Land of Milk and ‘Honey’
Confronting Gendered Experiences in Field Research

Katie Hinde, PhD

*This presentation includes “digital illustrations that include the skeletal remains of humans & other animals, and other displays of death. These illustrations are not real depictions of skeletons who were once living people.”

–anthroillustrated.com, trainee-led initiative
SCENARIO: For safety at an behavioral ecology field site, interns do animal subject focal follows in the forest in two-person teams. Alice often says she doesn’t feel well and can’t do the physically taxing focal follows.

Looking over the schedule to find alternate tasks for Alice, the field manager notices that since the 2nd week of the field season, Sarah has reported being sick on days she is assigned to be paired with Shawn.

<What are your first thoughts?>
FLASH POLL!

How many folks first thought was about personal conflict? (yes/no)

How many folks first thought was about sexual harassment? (yes/no)

How many folks first thought was about racial bigotry? (yes/no)
SCENARIO: For safety at an behavioral ecology field site, interns do animal subject focal follows in the forest in two-person teams. Alice often says she doesn’t feel well and can’t do the physically taxing focal follows.

Looking over the schedule to find alternate tasks for Alice, the field manager notices that since the 2nd week of the field season, Sarah has reported being sick on days she is assigned to be paired with Shawn.
Talk Outline

• Gendered Experiences

• Disrupting Biases

• Collective Action & Principles of Community
Gender & Sex

The Genderbread Person v4

by Sam Killermann

www.genderbread.org

Typical Human
Sex Chromosome
Combinations:

XX, XY

Atypical Human
Sex Chromosome
Combinations:

X0, XXX, XYY, XXY
48,XXXX, 48XXXXY, 48XXYY, 48YYYY, 49XXXXX,
49XXXXY, 49XXXXYY, 49XXYYY 49YYYY.

& two cell lines mosaicism (ex: 46,XY/47,XXY

Gender Identity

Woman-ness

Man-ness

Identity

Attraction

Expression

Anatomical Sex

Female-ness

Male-ness

Gender Expression

Femininity

Masculinity

Sex Assigned At Birth

Female

Intersex

Male

projectbiodiversify.org
Gendered experiences are widespread in academia

- Expectations
- Support
- Harassment; Assault

“Gendered experiences” is an umbrella term for lived experiences, encounters, and obstacles (or lack of) that are different or disparate as a function of one’s gender due to interpersonal or institutional biases, either implicit or explicit (bigotry, sexism, misogyny).
Most research on this topic describes the experiences of cis-women, or compares experiences between cis-men and cis-women.

**Systemic biases** impact studies about the experiences of transwomen and transmen, or women with intersecting identities:

- Not incorporated into research design from the jump
- Underrepresentation, marginalization in study population

Previous SABER talk:

**Systemic disadvantages for LGBTQ professionals in STEM**

*Erin Cech, PhD, University of Michigan*

Thursday, March 18th, 9 am PT
Gendered Experiences

- Gendered experiences are widespread in academia

  - Expectations

  - Support

  - Harassment; Assault
Students tend to evaluate women professors/instructors lower and have greater expectations for them to be warm and nurturing in adherence to enculturated gender norms (Hoffmann & Sahley 2020; Nesdoly et al. 2020).

Students expect women professors/instructors to be more accommodating and do more emotional labor (survey, N=88) and when these expectations are not met by women professors, students have stronger, negative emotional reactions (Experiment N=121)(El-Alayli et al. 2016).

