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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND POWER AND PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Howard Cooper

December, 1997

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ABSTRACT

EFFECTS OF GENDER AND POWER ON PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL

HARASSMENT

by Howard Cooper

This study investigated perceptions of sexual harassment in a 2 X 2 X 2 design to assess the relationship between 1) the gender of offender and victim, and 2) the power relationship of offender and victim, and 3) the gender of subjects. Randomly assigned to four groups, subjects were presented with one of four vignettes which described an incident that meets the legal criterion for sexual harassment and has previously been judged to constitute sexual harassment by subjects participating in a pilot study. The four scenarios depicted by the vignettes were: a male co-worker offender with a female victim, a female co-worker offender with a male victim, a male boss offender with a female victim, and a female boss offender with a male victim. Prior researchers are divided as to whether offender/victim gender relationship has an effect on perceptions of sexual harassment. This study attempts to resolve that conflict by demonstrating that whether or not a dependent variable can be manipulated depends upon its wording. Effects for offender/victim gender relationship were generally found for questions dealing with the projected emotive state of the victim, but not for questions dealing with the presence or absence of harassment.

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Effects of Gender and Power on Perceptions of Sexual Harassment Howard Cooper

In October 1991, Clarence Thomas was confirmed as an associate Justice of the Supreme Court despite allegations by Anita Hill that he had sexually harassed her. The confirmation hearings launched a popular debate on the subject of sexual harassment in which it was suggested that a person's definition of sexual harassment may depend upon his or her gender--namely, women perceive it, men ignore it. The idea for this research project began with the surmise that society's definition of harassment hinges upon the genders of the alleged offender and alleged victim.

This study expanded on a pilot study (Cooper, McKinnis, & Trescott, 1991) where female counseling psychology and education graduate students were randomly assigned one of two vignettes: one in which a male boss harassed a female employee, and one where a female boss harassed a male employee. In that pilot, no intergroup differences were noted for items designed to measure subjects' perceptions of whether the described behavior actually constituted sexual harassment. However, significantly different projections of the victims' emotive response were noted. Subjects presented with the male worker and the female boss projected that the worker felt both more guilty and more flattered. The significant intergroup differences indicate that from a woman's viewpoint a

male who has been sexually harassed by his female boss is more inclined to feel that he has contributed to the offense. This is surmised because a worker who feels guilty might feel that he has done something wrong, contributing to the event. Likewise, a victim of sexual harassment perceived as flattered is presumably viewed as feeling ambivalent about the harassment, or, worse, as deriving personal benefit from it.

This finding led to the conclusion that a full scale study should present more items attempting to judge projections of the victims' feelings with regard to having colluded or participated in the episode of harassment. Such projections, it is theorized, may have far reaching social consequences, especially in the fields of criminology and justice where, although a perpetrator's guilt might be proven (for example after a confession), it is assuaged if victim complicity can be established.

In a review of the literature, it was found that the three variables of 1) the gender of offender/victim, 2) the power relationship of the parties to sexual harassment, and 3) the gender of the perceiver had not been combined together in one study; thus, this study was designed to check for the interaction effects among these variables. Also, prominent researchers in the field (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1989; Gutek, 1985) suggested that many researchers introduced ambiguity into their studies by not specifically mentioning the gender of offender and victim. They suggested that this ambiguity should be eliminated to

reduce uncertainty over what conclusions can be drawn. Also, according to Hunter and McClelland (1991), previous studies have reportedly employed scales that fail to achieve a normal distribution of responses. This study employed a scale derived from previous research (Hunter & McClelland, 1991; Reilly, Lott, & Gallogly, 1986) which is geared specifically toward measuring perceptions of sexual harassment.

Several studies have tested for how target gender impacts perceptions of sexual harassment (Allen, Armstrong, Clarin, & Velasquez, 1988; McKinney, 1992; Valentine-French & Radtke, 1989). In studies where the offender held greater institutional power than the victim, no direct effect for target gender was found. The only study to find direct effects for target gender (McKinney, 1992) used a "contra-power" scenario. In that study, McKinney found that a female offender with less power than the victim was perceived as less threatening than a male of similar status. The current study was an attempt to resolve the conflicting findings by manipulating power and target gender together.

In summary, the purpose of this study was to determine how three variables (target gender, subject gender, and power relationship) relate to perceptions of sexual harassment as measured by two sets of dependent variables: 1) those meant to measure the presence, extent, and veniality of sexual harassment, and 2) those intended to measure the projected emotive state of victim and offender.

Review of the Literature

Prevalence

The prevalence of sexual harassment in the workplace has been estimated to be nothing short of unsettling. Various studies estimate that from 42 to 90 per cent of working women have been harassed (Baldridge & Mclean, 1980; Cornell University Study, cited in Farley, 1975; Terpstra & Baker, 1989). When students in institutions of higher learning are surveyed, they report similar levels of harassment (Terpstra & Baker, 1986, 1989).

Aside from affecting such a large segment of workers, for those people who are affected sexual harassment may be a constant feature of the workplace. Littler-Bishop, Seidler-Feller, and Opaluch (1982) asked female flight attendants to quantify and categorize instances of sexual harassment in their work. Their results indicated that some workers are subjected to ceaseless patterns of harassment. "Seventy-three percent of respondents reported instances of sexual looking by pilots, averaging 11.7 pilots per respondent and 17.4 occurrences in twelve months" (p. 142). They also found that sexual comments from pilots average 21.8 occurrences in 12 months; other categories included sexual touching by airplane cleaners and ticket agents (1.3 occurrences), and sexual

touching by pilots (5.9 occurrences). These numbers should probably be seen as cumulative in that a single worker often reports experiencing more than one form of harassment.

A general presumption holds that women are the targets of sexual harassment, men its initiators. The fact that the preponderance of sexual harassment research has dealt with women as targets and men as initiators seems to endorse this conception (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993). Marks and Nelson (1993) have summarized that "a review of the literature has yielded very few studies that have examined the effects of women as perpetrators of sexual harassment" (p. 209). In fact, one researcher, describing the damage caused by sexual harassment concluded: "Thus, in addition to being offensive to women, sexual harassment is also undesirable from the organization's perspective because of its effect on the performance of women workers and the possible costs associated with turnover" (Summers, 1991, pp. 379-380). The article made no concomitant mention of the performance of male victims, or of their turnover rate.

Although most research has indicated that the female victim / male offender situation predominates, Mazer and Percival's (1989) finding that 89% of women and 85.1% of men reported at least one incident of harassment and Lottes's (1991) finding that of 398 undergraduate students 24% of the men and 35% of the women had been

pressured or forced to perform unwanted sexual intercourse shows that sexual harassment is not a one-way street. Finally, as some research has revealed, "male targets may suffer similarly severe behavior and experience equally serious negative consequences of harassment" (Jones & Remland, 1992, p. 122).

