Surveilled or Unseen: An Examination of Invisibility and Hypervisibility in the Workplace

by

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Dedication

My dissertation is dedicated to all Latina farmworkers in the United States. Mi disertación está dedicada a las campesinas Latinas que trabajan en los Estados Unidos.

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I believe that nothing is accomplished alone. My dissertation is no exception to this. I have an entire community to thank, without whom I would not have reached this milestone.

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Abstract

In the U.S., it is likely that at some point we will all be employed and work. Work can provide many benefits for individuals, from positive well-being to a means to support oneself. Specifically, meaningful work (MW) can provide ways for one to be more engaged with work and have better team cohesion and better psychological well-being. However, not all jobs are created equally, and some jobs have lower status, and as such workers have less relative power in those spaces. Employees in these lines of work are also more likely to struggle with being visible, that is, being seen fully and accurately by the people they work with. Lack of visibility can relate to more experiences of mistreatment and harassment. Two settings that have allowed me to examine these relationships are those of university staff and farmworkers. While these populations differ in terms of the work context and their relative power, they share similarities in that the work that they do offers minimal autonomy and requires repetitive physical movements. These workplaces seemed to be good contexts to examine how visibility experiences link with experiences of work as meaningful, well-being, and mistreatment.

In Study 1, I examined university staff members' (N = 1409) visibility experiences, mental health, meaning they make from their work, and mistreatment (sexual and ethnic harassment). Those university staff who reported more visibility experiences (i.e., invisibility and hypervisibility) also reported worse mental health. Those who reported that their work was more meaningful reported less invisibility and hypervisibility. Regarding sexual and ethnic

harassment, university staff who reported more invisibility and hypervisibility also reported worse mental health and reported their work as less meaningful. Interestingly, I found that visibility experiences of men and women, and people of color and white people were not significantly different.

In Study 2, I examineed the same variables, but among Latinx farmworkers ($N = 104$) in California. In this sample, those farmworkers who reported more invisibility and hypervisibility also reported having worse mental health and making less meaning from their work. Regarding sexual and ethnic harassment, those farmworkers who reported more harassment also reported more invisibility, worse mental health, and making less meaning from their work. Interestingly, I found that among Latinx people and Indigenous Latinx people, those who were not Indigenous reported significantly more hypervisibility than Indigenous Latinx people. To close, I discuss implications for visibility research in non-traditional and low-status workplaces.

Chapter I: Introduction

Work generally serves many functions for people; Freud suggested work was crucial for the development of the ego functions, Maslow developed the theory of motivation which posits that work can help individuals meet a host of their needs from love to self-actualization, and Erikson posited that it was critical to development (Boyd, 2014). However, examinations of how varying types of work impact workers shows that work can also have negative consequences for workers' mental health and well-being. Groups that are marginalized, such as women and people of color, are more likely to be employed in low-wage and low-status work. Research has shown the work that specific groups of people engage in can be undervalued and ignored.

A low wage worker is an individual who receives compensation for their work at a rate that is significantly lower than the average wage or salary for their occupation or industry. Low wage workers typically earn wages close to or at the minimum wage, and their earnings may not be sufficient to cover basic living expenses, leading to financial hardship (Osterman, 2008). Precarious workers are individuals who experience employment characterized by instability, insecurity, and a lack of employment benefits or protections. These workers often face temporary or part-time contracts, lack access to benefits such as healthcare or retirement plans, and have limited job security. Precarious work arrangements can leave workers vulnerable to sudden job loss or financial instability (Kalleberg, 2009; 2018). A low-status worker refers to an individual in a work position that is perceived to have lower social or occupational standing compared to other positions within the same organization or industry. Low-status workers may have limited

decision-making power, less autonomy in their roles, and fewer opportunities for advancement compared to higher-status positions (Volpato, Andrighetto & Baldissarri, 2017).

It's important to note that these definitions can vary slightly depending on the context and the specific labor market conditions of a particular country or region. These terms are often used to highlight the challenges and vulnerabilities faced by certain segments of the workforce and to advocate for improved labor rights and working conditions for these workers. Importantly, low-wage workers, precarious workers, and low-status workers share economic vulnerability and job insecurity. However, their distinctions lie in their primary focus on wage levels (low wage workers), employment stability (precarious workers), and social standing within the organization (low-status workers). Understanding these differences can help inform specific policy and organizational interventions to address the unique challenges faced by each category of workers. These groups are the focus of the current project.

Theoretical Model

I aim to provide a theoretical framework for understanding the intricate interactions among individual identities, workplace experiences, and outcomes of well-being and work as meaningful. Using this framework, I hope to shed light on the complex dynamics that impact employees' experiences and outcomes, with a particular focus on how individual identities and workplace experiences, influence meaningful work and well-being. Figure 1 depicts the relationships.

The aspects that are not measured in my study appear in the box outlined with broken lines in Figure 1. These aspects are features of the work This includes low status, meaning that there is not much value assigned to the work. The work can also be hidden, and repetitive, so that folks are engaging in the same tasks every day, and this might not be visible to others in the

workplace. Last, the work can be low in autonomy, in terms of the choice for the tasks that needs to be completed on any given day.

Individual differences in majority and minority group identities will relate to differences in workplace experiences (invisibility and hypervisibility) and outcomes (i.e., both A and B boxes). This is due to power between minority and majority group identities--that is, lower relative power for people in minority identity groups. Groups who have been historically excluded and marginalized will experience more of the poor workplace experiences and worse workplace outcomes. Moreover, regardless of identity, workplace experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility will relate to the outcomes (i.e., A predicting B).

Workplace Context

This research involves two samples: primarily white staff in higher education and Latinx farmworkers. University staff are employees who have lower social positions, and as such, less power in their space. Researchers have found that at a large west coast university, staff report being invisible to faculty and higher administration. Moreover, researchers state that staff only have as much power as their direct supervisors are willing to give them. As such, while this form of work is not precarious (that is, they have ongoing paid positions), there are still ways that staff workers' power is limited (Kezar, 2010). Similarly, the Latinx farmworker population also holds not only less social power, but also little formal power. Farmworkers do not have a say in how work is done at the various farms where they are employed, because they are on the bottom of the hierarchy on the farms. Outside of work, farmworkers – who are majority immigrant, majority Latinx, and largely undocumented – have little-to-no formal power. Because university staff work in an organization where they are not hidden, but widely seen within traditional brick and mortar spaces, they have more formal power than farmworkers have. This power includes

protections offered by laws, as well as internal policies that protect workers, and the resulting ability to challenge institutions in ways farmworkers cannot, partly due to their precarious citizenship status.

Research in psychology has examined workers' experiences with workplace mistreatment such as sexual harassment and incivility (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013). This mistreatment has been studied primarily among workers who work in traditional brick and mortar settings (e.g., offices). Workers in other types of employment, such as low status work, receive less attention, perhaps due to the powerlessness of these workers and the type of work they do. By including low-status workers from non-traditional and more traditional workspaces, I can examine how workers who have minimal autonomy and perform the same tasks may experience mistreatment at work and how this can relate to how they draw meaning from their work and their well-being.

Power and Workplace Experiences

Research has shown that those who hold formal power, power that is supported by institutions (for example, power that people in supervisory and managerial roles hold), make fewer reports of sexual harassment and are more likely to perpetrate it (Settles et al., 2012). Power is also distributed differently among racial and ethnic groups. In the U.S., value and power are afforded to white people in a way that it is not afforded to people of color. Similarly, because our society is also patriarchal, power is afforded to men that is not afforded to women. These forms of social power can impact the way people move through institutions. Research has shown that individuals with less social power are more susceptible to experiences of mistreatment (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Settles et al., 2012; Konik & Cortina, 2008).

For example, research on faculty of color has found they have distinct experiences to those of white faculty. Researchers have found that faculty can experience hypervisibility at work because they are often seen as diversity tokens. Conversely there are faculty of color who experience invisibility by their research and work being excluded and not valued by others in their department (Settles et al., 2019). Power relates to how visible people are, but given that no measure of visibility experiences exists, there has not been an investigation of how visibility experiences may impact people's work, like experiences of harassment, how employees draw meaning from their work, and their mental health.

Workplace Experiences and Identity

There is value attached to the types of work people do, and this value can be drawn from the social identity-based groups workers belong to. For example, this is highlighted in the work that women (rather than men) do. While the work that is known to be invisible traditionally began as work that was "feminine," like care work and housework, there is evolving research on how the work that women do generally is made invisible, even when it is not "care work" (Kaplan et al., 2020). One study demonstrated that women working in non-profit jobs experienced invisibility of their work in three sectors: *background work* (i.e., logistical, and organizational work), *empathy work* (i.e., building relationships and managing their and clients' feelings), and *emotional labor* (i.e., managing their own emotions when managing sadness, aggression, and unfairness; Kosny & MacEachen, 2010). All of this work is critical to their jobs but is not formally recognized as part of the job and therefore lacks protection and recognition. Additionally, much of the work that women do is informal, or is not part of their job description (e.g., women nurses emotionally supporting their patients), while their formal work is denigrated (e.g., women teachers seen as babysitters). It is important to note that this work becomes

invisible or is deemed less valuable because the work is associated with and done by women. This contextualizes and clarifies how *who* is doing the work can contribute to the devaluation and invisibility of the work. In all, critical feminist scholarship helps us to understand that work can be made invisible and deemed less valuable when it is performed by women—a particular group of people (Hatton, 2017). However, there is less research that examines how the work of other minoritized groups may relate to workplace visibility experiences.

It is important to note that while gender can have these implications for women's work, and is related to the fact that women take on this emotional and caretaking labor, it is somewhat different, but parallel, for people of color (POC). For POC, the types of labor might look different and rely on stereotypes related to that group. For example, "brown collar" work is work that is often low-wage and taken on by Latinx/e immigrant populations across the country. This type of work depends on stereotypes about Latinx/e immigrants as people who are willing to do jobs that others are not. As such, racial/ethnic groups who are not white grapple with different expectations about them and their work. This is because, in the U.S., majority group members expect POC groups to defer to the majority group's expectations and not pushback on the social hierarchy. As such, the expectations majority groups hold may be that minority groups will do their job without pushing back on expectations.

Psychological and organizational research has examined visibility experiences and the consequences they can have for individuals. Research emphasizes that visibility experiences rely on power, and this can have implications for those who are not in positions of power – like people who have been pushed to the margins of society (e.g., women, people color; Lewis & Simpson 2005, 2010). Minority group members who hold less power in society are more often invisible or hypervisible—a consequence of their identities not being present in majority spaces.

I utilize literature from women's and gender studies and psychology to discuss how power and visibility experiences work together and create spaces where harassment happens to workers in service positions.

As for majority group members who hold power in society, one way that they experience visibility is by being seen fully and accurately by society while also simultaneously serving as the norm to which everyone is compared. This type of visibility paired with their simultaneous *invisibility* is a benefit only majority groups in power can reap. Thus, majority groups are visible because they are those who are in power but can also be *invisible* in the sense that they are regarded as the norm – and don't have to be visible to keep that role.

Workplace Visibility and Power

Visibility is defined as "being seen fully and accurately by others" (Buchanan & Settles, 2019) and being visible at work is the ideal way to experience your workplace. However, visibility experiences are rooted in power. As such, experiences of visibility can vary for people depending on how much relative power they hold in their given work context. Below I describe how power that comes from belonging to a gender or racial/ethnic group can impact how you experience hypervisibility or invisibility while at work, and how these experiences vary for different groups.