Using STEM professional workshops with N=315 participants from 25+ different cultural backgrounds, “Women <scientists> who publicly communicate their work are likely to be stereotyped as ‘bitchy’, ‘bossy’, and ‘emotional’—often by their own gender.” (McKinnon & O’Connell. 2020). Fig 2:

These gendered expectations may particularly create obstacles for transgender women, “whose perceived violations of masculine gender norms produce higher social penalties” (Siegel 2019)
Gendered Experiences

- Gendered experiences are **widespread** in academia
  - Expectations
  - Support
  - Harassment; Assault
Gendered Support

- men are more likely to be cited
- symposia organized by men have fewer women presenters
- all-male review panels favor manuscripts w/ male corresponding/senior authors
- men are more likely to be journal editors & reviewers

A randomized double-blind study (n = 127) demonstrated gender bias by both male & female science faculty from research-intensive universities. Compared to identical female applicant, faculty rated the male applicant:
  - More competent
  - More Hirable
  - Higher starting salary
  - Offered more career mentorship

See Moss-Racusin et al. 2012; Grogan 2018
Gendered Experiences

• Gendered experiences are widespread in academia

- Expectations

- Support

- Harassment; Assault
“Universities and colleges have for a long time ignored sexual harassment, hoped it was non-existent or waited for it to disappear.”

“<Gender> harassment creates an environment in which women are constantly reminded that they are seen as sex objects and therefore, do not belong where they are.”

“The complexity of sexual harassment as a socio-political problem and a "hot button" political issue in academia and society may exacerbate the anxiety and ambiguity women feel about the situation/incident, making health consequences more serious.”

Harassment/Assault


SAMPLING APPROACH
- Large Midwestern university
- Stratified random sampling, with demographics of interest “over”-sampled
- Women in male-dominated departments (i.e., engineering, chemical sciences, life sciences, and math) “over”-sampled
- Ethnic/racial minorities proportionately “over”-sampled
- Snowball sampling technique for lesbian & bisexual respondents

SAMPLE
N=1,037 female participants
- 651 undergraduate, 386 graduate
- USA Racial Identity
  - White (N=356)
  - Asian American/Pacific Islander (N=204)
  - Latina (N=118)
  - African-American (N=98)
  - East Indian (N=26)
  - Native American (N=2)
  - Bi/Multiracial (N=65)
  - International Students (N=135)
  - Other (N=11)
- Lesbian or Bisexual Respondents (N=45)
SURVEY INSTRUMENTS
Queried about experiences with faculty on campus:
- insults, crude comments, sexual remarks
- unwanted touching or repeated requests for dates or sexual behavior
- implicit or explicit demands for sexual favors *quid pro quo*
- The final Q—“Have you ever been sexually harassed?” measures “respondents’ labeling of their experiences.”

RESULTS
- 49% of undergraduate & 53% of graduate women experienced sexually harassing behavior at least “once or twice” from an instructor or professor while at the university
- 20% of undergraduate & 26% of graduate labelled these experiences as “sexual harassment”

RESULTS cont
- African-American & Latina Women were 1.3x more likely to be harassed
- Lesbian & Bisexual women were 1.6x more likely to be harassed

“Most important, harassment even altered graduate women’s evaluations of their own academic competence; as harassment increased, so did their doubts about their own self-efficacy.”

**SAMPLING APPROACH & SAMPLE**
- Random sample of all third, fourth, and fifth year women students & fulltime graduate students at large Canadian University
- 1,613 questionnaires mailed out, 455 were completed & returned (RR 28.2%)
- 75% of respondents were undergraduates
- Modal age was 22-24
- Division Representation:
  - Humanities/Arts 38.3%
  - Environmental/Health Studies 31.2%
  - Sciences 30.1%

**SURVEY INSTRUMENT**
*while at the university:*
- Persistent derogatory comments & jokes about women and sexuality
- Regular assessment and comments on women's appearance
- Flirtation
- Pinching, touching, leering, grabbing, etc
- Request for *quid pro quo* sexual favors
- Sexual insult, invite, intimidation, assault

**OUTCOME QUESTIONS:**
- Well-being
  - Psychological & emotional
  - Physical
- Social/interpersonal relations
- Effects on vocational development or life opportunities.

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Harassment/Assault

RESULTS “77% of respondents experienced at least one sexual harassment incident ranging from sexual insult to sexual assault; 70% had experienced more than one type”

Direct effects on well-being:
- sleep disruption
- sexual inhibition
- emotional withdrawal
- diminished motivation
- loss of self-confidence
- weight loss
- depression; anxiety

Indirect effects on well-being:
- diminished personal relationships
- avoidance of men
- loss of trust in men
- loss of friends

“These effects tend to isolate the woman from the known healthful benefits of social interactions.”

