondent income and education, as one might expect, are associated with a greater likelihood of respect at work ($b = 0.19$, $P < .01$; $b = 0.04$, $P < .05$); fairness in pay ($b = 0.20$, $P < .001$; $b = 0.03$, $P < .05$); and fairness in promotion processes and opportunities (for education, $b = 0.05$, $P < .001$). These patterns plausibly stem from the fact that those of higher income and education have greater workplace authority and autonomy, both of which tend to elicit respect, and are more likely to receive and have greater overall opportunities for promotion than their lower-status counterparts. In addition, consistent with literature surrounding contemporary race-based discrimination and segregation as well as resulting pay and promotion gaps between racial groups (Pager 2007; Roscigno, Williams, and Byron 2012; Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012), Black respondents are less likely to perceive fairness in pay ($b = -0.21$, $P < .05$) and promotions ($b = -0.26$, $P < .05$) than White respondents. Notably, Hispanic respondents and other racial/ethnic minority respondents do not report differences in dignity or job satisfaction compared to White respondents. Both age ($b = 0.01$, $P < .05$) and income ($b = 0.17$, $P < .01$) are positively associated with reports of general job satisfaction.

General happiness is influential across each of the four outcomes reported. Background dispositions clearly matter and are related to specific job and workplace appraisals. Importantly, however, they have little if any impact on the gendered patterns of dignity thus far reported. Indeed, rather than dispositional differences, we suspect that the dignity (or lack thereof) that women derive from employment is much more likely to be molded by inequality-laden, gendered interactions, the most explicit of which are first-hand experiences of gender discrimination and sexual harassment. We address this possibility next.

The Implications of Gender Discrimination and Sexual Harassment for Workplace Dignity

Are gender-specific differentials in dignity, and women's lower overall reported levels of respect and recognition, rooted in gender-based and targeted interactions? This multilayered question is important given that social-psychological (versus more tangible) consequences of discrimination and sexual harassment have received comparatively little attention in the literature. Moreover, prior research on job appraisal, let alone that pertaining to workplace dignity, has seldom considered how gendered hierarchical encounters and interactions matter.

We first briefly draw attention to women's greater vulnerabilities to discrimination and sexual harassment, consistent with prior literature, in figure 1.

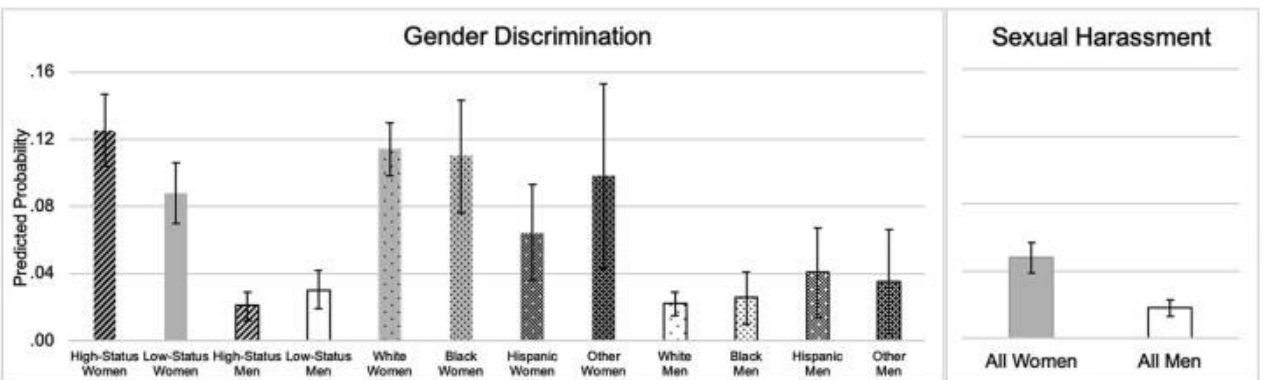

FIG. 1.—Predicted probabilities of experiencing gender discrimination and sexual harassment, by gender, occupational status (for gender discrimination only), and race/ethnicity (for gender discrimination only). Data are from the General Social Survey, 2002–18, $N = 5{,}838$. Predicted probabilities shown. Estimates are derived from models shown in table 3. Gender discrimination measures whether the respondent feels they are discriminated against at their job due to gender. Sexual harassment measures whether the respondent has been sexually harassed by anyone at their job in the past 12 months. Models include controls for race, age, occupational status, marital status, number of children, job tenure, organizational size, hours worked, general happiness, sector, public/private status, urbanicity, and year fixed effects.

The predicted probabilities reported are derived from supplementary modeling of the GSS data (see app. table A4). Women are nearly five times more likely than men to report experiencing gender discrimination in their workplace, and three times more likely to report experiencing sexual harassment. Women in higher-status occupational positions have significantly greater chances of perceiving gender discrimination than women in lower-status positions (.13 vs. .09), with the gender gap being largest between higher occupational status women versus men (.13 vs. .02). In addition, women across racial/ethnicity groups have approximately the same chances of perceiving gender discrimination in the workplace (.11 for Whites, .11 for Blacks, and .10 for other race/ethnicity groups). The one exception is Hispanic women, whose reports of gender discrimination are somewhat lower (.06). No statistically significant relationship with occupational status or race/ethnicity is observed for sexual harassment—a pattern that suggests women's uniform exposure to and/or reporting of sexual harassment, at least as measured by the GSS.

How might such explicitly gendered interactions be associated with the patterning of gendered dignity already reported? This question, tied directly to our second hypothesis, is especially important to literatures on workplace inequality, gender, and justice perceptions, and is addressed directly in table 3 where our samples are limited to only women respondents. Particularly notable is the consistency of results for women across each of the four outcomes.

Women who report experiencing gender discrimination or sexual harassment are significantly less likely to report being treated with respect, to perceive fairness in pay and promotions, and to report being satisfied with their jobs. More specifically, those who report being discriminated against due to gender are significantly less likely to feel as if they are treated with respect at work ($b = -1.85, P < .001$) compared to their women counterparts who report no such discriminatory experiences. Women who indicate they have been sexually harassed report a similar lack of perceived respect ($b = -0.99, P < .001$).

Similar patterns are observed for fairness in pay (gender discrimination: $b = -0.67, P < .001$), promotion (gender discrimination: $b = -1.31, P < .001$; sexual harassment: $b = -0.67, P < .01$), and satisfaction (gender discrimination: $b = -1.64, P < .001$; sexual harassment: $b = -0.66, P < .05$). Such findings and their consistency offer strong support for the second argument we made at the outset (hypothesis 2) that *workplace appraisals are not only gendered, but also that power-laden, gendered interactions seem to be especially poignant to women's workplace job experiences and dignity*. Importantly, these findings are robust regardless of whether we use either listwise deletion of missing data rather than imputation (app. table A5) or more continuous versus binary measurement of our outcomes (app. table A6).

TABLE 3

Likelihood of Being Treated with Respect, Fairness, and Job Satisfaction among Full-Time Female Workers

	Treated with Respect		Fairness in Pay		Fairness in Promotion		Job Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Gender discrimination		−1.85***		−.67***		−1.31***		−1.64***
		(.19)		(.15)		(.15)		(.20)
Sexual harassment		−.99***		−.13		−.67**		−.66*
		(.30)		(.21)		(.22)		(.26)
Other background attributes:								
Black (ref = White)	−.14	−.23	−.19	−.19	−.47***	−.51***	−.27	−.36
	(.21)	(.21)	(.12)	(.12)	(.13)	(.13)	(.21)	(.21)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.21	.06	−.11	−.14	−.21	−.30	.33	.21
	(.30)	(.33)	(.15)	(.15)	(.17)	(.17)	(.29)	(.30)
Other race (ref = White)	.24	.22	.11	.11	−.31	−.35	−.11	−.13
	(.39)	(.36)	(.21)	(.21)	(.25)	(.26)	(.33)	(.32)
Age	.01	.01	−.00	−.00	−.00	−.01	.01	.00
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) income	.10	.16	.20**	.22**	.06	.08	.13	.18
	(.10)	(.10)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.07)	(.10)	(.10)
Education	.07*	.08*	.03	.03	.04*	.05*	.03	.04
	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)
Married	.20	.14	−.08	−.10	.10	.05	.12	.10
	(.17)	(.18)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.11)	(.16)	(.17)
Children	.09	.11	.01	.02	−.01	−.01	.05	.06
	(.06)	(.06)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.07)	(.07)
Controls:								
Job tenure	.00	.00	.00	.00	−.01	−.01	.04	.04*
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
(ln) organizational size	−.08*	−.07	−.01	−.01	−.06*	−.05*	−.06	−.05
	(.04)	(.04)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)
Hours worked	−.14*	−.11	−.12**	−.12**	.04	.06	.14	.20