In a similar light, research into sexual harassment has dealt preponderantly with women's evaluations of men's actions (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993). Aside from reinforcing the societal prejudice which holds that sexual harassment is committed by men against women, this omission ignores the fact that women and men differ in their reactions and in their perceptions. Also, none of the other sexual harassment research that was reviewed has controlled for sexual preference either of the subject or of the object of the study. A complete science of how people in our society respond must assess how both women and men react to situations in which both women and men are harassed.

Although victimization of this sort tends to be trivialized by our society, attempts at quantifying the economic costs of this crime have yielded astonishing figures. Crull's (1982) survey of victims of sexual harassment found that at least 25 per cent of those surveyed reported being fired or laid off as a result of an incident of sexual harassment. Crull also found that female victims reported negative outcomes related to their

effectiveness on the job, as well as to their psychological and physical health. Jensen and Gutek (1982) found that sexual harassment in the workplace decreases a victim's motivation, ability to focus, and ability to perform work; it also leads to the formation of negative attitudes toward work. Essentially, the Crull study and the Jensen and Gutek study have documented that it is "bad business", and not just heinous crime, for sexual harassment to be allowed to remain rampant in the workplace.

Society's "Well Kept" Secret

Victims of sexual harassment tend to suffer silently. Crull (1982) found that only 4 per cent of victims (as assessed through anonymous self-report) ever filed a formal complaint against their offender. Since roughly the time that Crull made that observation, the number of filed complaints has increased 59 per cent in five years (from 1981 to 1985) (Terpstra & Baker, 1989). However, most researchers agree that in spite of this increased reporting, the crime goes largely unreported. Recently, however, society may have begun to address the issue more publicly after one event propelled sexual harassment into the public consciousness: the Clarence Thomas - Anita Hill case that captured media attention for months (McKinney, 1992).

Since that time, the media has been rife with reports of sexual harassment. For example, a recent newspaper article reported a lawsuit filed by a research assistant who charged that "her course of graduate study was derailed after she broke off a love affair with....[a] prominent...psychologist who...advises corporations on sexual harassment issues" ("Sexual Bias Expert Hit with Suit," 1994). The distinct picture finally portraved publicly is that no one is immune, and no place is truly safe. On December 8, 1994, the San Francisco Chronicle's Business Section contained the headline "Sex Harassment Claims Increasing" (1994); that article documents that the number of sexual harassment claims filed in California alone rose from 600 in 1983 to 3,500 in 1994 (nearly a 6-fold increase), and points out how devastating those statistics can be by referring to the \$7.2 million verdict against a Chicago law firm awarded to a temporary secretary who claimed sexual harassment. Recently, sensationalization of the topic reached new heights when Hollywood released the film "Disclosure" (1994 release) about the devastating effects of sexual harassment in a scenario where the offender is female and the victim is male. This media attention signifies how the subject of sexual harassment has become a topic very much on the minds of working Americans.

Experimental Research

The research relevant to the current study has assessed what factors and characteristics lead subjects to perceive that certain social-sexual behaviors constitute sexual harassment. Indeed, the available research overwhelmingly has confirmed that researchers can manipulate any of a large number of specific subject or situational variables and thereby impact subjects' perception of sexual harassment. McKinney (1992) concluded: "Experimental research indicates that factors such as subject characteristics, the type of behavior portrayed, the situation, and the prior relationship of the individuals involved affects subjects' perceptions of incidents as sexual harassment" (p. 631).

In one specific example, Baker, Terpstra, and Larntz (1990) studied the interaction between subject gender, severity, attitudes toward women, religiosity, and locus of control, and concluded that "findings indicate that harassment severity and individual level factors may combine to influence reactions to sexual harassment" (p. 305). Table 1 lists those variables that researchers have found to have some significant effect on perceptions of sexual harassment.

Table 1

Variables Affecting Perceptions of Sexual Harassment

Victim / Offender Gender	Modality
Harassment Type (physical, verbal, etc.)	Power
Score on Locus of control scale	Severity
Score on measure of Adversarial Sexual belief	Attractiveness
Victim Reaction (reports, ignores, etc.)	Gender Type
Score on measure of traditional attitudes	Subject Gender
Presence/absence of career competitiveness	Prior history of sexual harassment

Definitions/Scales

Sexual harassment is a term that has differing meanings to lay persons, psychology researchers, and the legal system. Crucial to this study is a definition which operationalizes the concept, enabling scientific research.

1. Terpstra's scale

Terpstra and Baker (1987) assessed perceived severity of various types of sexual propositions / behaviors in the workplace. Their resulting ranked scale of sexual harassment has become a standard by which subsequent researchers have designed their measures. In ranking behaviors, their subjects attributed greatest severity to situations where sexual propositions were linked to promised rewards or threatened costs, where sexual physical contact was present, and where sexual assault or rape occurred. Behaviors attributed to the moderate range included sexual gestures or remarks, sexually explicit graffiti aimed at a specific person, sexual propositions unlinked to promised rewards or costs, and physical contact that was only potentially of a sexual nature. The least severe category included whistles, endless requests for dates, staring, and shoulder squeezes.

2. Till's Five Categories

Another standard method of classifying sexual harassment used by numerous researchers (among them, Ellis, Barak, & Pinto, 1991; Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989; Fitzgerald & Omerod, 1991; Tata, 1993) has been Till's (1980) five categories of

harassment (here quoted from Fitzgerald & Omerod, 1991, who added topic names to each category):

- 1. Gender Harassment: generalized sexist remarks and behavior (for example, a situation where a professor habitually tells offensive or sexist jokes in class);
- 2. Seductive Behavior: inappropriate and offensive, but essentially sanction-free sexual advances (for example, a professor attempts to develop a romantic or sexual relationship with a student despite her efforts to discourage him);
- 3. Sexual Bribery; solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior by promise of rewards;
 - 4. Sexual Coercion: coercion of sexual activity by threat of punishment;
- 5. Sexual Imposition: gross sexual imposition or assault (for example, a professor makes a forceful attempt to fondle, kiss, or grab a student). (p. 284)

Common elements identified by Till in incidents of sexual harassment were:

1.) Distortion of a formal, sex neutral relationship (e.g. teacher/student, counselor/client) by an unwelcome, nonreciprocal emphasis on the sexuality or sexual identity of the student; and

2.) Infliction of harm on the student.

Till's categories were found to have a basis in empirical research when Tata (1993) discovered that subjects found each ascending level of severity to be more objectionable, and more indicative of objectionable / unacceptable behavior.

Jensen and Gutek (1982) attempted to define what distinguishes the acceptable from the unacceptable when they stated that "there are three basic ways" (p. 122) for one person to establish a sexual relationship with another: through consent, pressure, or force. Pressure (whether explicit or implicit) indicates harassment; force indicates rape.