Hypervisibility is defined as scrutiny based on difference, which heightens surveillance of that person (Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2019; Ryland 2013). When workers enter spaces where they are the minority, their identity can be salient to others around them, thus increasing their visibility in those spaces and rendering them hypervisible. In this setting workers who hold less power, like minority groups members, experience scrutiny and surveillance in their work

settings. As such, women and people of color can experience hypervisibility in work context where their racial/ethnic group or gender is scrutinized.

Last, invisibility is not being seen fully or accurately by others (Buchanan & Settles, 2019). Invisibility can have varying outcomes for people depending on their power. Interestingly, research has demonstrated that those who have the option to be invisible are those who are in positions of power. That is, those who are invisible are the standard; they are the ones we, as a society, do not have to think about because they align with the prototype. They are both visible and invisible, but they are not hypervisible or neglected and ignored. For the majority, there is power in invisibility. This type of invisibility allows men's experiences to be universalized to all, and to appear ungendered. This also allows men to enjoy visibility while avoiding scrutiny and interrogation (Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Men have the privilege of living in a body that is not perceived in gendered terms—a privilege that women do not have. Similarly, people of color do not have the option to exist in bodies that are not perceived to be racialized. As such, invisibility also operates differently based on individuals' relative power. Moreover, this is supported by intergroup relations research that posits people in the majority groups create distance between themselves and minority groups and this grants the majority group agency and pushes the minority groups to defer to the majority (Fiske et al, 2016). In workplace settings, research has also found that men and women of various races and ethnicities experience increasing inequality in workplace power, relative to white men (Elliott & Smith, 2004).

Hidden Work

Hatton defines invisible work as labor that is economically devalued through cultural, legal and/or spatial dynamics (Hatton, 2017). This further supports the idea that individuals who

are in low-wage and precarious work are devalued through how their work is paid, how much it is desired, and how it is hidden. Culturally, low-wage and precarious work is seen as work that formally uneducated people do. The term "unskilled labor" underscores this point and is often used when describing people in low-wage and precarious positions, despite the many skills that these forms of labor require. Legally, low-wage and precarious work do not have the same protections that other types of employment have. This often contributes to the felt invisibility and marginalization experienced by low-wage and precarious workers. For instance, low-wage and precarious work is often "part-time," so employers are not required to offer certain benefits and protections. Additionally, low-wage and precarious workers may begin their workdays before or after many other employees are present (as in the case of custodians); or they may be physically hidden away in rural areas and behind fields, like farmworkers. Moreover, "staff" are often positioned to be visible in collective spaces, while their "bosses" are hidden behind doors. In this way staff are actually hypervisible as representatives of the boss – leaving staff vulnerable to mistreatment while they hold less relative power than their boss. These are some ways in which work is made institutionally invisible and plays out at an interpersonal level in places of employment.

Invisibility

Invisibility of minority groups members has different kinds of negative consequences. Fryberg and Townsend (2008) discuss how invisibility can be further broken down into two elements that relate to how mistreatment is not only the presence of bad treatment, but the absence of positive treatment. The authors provide the terms *relative invisibility*, which reflects group misrepresentation, representation that is historically or culturally outdated and erroneous, and *absolute invisibility,* which reflects no representation of a given group. Researchers argue

that existing within these limited scopes of visibility leaves people to wonder who they are and who they should be (Fryberg &Townsend, 2008). Specifically, as it relates to stereotype threat, individuals may find that when their groups are vulnerable to relative invisibility, they are more likely to experience stereotype threat; that is, they may find themselves constantly having to counter the stereotypes associated with their group. Within academic spaces, this means that people might experience *academic disidentification*, where a person's self-concept becomes less enmeshed with their academic performance and for that reason they disengage from their academic work (Steele, 1992). When we consider other organizational contexts, we see that when people have this experience of relative invisibility, they may also be more likely to disengage from their work. This research also highlights the need to recognize mistreatment not only as the presence of negative treatment, but also as the absence of positive treatment, which can create a sense of invisibility on the part of the target. Thus, invisibility is not only an aspect of not being seen but also serves as a form of mistreatment in and of itself.

One consequence of invisibility at a larger structural level is that workers may not be included in making policy changes and may therefore be unlikely to reap their benefits. A historical example of this can be seen in lack of protections for farmworkers – they have been excluded from workplace policies because the original farmworkers in the United States were enslaved African people – so protections for them did not exist. A recent example of how this invisibility can play out is a recent law in California that mandated that growers and farm owners need to pay farmworkers overtime (Department of Industrial Relations, 2022). This sounds good on paper, but when we, as a society, don't consider the invisibility of Latinx farmworkers and their lack of power, we don't realize that growers were never going to pay overtime. Instead, growers hired more workers. The consequence is now that farmworkers do not get enough hours

and must take on additional jobs. As for workers in brick-and-mortar settings, especially in higher education, faculty are eligible for benefits (sabbaticals, parental leave, etc.) that staff are not eligible for. There is no need to provide any rationale for this because it is simply assumed that staff are "different", and they are not party to any policy discussions about these practices. Invisibility at structural levels has material implications for these employees (i.e., farmworkers and University staff), regardless of their largely different workplace contexts.

Invisibility can occur when people are not seen in their workspaces, and the work that they engage in is also not valued. Historically, this has also been the case with women who served as secretaries, their lower status positions left them vulnerable to their bosses who were men (Turk, 2014). In this instance the women secretaries faced being hypervisible and under surveillance in those spaces because they were the minority – this also related to experiences of sexual and gender harassment (Turk, 2014). Within workplace settings I can also see visibility experiences play out when workers are not physically seen or perceived. For example, in recent research Rabelo and Mahalingam (2019) found that custodial staff experienced being invisible because of their work hours (e.g., after people have left for the day) and the treatment they receive from customers (e.g., being ignored). Moreover, custodial staff expressed that they can often go without seeing anyone during their shifts; thus, no one knows who cleaned the workspaces. However, custodial staff also reported being ignored when they enter an office while people are present. Being made invisible had negative consequences for workers' well-being, in that workers reported feeling shame, fear, anxiety and sadness (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019).

Hypervisibility

Conversely, hypervisibility occurs when people are extremely visible. For members of minority groups who are different from most people in their place of work they become susceptible to scrutiny (Buchanan & Settles, 2019). This can often happen in spaces where there is not a diversity of people, such as academia. Indeed, research on hypervisibility in academia has found that individuals who are different from the norms of academia (e.g., white, educated, wealthy and men) often stand out and are susceptible to scrutiny because they come from a marginalized group. For instance, Black women report experiencing hypervisibility at work and report that they are left feeling scrutinized but not genuinely seen. The experience of being hypervisible for minority groups results in exploitation, tokenism, and pigeon-holing (McCluney & Rabelo, 2019; Dickens et al., 2019). This type of hypervisibility can be more severe for women in staff positions.

Often women of color and especially Black women in service positions can face this type of scrutiny. Researchers who compared professional to nonprofessional jobs amongst Black women found that Black women in the non-professional service jobs reported less autonomy, more surveillance, and more stress (Gary et al., 2015). Moreover, research has demonstrated that women of color experience this lack of control more often than their white counterparts due to the majority-dominated economic and poetical systems (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens et al., 2014; Stevens-Watkins, Perry et al., 2014). As such, it is critical that when researchers examine workplace experiences like visibility experiences that are so closely aligned to relative power that we examine differences between minority and majority groups as their experiences can differ. Similarly, harassment is another workplace experience that relates to power and is a common workplace experience.

Power and Harassment

Workplace experience of visibility and harassment can vary depending on one's relative power and identity. Public discourse that surrounds sexual harassment assumes that it is driven by sexual desire or attraction, but researchers have found that motives for sexual harassment are rooted in power (Cortina & Areguin, 2020). This fact reflects the multifaceted social dynamics and intergroup relations at play (e.g., Berdahl, 2007a, 2007b; Fitzgerald & Cortina, 2017; Street, Gradus, Stafford, & Kelly, 2007). Specifically, Berdahl's (2007a) Sex-Based Harassment Theory identifies and explains how social power and status drive sexual harassment. In her theory, Berdahl argues that defending the gender hierarchy, where men are on top, is the motive for sexual harassment. Berdahl's theory builds upon the social psychological research finding that people are motivated to protect and defend their social group's boundaries and status (Pratto, 1999; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Berdahl (2007a) notes that because our social system privileges men and masculinity over women and femininity (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Nentwich & Kelan, 2014), men are motivated to protect and advance their heightened gender status by sexually harassing people who challenge the gender status quo.

Gender Harassment

There are several factors that contribute to gender harassment in the workplace. In the organizational literature, women describe instances where they are either made to feel incompetent and as if they don't belong, or where they are not seen at all. The belief that women's roles are not valuable contributes to an androcentric society, where women are invisible and men's experiences are the norm (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). When workers do jobs that are not usually performed by people of their gender, this can result in hypervisibility and gender harassment. For example, when Latinx men farmworkers work in packing houses –

work that has been designated for women – they become hypervisible and may be harassed. Similarly, when women farmworkers take on roles working in the field, they may face harassment because they are not confirming stereotypes associated with their gender.

Within gender harassment there is also a need to discuss masculinity, another factor that can contribute to this experience. Both men and women engage in toxic masculinity and create environments that are hypermasculine. Cornell (1995) defined masculinity as consisting of three components: (1) a social location that individuals, regardless of gender, can move into; (2) a set of practices that are considered masculine; (3) and engaging in acts that have cultural and social effects. Toxic masculinity includes prohibitions on men engaging in anything that can be tied to femininity or feminine qualities. Femininity is tied to acts that are viewed as "for women," not based on women's sex but on a societal expectation of what women should be. These constraints may lead to a toxic environment for all, where individuals are kept from behaving in healthy ways that allow them to express emotions appropriately, successfully work in teams, or build good relationships between supervisors and employees. Being in overtly toxic masculine environments can feed gender-based harassment because when a man acts in a way that is perceived as feminine, he seen as less worthy. Further, an environment in which these behaviors are prevalent allows sexual harassment to thrive.

Ethnic Harassment

Beyond experiences of sexual and gender harassment, there is also research to support that racial and ethnic minorities can experience harassment due to their race/ethnicity (Schneider et al, 2000). One way that ethnic harassment can manifest is through selective incivility, which is defined as subtle, every day, disregard for others in the workplace (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta & Magley, 2013). A person's position as a low-status group member or as a

low-level employee can also influence how vulnerable one is to harassment, and so ethnic minority groups and women who have low power in society are especially susceptible to these indignities (Cortina, Magley, Langhout, 2001). Therefore, I would expect that university employees and farmworkers are especially susceptible to these everyday slights because of their low-power position and because of their low-power group identities.

Work as Meaningful

Work is something that most people will engage in during their lifetime. In the U.S. the work week is 40 hours, indicating that people spend around 1,920 hours at work every year. Beyond work as a place where people spend their time, work is also a place where many people draw meaning. In this dissertation, I define meaningful work (MW) as how people perceive their own work as making a meaningful contribution to the world and to their sense of self (Steger, 2019). Previous research shows that people who rate their work as meaningful also report experiencing greater well-being (Arnold, 2007); view their work as important (Harpaz & Fu, 2002); and report greater job satisfaction (e.g., Kamdron, 2005) and cohesion at work (Sparks & Schenk, 2001). However, many types of work exist, and each can allow for people to reap many of the benefits listed above or can pose challenges to reaping those benefits.