	(.07)	(.08)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.10)	(.10)
General happiness	.95***	.87***	.40***	.37***	.41***	.37***	.94***	.85***
	(.14)	(.14)	(.08)	(.08)	(.09)	(.09)	(.15)	(.15)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.23	−.32	−.47	−.49	−.52	−.59	.39	.35
	(.54)	(.53)	(.34)	(.34)	(.34)	(.33)	(.42)	(.38)
High-wage service	−.13	−.33	−.47	−.51	−.36	−.46	.56	.45
	(.52)	(.51)	(.33)	(.34)	(.33)	(.32)	(.39)	(.35)
Low-wage service	−.22	−.52	−.50	−.55	−.50	−.65*	.83*	.68
	(.52)	(.51)	(.33)	(.33)	(.33)	(.31)	(.39)	(.35)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.38	−.33	−.22	−.21	−.08	−.07	.36	.47*
	(.20)	(.22)	(.12)	(.12)	(.13)	(.14)	(.21)	(.23)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.26	.29	.10	.10	.03	.03	−.10	−.13
	(.17)	(.19)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.12)	(.18)	(.18)
Rural	.05	−.06	.06	.04	−.29	−.36*	.01	−.10
	(.26)	(.26)	(.16)	(.16)	(.17)	(.18)	(.26)	(.27)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	−.08	−.08	.06	.05	.14	.14	.09	.12
	(.22)	(.23)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)	(.15)	(.20)	(.21)
2010	−.21	−.37	−.22	−.26	.08	.01	−.07	−.17
	(.25)	(.26)	(.14)	(.14)	(.15)	(.15)	(.23)	(.24)
2014	−.35	−.53*	−.13	−.16	.17	.11	−.19	−.30
	(.24)	(.25)	(.14)	(.14)	(.15)	(.16)	(.24)	(.25)
2018	.18	.13	.04	.03	.70***	.72***	.38	.37
	(.23)	(.25)	(.14)	(.14)	(.16)	(.16)	(.25)	(.26)
Constant	−.16	−.13	−1.60*	−1.63*	−.33	−.23	−2.24*	−2.36*
	(1.09)	(1.07)	(.70)	(.71)	(.73)	(.75)	(1.00)	(.97)
N	2,788		2,738		2,616		2,791	

NOTE.—Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2002–18.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

Moreover, when we make use of the entire sample of women and men, we find that women's experiences of gender discrimination and sexual harassment help account for and reduce existing gendered dignity gaps. This is true particularly for respect but also, to some extent, for fairness in pay and promotion (see app. table A7).[17]

Although self-reports of gender discrimination and sexual harassment are strongly tied to women's workplace dignity and satisfaction, it is also important to consider whether these relationships are consistent across other dimensions of status. For this reason, we replicated the full models from table 3 using samples of respondents stratified by occupational status (i.e., low-status and high-status workers) and race/ethnicity (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic, other race). We report these results in summary fashion in figures 2 and 3 and offer the underlying models in appendix tables A8 (occupational status) and A9 (race/ethnicity). We use seemingly unrelated estimation to test for differences in effect sizes across groups.

For occupational status, there are largely uniform patterns across the four outcomes. That is, there is little variation between higher- and lower-status women in the relationship between reports of gender discrimination/sexual harassment and dignity at work (fig. 2). In fact, both gender discrimination and (to a lesser extent) sexual harassment are associated with diminished respect, a reduced sense of fairness in pay and promotions, and even lower job satisfaction. We find only one exception to this uniformity, indicated with an asterisk in the left-hand column of the figure. High occupational status women who report experiencing gender discrimination are significantly less likely than low occupational status women to perceive fairness in their pay compensation ($P < .05$). This result is not entirely surprising given that wage gaps and pay ceilings are more pronounced among those in the higher occupational ranks (Blau and Kahn 2017). High-status women may also have greater knowledge about other people's pay, especially if they are in leadership positions where they make pay-related decisions. Such occupational positioning could spur a greater understanding of what is and is not fair pay. Notably, however, especially when coupled with the patterns reported in figure 1, high-status women are also more likely on average to report *experiencing* gender discrimination. This is consequential because their reports of gender discrimination are *more strongly tied* to their assessments of fairness in pay than their lower-status counterparts.

The relationships between gender discrimination, sexual harassment, and our four outcomes are also remarkably consistent across racial groups (see

[17] Notable is that women's levels of job satisfaction are likewise depressed by discrimination and harassment. Once discrimination and sexual harassment are accounted for, in fact, women's reports of job satisfaction are reduced and only marginally higher than men's ($P = .052$).

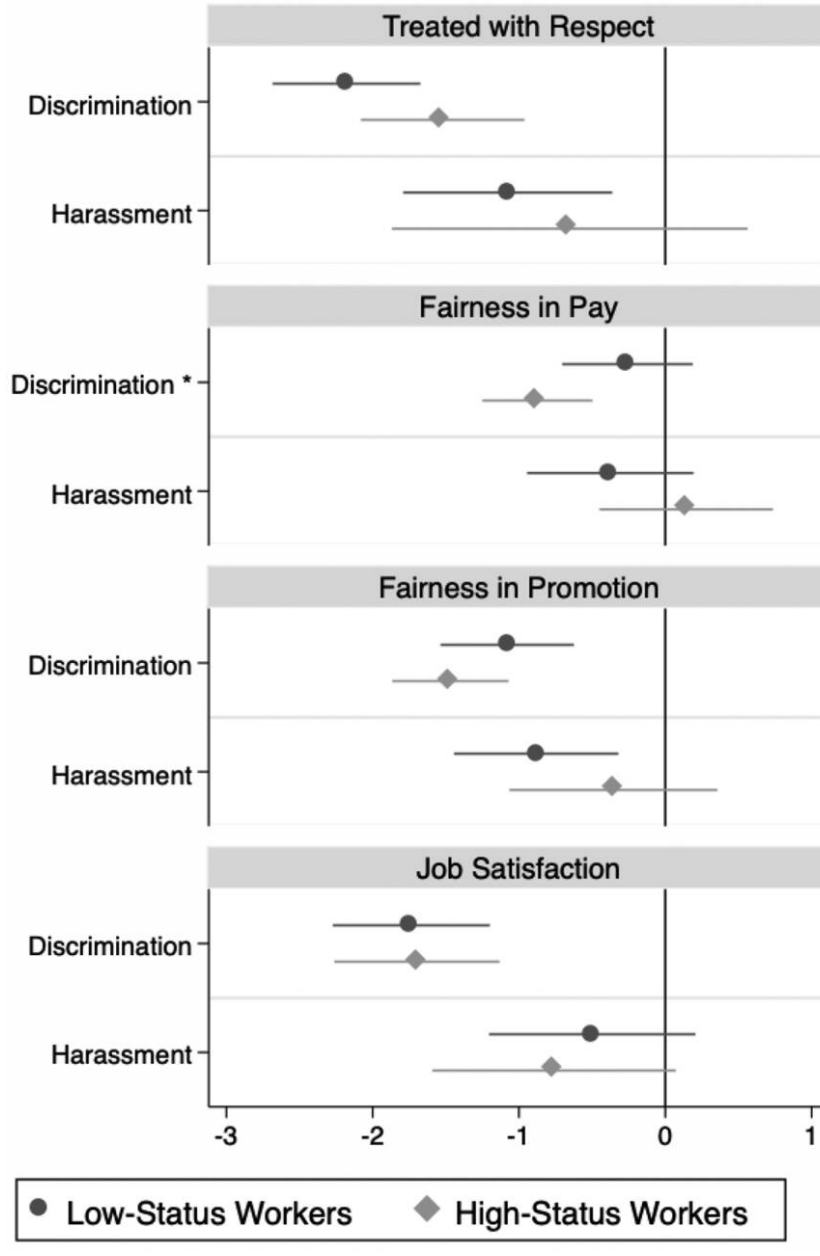

FIG. 2.—Effects of gender discrimination and sexual harassment on log odds of being treated with respect, fairness, and job satisfaction among full-time female workers by SEI group. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2002–18. Estimates are for models with samples of either low-status workers or high-status workers. Models include controls for race, age, marital status, number of children, job tenure, organizational size, hours worked, general happiness, sector, public/private status, urbanicity, and year fixed effects. Significance tests are from seemingly unrelated estimations.