3. Legal Definition

The exact legal definition of sexual harassment is elusive. State and federal statutes vary; juries' interpretations create ambiguous legal definitions in different places. Although sexual harassment can be committed outside of the workplace or educational institution, the definition most quoted in the literature is that made by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1980):

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's

employment; submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting the individual; or such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment. (p. 25024)

Research Modalities

Experimental research in sexual harassment has used the modalities of written vignettes, video vignettes, directions to recollect past personal experience, and photographs. The use of vignettes has particular societal relevance. People who are in a position of authority to adjudicate sexual harassment cases such as corporate personnel managers, judges, and juries are all presented with reports of a prior event. Even if the parties to a complaint have been seen, as is certainly the case in a courtroom, attorneys will generally attempt to introduce evidence as to how the victim appeared at the time of the incident, viz a viz dress, cosmetics, etc. In effect, the jury will be asked to ignore how the parties appear in their courtroom appearance, and project back to the time of the incident. Essentially, juries will be deciding primarily upon the basis of a vignette that

emerges from the court proceedings. For these reasons, the current research project used a written vignette format followed by ten Likert-scale items.

Problems Comparing Students with Workers

As is the case in most psychological research projects, subjects used in studies on sexual harassment have been drawn overwhelmingly from undergraduate student populations. Although some research in sexual harassment has found differences in certain responses based on whether the respondent was a student or not, other studies have shown specific areas where differences are not found. Thus, on one hand, Baker, Terpstra, and Cutler (1989) found that on each of six items, "a higher percentage of working men perceived the incidents to be sexual harassment than did student men" (p. 413); on the other hand, when comparing their results to results of prior experiments they noted that the relative ranking of incidents was the same for working populations and student populations: "we also found significant agreement between the current sample of workers and Terpstra and Baker's (1987) student sample as to the order of the scenarios' relative severity" (p. 415). Further, in a later study, Terpstra and Baker (1989) found no significant differences in responses between working women and women students in an open-ended research approach.

These two sets of results indicated that with certain caveats, student subjects' responses have been found to be similar to those of the general public. These caveats include the importance of reporting age and work experience of the students in the sample. Since the number of nontraditional students re-entering higher education has grown, a student sample may actually encompass a broader spectrum of the overall population than would a work-place sample. Also, rankings rather than means could be used since both populations show agreement when results are expressed in terms of relative ranking; comparative results between variables should be reported rather than absolute mean differences.

Subjects who were Victims

A sizable proportion of the population, both men and women, depending upon the cohort group being studied, has reported that they have been the victims of sexual harassment. When drawing upon subjects for research from different populations, it may be critical to know what the subjects' prior history with harassment has been, as well as their attitude toward that history. For example, Jensen and Gutek (1982) found that women victims were "less likely than others to blame women for being sexually harassed" (p. 133). Described in attribution-theory terms, these subjects needed no prompting to see that "it could have been them"; harm-avoidance led to their greater sensitivity to the issue.

Also, since women have greater victimization rates, research which has determined that subject gender has a direct impact on perception of sexual harassment may actually be measuring how victimization impacts perception. The extant research has only one instance where statistical methods were used to control for victimization in the subject pool; McKinney (1992) reported "comparing the means between those who reported they had personally experienced an incident similar to the one described and those who said they had no such experience. There was a significant difference on only one dependent measure. Subjects who reported having experienced contrapower sexual harassment [student offenders/faculty victims] indicated it was significantly more common...than subjects who said they had no such experiences" (pp. 634-635).

Effect of Subject Gender and Attribution Theory

The common variable studied by sexual harassment researchers has been gender of the respondent. In fact, since the late 1980's, the preponderance of research into sexual harassment has dealt, in some way, with how gender of the subject affects sensitivity to sexual harassment. Regarding this variable, Gutek (1985) has summarized as follows:

"Typically, the finding indicates that women perceive more types of behaviors to be sexual harassment than do men" (p. 409). Other researchers have concurred that gender affects

sensitivity to harassment (Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Konrad & Gutek, 1986; Lester et al., 1986; Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982; Popovich et al., 1986; Powell, 1986; Reilly, Lott, & Gallogly, 1986; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993; Valentine-French & Radtke, 1989). In one common design, researchers compare male and female subjects' responses to scenarios of sexual harassment that they are asked to imagine are directed against themselves. In one such study, Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1993) found that men anticipate less harmful effects and anticipate being bothered less by receiving inappropriate opposite-sex touch than do women.

However, they found what they called "unusual commonality" (p. 383) between men's and women's anticipated reaction when confronted with the image of a coercive male touch.

When asked to imagine how they would feel if touched by a male, their negative reactions were as high as those of women when asked to imagine being touched by a male.

Konrad and Gutek (1986) and Valentine-French and Radtke (1989) found that male subjects tend to see a woman victim as more responsible for--or complicit in--sexual harassment directed against her than do female subjects. In reviewing the literature, Summers (1991) explained these results by stating that "the tendency to blame victims for the fate they suffer decreases when the judge is more similar to the victim" (p. 381). Summers based this hypothesis on the conclusions of Shaw and McMartin (1977) who

credited this increased sensitivity to "harm-avoidance" in women subjects who posit that someday they themselves may stand in the victims' shoes, versus "blame avoidance" whereby a male feels he may someday find himself standing accused. This hypothesis assumes that, given a choice between other men and other women, men view themselves as most similar to other men--regardless of whether the man they compare themselves to committed some offense. Summers extended the research concerning differential perceptions due to subject gender by testing whether (a) feminist orientation of the complainant affected subject perception of sexual harassment, and (b) whether the presence or absence of job competition between the complainant and the accused affected perception. Both variables (i.e., feminism of the complainant and the presence of job competition) were viewed as possible causes of the complaint. Summers also concurred with most research which has demonstrated that male subjects were more "lenient" with offenders than were female subjects. Although Summers attributed the main effect for complainant feminism to "an alternative cause of the complaint" (p. 381), he neither tested for nor suggested that, by assigning characteristics to the complainant (e.g., feminism, competitiveness), he was perhaps measuring how attribution varies as a complainant's similarity to the perceiver decreases. Perhaps by characterizing the complainant as a feminist, the research was creating a degree of difference between that complainant and

some unknown segment of the female (and male) sample population. Perhaps feeling less similar to the complainant, subjects displayed less "harm-avoidance" behavior because they were given less reason to imagine that they might one day stand in the victim's shoes.

Jensen and Gutek (1982) have described a motivational theory that might explain why subjects would assign blame to the victim. Suggested by Lerner (1965, 1971, 1978), the theory holds that people are "motivated to believe in a "just world" where people get what they deserve, good or bad. To believe otherwise would raise the question of whether the person can trust his or her own environment" (Jensen & Gutek, 1982, p. 125). Although this theory may indicate why men tend to assign blame to the victim, Lerner's 'just world' would suggest no differences between male and female respondents in the assignment of responsibility. Researchers such as Jensen and Gutek (1982) have concluded that "the hypothesis that men and women differ in their assignment of responsibility regarding sexual harassment at the workplace is strongly supported by our survey data" (p. 133). In light of the preponderance of the research, it appears that though the mechanism proposed by Lerner may be active, its effect is overshadowed by the larger effect of blame avoidance promulgated by Shaw and McMartin (1977).