Workplace meaning is linked to workplace engagement, which is critical for moving businesses forward and keeping employees engaged (Albrecht, 2013). Unfortunately, when people feel that their work is not valued, they can lose a sense of fulfillment in their work, as was the case for Chinese immigrant laborers in a study conducted by Tu et al. (2019). When these workers had long hours and had to engage in heavy labor, they saw their job as a means to an end; as such, they reported feeling less fulfilled by their employment (Tu et al., 2019). Other researchers have asked for more research on the relationship between experiencing mistreatment

and how workers draw meaning from work (Reio & Sanders-Reio; 2011). Researchers have also investigated how deriving meaning from one's work relates to heightened well-being and work engagement (Steger et al., 2012), providing a benefit for individuals and the organizations employing them alike.

Some of these potential challenges that are barriers to reaping benefits from work involve minimal autonomy to make their own work-related decisions. For employees, some of the issues they can encounter at work, especially in positions where they have less power, involve their having minimal autonomy to make their own decisions while at work. This has been examined in political philosophy and in psychology. In the political philosophy realm, autonomous work is broadly referred to as opportunities at work for people to exercise their capabilities without force, plan work-related activities and make independent decisions regarding the work process (Bowie, 2019; MacIntyre, 1981; Mei, 2019; Schwartz, 1982; Veltman, 2016). Autonomy can allow people to draw meaning from their work by allowing them to feel as if they are taking their own action toward a company's goals and mission. In the psychological realm, this lack of autonomy can relate to poor well-being (Terry & Jimmieson, 1999; Zacher et al., 2019).

Repetitive tasks pose a notable challenge for individuals in their work environment. These tasks tend to become ingrained due to the inherent workflow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997), allowing workers to navigate through them almost instinctively. This state of immersion, however, carries inherent risks, demanding significant skill to become a second nature for workers. Although workers might find the mental aspect of these tasks relatively manageable, they can lead to adverse physical consequences. This becomes particularly evident when workers become so absorbed in their tasks that they overlook the need for breaks. Such a sustained workflow can result in musculoskeletal issues, as seen in cases of women employees developing

wrist problems due to repetitive actions even when force wasn't required (Arvidsson et al., 2003).

The combination of unchanging tasks and limited autonomy over them, often stemming from hierarchical work structures, can be linked to various physical health problems. This holds true for both employees in staff positions and those engaged in farm work. Despite their proficiency and skill in their respective roles, the repetitive nature of these tasks can eventually take a toll on their physical well-being. Just as observed in the cases of university staff and farmworkers, the mastery of these tasks can inadvertently contribute to negative impacts on their overall physical health.

Well-being, Work as Meaningful, and Harassment as Outcomes

Well-being and work as meaningful are important outcomes to examine in the workplace because they have significant implications for both employees and organizations. Understanding and addressing these outcomes can lead to several benefits. Well-being and finding work as meaningful are essential for employee satisfaction and engagement. When employees feel supported and find purpose in their work, they are more likely to be motivated and committed to their roles. This, in turn, can increase employee retention, reducing turnover costs for organizations (Harter, Schmidt, & Keyes, 2003). Employees with higher levels of well-being and a sense of meaningful work tend to be more productive and perform better. They are likely to be more focused, creative, and dedicated to achieving organizational goals, ultimately leading to improved overall performance (Robertson & Cooper, 2010). Well-being is closely linked to mental and physical health.

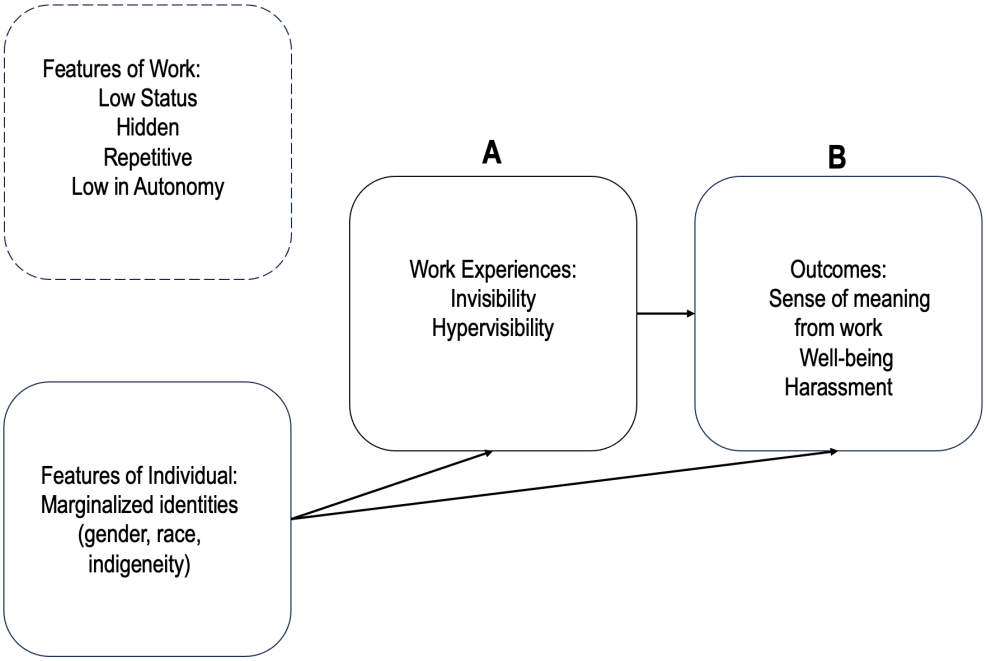
The consequences of harassment have been thoroughly documented in both workplace settings and more generally—but typically focus on spaces that are professional or academic

(one exception being the literature on sexual harassment in military work, e.g., Leskinen, Cortina & Kabat, 2011; Magley, Waldo & Fitzgerald, 1999; Stark et al., 2002). Experiences with harassment have been associated with worse mental health outcomes, as well as engaging in behaviors that can lead to poor health (e.g., depression symptoms or binge drinking; Brondolo, Brady, Libby, & Pencille, 2011; Chavez, Ornelas, Lyles, & Williams, 2015; Lorenzo-Blanco & Cortina, 2013; Organista & Ngo, 2018). These consequences are especially problematic in the Latinx community, as Latinos in general, and specifically those of Mexican origin, are less likely to have employer-provided health coverage due to their concentration in service-sector jobs (Spalter-Roth et al., 2005). In other words, this is a group of individuals who are more at risk of experiencing everyday discrimination, but who are unable to seek medical help for the mental and physical health issues that discrimination can cause. Workers outside of farm work are also not immune to experiences of mistreatment. Harassment may also lead employees to leave their positions (if they have other options), which in turn can cost companies money in replacement and training (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001). Lastly, experiences of harassment might lead workers to disengage from their work. Disengagement is bad for businesses because it is related to less productivity among workers, less profits, and more worker turnover (Schullery, 2013).

As I mentioned above, while there is research that has examined workplace settings, there is less research that focuses on people who have low status jobs and visibility experiences. Research is particularly important in this area, in part because these jobs are typically filled by employees with marginal identities. Scholarship in Women's and Gender Studies posits that work is less valued when it comes from women, and therefore work from *particular* groups of people is less valued. Therefore, this set of two studies will examine the experience of

invisibility and hypervisibility among both university staff and farmworkers. These two populations are especially helpful for examining this question because they are both filled by people who have less relative power due to their types of employment, and visibility experiences relate to power. Farmworkers and university staff both have to deal with being asked to do the same tasks over and over, and they also have little autonomy over what those tasks will be. As such, these groups provide good samples to use to assess how visibility operates and relates to experiences of harassment, and work as meaningful and mental health.

Figure 1.1 Theoretical Model



Chapter II: Study 1

Research Questions

Study 1 addresses three research questions:

1) Can we measure experiences of workplace invisibility and hypervisibility reliably and with validity?
2) Are minority group members' (e.g., women and people of color) experiences of workplace invisibility and hypervisibility different from those of majority group members?
3) Do these experiences of workplace invisibility and hypervisibility relate to experiences of workplace harassment, meaning derived from work, and well-being?

Hypotheses

Within this study I examine three hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1

Given previous research on visibility, I understand that there are experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility among employees in organizations (Settles et al., 2019). As such, I expect that although no current measure of workplace visibility experiences exists, people will report experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility on the job that are related but distinct.

Hypothesis 2

Next, given the research that demonstrates that people who have been marginalized are more likely to experience mistreatment than majority group members, I hypothesize that

marginalized groups in my sample will report more experiences of visibility than my majority group sample (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Specifically, people of color and women will report more invisibility and hypervisibility on the job, compared to white people and men (respectively).

Hypothesis 3

Last, given that reports of visibility experiences are negatively related to mistreatment experiences, I predict participants who report more invisibility will have poorer well-being and derive less meaning from work. At the same time, research has found that invisibility can serve to protect people from harassment (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019). Therefore, I propose that university staff who experience more invisibility will report fewer experiences of workplace harassment. I also predict that those who experience hypervisibility will have poorer well-being, less meaning from work, and report more experiences of harassment at work. This is based on research on invisibility and hypervisibility that demonstrates that, as a form of mistreatment, it can be related to harassment and mental health. However, researchers have also shown that invisibility can serve as a buffer from harassment which is why I predict that people will report less harassment. While much of this work has been theoretical and conceptual, my creation of a visibility measure allows me to test these theoretical predictions empirically.

Method

Participants

Participants were staff employees of a large public university in the Midwest, who have worked for the university for 12 months or more. We initially invited participants in November 2021 and the survey was closed in December 2021. We excluded employees invited to participate in another researcher's study during the summer of 2020, to avoid overburdening this

population. Moreover, we included job groups like facilities management, custodial staff, and administrative assistants (complete list of job groups can be found in Appendix A). We recruited participants using the university's Human Resources (HR) targeted email and campus mailing list services. To decide on the types of positions we would include in the recruitment process, the research team went through the list HR provided us, searching for positions that were low-wage or low-status. We made these decisions based on the rank of the positions and the salary/wages. Even after our initial review of job categories and recruitment, once we collected and before I analyzed the data, I created criteria to ensure I was capturing the experiences of people being paid low wages. To that end, I created a filter to include people who answered that they "had enough to get by, but no extras," or less, that made 65k or less, or they had two or more dependents. This resulted in 1409 participants whose data could be used for analyses.

Our goal was to ensure we were capturing individuals who have relatively less power than faculty and other higher-status employees. University HR sent our survey invitation to staff who fit the inclusion criteria. For this study we wanted to ensure that the survey captured experiences of non-white people. As such, we asked HR to send our study request to all non-white people in our selected job categories, but only to a random selection of white people in the same job categories. This resulted in inviting 2824 white participants and 858 non-white participants. In their email invitation, HR specified that the first 1,667 participants who completed our survey will be compensated with a $15 Amazon gift card as a participant incentive. We closed the survey after it had been open for six weeks, ultimately receiving surveys from 1,465 participants (40% response rate).

Participants who completed the survey mostly identified as women (72%), with 26% identifying as men and 1% identifying as genderqueer, gender non-binary, and or gender fluid.