* $P < .05$ for comparison of low-status workers to high-status workers (two-tailed tests).

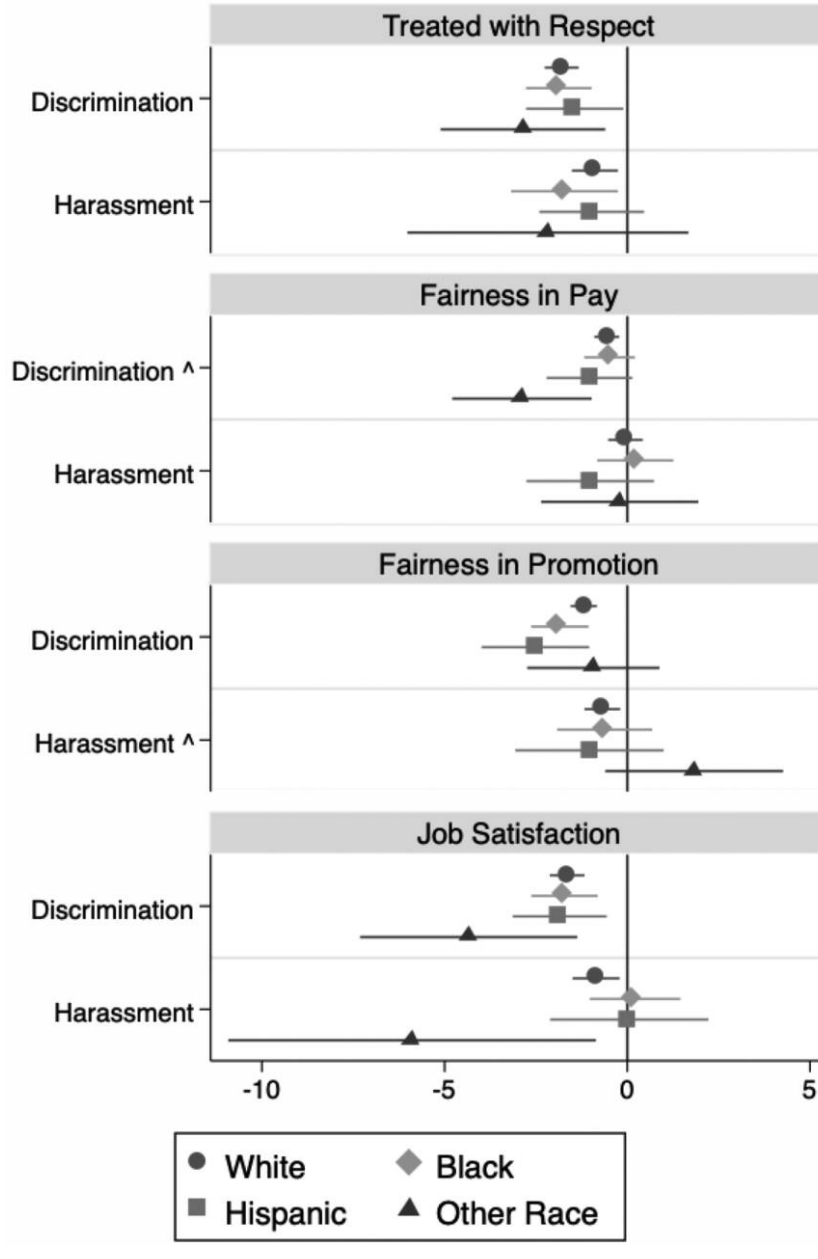

FIG. 3.—Effects of gender discrimination and sexual harassment on log odds of being treated with respect, fairness, and job satisfaction among full-time female workers by race/ethnicity. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2002–18. Estimates are for models with samples of either White workers, Black workers, Hispanic workers, or workers in other race groups. Models include controls for age, income, education, marital status, number of children, job tenure, organizational size, hours worked, general happiness, sector, public/private status, urbanicity, and year fixed effects. Significance tests are from seemingly unrelated estimations.

* $P < .05$ for comparison of White workers to Black workers (two-tailed tests).

+ $P < .05$ for comparison of White workers to Hispanic workers.

^ $P < .05$ for comparison of White workers to workers in "other" race groups.

fig. 3). Two small exceptions, which pertain to White workers compared to those in other racial/ethnic groups, are indicated with carets in the left-hand column. Women in other racial/ethnic groups who perceive gender discrimination are less likely than White women to see their pay as fair ($P < .05$). Thus, although perceived incidences of gender discrimination are more or less similar across racial/ethnic groups in our data (see fig. 1), gender discrimination seems to have an additional cost for women in other racial/ethnic groups. This does not appear to be the case for sexual harassment and respondents' views of fairness in promotion opportunities. Women in other racial/ethnic groups who report experiencing sexual harassment appear to be *more* likely than their White counterparts to report fairness in promotions in such a scenario ($P < .05$). Given within-gender pay disparities by race/ethnicity, this finding is somewhat counterintuitive. We hope future research can elaborate on such variations more effectively, perhaps with accounts that draw on in-depth interviews with racial/ethnic minority women across unique occupational domains (e.g., see Wingfield 2019). Because the cell size is relatively small for women in other racial/ethnic groups in this model ($n = 125$), we hesitate to extrapolate too much from this pattern.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

For nearly four decades, sociological scholarship has relied on general indicators of job appraisal like job satisfaction to gauge workers' assessments of job-specific experiences and levels of contentment. This has also been true in comparative analyses of women versus men. More recent scholarship surrounding dignity and justice in the context of work (Hodson 2001; Sayer 2007; Bolton 2007, 2011; Crowley 2013; Liebig and Sauer 2016; Auspurg et al. 2017; Lucas et al. 2017) suggests that job appraisals ultimately derive from, are linked to, and should be assessed relative to dignity and, more pointedly, the respect and recognition that individuals experience on the job. Just how this relates to gender remains an open and important question. We address it by systematically analyzing (1) the gendered character of, and inequalities in, workplace dignity, and (2) the extent to which explicitly gendered interactional processes in the context of employment matter for the dignity or indignity women experience.

Our analyses, which draw on five waves of nationally representative data, began by modeling gender gaps across three central outcomes (i.e., respect, fairness in pay, fairness in promotions)—outcomes that are tied directly to dignity's two-pronged foundations of respect and recognition (Bolton 2007; Lucas 2015; Lucas et al. 2017). Our inclusion of a fourth and more traditional indicator of job satisfaction was important for comparative purposes, especially given that prior research has tended to rely on it as an indicator of women's job appraisals.

Our findings clearly point to several facts that we hope scholarship in the areas of work, gender, organizations and inequality will treat seriously. First, our analyses and results, which control for important background attributes (e.g., occupational positioning, general happiness disposition, job tenure, pay), highlight that *women, despite generally reporting similarities in satisfaction, experience significantly less dignity at work compared to men*. Specifically, women experience less respect from others and, on average, perceive less overall fairness when it comes to opportunities for job mobility and the distribution of rewards. The importance of this cannot be overstated given the consequences of dignity for self-esteem, professional efficacy, and job engagement (Maslach et al. 2001; Robbins et al. 2012; Prottas 2013; Harnois and Bastos 2018) and, as Hodson (2001, p. 22) so eloquently related, "for a life well lived."

Another important insight surrounds general indicators of job appraisal such as job satisfaction. While certainly useful, such indicators should not necessarily be treated as proxies for the sense of justice or dignity that women derive from employment. Indeed, a sole focus on job satisfaction, as prior literature has shown, often produces mixed results or even conclusions that women are more content than men in their jobs. Our elaboration and empirical interrogation of distinct aspects of dignity offer a warranted and long overdue advance in this regard by underscoring ways that women, in fact, recognize the inequalities that surround them, whether these inequalities are interpersonal and respect oriented or tied to biases in evaluation, mobility, and rewards (Maume 1999; Castilla 2008; Blau and Kahn 2017).[18] In this vein, we implore future work to investigate factors that may be offsetting this negative experience (i.e., higher reports of unfair pay/promotions and disrespect) and relative to satisfaction levels. We suspect that dynamics of segregation, including women's concentration in care work, people-oriented occupations and the intrinsic value of performing such work, might be particularly consequential (England 2005; Blau et al. 2013; Levanon and Grusky 2016). Potential self-selection processes—processes wherein women who are deeply unsatisfied at work and/or have negative experiences more readily change jobs or reduce their labor market participation—may also be partly responsible (Stone 2007; McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone 2017).