Terpstra and Baker (1987) and Baker, Terpstra, and Cutler (1989), however, reported that "these gender differences in perceptions of sexual harassment may be

overstated (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1989, p. 411). Thus, they found that "the rank order of the incidents' severity was very similar for all three groups in the study and that there were few gender differences between student women's and student men's perceptions of the individual scenarios" (p. 411). They pointed out that other research may have found gender differences due to a fault in design. For example, they cited Popovich et al. (1986), mentioned above as having found gender differences, and then stated:

some of the previous studies examining perceptual differences asked less specific questions that provided limited contextual information...Popovich, Licata, Nokovich, Martelli, and Zoloty (1986) asked student subjects if it was harassment if a supervisor or coworker "makes sexual remarks" or "tells sexual jokes." (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1989, pp. 410-411)

Essentially, they found fault with the nonspecific nature of the instructions given to subjects: the sexual remarks or jokes were not specified, neither was the context in which those incidents occurred.

Therefore, it appears that degree of specificity or ambiguity of the instrument used, and of the research design employed, may have an impact on whether gender differences will be detected. Specifically, the above researchers have implied that ambiguity tends to

amplify gender differences and specificity tends to minimize gender differences: "these more general types of questions result in greater ambiguity, which in turn may lead to greater gender differences in the responses" (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1989, pp. 410-411).

Degree of ambiguity is a particularly relevant topic in society. It is assumed that operatives in the real world, such as lawyers trying to elicit a particular decision from their juries, are adept at triggering perceptions in their subjects. What a lawyer chooses to say, and what he or she chooses to omit, may be very related to how much he or she wants to elicit projection via the mechanism of leaving certain facts vague.

Problems of Projection

It has been theorized that the manner in which ambiguity operates to increase or even produce gender differences is through the mechanism of projection. As Gutek (1985) noted, men tend to see ambiguous social-sexual situations more positively than do women. Without specific cues, subjects "fill-in" the details on their own, projecting their own internal reality into scenarios where details are lacking. It is surmised that when asked to imagine sexual harassment, and given no specific cues, heterosexual men would project themselves as either harassing a woman or being harassed by a woman while heterosexual women would project themselves (primarily) as being harassed. These assumptions stem

not so much because women are more likely to be harassed than to harass, but simply because of society's prejudice (which both men and women contribute to) of seeing women as victims of harassment rather than as its initiators. Aside from the contention that men are more likely than women to see themselves, by virtue of such a projection, as initiator, for a man to conceive of being harassed by a woman and for a woman to conceive of being harassed by a man are hardly "flip sides" of the same coin. Gender engenders an entirely different constellation of meaning in our society; though we make reference to "the opposite sex," the concept of "opposite" implies that two sides are equally arrayed, directly across. This implication is far from the truth. For one thing, for a woman, an unspecified male is more likely to indicate a person more massive physically, more prone to violence, more likely to be abusive than if an unspecified female were conjured.

Perhaps the Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1993) result cited earlier indicates that relative male insensitivity to sexual harassment is due to *inappropriate* projection. When hearing of a case of sexual harassment, heterosexual men's reactions may be mediated by their wondering how they would feel in the situation, either in the role of harassing a woman, or in the role of receiving sexual advances from a woman. Men project little negative impact to themselves from such an encounter, "in fact, men

rated themselves, on the average, as 'pleased'" (Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993, p. 383) by such situations. However, men react very differently if they are instructed to project themselves into the role of victim in an episode of male-initiated harassment. Pryor and Day (1988) have provided corroborative evidence in their finding that subjects who are asked to take the role of the offender are less likely to perceive harassment than subjects who are asked to take the role of the victim.

This issue of projection has interesting ramifications. Men who trivialize the issue of sexual harassment are often accused of taking the side of the offender. If such is their projection, it is understandable how a man would be insensitive to the victim of sexual harassment. Although this may be true, the research just cited may indicate that men may be equally as likely to be projecting themselves into the role of the victim. In either case, they would be projecting their beliefs and emotions into the situation, instead of considering a woman's response to male-initiated harassment.

Scenarios, however, which provide information about actors' gender and the type of behavior "may decrease ambiguity, resulting in a more reliable measurement of perceptual differences between women and men" (Baker, Terpstra, & Cutler, 1989, p. 413). Thus, research into sexual harassment should at least control for level of ambiguity.

Target Gender

Explicit manipulation

The subject of target gender's effect on perceptions of sexual harassment has been addressed only recently; results from the few experiments treating this subject have offered conflicting information. According to Jones and Remland (1992), "very little attention has been given to examinations of male targets of harassment" (p. 126). The research which explicitly manipulates target gender has been divided as to whether opposite-sex gender relationships between offender and victim affect perceptions of sexual harassment.

At the time of their literature review, Jones and Remland (1992) found only two studies (Allen, Armstrong, Clarin, & Velasquez, 1988; Valentine-French & Radtke, 1989) that dealt with target gender at all. Allen, et al. (1988) found no effects for target gender whatsoever. Valentine-French and Radtke (1989) found that target gender interacted with subject gender to affect one dependent variable--attribution of responsibility--but not others. Despite their own hypothesis that male offenders would be more harshly judged, Jones and Remland themselves failed to find a significant main effect for target gender. Nevertheless, they stated "Although not significant at the p < .05 criterion, the main effect for target gender ... approached significance and was retained in further analyses" (p.

132). Apparently, they did not discard the hypothesis since they did detect instances where target gender interacted with other variables. Thus, they stated that although "target gender alone did not affect perceptions of sexual harassment, ... it did affect perceptions of the perpetrator's appropriateness" (p. 126). Also, they found that "negative responses are less acceptable and positive responses are more acceptable when performed by a male than [by] a female target" (p. 137).

In the pilot to this study, Cooper et al. (1991) found a main effect for target gender for one set of dependent measures that were classified as pertaining to projections of the emotive state of victim. On a set of measures typified as being more objective, where the subjects were asked to gauge whether harassment had occurred, to determine culpability, and to suggest recourse, no significant differences were found. McKinney (1992) is the only researcher who likewise found that target gender has both a main effect and an interaction effect on perceptions.

Aside from being unique in finding strong, main effects for target gender, the McKinney study's design was unique in two ways. First, it used college faculty members as subjects (instead of undergraduates). Second, it tested for "contrapower" harassment: harassment where the purported victim (a professor) has greater institutional standing than

the offender (a student). Thus, faculty were being asked to judge situations which were particularly poignant to them: situations of being sexually harassed by students.