Fewer than 1% reported using a different label or preferred not to answer. As for race/ethnicity, the majority of participants were white (79%), 10% identified as Black/ African American, 4% identified as Asian/Asian American/ Pacific Islander, 2% identified as multiracial/ multiethnic, 1% identified as Hispanic/Latin(o/a/x/e), less than 1% identified as Middle Eastern and Native American/ American Indian. Three percent of participants preferred not to answer. As for age, participants were on average 44 years old with a standard deviation of 34 years, and ages ranged between 23 to 79 years old. On average, participants had been working at the university for 13 years with a standard deviation of 34 years, and job tenure ranged from two to 43 years. Lastly, participants' positions ranged from Administrative Support (31%) to Professional Staff Support (7%).

Procedure

As mentioned above, we contacted staff at HR, who then emailed participants our invitation to participate in a survey about their experiences at work. Participants were invited, and then reminded of the survey three times after the initial invitation. These emails came at one-week intervals. We recorded participants' email addresses (via a separate survey not linked to responses to the primary survey) only to enable incentive payments. Survey responses were collected via Qualtrics and downloaded into an SPSS file for data cleaning and analysis. This study was approved and deemed exempt by the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board.

Measures

A list of complete measures can be found in Appendix B.

Visibility Experiences at Work Scale (VEWS)

This set of items asked participants about workplace experiences with both invisibility and hypervisibility. Participants read the prompt, “Please think about the people you work with most often on a typical workday. And then answer the following questions with those people in mind.”

Participants responded to eight items about feeling invisible in their workplace. Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Sample item: “I feel like I am seen as replaceable by the people I work with.” Higher scores indicate more feelings of invisibility.

Participants also responded to eight items about feeling hypervisible in their workplace. Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). Sample item: “I feel like people I work with are watching for me to make mistakes.” Higher scores indicate more feelings of hypervisibility.

Demographics

I assessed participants' gender, race/ethnicity, and generation status. With respect to gender, I asked, “Which of the following best describes your gender identity? (Select all that apply)”, and response options were (a) woman, (b) man, (c) genderqueer, gender non-binary, gender fluid, (d) I use a different label (I identify as _____), and (e) prefer not to answer. I coded this item as gender binary where women were coded as 1 and men were coded as 2. There were fewer than 20 people who identified outside of the gender binary, so I could not use them in comparisons. I also included an item to ask participants if they identify as transgender. The question asked, “Do you identify as a transgender person? (i.e., a person who was given a gender and/or sex label at birth that does not accurately represent them)” and response options

read (a) no, (b) yes, (c) unsure, and (d) prefer not to answer. For this item, less than 1% (15 people) identified as transgender.

With respect to race-ethnicity, I asked, "Which of the following racial/ethnic categories describes you the best?," and response options were (a) Asian/ Asian American/ Pacific Islander, (b) Black/ African American, (c) Hispanic/ Latin(o/a/x/e), (d) Middle Eastern, (e) Native American/ American Indian, (f) White, (g) Multiracial/Multiethnic (please describe), (h) None of these categories describe me, (i) I identify as (please describe) and (j) prefer not to answer". I coded different identities with different numbers within SPSS (e.g., Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander as "1" and Hispanic/Latin(o/a/x/e) as "4"). The group sizes were too small to compare across multiple groups, but I was able to do a comparison between majority groups (white people) and minority groups (people of color).

Work as Meaning Inventory (WAMI)

This set of items asked participants about their perceptions of their work as making a meaningful contribution to the world and to their sense of self (Steger et al., 2012). Participants read the prompt, "Work can mean a lot of different things to different people. The following items ask about how you see the role of work in your own life. Please honestly indicate how true each statement is for you and your work." Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*absolutely untrue*) to 5 (*absolutely true*), where higher scores indicate more meaning is drawn from work. The WAMI scale ($\alpha = .93$) is made up of three subscales: positive meaning ($\alpha = .89$), meaning making through work ($\alpha = .82$), and greater good motivations ($\alpha = .93$).

Workplace Harassment

To assess harassment at work I included measures of sexual harassment and ethnic harassment.

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). This set of items asks people about experiences of sexual harassment while at work (Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow & Waldo, 1999). The prompt reads, "Thinking about UNWANTED behaviors SINCE OCTOBER 2020, how often have [university] staff, students, faculty, or other people you interact with at work:" This measure is made up of 26 items assessing three dimensions: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. This measure is made up of 20 items assessing three dimensions. Items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*many times*). I excluded two items from each subscale to lessen the survey time burden for participants. The alpha reliability coefficient for this measure was .87.

Ethnic Harassment Experiences (EHE). This set of items asks participants about their experiences with harassment related to their ethnicity (Schneider et al., 2000). The prompt reads, "Thinking about UNWANTED behaviors SINCE OCTOBER 2020, how often have [university] staff, students, faculty, or other people you interact with at work:" This measure is made up of seven items that are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*many times*); the alpha reliability coefficient for this measure was .87.

Mental Health

To assess well-being I used the MHI-5, which is a brief version of the 38-item MHI developed by Veit and Ware (1983). The measure is composed of five items. The scale prompt reads, "How often during the past four weeks have you…" Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). The alpha reliability coefficient for this measure was .91.

Results

Data Preparation

To prepare the data for analyses I began by creating all the scales and defining the values and labels within SPSS. Specifically, I first ensured reverse-scored items were appropriately defined. I then created the scales by taking the average of the item responses. Table 2.1 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlations for all study variables.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

I generated 16 items for the Visibility Experiences at Work Scale (VEWS) to reflect both invisibility and hypervisibility. Lower scores on the scale indicate less visibility, or less being seen wholly and accurately. I wrote the items based on prior research on invisibility (e.g., Hatton, 2017; Remedios & Snyder, 2018; Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2019); workplace dignity (Thomas & Lucas, 2019); workplace social inclusion (J. L., & Randel, 2004); workplace ostracism (Ferris et al., 2008); and workplace exclusion (Hitlan & Noel, 2009). I expected my visibility measure to fall into two subscales: invisibility and hypervisibility.

For the exploratory factor analyses (EFAs), I used data from 1409 participants who completed the online survey. I split the data set into random halves, so that I would be able to explore the factor structure of my measure in two distinct samples.

In the first random half-sample (Sample1A, $n = 779$), I conducted exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on the original 16 VEWS items. To begin this process, I reviewed inter-item correlations and removed any items that were correlated below .40 with other items. There were three items with low correlations that were removed prior to analysis (see 2.2). I also examined item frequencies with the goal to remove any items with restricted variance, but this was not necessary. I then proceeded to run the EFA with the 12 remaining items. I conducted the EFA with principal axis factoring and Varimax rotation, using listwise deletion for missing values. I

did not specify the number of factors to be extracted, but the items successfully converged in a two-factor solution after three iterations.

Factor Extraction

An examination of the scree plot (see Figure 2.1) and variance explained identified a two-factor solution, consistent with expectations, explaining 67% of the variance. Table 2.2 displays item loadings from the rotated factor matrix. There were two additional items that I removed after running the factor analysis. They were both from the hypervisibility subscale. I removed item 9 "(I feel like the people I work with think I can only do the same specific tasks") because of its low factor loadings and because I appreciated in retrospect that it differed conceptually from the other items that focus on surveillance as opposed to being pigeonholed. Item 13 ("I feel like I am given the same amount of attention as any of my coworkers") was a reverse-scored item and had a low factor loading. While the goal of this item was to capture not being surveilled more than others at work, I realized that its ambiguity made it open to different interpretations. The remaining 11 items constituted the initial VEWS, with seven items assessing invisibility and four items assessing hypervisibility.

I verified the factor solution on the second random half-sample (Sample 1B, $n = 744$). For this analysis, I submitted the remaining 11 items to principal axis factor analysis with varimax rotation, this time requesting a two-factor solution. The scree plot (see Figure 2.2) and variance explained supported the presence of my theorized two-factor solution, consistent with the Sample 1A analysis, explaining 67% of the variance. Table 2.3 displays item loadings from the rotated factor matrix. All items loaded highly and cleanly onto their theorized factor. I then conducted a reliability analysis, finding each subscale to be internally consistent (invisibility α =

.894, hypervisibility α = .877). All subsequent visibility experiences analyses focus on these two subscales.

Figure 2.1 Scree Plot of initial Factor Extraction

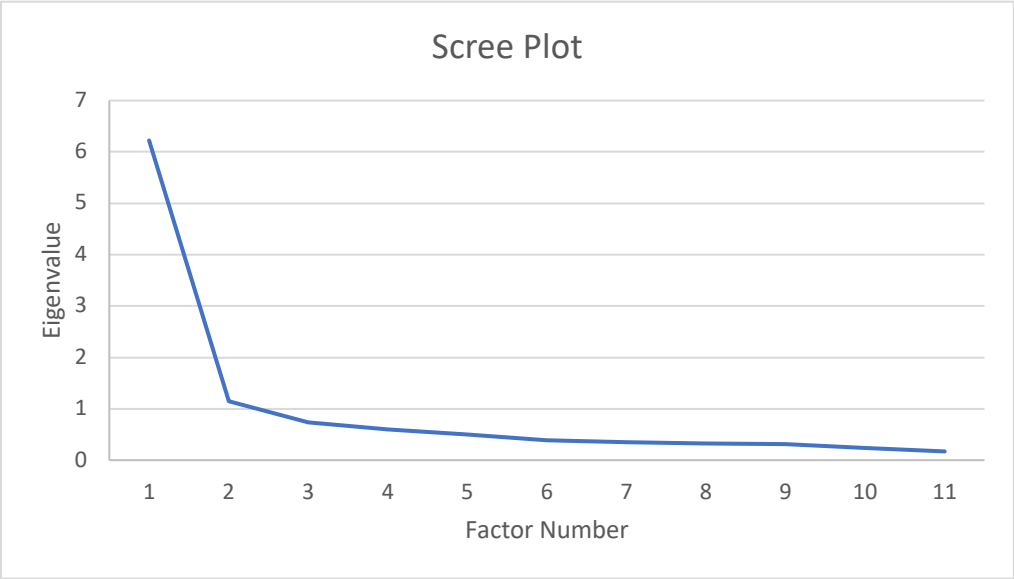
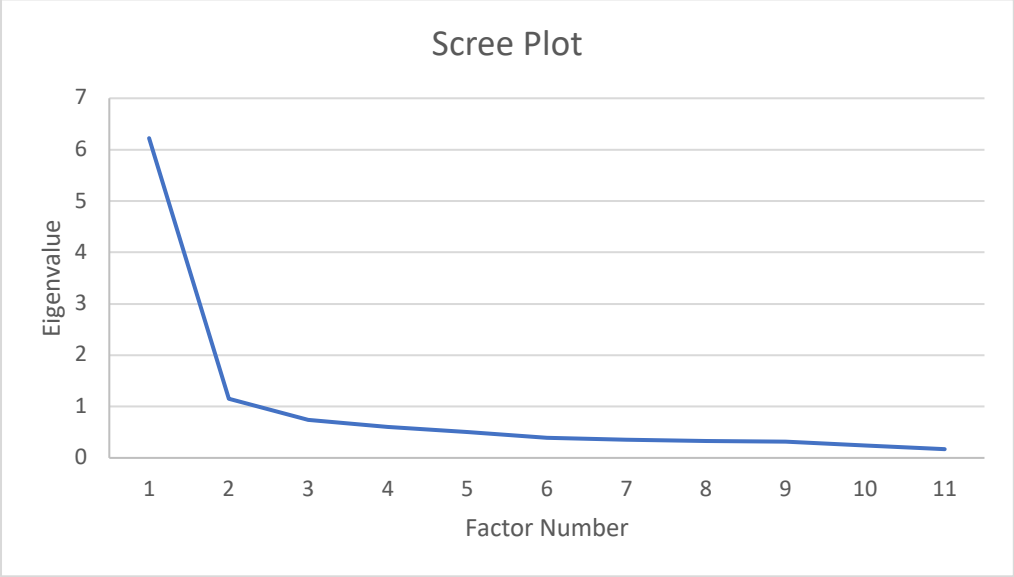


Figure 2.2 Scree Plot of final Factor Extraction



Bivariate Correlations

For all remaining analyses, I analyzed data from the full sample, N =1409. My mental health measure was significantly negatively correlated with invisibility (r = -.35, $p < .001$) and hypervisibility (r = -.34, $p < .001$). My work as meaningful measure was also significantly negatively correlated with invisibility (r = -.46, $p < .001$) and hypervisibility (r = -.33, $p < .001$); and positively associated with mental health (r = .32, $p < .001$).