Equally pertinent to future scholarship on work, inequality, and gender is our attention, analyses, and findings on dignity's associations with and the potential impact of explicitly gendered interactions. Consistent with prior research (e.g., McLaughlin et al. 2012; McCann et al. 2018; Dobbin and

[18] Supplementary analyses (table A1) further provide some evidence that the potential gender paradox in satisfaction is a function of mixing intrinsic and extrinsic evaluations of work. Indeed, the lack of gender difference in satisfaction becomes significant, with women reporting higher levels than men, once we control for extrinsic features of workplace experience captured by our dignity indicators.

Kalev 2019; Roscigno 2019), we briefly noted women's greater vulnerability to gender discrimination and sexual harassment and, particularly unique to the current study, then analyzed how discrimination and sexual harassment are associated with women's dignity and even their satisfaction levels. Women who report experiencing gender discrimination and sexual harassment perceive lower levels of respect, fairness in pay (for gender discrimination only), fairness in promotions, and job satisfaction compared to their female peers who report no such discriminatory or sexually harassing encounters. As reported in supplementary analyses, the recognition of such gender-laden interactional encounters and their inclusion in our modeling helps explain the observed gender gaps in dignity at work.

We believe that our results in the above regards are incredibly important, and for at least two reasons. First, prior research on workplace appraisals rarely considers or empirically accounts for interactions that may be uniquely gendered or gender targeted. Second, and beyond the more tangible consequences of discrimination (e.g., pay gaps, segregation, promotions) highlighted in prior work, our analyses underscore the additional dignity-related costs associated with gender discrimination and sexual harassment. Sociolegal scholars (e.g., Austin 1988; Bernstein 1997; Friedman and Whitman 2003; Saguy 2003) have persuasively contended for some time that the social-psychological costs of gender-targeted discriminatory and harassing experiences are just ascentral to women's overall well-being as material costs. We hope future work will treat seriously and expand upon our findings in this regard.

Although our study offers several important advances, there are certainly limitations worth acknowledging and that we hope future work might address. We recognize, for instance, that our use of cross-sectional data poses challenges especially when it comes to assessing the direction of the key relationships we are describing. Alternative interpretations should certainly be considered. First and foremost, women's views of or inclination to recognize sexual harassment and gender discrimination may very well stem from objective forms of inequality in merit and mobility that they experience. In such a case, causality is arguably reversed. For example, if women are being paid less and/or are promoted less readily than their male counterparts, and they recognize such facts in a given workplace, the possibility that discrimination or even quid pro quo sexual harassment may be playing a role could be amplified. Although we can imagine this to be the case, our confidence in directionality is bolstered to some degree by the fact that gender discrimination and sexual harassment, according to our results, seem to be consequential not merely in terms of renumeration (i.e., pay and promotions) but also in terms women's sense of respect and satisfaction; and by our findings surrounding sexual harassment, which point to consequences for two of three dignity-specific outcomes and satisfaction.

Our analyses are additionally limited to self-reports of gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment rather than legally vetted and verified charges. However, as we noted earlier, discrimination and sexual harassment remain vastly under-reported in official accounts (e.g., McCann et al. 2018). As such, self-reports via surveys likely capture discriminatory and harassing experiences that would otherwise not appear in other official statistics (e.g., EEOC cases). Women's self-reports also align with what we know of the realities of gendered social closure in workplaces and the many tangible inequalities it produces (e.g., Zippel 2006; Kalev 2014; Quadlin 2018; Yavorsky 2019). We nevertheless encourage future work and data collection efforts to better account for and consider causal pathways and to measure and model gender discrimination and sexual harassment in their various forms.

We also recognize that dignity, as a multifaceted concept, may be operationalized in other innovative ways (Anjali and Sharma 2019). For example, Crowley's (2013) work connects dignity to workplace or job conditions (measured by the levels of autonomy, creativity, and meaningfulness that individuals experience). Lucas (2015), on the other hand, highlights that dignity at work might also entail informal, and not just formal, types of recognition. We encourage future work in these areas, and with attention to how alternative operationalizations of dignity are related to gender but also to workplace discrimination and sexual harassment. Importantly, such efforts should remain explicitly cognizant of respect and recognition, which comprise the two-pronged foundations of dignity.

Despite such caveats, we see our results, their consistency, and their robustness in the face of controls and a host of alternative modeling strategies as affirming the impact of explicitly gendered interactions and the harms associated with them. Indeed, our findings build on and contribute to other recent work by, for instance, Hart (2019), who finds in a national survey experiment that respondents are less likely to recommend promotion for women who self-report being sexually harassed at work compared to those who experience other types of harassment or whose sexual harassment is reported by a coworker. The fact that women who report being sexually harassed in our analyses are more likely to view promotions unfairly may stem from very real and objective biases or retaliation that they may have experienced. Our study makes clear that gendered interactions such as discrimination and sexual harassment are tightly connected to women's perceptions of fairness, respect, and satisfaction.

Gendered dignity and the relative impact of discrimination and sexual harassment, of course, may vary depending on other status attributes—a point we considered with supplementary modeling. Women of higher occupational status likely have additional knowledge as to what constitutes gender discrimination given their advanced education and training. They are also more likely to work in less sex-segregated workplaces than their

lower-status peers (Blau et al. 2013) and, thus, may compete with men directly for promotions and merit increases—conditions that likely intensify gendered social closure and make discrimination and bias all the more apparent (Roscigno 2019). The consequences for dignity, however, are largely similar across the occupational hierarchy. For women of both high and low occupational status, experiences of gender discrimination and (to a lesser extent) sexual harassment erode respect, satisfaction, and fairness in merit appraisals. This finding is notable because it suggests that having high occupational status, along with possible compensating factors such as authority or work autonomy, does not necessarily provide protective cover relative to the dignity or indignities individuals experience.[19]

Our analyses similarly found mostly uniform patterns among women of varying racial/ethnic groups. This does not imply by any means that qualitative differences in gender discrimination and sexual harassment do not exist among White and racial/ethnic minority women. Racial/ethnic minority women may classify instances of gender discrimination and sexual harassment differently than White women, given that gendered interactions may be intertwined with racial discrimination and racism—a point that is beyond the scope of our current analyses but worthy of attention in its own right (see, e.g., Ortiz and Roscigno 2009; Harnois 2015; Chavez and Wingfield 2018). Where race mattered more so in our analyses was in the relationship between gender discrimination and perceptions of fair pay and promotion appraisals. One specific pattern worth noting in this regard is that women in other racial/ethnic groups who report gender discrimination perceive pay appraisals as less fair than comparable White women. We hope future research will interrogate more deeply why this is the case and analyze how gendered and racialized interactions shape such appraisals. We also hope researchers will further unpack workplace dignity specifically in reference to both racism and sexism.

Our attention to gendered dignity and to the impact of gender-laden experiences of discrimination and sexual harassment is long overdue in the literature. We see our contribution as but a starting point, with several significant questions remaining: How do gendered patterns of dignity, and their relation to discrimination and sexual harassment, impact women's overall health and well-being? How might women confront aggressors or

[19] The one exception to this largely uniform pattern is that women of high occupational status are *more likely* to connect gender discrimination to *unfair pay appraisals* than women of low occupational status who also experience gender discrimination. This finding probably stems from the fact that higher-status women have much more information about wage-setting processes and/or feel more entitled to larger merit increases than lower-status women. Higher-status jobs, to be sure, also have larger pay bandwidths than lower-status jobs, making gender pay gaps more pronounced and noticeable at higher levels (Blau and Kahn 2017).

respond in ways that confer or restore dignity? And, no less important, how might organizational policies or even legal remedies be instituted in a manner that preserves or protects dignity?

These are fundamental questions in our view that should be of relevance to inequality, gender, work, and perhaps even health scholars. Moreover, we suspect that, beyond discriminatory and sexually harassing encounters, women's dignity and workplace experiences are likely conditioned by additional processes and factors related to workplace organization, such as the configuration of control regimes (Crowley 2013), family and work policies (Hirsh, Treleaven, and Fuller 2020; Padavic, Ely, and Reid 2020), compositional dynamics at the organizational or work-team levels (Dobbin and Kalev 2019) and/or programs that have diversity as their aim (Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly 2006). We hope future scholarship will extend attention to dignity in general, and women's dignity at work in particular, with these possibilities in mind. Doing so, we believe, will provide important and deeper insights into the world of work. It will also offer leverage when it comes to questions of justice—justice that, in many ways, has always undergirded sociological scholarship's focus on employment, inequality, and gender.