Non-Explicit manipulation

Several studies have emerged that try to test for the effects of gender of the offender and that of the victim in episodes of sexual harassment. Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991) found that female subjects perceive incidents of sexual harassment with more severity than do males. They conclude that "This finding suggests that women students may feel harassed by behaviors that men consider innocuous or trivial (e.g., gender harassment) or acceptable forms of sexual approach (e.g., seductive behavior)" (p. 292). Since their vignettes did not specifically vary the gender of the participants to the alleged events, this conclusion—that students of a certain gender "feel harassed"—hinges upon the assumption that the male and female subjects viewed themselves in the role of a participant to one of the incidents of sexual harassment that was described in one of the vignettes. However, this assumption seems too bold: there is no way of confirming that subjects were projecting themselves (and therefore their own gender) into either the role of the offender or into the role of the victim. The researchers did not explicitly instruct their subjects to make such a projection.

Because the gender of the victim/offender remained unstated in the Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991) study, they apparently believed that subjects' ratings referred to how a person of their gender would feel if exposed to sexual harassment by a person of the opposite sex. It is altogether possible that male subjects, for example, upon hearing of an example of sexual harassment, did not project themselves as being the victim (as assumed by the researchers); rather (and it actually seems more logical to assume that) they projected a woman into the victim role since women are more often viewed as being harassed. Again, this assumption calls attention to the need to vary explicitly the gender of victim and that of offender to make a direct assessment of its effect on perceptions.

Severity

Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991) also found that "severity or explicitness" of the incident of sexual harassment determined (a) whether it was correctly classified as such, and (b) whether gender of perceiver affected sensitivity to harassment. Specifically, as the severity of a contrived incident of sexual harassment increased, agreement between male and female perception that sexual harassment had transpired increased. In a multi-factor study, Jones and Remland (1992) similarly found a main effect for incident severity. Other studies have found that "gender differences are more pronounced when the interactions

being evaluated are less explicit" (Bursik, 1992, pp. 408-409; Jones & Remland, 1992; Pryor, 1985; Terpsta & Baker, 1987).

Power

Several studies have tested how amounts of offender power relative to the victim affect perceptions of sexual harassment. For example in addition to testing the effect of severity of harassing behavior, Bursik varied the power level of victim and offender and found that increasing the authority of an offender increases sensitivity to sexual harassment. Bursik, however, did not test the interaction between power and gender of the victim. Several other research projects have studied how the power relationship of the victim and offender affects perceptions concerning sexual harassment. In all of the studies reviewed, offender power over the victim has been found to increase subject sensitivity to harassment. Lester, Banta, Barton, Elian, Mackiewicz and Winkelried (1986) found that both male and female students "perceive actions from instructors as more harassing than similar actions from peers" (p. 990).

Also, Fitzgerald and Ormerod (1991) varied the power relationship between offender and victim by assigning subjects to one group where the victim was an undergraduate student, and one where the victim was a graduate student. Their

hypothesis, that the perception that sexual harassment had transpired would occur more often when the victim was of lower status, was upheld. Again, as in the Tata (1993) study, the gender of the parties to the contrived incidents was not varied; in this case, their gender remained ambiguous.

Hunter and McClelland (1991) studied (a) how the offender's use of apology, excuses, and justification to explain or mitigate his offense affected subsequent perceptions of the incident and his culpability, and (b) how the initial reaction of the female victim affected perceptions. In the first case, they found that a "sincere apology" constituted a "safe way of dealing" with the misconduct in that it ameliorated perception of culpable activity. In the second case, they found that when a woman voiced adamant objection to the offender, subjects perceived the precipitating act more seriously than if she had not. This effect is of great interest. Both a victim who is powerless to resist and one who can say no loudly are in equal need of society's protection. The offender's actions should be judged in and of themselves, and not in relation to a victim's subsequent level of response. In fact, the powerless victim, for example, a woman—who by dint of her gender may already be disadvantaged viz a viz power—and specifically a woman who lacks the power to resist is in greatest need of protection. To some subjects, typifying a victim

as a woman may be typifying her as powerless. Hunter and McClelland (1991) did not control for this potentially intervening attribution.

Another study of variability in perceptions concerning sexual harassment as a function of power was that of Tata (1993). Tata varied the categories of harassment, subject gender, and hierarchical level (or power) of the initiator in a 2X2X2 study of sexual harassment. Main effects were found for all variables. As for the power dimension, Tata found:

the hierarchical level of the initiator significantly influenced perceptions of sexual harassment. The subjects exposed to subordinate initiators were less likely to consider the incidents as being sexually harassing compared with those exposed to co-worker initiators ... who, in turn, were less likely to consider the incidents as being sexually harassing than those exposed to supervisor initiators...The hierarchical level of the initiator significantly influenced the subjects' perceptions of gender harassment and seductive behavior...however, hierarchical level had no impact on the subjects' perceptions of sexual bribery, sexual coercion, and sexual assault... (pp. 205-206).

Thus, power and form interacted: higher power initiators were found more culpable with more subtle forms of harassment. Tata also found that subject gender interacted with severity. Female students viewed subtle forms more seriously than did male students whereas no gender differences were found when more severe forms of harassment (sexual bribery, coercion, assault) were at issue.

Tata asked subjects to picture themselves in the role of the victim, and from that perspective to judge the incident. As mentioned earlier, this tactic adds ambiguity to the study, ignores how sexual preference of the subject might interact with other variables, and makes the nature of the incident variable (depending on how each subject views himself or herself in such an incident) non-explicit and essentially outside of the control of the investigators.

Littler-Bishop, Seidler-Feller, and Opaluch (1982) addressed the issue of power from another perspective. They held the power level of the recipient of sexual harassment constant, and essentially studied how the degree of perceived harassment related to the power level of the offender. In contrast to other studies, they included the situation where the power-level of the offender was lower than that of the victim. They surveyed 81 female flight attendants, and asked them to quantify and categorize the type of sexual harassment that they had been victim to from various sources in their work. The subjects

were then asked to relate how the event affected their affective state. The study found that "the affective state of the recipient is most negative with lower-status personnel engaging in moderate verbal and physical harassment" (p. 137). As the power status of the offender decreases below that of the victim, the victim's feeling concerning the event becomes more negative. Next, victims are most negatively affected when the offender is a superior, and least when the offender is a peer.

Scales and Measurements used in Sexual Harassment Research

In a pilot study preceding this study (Cooper et al., 1991), it was found that a simple, 5-point Likert scale anchored by "Not at all" at one end and "Definitely" at the other end and balanced by "Somewhat" as the midpoint, was inadequate since all responses were skewed at the upper end of the scale. It reviewing the literature, it was found that this problem was addressed by Hunter and McClelland (1991) in their development of a scale derived from scales that had been used by prior researchers:

The 15-point seriousness rating scale we use as a dependent variable is a modification of the 16-point scale used by Weber-Burdin and Rossi (1982), which in turn represented a modification of the 9-point scale used in the first factorial survey of sexual harassment (Reilly et al., 1982; Rossi

& Anderson, 1982). The original 9-point scale, anchored at the end points by the labels definitely not harassment and definitely harassment, proved less than fully satisfactory for ordinary least-squares (OLS) analysis, because of a J-shaped distribution of responses.