My sexual harassment measure was significantly positively associated with measures of invisibility (r = .29, $p < .001$), hypervisibility (r = .30, $p < .001$), and significantly negatively associated with measures of mental health (r = -.14, $p < .001$), and work as meaningful (r = -.19, $p < .001$). Last, my measure of ethnic harassment experiences was significantly positively related to my measure of invisibility (r = .23, $p < .001$), hypervisibility (r = .21, $p < .001$), and sexual harassment (r = .51, $p < .001$); and significantly negatively associated with work as meaningful (r = -.13, $p < .001$). All values can be found in table 2.

It is worth noting that the measures of invisibility and hypervisibility are highly correlated with one another, but they still have plenty of unshared variance left to predict the outcome variables. Moreover, as you will see below when predicting work as meaning, invisibility was a significant predictor while hypervisibility was not, which highlights their distinctness (Table 2.4).

The next correlation worth mentioning is that between sexual and ethnic harassment; these scales are related because they both assess experiences of behaviors that are offensive, demeaning, or frightening. They are not redundant, however, with one scale asking about

derogation related to race/ethnicity, and the other assessing gender-based insults and sexual overtures.

Last, it is important to point out that while work as meaningful and mental health are related, they are not completely overlapping, and as such can offer distinct information.

Relationships to Identities

To test my second hypothesis, I ran MANCOVAs to test how workplace experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility varied by gender (women and men) and race (people of color and non-people of color), controlling for seniority. I recognize that it is important to look at all gender identities; however, in this study I excluded those who identified outside of the gender binary due to small cell size (n = 20). Means for each group appear in Table 2.4.

After controlling for seniority, I found no significant differences based on participants' gender [F (2, 1383) = .42, p > .05; Wilk's Λ = 0.99, partial η^2 = .001] or race [F (2, 1361) = .09, p > .05; Wilk's Λ = .99, partial η^2 = .003]. In other words, employees who identified as women and men, and white and of color, experienced similar levels of invisibility and hypervisibility, even when I controlled for seniority. Means and standard deviations for each group appear in Table 4.

Relationships to Outcomes

To examine the relations between reports of visibility and outcomes (sexual and ethnic harassment, work as meaning, and mental health), I conducted four multiple regressions and controlled for seniority. I utilized the subscales of the visibility scale – invisibility and hypervisibility – as my independent variables. This was appropriate given that the subscales are related, but still have unshared variance to predict the outcomes. The first multiple regression

predicted experiences of sexual harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility and controlled for seniority. These variables significantly predicted sexual harassment, $F(2, 1365) = 80.09$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .11$. Both variables added significantly to the prediction, $p < .05$. Specifically, there was a significant positive association between reports of invisibility and sexual harassment ($\beta = .17$, SE = .01, $p < .001$); and between reports of hypervisibility and sexual harassment ($\beta = .18$, SE = .01, $p < .001$) when controlling for seniority.

The second multiple regression predicted experiences of ethnic harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility and controlled for seniority. These variables significantly predicted ethnic harassment, $F(2,1350) = 41.95$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .06$. Both variables added significantly to the prediction, $p < .001$. Specifically, there was a significant positive association between reports of invisibility and ethnic harassment ($\beta = .16$, SE = .02, $p < .01$); and between reports of hypervisibility and ethnic harassment ($\beta = .10$, SE = .01, $p < .001$) when controlling for seniority.

The third multiple regression predicted work as meaning from invisibility and hypervisibility and controlled for seniority. The overall model was significant, $F(2, 1394) = 185.80$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .21$. However, only invisibility contributed statistically significantly to the prediction, with invisibility $p < .001$, but hypervisibility $p > .05$. Specifically, there was a significant negative association between reports of invisibility and work as meaningful ($\beta = -.45$, SE = .04, $p < .001$) when controlling for seniority.

The final multiple regression predicted mental health from invisibility and hypervisibility and controlled for seniority. These variables statistically significantly predicted mental health $F(2, 1422) = 117.68$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$. Both variables contributed statistically significantly to

the prediction, $p < .001$. Specifically, there was a significant negative association between reports of invisibility and mental health ($\beta = -.24$, SE = .03, $p < .001$), and between hypervisibility and mental health ($\beta = -.17$, SE = .03, $p < .001$) when controlling for seniority. All values can be found in Table 2.5.

Study 1 Discussion

There were some hypotheses that were supported and others that were not. To begin, for the first research question, I aimed to develop a measure to assess workplace visibility experiences among this population. I conducted an EFA and found a two-factor solution with invisibility and hypervisibility subscales. Given that research has discussed concepts of invisibility and hypervisibility and I created my questions with those constructs in mind, the two-factor solution supports my hypothesis and makes theoretical sense. It is worth noting that the two factors are relatively highly correlated, which also makes sense, as some aspects of one's work or oneself can be invisible, while others are hypervisible. But this is an important finding, given that these are often treated as quite distinct experiences. In fact it appears that individuals are likely to experience both (or neither) in the same work situation.

Next, I examined how race and gender could be playing a role in these experiences. My results did not indicate a significant difference between men and women or people of color and white people. I will discuss reasons for why this might have played out is way in my larger general discussion.

Last, when predicting sexual harassment and ethnic harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility, there were similar patterns. Multiple regressions demonstrated that participants' reports of invisibility and hypervisibility positively related to reports of sexual harassment and ethnic harassment. Both invisibility and hypervisibility related to worse mental health.

Interestingly, when invisibility and hypervisibility were in the same model, only invisibility negatively predicted work as meaningful. In fact, of the outcome relationships documented in Study 1, this one stood out as the largest. This result underscores the harm of invisibilizing treatment: when workers feel not fully seen, they derive less meaning from their work. I discuss this finding further in the General Discussion. In sum, Study 1 results indicate that experiences of workplace invisibility and hypervisibility have similar consequences—with one important exception—at least in the university staff context.

Table 2.1 Correlations Among Study Variables

Variable	*M* (*SD*)	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Invisibility	2.38 (.83)	.90	--					
2. Hypervisibility	1.95 (.93)	.88	.69*	--				
3. Mental health	3.57 (.79)	.91	-.35*	-.34*	--			
4. Work as meaning	3.57(.88)	.95	-.46*	-.33*	.32*	--		
5. Sexual harassment	1.14(.26)	.87	.29*	.30*	-.14*	-.19*	--	
6. Ethnic harassment	1.09(.33)	.87	.23*	.21*	-.01	-.13*	.51*	--

Note. $^{*}p < .001$

Table 2.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis Results with Principal Axis Factoring, Varimax Rotation: Item Loadings (Sample 1A)

Item	Factor	
	1	**2**
1. I feel like I am ignored by the people I work with.	**0.741**	0.318
2. I feel that the people I work with listen to me when I speak (R)	**0.691**	0.309
3. I feel like I am seen as replaceable by people I work with.	**0.569**	0.355
4. I feel like I am included in my workplace's community (R)	**0.693**	0.293
5. I feel like the people I work with don't recognize the work that I do.	**0.717**	0.361
6. I feel like my supervisor passes me over for new opportunities.	**0.600**	0.365
7. I feel like the people I work with know who I am (R)	**--**	**--**
8. I feel like I am overlooked by the people I work with.	**0.802**	0.326
*9. I feel like the people I work with think I can only do the same specific tasks.	0.573	0.307
10. I feel like the people I work with are watching for me to make mistakes.	0.380	**0.802**
11. I feel like the people I work with are constantly keeping an eye on me.	0.334	**0.872**
12. I feel like my supervisor watches me more than my coworkers.	0.323	**0.581**
*13. I feel like I am given the same amount of attention as any of my coworkers (R)	0.547	0.371
14. I feel like I am under constant scrutiny by my coworkers.	0.375	**0.677**
15. I feel like I stand out as different from most of my coworkers.	**--**	**--**
16. I feel like people pay too much attention to me at work.	**--**	**--**

Note. Items with no factor loading were removed prior to the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). Items marked with an asterisk (*) were removed from the scale following the EFA. Final item factor placements are noted in **bold**. (R) indicates a reverse-scored item.

Table 2.3 Exploratory Factor Analysis Results with Principal Axis Factoring, Varimax Rotation: Item Loadings (Sample 1B)

Item	Factor	
	1	**2**
1. I feel like I am ignored by the people I work with.	**0.779**	0.254
2. I feel that the people I work with listen to me when I speak (R)	**0.717**	0.324
3. I feel like I am seen as replaceable by people I work with.	**0.518**	0.358
4. I feel like I am included in my workplace's community (R)	**0.717**	0.248
5. I feel like the people I work with don't recognize the work that I do.	**0.671**	0.349
6. I feel like my supervisor passes me over for new opportunities.	**0.534**	0.377
7. I feel like I am overlooked by the people I work with.	**0.785**	0.364
8. I feel like the people I work with are watching for me to make mistakes.	0.329	**0.820**
9. I feel like the people I work with are constantly keeping an eye on me.	0.292	**0.873**
10. I feel like my supervisor watches me more than my coworkers.	0.283	**0.598**
11. I feel like I am under constant scrutiny by my coworkers.	0.427	**0.648**

Note. Final item factor placements are noted in **bold**. (R) indicates a reverse-scored item.

Table 2.4 Mean differences from Multivariate Analyses of Covariance

	Women		**Men**		**POC**		**white**	
	(*N* = 1017)		(*N* = 370)		(*N* = 222)		(*N* = 1093)	
	M	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	(SD)
Invisibility	2.38	(.85)	2.41	(.78)	2.39	(.85)	2.38	(.83)
Hypervisibility	1.95	(.95)	2	(.89)	1.98	(.97)	1.95	(.92)

Table 2.5 Predicting Outcomes with Invisibility and Hypervisibility

	Sexual Harassment			Ethnic Harassment			Work as Meaningful			Mental Health		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Invisibility	0.05	0.01	.17*	0.06	0.02	.16**	-0.47	0.04	-.45**	-0.22	0.03	-.24**
Hypervisibility	0.05	0.01	.18**	0.04	0.01	.10*	-0.02	0.03	-0.02	-0.15	0.03	-.17**

Note. *$p < .01$, **$p < 001$.