APPENDIX

TABLE A1
Job Satisfaction among Full-Time Workers

	Job Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)
Female	.04	.34*
	(.12)	(.14)
Treated with respect		1.74***
		(.14)
Fairness in pay		.74***
		(.13)
Fairness in promotion		1.51***
		(.13)
Other background attributes:		
Black (ref = White)	−.12	−.05
	(.16)	(.18)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.01	−.06
	(.19)	(.20)
Other race (ref = White)	−.16	−.19
	(.24)	(.25)
Age	.01*	.02**
	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) income	.19**	.15
	(.07)	(.08)
Education	.03	−.00
	(.02)	(.02)

TABLE A1 (*Continued*)

	Job Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)
Married	−.07	−.14
	(.12)	(.13)
Children	.04	.05
	(.04)	(.05)
Controls:		
Job tenure	.02	.02
	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) organizational size	−.04	.01
	(.03)	(.03)
Hours worked	.14*	.19**
	(.06)	(.06)
General happiness	.89***	.67***
	(.10)	(.11)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):		
Core	.35	.56
	(.28)	(.29)
High-wage service	.16	.27
	(.28)	(.28)
Low-wage service	.34	.55
	(.28)	(.29)
Public sector (ref = private)	.29	.46*
	(.17)	(.19)
Residence (ref = suburban):		
Urban	.00	−.08
	(.13)	(.14)
Rural	.12	.09
	(.19)	(.23)
GSS year (ref = 2002):		
2006	.15	.14
	(.15)	(.17)
2010	.04	.13
	(.17)	(.19)
2014	−.26	−.24
	(.17)	(.19)
2018	.01	−.22
	(.17)	(.19)
Constant	−2.47***	−4.81***
	(.71)	(.83)
N	5,395	

Note.—Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data from General Social Survey, 2002–18.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A2
REPLICATION OF TABLE 2 USING LISTWISE DELETION OF MISSING DATA RATHER THAN IMPUTATION

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
Female	−.36*	−.26**	−.33***	.06
	(.15)	(.08)	(.09)	(.14)
Other background attributes:				
Black (ref = White)	.03	−.33**	−.31**	.02
	(.19)	(.11)	(.12)	(.20)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.74**	.00	.00	−.01
	(.26)	(.12)	(.14)	(.21)
Other race (ref = White)	.15	−.12	−.15	−.36
	(.31)	(.16)	(.19)	(.25)
Age	.01	.00	.00	.02***
	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)
(ln) income	.23**	.22***	.09	.20**
	(.07)	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)
Education	.04	.02	.06***	.04
	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Married	.05	−.14	.05	−.04
	(.15)	(.08)	(.09)	(.14)
Children	.13*	−.03	.01	−.00
	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.05)
Controls:				
Job tenure	−.01	.01	−.01*	.01
	(.01)	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) organizational size	−.09**	−.02	−.07***	−.05
	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)
Hours worked	−.06	−.11***	.04	.12
	(.06)	(.03)	(.04)	(.07)
General happiness	.88***	.34***	.47***	1.07***
	(.13)	(.06)	(.07)	(.12)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):				
Core	−.26	−.15	−.14	.05
	(.34)	(.20)	(.20)	(.30)
High-wage service	−.08	−.24	−.03	−.11
	(.34)	(.20)	(.19)	(.30)
Low-wage service	−.13	−.22	−.03	.09
	(.34)	(.20)	(.20)	(.30)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.19	−.24*	−.17	.25
	(.19)	(.10)	(.11)	(.20)
Residence (ref = suburban):				
Urban	.21	.02	.02	−.08
	(.15)	(.08)	(.09)	(.15)
Rural	.49	.10	−.08	.11
	(.26)	(.13)	(.14)	(.22)
GSS year (ref = 2002):				
2006	−.28	−.09	.03	.08
	(.22)	(.12)	(.13)	(.19)
2010	−.29	−.31*	.06	.21
	(.24)	(.13)	(.14)	(.22)

TABLE A2 (*Continued*)

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
2014	−.55*	−.13	−.05	−.21
	(.23)	(.12)	(.14)	(.21)
2018	−.34	−.03	.38**	−.07
	(.22)	(.12)	(.14)	(.22)
Constant	−.75	−1.59**	−1.03	−2.70***
	(.82)	(.52)	(.57)	(.80)
N	4,386	4,316	4,147	4,389

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A3
REPLICATION OF TABLE 2 USING MORE CONTINUOUS RATHER THAN BINARY MEASUREMENT OF OUTCOMES

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
Female	.00	−.09**	−.12***	.04
	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Other background attributes:				
Black (ref = White)	.00	−.12**	−.07	−.08*
	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.03)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.08*	−.02	−.06	−.01
	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)
Other race (ref = White)	−.02	−.08	−.09	−.11*
	(.04)	(.06)	(.07)	(.05)
Age	.00*	−.00	−.00	.00***
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
(ln) income	.04**	.09***	.03	.05**
	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Education	.02***	.01	.02**	.00
	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)
Married	.05*	−.05	.02	.02
	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Children	.01	−.00	.00	.02**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Controls:				
Job tenure	−.00	.00	−.00	.00
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
(ln) organizational size	−.02***	−.00	−.04***	−.02***
	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Hours worked	.01	−.05***	.02	.03***
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
General happiness	.15***	.14***	.21***	.27***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)

TABLE A3 (*Continued*)

	Treated with Respect (1)	Fairness in Pay (2)	Fairness in Promotion (3)	Job Satisfaction (4)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):				
Core	−.09*	−.05	−.06	.02
	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)
High-wage service	.00	−.10	−.01	.05
	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)
Low-wage service	−.04	−.11	−.02	.06
	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.07**	−.13***	−.10*	.08**
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)
Residence (ref = suburban):				
Urban	.02	.04	.03	.02
	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Rural	.05	−.00	−.04	.03
	(.03)	(.04)	(.06)	(.04)
GSS year (ref = 2002):				
2006	−.01	.06	.03	−.03
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)
2010	−.04	−.02	.04	−.04
	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.03)
2014	−.11***	.04	.05	−.06
	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.03)
2018	−.06*	.09*	.19***	.00
	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)
Constant	2.45***	1.68***	2.27***	2.12***
	(.14)	(.21)	(.22)	(.17)
N	5,824	5,714	5,477	5,828

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A4

LIKELIHOOD OF EXPERIENCING GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT AMONG FULL-TIME WORKERS

	GENDER DISCRIMINATION		SEXUAL HARASSMENT	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Female	1.52***	1.43***	1.00***	.99***
	(.15)	(.28)	(.18)	(.21)
High-status worker		−.22		.07
		(.28)		(.21)
High-status worker × female		.63*		NS
		(.31)		
Black		.26		−.05
		(.36)		(.26)
Black × female		NS		NS
Hispanic		.60		−.17
		(.40)		(.28)
Hispanic × female		−1.27**		NS
		(.47)		
Other race		.53		−.20
		(.48)		(.42)
Other race × female		NS		NS
Age		−.00		−.04***
		(.01)		(.01)
Age × female		NS		NS

NOTE.—Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2002–18. $N = 5{,}838$. Gender discrimination measures whether the respondent feels they are discriminated against at their job due to gender. Sexual harassment measures whether the respondent has been sexually harassed by anyone at their job in the past 12 months. In addition to controls shown in the table, models above also control for marital status, number of children, job tenure, organizational size, hours worked, general happiness, sector, public/private status, urbanicity, and year fixed effects.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A5
REPLICATION OF TABLE 3 USING LISTWISE DELETION OF MISSING DATA RATHER THAN IMPUTATION