The scale used by Hunter and McClelland (1991) is represented in Table 2.

Table 2

Hunter and McClelland's (1991) Sexual Harassment Scale

Extreme	y Tri	vial	Amb	iguous	Sligh	tly	Mode	rately	High	ıly	Ext	emely	No
trivial			s		Serious		Serious		Serio	Serious Serious		rating	
													given
0 1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14 15	

Hunter and McClelland found that their scale succeeded in obtaining a more normal distribution of responses. For this reason, their scale was used in this study.

Hypotheses

In research utilizing a 2 X 2 X 2 design, three main effects, and three interaction effects involving two variables are possible. Since this study involves one subject variable (subject gender) and two situational variables (power and gender of offender), the interaction effects can be divided into two categories: 1) interactions between the one subject variable and each situational variable, and 2) an interaction between the two situational variables.

Main Effects

- 1. Main effect for subject gender: Females will be more sensitive to the presence and severity of sexual harassment than will males.
- 2. Main effect for gender of offender/victim: Incidents where the offender is male and the victim is female will be judged more seriously than when the offender is female and the victim is male, (but only on items measuring the projected emotional state of the victim).
- 3. Main effect for power relationship: Subjects will be more sensitive to harassment when a boss harasses an employee than when a co-worker harasses another co-worker.

Interaction Effects between the Subject Variable and Each Situational Variable:

- 4. Interaction between subject gender and gender of offender: Males will be more tolerant of male offenders, women of women offenders.
- 5. Interaction between subject gender and power: Male subjects will be more tolerant of co-worker harassment than will female subjects. Female subjects, on the other hand, will not differentiate between unequal-power and equal-power harassment.

Interaction Effects between the two Situational Variables

6. Interaction between offender/victim gender and power: Both male and female subjects will judge the incident involving a male boss offender and a female employee victim more seriously than in any of the three remaining situations (female boss offender with a male employee victim, male coworker offender with a female coworker victim, female coworker offender with a male coworker victim).

Method

Participants:

Participants were 292 predominantly undergraduate students enrolled in various introductory psychology courses at San Jose State University, San Jose, California. One

hundred and sixty-eight were female and 124 were male. Demographic data were obtained via a specially constructed questionnaire (See Appendix A). Seventy subjects, or 24%, reported that they had been victims of sexual harassment. Mean age was 22.5 years. Ethnicity is reported in Table 3.

Table 3

Ethnicity of Participants

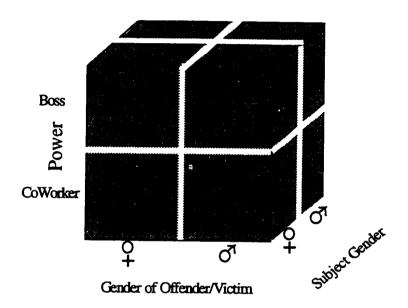
Ethnicity	Number	Percent
White	125	42.8
Black	13	4.5
Hispanic	47	16.1
Native American	1	.3
Pacific Islander	30	10.3
Other	69	23.6
Not Reported	7	2.4

Design and Procedure:

This study involved a 2 X 2 X 2 design. One participant variable (gender) was tested against two situational variables: gender of the victim and the offender, and power

Figure 1

Design of the Experiment



relationship between the offender and victim. In Figure 1 the two situational variables are presented on the horizontal and vertical axes, and the subject variable is presented from front to back. Thus, the front four cubes represent that portion of the design where female subjects judge the four vignettes; the back four cubes are representative of the same four vignettes being presented to male subjects. Subjects were assigned randomly to four groups. One group was asked to read a vignette in which a male boss is described performing sexually harassing behavior toward a female worker (see Appendix B). The

second group read a vignette identical in every detail except that the boss was female and the worker male. The third group read an identical scenario except that the female offender was a coworker of the male victim. Finally, in the fourth group, the male offender was also a coworker of the female victim. (see Appendices C, D, and E). All subjects were then asked to answer an identical, 10-item Likert-Scale questionnaire about their perceptions of the supervisors' and employees' behaviors.

Results

Analysis of Variance

Means were calculated for each of ten items on the questionnaire for all groups.

A three-way factorial analysis of variance (two levels of each factor) was performed to discern the presence of main or interaction effects for each item. Wherever statistically significant differences were noted, an Omega Squared, which provides information on the proportion of variance accounted for, was conducted to determine the magnitude of effect. Results appear in Table 4.

Results for six items provided support for hypothesis number one ("Females will be more sensitive to the presence and severity of sexual harassment than will males"). In each case, where significant effects were found for subject sex, male subjects were less

sensitive to harassment than female subjects. Item 3 ("The boss should be tried, convicted, and put in jail") and item 6 ("If I were the worker, I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go long with the boss's intentions") showed the strongest effect (omega squared of .08 and .07, respectively). Smaller, yet significant effects as measured by an omega squared score of .03 or less were measured for: item 1 ("Ethically, the boss's behavior is..."), item 2 ("The boss has committed a crime that is..."), item 7 ("If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react"), and item 8 (Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding").

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Regarding hypothesis number two, (Incidents where the offender is male will be judged more seriously than when the offender is female, but only on items measuring the projected emotional state of the victim), two of the three items relating to the projected emotional state of the victim produced a statistically significant effect: Item 6 ("If I were the worker, I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions") and item 7 ("If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react"). For both of those items, the effect of the gender relationship between offender and victim was moderately strong, as indicated by an omega squared of .07 for each. The sole item dealing with the victims' emotions that did not achieve significance was item 4 ("If I were the worker, I would feel guilty"). The only main effect for gender relationship between offender and victim for an item that did not assess the projected emotional state of the victim was for item 8 ("Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding"); however, the effect measured was weak, as indicated by an omega squared of only .01.

With regard to hypothesis number three (Subjects will be more sensitive to harassment when a boss harasses an employee than when a co-worker harasses another co-worker), the only question producing a statistically significant effect was Question 8 ("Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker

contributed to a misunderstanding"). Subjects felt slightly more inclined to disagree if the boss were involved, rather than a coworker. But even on this single question, the effect of power was quite weak, as revealed by an omega squared of only .01.

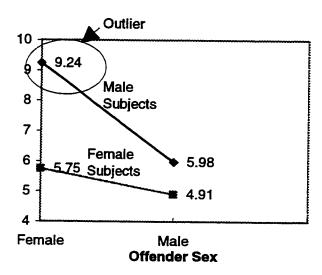
In hypothesis number 4 (Males will be more tolerant of male offenders, women of women offenders) an interaction effect between subject gender and gender relationship between offender and victim was predicted. As indicated in Figure 2, results for the lone 2-way interaction effect (for item 6, "If I were the worker I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions") demonstrate that both men and women thought that male victims would be more flattered by advances from a female offender, but male subjects felt much more strongly (Mean = 9.24) than female subjects (Mean = 5.75) that this would be the case. Thus, although an interaction between subject gender and the gender relationship of offender and victim was noted, the mean results were in direct contradiction of the hypothesis.