Chapter III: Study 2

Research Questions

Within the second sample, I asked two questions:

1) Are experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility reported by minority identity group members (women and indigenous people) different from those of majority identity group members (men and non-indigenous people)?
2) How do these instances of being invisible and hypervisible relate to participants' reports of workplace harassment, the meaning they draw from their work, and their well-being?

Hypotheses

Within this study I examine two hypotheses that are similar to those in Study 1.

1) I predict that minority identity groups members (women and indigenous people) will report more experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility compared to majority identity groups (non-Indigenous people and men).
2) I predict that instances of invisibility and hypervisibility will relate to people making less meaning from work and having poor well-being. However, I predict that invisibility will relate to less harassment while hypervisibility will relate to more harassment.

Method

Farmworkers in the United States are an example of precarious workers who are also low-wage workers, in the billion-dollar agricultural system. Regardless of their sizable contributions they remain severely underpaid and exploited. Farmworkers are susceptible to

physical health issues caused by poor working conditions. Farmworkers are also susceptible to mental health issues, due to experiences of discrimination while at work (Areguin, Huynh & Berzenski, 2020). Moreover, due to their nationality, race, class and immigration status farmworkers are often invisible to general society (González, 2019); while simultaneously being in the spotlight for "stealing jobs from real Americans" (Frazee 2018). As such, they are an important group to examine in terms of how invisibility and hypervisibility can co-occur in their work environment.

Participants

Participants were rural Latinx farmworkers from the Central Valley of California. To be eligible to participate in the survey, prospective participants had to have worked in agriculture in the last year for at least one week, be over 18 years old, and be from Latin America. I recruited participants through snowball sampling, community informants, English as a Second Language (ESL) classrooms, and public outreach at locations in California's Central Valley. Specifically, I spent evenings at the Centro Multicultural, Reedley Social Services Center, where the Latinx community can get assistance with anything from filing taxes to applying for citizenship. I have built a relationship with the individuals who run the center, and they allowed my research team to recruit participants while they are waiting to receive help. Moreover, I was also able to work with a local adult school director who facilitated a relationship with local teachers so that I could administer my survey to ESL classes. In addition to this, I also relied on a community informant who has worked in agriculture in the past and knows many people who work in agriculture; he asked them directly if they would be willing to participate. I utilized snowball sampling by

asking participants if they could recommend other folks to take the survey. I was able to administer the survey and collect responses from 104 participants.

Participants who completed the survey mostly identified as women (61%), with 39% identifying as men. As for indigeneity among participants, 23% reported belonging to an indigenous community and 77% reported that they did not. 97 percent of participants reported Spanish as the primary language they speak at home, while 3% reported speaking some English and Spanish, and Indigenous languages like Zoque and Nahuatl. As for age, participants were on average 39 years old with a standard deviation of 12 years, and ages ranged between 18 to 73 years old. On average, participants had been working in agriculture for 11 years with a standard deviation of 10 years, and job tenure ranged from less than one year to 40 years. Participants were also mostly seasonal (83%), while 17% of farmworker participants were migrant.

Procedure

While recruiting at the center, our team asked potential respondents if they were interested in participating in a study about the experiences of farmworkers. I had one research assistant who is a post-baccalaureate Latino, who has worked as a farmworker, and who currently works for the United Farmworker Foundation. I modeled to the research assistant how to administer the survey using a tablet, and how to approach and communicate with potential participants. If potential participants indicated that they are interested in participating, then I confirmed eligibility: over 18, work in agriculture, and Latinx identity. Eligible participants were then handed a tablet and the first page was a consent page which they had to agree to before they could continue the survey. Each participant had the option to have the survey read to them by a member of our research team. This ensured that those who have trouble reading were not

excluded from the study. For individuals who agreed to have the survey read to them, I also had binders with the scales printed out in large font so that I could ask people to reflect on their response using the binder with the scale anchors. This proved helpful since the anchors could change depending on which scale was administered.

In ESL classrooms, surveys were administered with a paper and pencil. For this process, I explained to the classroom who I was and what I was doing. I then asked if they were willing to participate in my survey and if they were they could raise their hand. I then walked around the classroom and handed the survey to people. Once all students who wanted to participate had a survey, I returned to the front of the classroom and read the survey aloud to the class. I asked the class to raise their hand if they had questions, and many of them did.

The survey took from 45 minutes to one hour to complete, and participants were compensated with $20 cash when they finished the survey. I ensured that I provided each participant with a handwritten thank you card, their $20 in cash, and my information card in case they wanted to reach me for whatever reason. I did not collect any identifying information from participants because I did not want to arouse in them any anxiety about whether their legal status in the U.S. would be assessed. Instead, I documented when and where I distributed the money. This process and this study were approved by the Institutional Review Board at UM.

Measures

The survey was offered in English and Spanish and included questions about farmworker demographics and experiences at work. The survey was created in English, so to prepare the Spanish-language survey, an English-Spanish bilingual translator reviewed and translated items from English to Spanish. Following the initial translation, another English-Spanish bilingual

translator reviewed and back-translated items from Spanish to English. As a native English and Spanish speaker, I then reviewed the documents for any inconsistencies between the original and back-translation, and then I decided on the appropriate English-Spanish translation. There were only a few inconsistencies and they had to do with changing formal language to colloquial language, so that prompts and items would be accessible to all participants.

Items assessing the following constructs were identical to those used in Study 1: workplace invisibility and hypervisibility, work as meaning, ethnic harassment experiences, and well-being. I provided a modified assessment of sexual harassment, because the survey was given to participants in public settings and many of the original SEQ items are deeply personal. Additional measures assessed indigeneity.

Workplace Visibility

For the workplace invisibility and hypervisibility measures, I only analyzed the 11 items that emerged from the two factor analyses in Study 1. I did not repeat factor analyses in Study 2, because an N of 104 does not provide the minimum sample size needed to obtain an accurate solution in exploratory factor analysis (see Hinkin, 1998). Because the much larger Study 1 sample provided robust support for a 2-factor structure, I proceeded with Study 2 by treating the visibility instrument as having two subscales. These subscales were highly reliable in Study 2: invisibility $\alpha = .80$, hypervisibility $\alpha = .87$

Indigeneity

To assess indigeneity in the farmworker population I asked additional demographic questions. These questions were: “What was the primary language you spoke at home growing up?,” “What is the primary language you speak at home now?,” “ Are you from an indigenous

community?, If yes above, what indigenous community are you from?" These questions were meant to help distinguish Indigenous Latinx people from non- Indigenous Latinx people, because there is hierarchy among farmworkers where Indigenous Latinx farmworkers are treated differently (Holmes, 2013). Based on responses to the questions above, I created a binary variable where participants were labeled indigenous or not.

Workplace Harassment

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). For Study 2, I provided an abbreviated version of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire, omitting items that might make participants too uncomfortable if administered aloud in public settings. Specifically, I asked participants the five questions that make up the gender harassment, sexist hostility subscale. These items are (1) "Made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of your gender/sex are not suited for the kind of work you do)?," (2) "Put you down or been condescending to you because of your sex?," (3) Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **men** generally?," (4) Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **women** generally?," and (5) "Mistreated, slighted or ignored you because of your sex/gender?." I did not administer items from the sexual hostility, unwanted sexual attention, or sexual coercion subscales. All measures for Study 2 can be found in Appendix C.

Results

Data Preparation

Survey data that had been collected using the tablet was transferred to an SPSS file from Qualtrics. For paper and pencil surveys, I entered each survey into Qualtrics twice. Once all the survey data had been entered to Qualtrics twice, I then created two separate SPSS files for each

iteration and compared the files. At this point I corrected any errors by returning to the paper version and ensuring the correct response was recorded. Once the data were complete and correct, I moved forward with cleaning the data, creating values and labels and creating the scales.

Bivariate Correlations

The mental health measure was significantly negatively correlated with invisibility (r = -.37, p < .001) and hypervisibility (r = -.30, p < .001). The work as meaningful measure was significantly negatively corelated with invisibility (r = -.47, p < .001) and hypervisibility (r = -.39, p < .001); and positively associated with mental health (r = .20, p < .05).

The sexual harassment measure was significantly positively associated with measures of invisibility (r = .40, p <.001), hypervisibility (r = .30, p < .001), mental health (r = .33, p < .001), and significantly negatively associated with my measure of work as meaningful (r = -32, p < .001).

Last, the measure of ethnic harassment experiences was significantly positively related to invisibility (r = .30, p < .001) and sexual harassment (r = .68, p <.001); and significantly negatively associated with mental health (r = -.34, p < .001) and work as meaningful (r = -.22, p < .001).

Interestingly, invisibility and hypervisibility were less related in Study 2 (r = .59) than they had been in Study 1, which provides further evidence that they are distinct but related constructs. Moreover, gender and ethnic harassment were more correlated within this sample, perhaps because this sample is made up of racial and ethnic minority people, while Study 1 was composed of mostly white people. Finally, hypervisibility and ethnic harassment were not related

in this sample, which is interesting, given the high correlation between ethnic and sexual harassment. Last, in Study 2 mental health and ethnic harassment were related, while they had not been in Study 1. More attention is given to this result in the general discussion. All values can be found in Table 3.1.

Relationships to Identities

For the second hypothesis I conducted two one-way MANCOVAs (see Table 3.2). For the first MANCOVA the independent variable was gender (women and men), the covariate was seniority, and the dependent variables were invisibility and hypervisibility. There was no significant difference based on participants' gender, F (2, 96) = .01, $p > .05$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.99$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$.

I also conducted a MANCOVA to assess whether there was a difference between indigenous and non-indigenous Latinx people in reports of invisibility and hypervisibility, while controlling for seniority. There was a significant difference based on participants being indigenous or not, F (2, 95) = 4.02, $p < .05$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.92$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. To understand this effect, I ran univariate ANOVAs that demonstrated a statistically significant effect of invisibility (F (1,96) = 5.78; $p < .025$; partial $\eta^2 = .06$). Contrary to the hypothesis, on average, indigenous Latinx farmworkers reported *fewer* experiences of invisibility than non-indigenous Latinx farmworkers, when controlling for seniority.

Relationships to Outcomes

To test my last hypothesis on the relation between reports of visibility and reports of sexual harassment, ethnic harassment, and work as meaning and mental health, I conducted four multiple regressions. The workplace visibility subscales—invisibility and hypervisibility—were

the predictors. I controlled for seniority (in light of past research showing that harassment and outcomes vary by tenure with the organization) and indigeneity (given that it had related to visibility in the MANCOVAs).

The first multiple regression predicted experiences of sexual harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility, with indigeneity and seniority as control variables. The overall model was significant, $F(3, 97) = 6.52$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .17$. However, the only variable that contributed statistically to the prediction was invisibility: greater experiences of invisibility linked with greater experiences of sexual harassment ($\beta = .35$, $SE = .09$, $p < .01$) when controlling for indigeneity and seniority.

The second multiple regression predicted experiences of ethnic harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility (still controlling for indigeneity and seniority). Once again, the model was significant, $F(3,97) = 3.68$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .10$, but invisibility was the only variable that predicted the harassment outcome ($\beta = .38$, $SE = .09$, $p < .01$) when controlling for indigeneity and seniority.

The third multiple regression predicted work as meaning from invisibility and hypervisibility, with the indigeneity and seniority control. The overall model was significant in predicting work as meaning, $F(3, 97) = 14.24$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .31$. Two variables contributed statistically to the prediction: invisibility ($\beta = -.53$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$) and Indigeneity ($\beta = .40$, $SE = .15$, $p < .01$) when controlling for indigeneity seniority.