	Treated with Respect		Fairness in Pay		Fairness in Promotion		Job Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Gender discrimination		−1.88***		−.65***		−1.39***		−1.77***
		(.23)		(.17)		(.18)		(.24)
Sexual harassment		−1.11**		−.25		−.94***		−.41
		(.36)		(.26)		(.26)		(.33)
Other background attributes:								
Black (ref = White)	−.21	−.29	−.30*	−.29*	−.49**	−.50***	−.27	−.32
	(.25)	(.25)	(.14)	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)	(.26)	(.26)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.22	.10	−.03	−.06	.02	−.05	.19	.14
	(.34)	(.36)	(.17)	(.17)	(.19)	(.20)	(.35)	(.37)
Other race (ref = White)	.15	.31	.11	.12	−.37	−.39	−.27	−.16
	(.44)	(.40)	(.23)	(.23)	(.27)	(.30)	(.36)	(.36)
Age	.01	.00	−.00	−.00	.00	−.00	.02	.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) income	.16	.18	.25***	.26***	.05	.07	.12	.15
	(.10)	(.10)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)
Education	.05	.07	.00	.01	.05	.06*	.01	.03
	(.03)	(.04)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)
Married	.03	−.01	−.10	−.12	.14	.10	.09	.09
	(.21)	(.21)	(.11)	(.11)	(.12)	(.13)	(.19)	(.20)
Children	.16*	.19*	−.01	−.01	−.01	.01	−.03	−.02
	(.08)	(.08)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.08)	(.07)
Controls:								
Job tenure	−.01	−.01	.00	.00	−.02	−.01	.04	.04
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
(ln) organizational size	−.11**	−.09*	−.01	−.00	−.04	−.03	−.03	−.01
	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.05)	(.05)
Hours worked	−.10	−.04	−.10	−.09	.07	.10	.18	.26
	(.09)	(.10)	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.14)	(.14)
General happiness	1.16***	1.11***	.46***	.44***	.48***	.44***	1.18***	1.09***
	(.17)	(.16)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)	(.19)	(.18)

Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.50	−.83	−.41	−.45	−.67	−.79	.10	.12
	(.63)	(.79)	(.42)	(.43)	(.39)	(.43)	(.51)	(.51)
High-wage service	−.58	−.97	−.50	−.55	−.42	−.52	.38	.36
	(.61)	(.77)	(.41)	(.42)	(.37)	(.41)	(.49)	(.49)
Low-wage service	−.50	−1.02	−.34	−.41	−.54	−.73	.63	.54
	(.61)	(.78)	(.40)	(.42)	(.37)	(.41)	(.49)	(.50)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.14	−.12	−.10	−.10	−.09	−.10	.32	.41
	(.25)	(.27)	(.14)	(.14)	(.15)	(.16)	(.24)	(.26)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.28	.29	.11	.10	.04	.03	.09	.08
	(.20)	(.21)	(.12)	(.12)	(.13)	(.14)	(.21)	(.22)
Rural	.02	−.08	.08	.06	−.18	−.24	.24	.23
	(.31)	(.32)	(.19)	(.19)	(.20)	(.21)	(.32)	(.32)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	−.24	−.23	.10	.10	.00	−.01	−.12	−.08
	(.30)	(.31)	(.17)	(.17)	(.19)	(.19)	(.27)	(.28)
2010	−.23	−.41	−.26	−.30	−.02	−.11	−.10	−.21
	(.33)	(.34)	(.18)	(.18)	(.19)	(.20)	(.30)	(.30)
2014	−.50	−.71*	−.16	−.20	−.00	−.09	−.27	−.36
	(.32)	(.34)	(.18)	(.18)	(.20)	(.20)	(.31)	(.32)
2018	−.04	−.03	−.00	−.01	.53**	.56**	.28	.31
	(.31)	(.34)	(.18)	(.18)	(.20)	(.20)	(.32)	(.33)
Constant	−.14	.17	−1.97*	−1.99*	−.60	−.56	−2.35	−2.73*
	(1.23)	(1.31)	(.81)	(.82)	(.85)	(.89)	(1.23)	(1.21)
N	2,096		2,067		1,977		2,097	

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A6
REPLICATION OF TABLE 3 USING CONTINUOUS RATHER THAN MORE BINARY MEASUREMENT OF OUTCOMES

	Treated with Respect		Fairness in Pay		Fairness in Promotion		Job Satisfaction	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Gender discrimination		−.53***		−.27***		−.64***		−.49***
		(.05)		(.06)		(.07)		(.06)
Sexual harassment		−.19*		−.07		−.28**		−.24**
		(.09)		(.08)		(.10)		(.09)
Other background attributes:								
Black (ref = White)	−.06	−.06	−.11	−.11*	−.18**	−.18**	−.11*	−.11*
	(.04)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.05)	(.04)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.09	.06	−.07	−.09	−.07	−.11	.00	−.02
	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)	(.08)	(.05)	(.05)
Other race (ref= White)	.01	−.00	.04	.04	−.14	−.15	−.13	−.15
	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)	(.08)	(.08)
Age	.00	.00	−.00	−.00	−.00	−.00	.01***	.01**
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
(ln) income	.03	.04*	.11***	.12***	.03	.04	.03	.04
	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)
Education	.02**	.02***	.01	.01	.02	.02	.00	.01
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Married	.05	.03	−.04	−.05	.05	.03	.04	.03
	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)
Children	.02	.02	.01	.01	−.00	.00	.02	.02
	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)
Controls:								
Job tenure	−.00	−.00	.00	.00	−.00	−.00	.00	.00
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
(ln) organizational size	−.03***	−.02***	−.00	−.00	−.03**	−.03*	−.02**	−.02**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Hours worked	−.01	−.00	−.06**	−.06**	.01	.01	.02	.03
	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)
General happiness	.18***	.16***	.17***	.16***	.23***	.20***	.29***	.26***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.03)	(.03)

Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.04	−.05	−.13	−.13	−.24	−.25	.09	.08
	(.10)	(.09)	(.13)	(.13)	(.15)	(.14)	(.13)	(.11)
High-wage service	.02	−.01	−.19	−.20	−.15	−.18	.14	.12
	(.10)	(.09)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)	(.13)	(.13)	(.11)
Low-wage service	−.02	−.06	−.17	−.18	−.17	−.21	.18	.15
	(.10)	(.09)	(.12)	(.12)	(.14)	(.13)	(.13)	(.11)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.08*	−.07	−.11*	−.11*	−.06	−.05	.08	.09*
	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.04)	(.04)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.03	.03	.06	.06	.05	.05	.01	.01
	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.04)	(.03)
Rural	.02	−.00	.01	−.00	−.09	−.11	.04	.02
	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.05)	(.05)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	−.02	−.02	.06	.05	.06	.05	−.03	−.03
	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.07)	(.07)	(.04)	(.04)
2010	−.05	−.08	−.07	−.08	.02	−.01	−.11*	−.14**
	(.05)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)	(.07)	(.05)	(.05)
2014	−.17***	−.20***	−.03	−.04	.08	.05	−.05	−.07
	(.05)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)	(.07)	(.05)	(.05)
2018	−.08*	−.09*	.07	.06	.28***	.27***	−.00	−.01
	(.04)	(.04)	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)	(.04)
Constant	2.55***	2.56***	1.47***	1.46***	2.33***	2.37***	2.19***	2.21***
	(.21)	(.20)	(.31)	(.30)	(.33)	(.32)	(.27)	(.25)
N	2,788		2,738		2,616		2,791	

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).
** $P < .01$.
*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A7

GENDER GAP IN DIGNITY AND THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

	TREATED WITH RESPECT		FAIRNESS IN PAY		FAIRNESS IN PROMOTION		JOB SATISFACTION	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Female	−.31*	−.04	−.22**	−.16*	−.31***	−.18*	.02	.23
	(.13)	(.13)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)
Gender discrimination		−1.59***		−.62***		−1.16***		−1.48***
		(.16)		(.13)		(.13)		(.16)
Sexual harassment		−1.05***		−.22		−.68***		−.60**
		(.25)		(.18)		(.18)		(.22)
Other background attributes:								
Black (ref = White)	−.05	−.07	−.21*	−.21*	−.26*	−.26**	−.11	−.12
	(.16)	(.15)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)	(.16)	(.16)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.33	.32	−.07	−.07	−.16	−.18	−.07	−.08
	(.22)	(.23)	(.11)	(.11)	(.12)	(.13)	(.18)	(.19)
Other race (ref = White)	.15	.16	−.05	−.06	−.13	−.13	−.17	−.17
	(.27)	(.27)	(.15)	(.15)	(.17)	(.17)	(.22)	(.23)
Age	.01	.00	.00	.00	−.00	−.00	.01*	.01*
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) income	.19**	.21**	.20***	.20***	.09	.09	.17**	.19**
	(.07)	(.07)	(.04)	(.04)	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)
Education	.04*	.06**	.03*	.03**	.05***	.06***	.03	.04
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Married	.17	.13	−.11	−.12	.06	.03	−.01	−.04
	(.12)	(.13)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)
Children	.07	.08	−.01	−.01	.00	.01	.06	.06
	(.04)	(.04)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)
Controls:								
Job tenure	−.00	−.00	.00	.00	−.01*	−.01*	.02	.02
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)	(.01)	(.01)
(ln) organizational size	−.08**	−.08**	−.01	−.01	−.08***	−.08***	−.05	−.04
	(.03)	(.03)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)
Hours worked	−.03	−.02	−.10***	−.10***	.04	.05	.16**	.18**
	(.05)	(.05)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.05)	(.05)