No interaction effects for power on any items were noted, despite the predictions made in hypothesis number 5 (Male subjects will be more tolerant of co-worker harassment than will female subjects) and hypothesis number 6 (Both male and female subjects will judge the incident involving a male boss offender more seriously than in any of the three remaining situations— female boss offender, male coworker offender, female

coworker offender). Also, the power relationship between offender and victim did not surface as a determining factor in subjects' responses: it had only a small size effect for question 8, ("...the worker contributed to a misunderstanding"), but had no significant effect on any other item.

Figure 2





Additional Analyses

In order to determine the extent to which demographic variables accounted for variance in responses, Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between the

responses for each question and each of two variables: age of the subject and whether the subject reported having been a victim of sexual harassment. Results for the statistically significant correlations for age of the subject are reported in Table 5 and suggest that there was a weak correlation between increased age of subjects and greater sensitivity to harassment.

Results relating to whether the subject reported having been a victim of sexual harassment appear in Table 6 and indicate that having been a victim of sexual harassment likewise was weakly associated with greater sensitivity to harassment. Thirty-five percent of the female subjects and 9.9% of the male subjects reported having been victims of sexual harassment (24.6% of the subjects without regard to gender). Appendix F contains data for the percentage of subjects who report being victimized by sexual harassment broken down by ethnicity and gender. The figure in Appendix G depicts average results for each item by ethnicity of the respondents.

Discussion

Hypotheses

For Hypothesis 1 (Females will be more sensitive to the presence and severity of sexual harassment than males), in 9 out of 10 measures, female subjects were more

sensitive than male subjects to harassment, as indicated by mean results. In 6 out of 9 of these cases, the mean differences were statistically significant. In one of these cases (projected feelings of flattery on the part of the victim), the effect measured was of medium size. This finding was completely in concert with prior research, which unanimously found an effect for subject gender (Collins & Blodgett, 1981; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Konrad & Gutek, 1986; Lester et al., 1986; Lott, Reilly, & Howard, 1982; Popovich et al., 1986; Powell, 1986; Reilly, Lott, & Gallogly, 1986; Struckman-Johnson & Struckman-Johnson, 1993; Valentine-French & Radtke, 1989).

With regard to Hypothesis 2 (Incidents where the offender is male will be judged more seriously than when the offender is female, but only on items measuring the projected emotional state of the victim), the results were supportive on two of the three measures (questions 6 and 7) of the projected emotional state of the victim (questions 6 and 7). On the one nonsignificant exception (question 4, "if I were the victim I would feel guilty"), differences between the means for the two genders were in the hypothesized direction. The lack of statistical significance for question 4 may be due to the fact that the wording was not sensitive enough to "tease-out" differences between the groups. If a question concerning guilt had been phrased in a less extreme manner, it is possible that it too might have produced an effect. Similarly, a possible explanation for why question

Table 5

Correlations and means for each item by age

_								
	<u>Wording</u>		Age Group					
		<u>r</u>	<u>10-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>		
1	Ethically, the boss's behavior is:	.16**	10.05	10.26	10.95	13.29		
2	The boss has committed a crime that is:	.05	9.15	9.67	9.50	10.71		
3	 -	.03	5.45	5.41	4.55	7.57		
4	If I were the worker, I would feel guilty	.03	4.17	4.32	3.90	2.29		
5	Workers in today's workplace just have to tolerate this sort of thing.	.14*	3.84	3.69	1.80	1.43		
6	If I were the worker, I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions.	.13*	6.62	6.24	5.65	4.14		
7	If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react.	.03	8.53	8.18	8.00	8.71		
8	Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding.	.04	5.86	5.25	6.25	5.57		
9	In this case the worker is probably imagining that the male coworker has romantic intentions.	.13*	7.63	7.27	7.60	2.43		
10	The female coworker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.	.12*	8.30	8.81	10.50	10.29		

^{*} p < .05, **p < .01, *** p<.001

Table 6

Correlations between Item Response and whether the Subject reported having been a Victim including Means per Item

<u>No</u>	<u>Item</u>		Victim?		
_		<u>r</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	
1	Ethically, the boss's behavior is:	.16**	9.93	11.36	
2	The boss has committed a crime that is:	.19***	9.15	10.62	
3	The boss should be tried, convicted, and put in jail.	.10	5.13	6.49	
4	If I were the worker, I would feel guilty	.03	4.17	4.46	
5	Workers in today's workplace just have to tolerate this sort of thing.	.20***	4.06	2.10	
6	If I were the worker, I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions.	.09	6.63	5.51	
7	If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react.	.09	8.07	8.89	
8	Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding.	.06	5.55	5.69	
9	In this case the worker is probably imagining that the male coworker has romantic intentions.	.09	7.58	6.74	
10	The female coworker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.	.01	8.73	9.27	

^{*} p < .05, **p < .01, *** p<.001

number eight, "regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding" did achieve significance is that this question is "moderately worded," and thus could measure differences since it did not push respondents toward one extreme or another. The small positive finding for question four was similar to Valentine-French and Radtke's (1989) finding of an interaction effect between target gender and subject gender for a question that they describe as measuring "attribution of responsibility."

Similar to this study, Jones and Remland (1992) found no effect for target gender for questions dealing with the presence of harassment, but did find an effect for "appropriateness." The only study that appears to have found an effect for both "objective" and "emotive" questions was McKinney (1992), who reported that five out of eight questions had a main effect for offender gender. Although the wording for these questions was not provided, from the brief description provided of the five questions that produced an effect, it appears that four of McKinney's questions dealt with the subjects' objective classification of the incident and one dealt with the projected emotional state of the victim.

Since most prior research has tended not to differentiate between types of questions used to measure perceptions of sexual harassment--or even to specify them--it is

unclear whether studies such as that of Allen et al. (1988), which found no effect for target gender, confirm or contradict this study's finding relative to target gender. For instance, if they measured only objective ideas of whether a given situation constituted sexual harassment, then they might be in agreement with the current findings.

Hypothesis 3 (Subjects will be more sensitive to harassment when a boss harasses an employee than when a co-worker harasses another co-worker) was only weakly supported, if at all, since only one out of 10 questions produced a statistically significant effect (question 8 - Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding). This effect was quite weak, as indicated by an omega-squared of only .01. Otherwise, the two power relationships tested for in this experiment did not seem to have an effect on sensitivity to harassment either alone or in concert with other variables. Unfortunately, no prior research is available that manipulated power relationship between offender and victim to corroborate this finding.