The final multiple regression predicted mental health from invisibility and hypervisibility, after controlling for indigeneity and seniority. The overall model statistically significantly predicted mental health, $F(3, 95) = 6.76$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .18$, with invisibility again

being the sole significant predictor (β = -.19, SE = .11, $p < .05$) when controlling for indigeneity and seniority. All values can be found in Table 3.3.

Study 2 Discussion

As in Study 1, some hypotheses were supported and others were not. I again found evidence of invisibility and hypervisibility in the workplace, this time focusing on the context of farmwork. Contrary to expectations, invisibility and hypervisibility experiences did not differ between men and women, and hypervisibility did not differ between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Latinx people. Non-Indigenous respondents reported significantly more experiences of invisibility than those who identify as Indigenous, which ran counter to my hypothesis. In the current study this could be attributed to low power. I will cover more possibilities for both studies in the general discussion.

Last, when predicting sexual and ethnic harassment from invisibility and hypervisibility, patterns were similar (though not identical) to Study 1. These regressions demonstrated that participants' reports of invisibility positively related to reports of sexual harassment and ethnic harassment, and negatively predicted mental health. In other words, as participants reported more invisibility and hypervisibility, they also reported more ethnic harassment, more sexual harassment, and worse mental health. As in Study 1, only invisibility negatively predicted work as meaningful, but this was one of the largest effects found in this study. As expected, participants who reported more invisibility also reported drawing less meaning from their work. Hypervisibility did not relate to work as meaning, mental health, or harassment, once effects of invisibility were taken into account. While the lack of relationship with hypervisibility does not support my hypothesis, it does offer some support for invisibility and hypervisibility being

separate constructs. In the general discussion I will discuss why hypervisibility seemed to play a much larger role in Study 1.

Table 3.1 Correlations Among Study Variables

Variable	***M* (*SD*)**	α	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1. Invisibility	2.10 (.81)	.80	--					
2. Hypervisibility	2.14 (1.11)	.87	.59**	--				
3. Mental health	1.93 (.73)	.78	-.37**	-.30**	--			
4. Work as meaning	3.75 (.71)	.79	-.47**	-.39**	.20*	--		
5. Sexual harassment	1.24 (.59)	.86	.40**	.30**	-.32**	-.33**	--	
6. Ethnic harassment	1.31 (.56)	.85	.30**	.12	-.34**	-.22*	.68**	--

Note. $^{**}p < .01$, $^{*}p < .05$.

Table 3.2 Mean differences from Multivariate Analyses of Covariance

	Women		**Men**		**Indigenous Latinx People**		**Non-Indigenous Latinx People**	
	(N = 61)		(N = 39)		(N = 23)		(N = 76)	
	M	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	*(SD)*	*M*	(SD)
Invisibility	2.07	(.84)	2.07	(.72)	1.75	(.51)	2.17	(.85)
Hypervisibility	2.12	(1.12)	2.13	(1.12)	2.12	(1.04)	2.13	(1.12)

Table 3.3 Predicting Outcomes with Invisibility and Hypervisibility

	Sexual Harassment			Ethnic Harassment			Work as Meaningful			Mental Health		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Invisibility	0.26	0.09	.36**	0.26	0.09	.38*	-0.42	0.1	-.48**	-0.19	0.11	-.21*
Hypervisibility	0.05	0.06	0.09	-0.06	0.06	-0.12	-0.07	0.07	-0.11	-0.12	0.08	-0.18

Note. $^{*}p < .01$, $^{**}p < .001$.

Chapter IV: General Discussion

Across this set of studies there was no evidence to support the claim that people with minority group identities experience more invisibility and hypervisibility than people with majority group identities while at work – as measured by my Workplace Visibility Scale. In Study 2, contrary to expectation, I found that non-Indigenous Latinx people reported more invisibility than Indigenous Latinx people.

There was support for the predictions that invisibility and hypervisibility would be related to outcomes like harassment, well-being and how meaningful one's work is, but these relationships were not the same across the two study populations. Specifically, in Study 2, there were no significant relationships between hypervisibility and the outcomes. The findings are discussed in more detail below. Importantly, the similarities across both studies with different workplace contexts and people provides further support for the Visibility Experiences at Work Scale (VEWS).

Study 1

I predicted that experiences of visibility among lower-status workers would take two forms: invisibility and hypervisibility. Both studies provided evidence of this, yielding a new measure that assesses two types of visibility experience in the context of employment. My results support prior conceptual and qualitative work that highlights invisibility and hypervisibility as distinct features of visibility (Buchanan & Settles, 2019; Settles et al., 2019). Given that no quantitative measures of workplace invisibility and hypervisibility existed, it was important to create one to continue to build on the literature. The fact that the items resonated with the

participants in the sample was important, because they are individuals who work in jobs where they have little relative power, and visibility and power are related.

As for the second hypothesis in Study 1, I found that there were no differences by race or gender in predicting workplace experiences of invisibility and hypervisibility. This was contrary to my hypotheses, which predicted that groups that had been historically marginalized would report more invisibility and hypervisibility. However, my results indicated that men and women, and racial and ethnic minority groups and white people, reported similar ratings of invisibility and hypervisibility. One possible reason for this could be due to other aspects of their identity. While I focused on race/ethnicity and gender there are other aspects of one's identity (e.g., ability) that could contribute to relative power and experiences of visibility. These findings are different from a plethora of research that has demonstrated how marginalized identities are more vulnerable to mistreatment (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Settles et al., 2012; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). My samples were all low in workplace power, so perhaps the amount of variation was limited. Therefore, I recommend further research using the Visibility Experinces at Work Scale in larger samples with more variance in power among workers.

Finally, I predicted that more reports of invisibility would relate to making less meaning from work and experiencing poorer mental health, but also encountering less harassment. For hypervisibility, I predicted that there would be more reports of harassment, lower mental health, and less meaning from work.

Regarding invisibility, my hypothesis that workers who reported more invisibility would also report less harassment was not supported, as there was a significant positive relationship between invisibility and both sexual and ethnic harassment. My prediction was based on research that states that sometimes invisibility can serve as a buffer from harassment, but at the same time

the finding is not surprising, given that invisibility is a form of mistreatment, and invisibility might increase the probability of mistreatment rather than serving as a buffer (Rabelo & Mahalingam, 2019).

As for relations between invisibility and mental health and invisibility and work as meaning, results confirmed predicted significant negative relationships. As participants reported more invisibility, they also reported worse mental health and derived less meaning from their work. The link between invisibility and work as meaningful was especially striking. This is related to literature that demonstrates how harmful invisibility at work can be (Messing, 1998; Rabelo & Hatton, 2017; Mahalingam, 2019). As I mentioned above, this underscores the importance of being seen wholly and accurately in one's place of work and how that can relate to how much meaning employees draw from their work.

Regarding hypervisibility, there were similar hypotheses and patterns with the outcome variables as there had been with invisibility, with hypervisibility associated with lower meaning from work and poorer mental health. This is also found in the research which indicates that hypervisibility is related to tokenism, pigeonholing, and stress (McCluney & Rabelo, 2019; Dickens et al., 2019) The only difference was that I predicted that hypervisibility would relate to more experiences of harassment, and that was confirmed. As participants reported more hypervisibility, they also reported more sexual and ethnic harassment.

Study 2

There were similar correlations with outcomes as in Study 1, save for the relation between hypervisibility and ethnic harassment, which was not significant among Study 2 participants. Again, this finding is contradictory to the literature which has found that hypervisibility relates to outcomes of being tokenized and scrutinized – instances that can relate

to experiences of harassment (McCluney & Rabelo, 2019; Smith et al., 2019). There are several possible reasons for this non-significant relationship. One is that ethnic harassment is low in this majority-Latinx work setting. Another is that the small size of the sample did not provide enough power to detect a small effect.

As for the second hypothesis, assessing differences in reports of invisibility and hypervisibility between majority and minority group members, there were no gender differences (i.e., between women and men) in reports of invisibility and hypervisibility. However, unlike Study 1, there were differences between racial groups, with participants who were non-Indigenous Latinx reporting more instances of invisibility than Indigenous Latinx participants. This was an interesting finding that was contrary to my hypothesis that minority groups members would report more invisibility. Since it is unique to this sample, it would need to be replicated to confirm that it's a finding. However, perhaps one reason for this finding is that people who are non-Indigenous see themselves reflected in their own communities more (that is, in those communities they are invisible in the positive way that whites are in the larger society), so they notice when they are being made invisible in a very different sense at work. In contrast, those who are Indigenous Latinx are never represented, not even in their own countries, and so would not report invisibility, because it is their norm.

As for my third hypothesis, the largest difference between Study 1 and 2 was regarding hypervisibility. My hypotheses were the same as in Study 1. However, hypervisibility did not contribute to the outcome variables – ethnic and sexual harassment, mental health, and work as meaning – for the farmworker sample. Again this is contrary to the research I discussed above that has found negative relations among hypervisibility and outcomes of well-being and harassment (McCluney & Rabelo, 2019; Smith et al., 2019). The patterns for invisibility were the

same as in Study 1: more reports of invisibility related to more ethnic and sexual harassment, worse mental health, and less meaning-making from work. Similar to my explanation with respect to hypothesis two, it is possible that individuals in this sample are so invisible in the larger U.S. culture that items from the hypervisibility scale did not carry as much weight, or have as much relevance, as they did for individuals in Study 1, who have more relative power and visibility than the Study 2 sample. It is also possible that the low power afforded by the Study 2 sample size interfered with my ability to detect effects.

Limitations and Strengths

There are some limitations to this study given its design. I used self-report measurement in both studies, which was necessary given the personal nature of the constructs (e.g., private experiences of invisibility, meaning-making, etc.). While this may raise questions about common method bias, I built features into the study design to minimize such bias, following recommended procedures (Conway & Lance, 2010; Podsakoff et al., 2012). First, surveys were anonymous, reducing social desirability and response consistency pressures and promoting honest responding. Second, criterion variables appeared prior to and independent from predictor variables, creating psychological separation that lessens the likelihood of monomethod bias effects. Third, scale formats (e.g., scale type, anchor labels) varied across variables to reduce anchor- and end-point-bias.

I recognize that the size of the Study 2 sample is a limitation, but recruiting and administering a survey to over 100 farmworkers was far more labor- and time-intensive than recruiting the much larger online study of office workers. In-person survey administration requires considerable time and resources, but this is the most appropriate way to include those who work on the margins of society. Future studies should continue focusing on farmworker

experiences, but expand the duration of data collection or the size of the data-collection team so that more participants can be included.

Third, a limitation of the current Visibility Experiences at Work Scale (VEWS) is that it mostly assesses experiences between coworkers; while a few items about managers exist they are few and mixed in. This means I could not separate experiences between managers and workers and workers and their coworkers, and the relative power that these groups hold. I imagine that visibility experiences might differ when your manager sees you as invisible and hypervisible, vs. when your coworkers see you as invisible and hypervisible. This possibility is ripe for further study.