General happiness	.73***	.66***	.32***	.30***	.42***	.39***	.89***	.83***
	(.11)	(.11)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)	(.10)	(.10)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.34	−.40	−.13	−.14	−.15	−.18	.29	.26
	(.30)	(.30)	(.17)	(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.27)	(.27)
High-wage service	−.10	−.11	−.16	−.16	−.05	−.06	.20	.21
	(.30)	(.30)	(.17)	(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.27)	(.27)
Low-wage service	−.24	−.31	−.26	−.27	−.13	−.16	.31	.29
	(.30)	(.30)	(.17)	(.17)	(.18)	(.18)	(.28)	(.27)
Public sector (ref = private)	−.21	−.19	−.29**	−.29**	−.20	−.20	.28	.33
	(.15)	(.16)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)	(.17)	(.18)
Residence (ref = suburban:								
Urban	.19	.19	.05	.05	.09	.09	.01	−.00
	(.12)	(.13)	(.07)	(.07)	(.08)	(.08)	(.12)	(.12)
Rural	.39	.34	.09	.08	−.17	−.21	.07	.04
	(.21)	(.21)	(.11)	(.11)	(.12)	(.12)	(.19)	(.19)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	−.01	−.04	.07	.07	.14	.13	.13	.11
	(.16)	(.16)	(.09)	(.09)	(.10)	(.10)	(.15)	(.15)
2010	−.15	−.28	−.16	−.18	.12	.07	.09	.01
	(.18)	(.18)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.11)	(.17)	(.17)
2014	−.25	−.37*	.05	.02	.16	.12	−.18	−.25
	(.18)	(.18)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.11)	(.17)	(.17)
2018	.09	.02	.11	.10	.56***	.55***	.06	.01
	(.17)	(.18)	(.10)	(.10)	(.11)	(.11)	(.17)	(.17)
Constant	−.55	−.62	−1.70***	−1.71***	−.76	−.74	−2.43***	−2.54***
	(.73)	(.74)	(.46)	(.46)	(.50)	(.50)	(.68)	(.68)
N	5,824		5,714		5,477		5,828	

Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2022–18.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A8

POTENTIAL SEI VARIATIONS IN EFFECTS OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT AMONG FULL-TIME FEMALE WORKERS

	TREATED WITH RESPECT		FAIRNESS IN PAY		FAIRNESS IN PROMOTION		JOB SATISFACTION	
	Low Status (1)	High Status (2)	Low Status (1)	High Status (2)	Low Status (1)	High Status (2)	Low Status (1)	High Status (2)
Gender discrimination	−2.18***	−1.52***	−.26	−.87***	−1.08***	−1.47***	−1.74***	−1.70***
	(.26)	(.29)	(.23)	(.19)	(.23)	(.20)	(.27)	(.29)
Sexual harassment	−1.08**	−.65	−.38	.14	−.88**	−.35	−.50	−.76
	(.36)	(.62)	(.29)	(.30)	(.29)	(.36)	(.36)	(.42)
Other background attributes:								
Black (ref = White)	−.54*	.48	−.28	−.13	−.46**	−.57**	−.28	−.33
	(.25)	(.47)	(.16)	(.19)	(.17)	(.21)	(.24)	(.37)
Hispanic (ref = White)	.12	−.06	−.17	−.09	−.25	−.36	−.09	.65
	(.36)	(.53)	(.20)	(.24)	(.21)	(.29)	(.35)	(.63)
Other race (ref = White)	−.22	.87	.07	.19	−.06	−.63	−.72	.38
	(.48)	(.58)	(.29)	(.30)	(.35)	(.38)	(.42)	(.50)
Age	−.00	.03*	.00	−.00	−.01	.01	.01	−.00
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Married	.17	.31	−.22	.12	.03	.16	.38	−.16
	(.22)	(.28)	(.13)	(.14)	(.14)	(.17)	(.22)	(.28)
Children	.15	−.05	−.07	.05	−.03	−.03	.05	.03
	(.08)	(.10)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)	(.07)	(.12)
Controls:								
Job tenure	.01	.00	−.01	.02*	−.01	−.00	.07**	.03
	(.02)	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
(ln) organizational size	−.06	−.06	.01	.01	−.05	−.06	−.05	−.04
	(.05)	(.06)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.05)	(.06)
Hours worked	−.04	−.13	−.04	−.14*	.06	.09	.09	.38*
	(.10)	(.13)	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)	(.08)	(.09)	(.15)
General happiness	.78***	1.14***	.54***	.30*	.37**	.40**	.86***	.96***
	(.18)	(.23)	(.11)	(.12)	(.12)	(.14)	(.19)	(.24)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	.02	−.96	−1.30**	.21	−.09	−1.56**	.63	.20
	(.74)	(.92)	(.49)	(.54)	(.41)	(.60)	(.52)	(.65)

High-wage service	−.27	−.55	−1.26**	.06	−.18	−1.14*	.50	.60
	(.71)	(.88)	(.48)	(.52)	(.40)	(.58)	(.49)	(.59)
Low-wage service	−.28	−.96	−1.20*	−.13	−.30	−1.36*	.82	.87
	(.71)	(.91)	(.47)	(.52)	(.38)	(.59)	(.47)	(.64)
Public sector	−.21	−.60*	−.16	−.25	.36	−.43*	.41	.55
	(.30)	(.30)	(.19)	(.16)	(.21)	(.18)	(.31)	(.33)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.04	.44	.06	.06	−.17	.21	−.07	−.31
	(.25)	(.29)	(.15)	(.14)	(.16)	(.17)	(.24)	(.27)
Rural	−.44	.32	.02	−.15	−.43	−.40	−.43	.28
	(.33)	(.47)	(.22)	(.25)	(.22)	(.29)	(.33)	(.55)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	.24	−.40	.28	−.20	.11	.19	.10	.22
	(.30)	(.38)	(.18)	(.19)	(.20)	(.22)	(.28)	(.35)
2010	.18	−1.02**	−.07	−.42*	.18	−.21	−.18	−.05
	(.34)	(.39)	(.20)	(.21)	(.21)	(.23)	(.30)	(.38)
2014	−.35	−.63	.04	−.35	.23	.04	−.33	−.02
	(.31)	(.43)	(.19)	(.21)	(.21)	(.24)	(.31)	(.40)
2018	.35	−.13	.10	−.02	.81***	.63**	.84*	.15
	(.33)	(.44)	(.20)	(.20)	(.22)	(.24)	(.34)	(.38)
Constant	2.25*	2.24	.94	.55	1.08	1.64*	−.41	−.37
	(.93)	(1.44)	(.64)	(.68)	(.56)	(.81)	(.74)	(1.12)
N	1,436	1,356	1,400	1,342	1,348	1,272	1,440	1,355

NOTE.—Log odds estimates; SEs are in parentheses. Data are from the General Social Survey, 2022–18. These are the underlying regressions for the estimates shown in fig. 2. Sample sizes vary slightly across imputed data sets because the variable used to construct the sample (i.e., SEI score) was imputed. The largest sample size across imputed data sets is reported.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

TABLE A9

Potential Race/Ethnic Variations in the Effects of Gender Discrimination and Sexual Harassment among Full-Time Female Workers