A meta-analysis of workplace sexual harassment/assault (49 primary studies; 89,382 respondents) demonstrated that such experiences undermine work satisfaction & performance, psychological well-being, and physical health, especially for younger targets.

Despite decades, literally DECADES, of research on gendered experiences in academia, gendered experiences during fieldwork remained poorly addressed until recently.

‘It’s not happening. And if it is happening it’s coming from the local community’

What happens in the field stays in the field.

Gerald, you cannot deny the local customs!

Key & Peele, Comedy Central
Despite decades, *literally DECADES*, of research on gendered experiences in academia, gendered experiences during fieldwork remained poorly addressed until recently.

This oversight motivated the Survey of Academic Field Experiences (SAFE) in 2013...
SAFE Study Timeline

From the Field: Hazed Tells Her Story of Harassment
January 30, 2012 — Kate Clancy

January
March
Sept
January

2012

Retrograde Reactions: Lady in the Field on the Aftermath of Sexual Misconduct
March 9, 2012 — Kate Clancy

Clancy invited to present in American Association of Physical Anthropology ethics session

Clancy contacts a group of colleagues inviting collaborators for a brief survey for AAPA ethics session: Nelson, Rutherford, & Hinde say yes.

Context and Variation
Human behavior, evolutionary medicine... and ladybusiness.
SAFE Study Team

Dr. Kate Clancy, UIUC
Dr. Robin Nelson, Santa Clara U
Dr. Julienne Rutherford, UIC
Dr. Katie Hinde, ASU

• Women
• Intersectional Identities
• Pre-Tenure
From the Field: Hazed Tells Her Story of Harassment
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SAFE Study Timeline

Clancy invited to present in American Association of Physical Anthropology ethics session

Survey Opens

Survey Closes

2012

2013

2014

Clancy contacts a group of colleagues inviting collaborators for a brief survey for AAPA ethics session: Nelson, Rutherford, & Hinde say yes.

Preliminary Findings Presented

Survey of Academic Field Experiences (SAFE): Trainees Report Harassment and Assault
Menasveta & K. Clancy, Helen S. Weiler, Jennifer W. Rutherford, Kathleen Holy

PLOS ONE
SAFE Study

SAMPLING APPROACH & SAMPLE
- Online survey posted across myriad social media, blog, media platforms
- Chain referral sampling (in a snowball manner)
- A majority of the sample were women N=516/666 (77.5%).
- Predominantly heterosexual (N=572/666, 85.9%), respondents represented six different sexual orientations
- N=658/666 identified as male or female (98.7%)
- N=581/666 (87.2%) identified solely as Caucasian

SAMPLE cont
- Respondents originated from 30 countries, N=498/666, 74.8%
- Trainees: students and postdocs (N=386/666, 58%).
  Faculty: adjunct, tenure-track, and tenured faculty (N=179/666, 26.9%)
  Employees (N=20, 3%)
  Non-Academics (N=43, 6.5%)
- 32 different disciplines across the life, physical, and social sciences
  Anthropologists (319/666, 47.9%)
  Archaeologists (159, 23.9%)
  Biologists (68, 10.2%)
  Zoologists (31, 4.7%)
  Geologists (29, 4.4%)

FIELD EXPERIENCE

- Respondents had worked at an average of 3.2±0.04 field sites, however, on average, respondents had only ever worked at one field site directed by a woman (1.3±0.04).

- Over 50% of respondents in the survey had conducted research at four or more field sites (N=365/666, 54.8%), with no difference between men and women's reporting in number of field sites (3.3±0.08 vs. 3.1±0.05, N=658).

SAFE Study

CODES & POLICIES
-Fewer than half of survey respondents recalled ever encountering a code of conduct at any of the field sites at which they had worked (N=251/666, 37.7%).