Finally, using an interdisciplinary approach to this project afforded me the ability to incorporate methods and findings from other fields and capture the diverse experiences of low-status workers. My desire to understand the experiences of low-status and precarious workers influenced my interdisciplinary approach to creating a measure of visibility experiences at work. I drew from research from psychology, sociology, organizational behavior, and feminist scholarship to create a quantitative measure to understand visibility among two seemingly different populations who share a lot in terms of their lack of agency and repetitive aspects of their work. The measure then allowed me to assess relations between visibility and measures of harassment, well-being, and meaningful work. My measure, the Visibility Experiences at Work Scale (VEWS), can be used by organizational and industrial researchers who examine all types of work spaces, not only among low-status workers. Visibility experiences can occur in any setting where there is power differential, so this measure can be used across many workplaces.

Implications

Based on the research findings, I can offer some recommendations for managers or supervisors in both higher education and farm work settings to create more inclusive and supportive work environments. In both higher education and farm work, managers must recognize that visibility experiences are relevant for office, grounds, field and packing house workers. Once they acknowledge the potential challenges associated with invisibility, such as reduced meaning derived from work, and the possible negative effects on mental health, they should devise more mechanisms for making that work visible and valued by other workers, such as faculty or managers. For example, managers and supervisors can create bonuses that can be given from coworkers or managers so that workers know their work is not only seen, but valued. Managers in both workplaces can also be aware of the potential stress and pressure that can arise from hypervisibility. Managers can remove cameras from work settings and directly let workers know that their computers are not being monitored when employees are working from home. Generally, managers should ease any ideas that people will be watched for retaliation or because they are not trusted. It would also be valuable for managers to establish fair and transparent processes for assignments, promotions, and recognition. They should ensure that opportunities for career growth are equally accessible to all employees, regardless of their visibility status or background.

Further, managers can offer mental health resources and support for all employees, and can implement wellness programs that address stress and burnout. They can encourage employees to prioritize self-care and maintain a healthy work-life balance. Finally, managers should themselves regularly acknowledge and appreciate employees' efforts and contributions.

They can directly ensure that employees' work is recognized, regardless of their visibility status, to promote a sense of meaning and purpose in their roles.

Overall, in both higher education and farm work settings, the key is to promote a workplace culture that values diversity, ensures fairness, and prioritizes employee well-being. By actively addressing visibility-related issues, promoting inclusivity, and supporting employees' mental health, managers and supervisors can create environments where all employees feel seen, valued, and motivated to contribute their best to the organization's success.

Future Directions

There are many directions in which I would like to take my research after this initial investigation of visibility experiences. First, I would like to examine visibility experiences, both invisibility and hypervisibility, at a larger societal level. That is, I would like to examine workers' perceptions of their visibility experiences among the general population. For example, Latinx people experience hypervisibility in society in terms of being accused of "taking" jobs from "real Americans," while they also face a lot of invisibility in terms of physically working in spaces where they are hidden. I wonder how this contrast in visibility experiences is perceived by workers, and how it might relate to their experiences of visibility at work.

Second, I would like to examine how customer-facing employees navigate visibility experiences. By this, I mean asking workers about their experiences with customers and how these interactions can impact their experiences of visibility at work. For example, fast food workers, especially those who are placed in drive throughs, are mostly hidden, but when something goes wrong with a customer order they also experience a lot of the backlash. The interactions with customers paired with low status work is interesting because of the power difference between people coming in to eat and this "the customer is always right" mentality.

Finally, I would like to collect more farmworker data. In this study I analyzed data from 104 farmworkers participants. In the future I would like to collect data from more participants to increase my statistical power and be able to detects effects that may be present but currently are underpowered in my study. Moreover, I believe that collecting more farmworkers data allows me to continue to advocate for other researchers to also conduct research with this community by serving as an example of how it is possible.

Conclusion

It is important to highlight how similar experiences from both studies are, suggesting that rural farmworkers are subject in very similar ways to experiences with very similar consequences, to workers in university staff settings. At the same time, the few differences we found also suggest that there is something to be learned from comparison of the settings. Workers reported experiences of both invisibility and hypervisibility in both office and farm work settings, and these experiences related to more experiences of harassment and psychological distress, and less meaning-making from work. The Visibility Experiences at Work Scale can now be used in other workplaces, and researchers can assess other workplace aspects that may relate to issues of invisibility and hypervisibility - particularly in nontraditional settings. If, as researchers, we can continue to make time to conduct research with workers in traditional brick-and-mortar spaces, then we should also make the same amount of effort to reach out to employees who are harder to recruit, because they are also managing the negative aspects of visibility experiences.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Complete List of Job Groups for Study 1

Table A.1 Complete List of Job Groups for Study 1

Job Groups	*N*
Administrative Support	468
Animal Technician	1
Building & Grounds Professional	26
Cooks & Bakers	11
Development & Public Relations Professional	45
Environmental Health & Safety Specialist	23
Environmental Safety & Security Executive/Administrator	0
Groundskeeper	5
Horticulturist	1
Housing & Food Service Professional	27
Human Resources Professional	58
Library Assistant	35
Maintenance/Vehicle Mechanic	7
Office & Customer Service Support	50
Photographer	3
Plant Executive	2
Power Plant Operator	4
Pre-K through 12 Education	20
Printers & Camera Operator	3
Professional Support Staff	95
Purchasing & Stores Professional	11
Safety & Security Professional	38
Security	7
Service/Maintenance Food & Custodial	32
Service/Maintenance Miscellaneous	7
Service/Maintenance Service Personnel	9
Skilled Trades & Apprentice	28
Skilled Trades Supervisor	10
Stockroom & Postal Clerk	5
Student Service Professional	157
Vehicle Operator	8

Appendix B: Measures for Study 1

Visibility Items

5=Always
4=Often
3=Sometimes
2=Rarely
1=Ne

Invisibility

1. I feel like I am ignored by the people I work with
2. I feel that the people I work with listen to me when I speak (R)
3. I feel like I am seen as replaceable by the people I work with
4. I feel like I am included in my workplace's community (R)
5. I feel like the people I work with don't recognize the work that I do
6. I feel like my supervisor passes me over for new opportunities
7. I feel like the people I work with know who I am (R)
8. I feel like I am overlooked by the people I work with

Hypervisibility

1. I feel like the people I work with think I can only do the same specific tasks
2. I feel like people I work with are watching for me to make mistakes
3. I feel like the people I work with are constantly keeping an eye on me
4. I feel like my supervisor watches me more than my coworkers
5. I feel like I am given the same amount of attention as any of my coworkers (R)
6. I feel like I am under constant scrutiny by my coworkers
7. I feel like I stand out as different from most of my coworkers.
8. I feel like people pay too much attention to me at work

Work as Meaning Inventory (WAMI)

5 = Absolutely true
4 = Mostly true
3 = Neither true not untrue
2 = Mostly untrue
1 = Absolutely Untrue

Positive Meaning

1. I have found a meaningful job
2. I understand how my work contributes to my life's meaning

3. I have a good sense of what makes my job meaningful
4. I have discovered work that has a satisfying purpose

Meaning Making Through Work

1. I view my work as contributing to my personal growth
2. My work helps me better understand myself
3. My work helps me make sense of the world around me

Greater Good Motivations

1. My work really makes no difference to the world (R)
2. I know my work makes a positive difference in the world
3. The work I do serves a greater purpose

Workplace Harassment

1=Never
2=Once or Twice
3=Sometimes
4=Often
5=Many Times

Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ)

1. Mistreated, slighted or ignored you because of your social class?
2. Made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of your sex are not suited for the kind of work you do)?
3. Put you down or been condescending to you because of your sex?
4. Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **women** generally?
5. Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **men** generally?
6. Displayed or distributed sexually explicit stories, pictures, or pornography?
7. Told sexual stories or dirty jokes?
8. Tried to get you into a conversation about sex?
9. Made offensive remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities?
10. Made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature that embarrassed or offended you?
11. Tried to start a romantic relationship after you told the person that you didn't want the relationship?
12. Continued to ask you for dates, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you said "No"?
13. Stared or looked at you in a sexual way?
14. Intentionally touched in any way your thigh, breast, butt, or genitals?
15. Touched another part of your body in a way that suggests sexual interest?
16. Tried to touch, fondle, kiss, or grope you?
17. Exposed or sent pictures of their genitals to you?
18. Offered you something you wanted at work in exchange for doing something sexual?

19. Implied you would receive a professional reward if you did something sexual?
20. Made you worry you might be treated badly if you did not do something sexual?
21. Treated you badly for refusing to do something sexual?

Ethnic Harassment Experience (EHE) items

1=Never
2=Once or Twice
3=Sometimes
4=Often
5=Many Times

Thinking about UNWANTED behaviors SINCE JULY 2020, how often has

1. Someone at work makes derogatory comments about your ethnicity
2. Someone at work tells jokes about your ethnic group
3. Someone at work uses ethnic slurs to describe you
4. Someone at work excludes you from social interactions during or after work because of your ethnicity
5. Someone at work fails to give you information you need to do your job because of your ethnicity
6. Someone at work makes racist comments (for example, says people of your ethnicity aren't very smart or can't do the job)
7. Someone at work makes you feel as if you have to give up your ethnic identity to get along at work

Demographics

Gender

Which of the following best describes your gender identity? (Select all that apply)

1. *Woman*
2. *Man*
3. *Gender queer, gender non-binary; and/or gender fluid*
4. *I use a different label. I identify as* _____
5. *Prefer not to answer*

Do you identify as a transgender person? (i.e., a person who was given a gender and/or sex label at birth that does not accurately represent them)

1. No
2. Yes
3. Unsure
4. Prefer not to answer

Race/Ethnicity

Which of the following racial/ethnic categories describes you the best?

1. Asian / Asian American / Pacific Islander

2. Black / African American
3. Hispanic / Latin(o/a/x/e)
4. Middle Eastern
5. Native American / American Indian
6. White
7. Multiracial / Multiethnic (please describe)
8. None of these categories describe me. I identify as (please describe)
9. Prefer not to answer

Mental Health (MHI-5)

1= Never
2=Rarely
3=Sometimes
4=Often
5=Always

How often during the past 4 weeks have you…

1. Felt calm and peaceful?
2. *Been a very nervous person?
3. * Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?
4. *Felt downhearted and blue?
5. Been a happy person?

Appendix C: Measures for Study 2

Visibility Items

5=Always
4=Often
3=Sometimes
2=Rarely
1=Never

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Workplace Harassment

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2=Once or Twice
3=Sometimes
4=Often
5=Many Times

1. Mistreated, slighted or ignored you because of your sex/gender?
2. Mistreated, slighted or ignored you because of your social class?
3. Made offensive sexist remarks (for example, suggesting that people of your sex are not suited for the kind of work you do)?
4. Put you down or been condescending to you because of your sex?
5. Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **women** generally?
6. Displayed or distributed stories, pictures, or words that insult or disrespect **men** generally?

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Mental Health (MHI-5)

1= Never
2=Rarely
3=Sometimes
4=Often
5=Always

How often during the past 4 weeks have you…

1. Felt calm and peaceful?
2. *Been a very nervous person?
3. *Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?
4. *Felt downhearted and blue?
5. Been a happy person?

Demographics

Gender

Which of the following best describes your gender identity?

1. *Woman*
2. *Man*
3. *Prefer not to answer*

Indigeneity

1. Is English your native language?
   Yes
   No

2. What was the primary language you spoke at home growing up ?
   [*Open ended text response]*

3. What is the primary language you speak at home?

[Open ended text response]

4. Are you from an indigenous community?
[Open ended text response]

5. If yes above, what indigenous community are you from?
[Open ended text response]

Age
What is your age?
[Open ended text response]