	Fairness in Promotion				Job Satisfaction			
	White (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	Other Race (4)	White (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	Other Race (4)
Gender discrimination	−1.80***	−1.87***	−1.44*	−2.86*	−.56**	−.49	−1.03	−2.88**
	(.24)	(.46)	(.68)	(1.15)	(.17)	(.35)	(.60)	(.97)
Sexual harassment	−.89**	−1.72*	−.97	−2.17	−.05	.22	−1.02	−.21
	(.32)	(.75)	(.73)	(1.94)	(.24)	(.53)	(.89)	(1.10)
Other background attributes:								
Age	.01	−.01	−.06	.06	.00	−.01	−.00	−.00
	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)	(.06)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)
(ln) income	.19	.04	.16	.35	.19*	.12	.49*	.25
	(.13)	(.22)	(.28)	(.73)	(.08)	(.16)	(.22)	(.24)
Education	.05	.23**	−.10	.13	.04	.00	.02	−.05
	(.04)	(.09)	(.13)	(.18)	(.03)	(.05)	(.06)	(.09)
Married	.31	−.36	−.18	.26	.03	−.57*	−.05	−.39
	(.21)	(.39)	(.72)	(.70)	(.12)	(.24)	(.32)	(.52)
Children	.09	.29*	−.00	−.11	.03	.02	.10	−.31
	(.08)	(.13)	(.24)	(.41)	(.05)	(.08)	(.13)	(.19)
Controls:								
Job tenure	−.00	.02	.03	−.13	.01	−.01	−.02	−.00
	(.01)	(.03)	(.04)	(.08)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.04)
(ln) organizational size	−.05	−.06	−.23	−.27	−.03	.03	.08	.03
	(.05)	(.08)	(.12)	(.27)	(.03)	(.05)	(.08)	(.11)
Hours worked	−.05	−.18	−.38	.09	−.13*	−.16	−.03	−.02
	(.10)	(.14)	(.21)	(1.05)	(.06)	(.11)	(.16)	(.21)

General happiness	.98***	.59*	1.29**	1.31	.37***	.39*	.36	.39
	(.19)	(.28)	(.46)	(.81)	(.10)	(.17)	(.28)	(.48)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.06	−.07	−.44	−.74	−.02	−.69	−2.29	.04
	(.68)	(1.29)	(1.34)	(1.55)	(.41)	(.71)	(1.20)	(.72)
High-wage service	−.04	−.64	.00	.00	.03	−1.05	−2.27	.00
	(.65)	(1.20)	(.)	(.)	(.40)	(.69)	(1.25)	(.)
Low-wage service	−.02	−1.06	−1.49*	−.10	.05	−1.52*	−2.35*	.61
	(.67)	(1.24)	(.68)	(.93)	(.40)	(.68)	(1.20)	(.55)
Public sector	−.26	−.39	−.66	−.36	−.34*	−.31	.31	.48
	(.28)	(.45)	(.65)	(1.65)	(.15)	(.28)	(.39)	(.77)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.33	.03	−.20	.07	.22	.06	−.40	−.42
	(.23)	(.40)	(.67)	(.89)	(.13)	(.24)	(.32)	(.52)
Rural	−.06	−.74	.00	.00	.11	−.12	−.95	.08
	(.31)	(.58)	(.)	(.)	(.19)	(.38)	(.92)	(1.07)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	−.16	.14	.11	.23	.04	.27	−.27	.06
	(.28)	(.47)	(.93)	(1.51)	(.15)	(.31)	(.51)	(.68)
2010	−.37	−.07	−.60	−1.05	−.31	.39	−.89	−.46
	(.33)	(.58)	(.74)	(1.40)	(.17)	(.36)	(.48)	(.72)
2014	−.89**	.23	1.55	−.45	−.39*	.40	−.16	.70
	(.30)	(.54)	(.81)	(1.20)	(.17)	(.34)	(.47)	(.78)
2018	−.00	−.27	1.87*	.71	−.09	.57	−.44	.43
	(.30)	(.52)	(.79)	(1.60)	(.18)	(.32)	(.43)	(.71)
Constant	−1.16	.34	6.66*	−3.14	−2.13*	.47	−2.61	−1.47
	(1.32)	(2.55)	(3.05)	(7.02)	(.86)	(1.72)	(2.40)	(2.65)
N	1,846	519	275	125	1,814	507	286	130

TABLE A9 (*Continued*)

	Fairness in Promotion				Job Satisfaction			
	White (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	Other Race (4)	White (1)	Black (2)	Hispanic (3)	Other Race (4)
Gender discrimination	−1.19***	−1.84***	−2.51***	−.93	−1.65***	−1.72***	−1.85**	−4.34**
	(.18)	(.40)	(.75)	(.92)	(.24)	(.46)	(.66)	(1.51)
Sexual harassment	−.68**	−.62	−1.03	1.83	−.85**	.21	.06	−5.89*
	(.25)	(.66)	(1.04)	(1.24)	(.33)	(.63)	(1.11)	(2.55)
Other background attributes:								
Age	−.00	−.01	.00	.02	.01	.00	−.00	.07
	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)	(.08)
(ln) income	.10	−.17	.35	.21	.11	.09	.48	1.07
	(.09)	(.18)	(.23)	(.28)	(.12)	(.22)	(.35)	(.56)
Education	.08**	.01	−.01	.09	.07	−.06	.10	.03
	(.03)	(.05)	(.08)	(.10)	(.04)	(.08)	(.11)	(.20)
Married	.06	−.20	.68	−.57	.22	−.46	.43	2.45
	(.13)	(.25)	(.39)	(.55)	(.20)	(.36)	(.69)	(1.51)
Children	−.01	−.09	−.23	.19	.10	−.04	.27	−.78
	(.05)	(.08)	(.16)	(.20)	(.10)	(.12)	(.26)	(.49)
Controls:								
Job tenure	−.01	−.02	−.03	−.01	.07**	−.01	.02	.05
	(.01)	(.02)	(.03)	(.04)	(.02)	(.03)	(.04)	(.09)
(ln) organizational size	−.05	.00	−.17	−.23	−.12**	.18*	−.14	.07
	(.03)	(.06)	(.10)	(.14)	(.05)	(.08)	(.15)	(.26)
Hours worked	.08	.06	−.17	−.05	.18	.33	−.07	−.24
	(.07)	(.09)	(.17)	(.27)	(.09)	(.18)	(.26)	(.81)
General happiness	.41***	.60**	.08	−.36	.91***	1.13***	.04	1.31
	(.12)	(.19)	(.37)	(.46)	(.19)	(.28)	(.59)	(.98)
Sector (ref = extractive & other):								
Core	−.43	−.54	−1.39	−.24	.41	.00	.76	3.78
	(.40)	(.84)	(1.24)	(1.59)	(.51)	(.85)	(1.69)	(2.47)

High-wage service	−.16	−.71	−1.91	−.74	.23	.85	.44	2.68
	(.37)	(.81)	(1.12)	(1.53)	(.47)	(.83)	(1.30)	(1.44)
Low-wage service	−.26	−.88	−2.54*	−1.63	.82	.39	−.42	3.21*
	(.37)	(.80)	(1.08)	(1.50)	(.47)	(.83)	(1.24)	(1.51)
Public sector	−.12	.32	−.43	.28	.63*	.22	.52	2.40
	(.18)	(.29)	(.41)	(.73)	(.29)	(.46)	(.69)	(2.34)
Residence (ref = suburban):								
Urban	.16	−.13	−.60	.13	−.05	.06	−2.07**	1.72
	(.14)	(.26)	(.42)	(.58)	(.25)	(.37)	(.78)	(1.41)
Rural	−.23	−.99*	−1.29	.59	−.21	.14	−1.65	.00
	(.21)	(.39)	(.87)	(1.78)	(.33)	(.54)	(1.36)	(.)
GSS year (ref = 2002):								
2006	.12	.17	.54	−.65	.09	−.09	.04	−1.56
	(.18)	(.34)	(.58)	(.76)	(.26)	(.49)	(.94)	(1.79)
2010	.06	.27	.04	−2.00*	−.17	.14	.15	−2.81
	(.19)	(.37)	(.54)	(.90)	(.30)	(.59)	(.76)	(1.82)
2014	.13	−.17	.81	−.38	−.20	−.84	.75	−3.72*
	(.19)	(.35)	(.58)	(.81)	(.33)	(.52)	(.89)	(1.82)
2018	.67***	.44	1.61**	.05	.31	−.06	1.61	1.36
	(.20)	(.35)	(.54)	(.77)	(.32)	(.53)	(.87)	(1.93)
Constant	−1.43	2.90	1.22	−.12	−2.20	−1.49	−1.82	−12.64
	(.89)	(1.92)	(2.51)	(3.44)	(1.25)	(2.26)	(3.80)	(6.93)
N	1,720	496	279	125	1,848	518	291	131

NOTE.—These are the underlying regressions for the estimates shown in fig. 3. Sample sizes vary slightly across imputed data sets because the variable used to construct the sample (i.e., race/ethnicity) was imputed. The largest sample size across imputed data sets is reported.

* $P < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

** $P < .01$.

*** $P < .001$.

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