-Fewer than one fourth of respondents recalled having ever worked at a field site with a sexual harassment policy (148/666, 22.2%).

A majority of survey respondents reported that they had directly observed or been told about the occurrence of other field site researchers and/or colleagues making inappropriate or sexual remarks at their most recent or most notable field site (N=448/619, 72.4%).

SAFE Study

“Have you ever personally experienced inappropriate or sexual remarks, comments about physical beauty, cognitive sex differences, or other jokes, at a field site? (If you have had more than one experience, the most notable to you).”

Yes/No/I don’t know

N = 423/658, 64%

women 3.5x

“Have you ever experienced physical sexual harassment, unwanted sexual contact, or sexual contact in which you could not or did not give consent or felt it would be unsafe to fight back or not give your consent at a field site? (If you have had more than one experience, the most notable to you).”

Yes/No/I don’t know

N = 140/644, 21.7%

women 5.5x

### SAFE Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Survey Sample</th>
<th>Experienced Comments</th>
<th>Experienced Physical Contact</th>
<th>Aware of Mechanism to Report Contact</th>
<th>Reported Physical Contact</th>
<th>Satisfied by Outcome</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each circle represents one survey respondent. Area for men and women is representative of their relative proportion of survey respondents.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Over 90% of women and 70% of men were trainees or employees at the time that they were targeted.

(A) Sources of Comments

(B) Sources of Unwanted Contact

### Harassment/Assault

**Academic had higher incidence than industry & government settings**

![Bar chart showing harassment rates across different settings.

**Gender Disparities in Tasks at Work-Associated Shared Living**

- Cleaning/maintenance of living areas
- Cleanup of breakfast dishes
- Cleaning/maintenance of sleeping quarters
- Cleanup of lunch dishes
- Cooking or preparation of breakfast
- Cooking or preparation of lunch
- Cooking or preparation of dinner
- Food procurement
- Washing clothes
- Coffee preparation
- Trash collection
- Ice procurement for daily field work
- Trash disposal

![Bar chart showing gender disparities in tasks at work-associated shared living.


- Bureau of Indian Affairs
- Bureau of Land Management
- Office of the Inspector General
- U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service
- Interior Business Center
- Office of the Special Trustee
- Office of the Solicitor
- Bureau of Reclamation
- Office of Natural Resources Revenue
- Bureau of Ocean Energy Management
- Office of the Secretary
- Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement
- Bureau of Safety and Environmental Enforcement

**Gender Harassment more likely to be directed at unmarried than married women indicating facultative control of harassing behaviors by perpetrators.**

Meyers et al. 2018; Meyers et al. 2015
Qualitative Interviews & Thematic Analyses

**Field Experiences**

**Tests**: behavioral “tests” (often endurance or tolerance evaluations) that served to establish in-group/out-group dynamics

**Gendered Labor**: women and men being tasked with different kinds of responsibilities that often mapped onto societal prescriptions regarding women’s “physical limitations or natural inclinations.” These tasks included women being required to do the cooking and shopping in team settings

**Alienation**: a feeling of isolation from other researchers or the research that diminished their contributions to the project or removed them from the primary tasks of data collection or analysis

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Unenforced rules function as no rules

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RULES:</th>
<th>Absent or Ambiguous</th>
<th>Un-Enforced</th>
<th>Present &amp; Enforced</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
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</table>

Experiences by Context

- Red = Experienced
- Green = No such experiences described during interviews

SAFE2 Study

Context & Characteristics of POSITIVE Field Experiences

-the sites were fair and/or egalitarian in execution

-living and working conditions were intentional and safe

-directors anticipated problems and created avenues for conversations or reporting

-the importance of having women in leadership roles at their sites who are respected & valued by other leaders

“The field director, on the first day, gathered everyone around and even though he was very casual about it, he welcomed us to the site and listed the ground rules. . . . He made it seem that we were all at the same level and if there were any problems, come to him. So he made it clear how he was going to act as a field director. Sort of what his goals were this field season and how we should all behave and how we should be respectful of others and don’t goof off but we were also going to have fun in the evenings and when we’re not working. We shouldn’t be afraid to come to him with any problems, if they were to occur. And when a problem did occur, I know he took care of it or handled it appropriately.”

–Respondent Quote

1) Empower & recognize survivors and other vulnerable members of our professional community as resourceful scholars who have met the immediate and enduring effects of trauma and risk with creativity, self-preservation, and determination

2) Affirm a fundamental commitment to promoting physical & emotional safety

3) Generate relations of trust through consistent and transparent procedures, centering survivors’ self-determination, privacy, and right to disengage be honored

4) Develop and implement survivor-centered, anti-harassment programs

5) Build cultural competency & cultural humility into anti-harassment programs

“No one should have to endure harassment to be able to do the work they love,”
-B. Voss, Associate Prof, Stanford

Disrupting Biases

SO, how do we get other people to not be biased?

CHANGE BIASED BEHAVIOR

Establish REWARDS for unbiased behavior & PUNISHMENTS for biased behavior

ON BOARD people to understand, interrogate, reflect, & disrupt their own biases

SABER Diversity & Inclusivity Speaker Series 2021 • Hinde: Gendered Experiences
### Disrupting Biases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COGNITIVE BIASES</th>
<th>INDIVIDUAL TENDINGENCIES &amp; CONTEXT</th>
<th>ENCULTURATED BIASES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In-Group / Out-Group Status Quo</td>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>Norms, Mores, Values, &amp; Rules</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fundamental Attribution</td>
<td>Lived Experience</td>
<td>Philosophical &amp; Ethical Perspectives</td>
</tr>
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<td>Social Learning</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Cultural Relativism</td>
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**INDIVIDUAL TENDINGENCIES & CONTEXT**
- Personality
- Lived Experience
- Identity

**ENCULTURATED BIASES**
- Norms, Mores, Values, & Rules
- Philosophical & Ethical Perspectives
- Cultural Relativism
**Organizational**
Training: Leadership, Empathy, Trauma-Informed Approaches
Evaluation of Justice, Equity & Inclusion
Mentoring Review

**Field Site/Lab/Classroom**
Codes of Conduct*
Principles of Community**
Oblique Reporting Mechanisms
Satellite Phones (departmental support)
Equity audits of TA, RA, trainee tasks

**Individual**
Implicit Bias Assessment
Continuing Education (at least annually)
**Principles of Community**

In Fieldwork Settings, build in an iterative TEAM exercise that collectively develops the shared principles of community for that season/year.

1. Fishbowl
3. Combine & Refine & “Finalize”
4. Individual Reflection & Commitment
5. Revisit & Refresh (repeatedly)

K. Hinde
Principles of Community

Women continue to undervalue their earning power, it’s on researchers to not exploit that

Living wages are required to recruit racial minority & LGBTQ students and interns to work at field sites

Additional considerations to recruit diverse junior colleagues:

- Pay
- Season/Timing
- Work/School Responsibility
- Transportation
- Family/Care Commitments
- Mental/Physical Health
- Work Conditions & Environment
- Qualification Level
- Housing
- No Professional Development
- Inclusive & Safe Workspace

Attracting Diverse Students to Field Experiences Requires Adequate Pay, Flexibility, and Inclusion

Alex J Jensen, Sara P Bombaci, Laura C Gigliotti, Stephen N Harris, Courtney J Marneweck, Mike S Muttersbaugh, Blaise A Newman, Shari L Rodriguez, Elizabeth A Saldo, Kyle E Shute, Keiler L Titus, Amanda L Williams, Sze Wing Yu, David S Jachowski

BioScience, biab039, https://doi.org/10.1093/biosci/biab039
Published: 14 April 2021
THANK YOU FOR BEING HERE TODAY

Katie Hinde, PhD

*This presentation included “digital illustrations that include the skeletal remains of humans & other animals, and other displays of death. These illustrations are not real depictions of skeletons who were once living people.” –anthroillustrated.com, student-led initiative