Since it is assumed that generally held biases concerning intrinsic power differentials between the two genders were at play when subjects considered offender/victim gender, this negative finding helps pave the way towards an understanding of the positive results for target gender. The presence of a main effect for power would have made it unclear whether the differences noted for target gender stemmed solely from

intrinsic cultural power differences or from other innate, qualitative differences between the genders. By finding that power itself has limited or no effect on perceptions of sexual harassment, it is possible to assume that the effects measured for offender/victim gender were not simply measuring biases concerning power differences between the genders.

Although the lone interaction effect in the study was found for subject sex by offender sex, the results were in the opposite direction than that predicted by hypothesis 4 (Males will be more tolerant of male offenders, women of women offenders). The cell in the two-by-two interaction that was elevated above the other three showed males as more tolerant of the situation where a female offender harassed a male victim. This result, which tends to contradict the "harm avoidance" hypothesis, can perhaps best be explained by the notion that the young males in this study projected themselves as eager victims and entertained a notion of some projected ideal female as the offender.

As for Hypothesis 5 (Male subjects will be more tolerant of co-worker harassment than will female subjects; female subjects, on the other hand, will not differentiate—to the same degree—between unequal-power and equal-power harassment), male and female subjects did not appear to differentiate between equal and unequal power situations. As mentioned earlier, aside for the one small main effect for power (on item 8, "The victim

contributed to a misunderstanding"), the variable of power did not emerge as a determinant of perceptions of sexual harassment.

Finally, for Hypothesis 6 (Both male and female subjects will judge the incident involving a male boss offender more seriously than in any of the three remaining situations: female boss offender, male coworker offender, female coworker offender), an interaction effect was not noted for power. Power did not intensify or moderate gender differences.

Other Findings

In addition to the six hypotheses tested in the present study, several other variables were investigated and deserve comment. First, most prior research found higher prevalence rates for sexual harassment than noted in the present study. Also, many more women reported being victims than did men. These differences in prevalence may be related to the demographic characteristics of the subject pool for this study, or, to the fact that the measurement for prevalence was handled by a single yes/no question, "have you been the victim of sexual harassment?" For example, asking subjects if they had experienced many different, specific forms of harassment, and then considering any subject

as a victim if any one of the single measures yielded a positive response would yield higher, and probably more valid, rates for victimization in a sample.

Second, the two subject characteristics of (a) age and (b) prior history as a victim were found to account for a small but significant amount of variability in certain perceptions of sexual harassment. It seems logical that increased age and a prior history as a victim both predict greater sensitivity to harassment. Older subjects may have more specific experience with sexuality, and may therefore be less likely to project vaguely that being harassed may somehow be pleasurable. Similarly, since victims have a specific, concrete incident with which to contend, they would be less likely to harbor vague projections based solely on conjecture. However, despite the fact that prior history as a victim is somewhat useful as a predictor of sensitivity to sexual harassment, special care must be taken in its interpretation. In this, and most other studies, a prior history of victimization is established via self-report. This question already may require the subject to demonstrate the presence or absence of sensitivity to harassment--specifically, harassment that he or she may have experienced. For example, a subject with low sensitivity to harassment may have shrugged off one or more past incidents that another subject would have considered sexual harassment. Thus, asking a subject if he or she had

been sexually harassed may actually constitute a differently worded method of asking subjects whether they are sensitive to harassment.

Finally, as hypothesized, the wording of the questions had as much if not more of an impact on findings than the experimental manipulation. Further, the hypothesis that certain types of measures could be written specifically to elicit differences was essentially borne out by the fact that two of the three items relating to the projected emotional state of the victim produced a statistically significant effect, and six out of the seven remaining questions did not. This finding possibly explains how similarly designed experiments in the past have yielded contradictory results: the experiments reported in the scientific literature always describe the manipulation and sample, but often omit reference to what questions were used to measure differences. Apparently, the specific questions can affect the outcome of a study as much as any other variable.

Limitations

First, since the study contained ten questions or measures of perception, it was more likely than a one-measure study to find significant differences between groups on at least one measure on the basis of chance alone. Thus, at first glance it could be argued that differences noted at the .05 levels were actually not significant. However, certain aspects

of the results and of the study's design refute this argument. First, many findings were at the .001 level. Second, the Omega-squared results tended to corroborate that the significant differences were strong enough to be considered non-chance and of practical significance. Also, the items for this study fell into two broad categories—those measuring projected emotional states and those measuring absolute judgments. The first set tended to show significant differences, whereas the second set did not. All these factors reduce the exaggerated effect that repetition of measurement can have on a study.

Finally, with regard to the design of the present study, several limitations are worth noting. Subjects in this study were undergraduate psychology students and a few graduate students at one California university. That, along with the fact that the median age was only 22.5, indicates that results can not be generalized. Also, although the sample size was sufficiently large to provide enough power for the study, still larger samples would provide more information about how minorities and other subsections of society view sexual harassment. Also, this study tested only two possible power arrangements: the coworker situation where both offender and victim are presumed to have the same level of power, and the boss-employee situation where the offender held more power. An expansion of this design could test for contra-power harassment where the offender is the employee and the victim is the boss. Similarly, same-sex harassment was not addressed by

this study. Further, an expansion of this study's design to incorporate the general and working population, and a larger sample size, could provide more clues as to how sexual orientation and ethnic background relate to perceptions of sexual harassment.

Summary

This study's major finding was that perceptions of sexual harassment are related to many varied factors. Subject age, prior history of being a victim, and gender all combine to impact perceptions. Since prior research has not tested how the power relationship between offender and victim affects perceptions of sexual harassment, this study adds to what is known on the subject by not providing any evidence that power relationship affects such perceptions. Also, this study helps to resolve the contradiction of how some studies have found effects for offender/victim gender, while most others have not, by suggesting that the types of questions asked have an impact on whether effects will be found. Finally, results of this study help to indicate the specific areas in which the issue of sexual harassment is most divisive along gender lines and certain areas where the genders are in broad agreement.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Demographic questionnaire

A) Please complete the demograp	phic portion first. N	OTE: Since this is
an ANONYMOUS survey, please	DO NOT write you	r name on this
survey.		
Sex: Male: Female:	Age:	_
Have you been the victim of sexual l	harassment? Yes:	
	No:	
Ethnicity:	White:	
	Black:	
	Hispanic:	
	Native American:	
	Pacific Islander:	
	Other:	

Educational level:	Undergraduate Student:	
	Graduate Student:	
	Other:	
Sexual Orientation:	Heterosexual:	
	Homosexual:	
	Lesbian:	
	Bisexual:	
	Decline to state:	

Appendix B

Male Boss Offender / Female Employee Victim Scenario

B) Please read the following vignette and then answer the questions below:

My boss is a not unattractive single man and I'm a single woman. At first the hints were subtle. He began commenting on how "expressive" my eyes are, how attractive my haircut is, etc. I actually enjoyed the flirting and attention. But lately I've gotten uncomfortable with it. I've noticed that he all-too-often "accidentally" brushes against me as we pass in the halls. He asked me to dinner a couple of times, but I declined by saying I was too busy. Now he has said we need to get together after work some evening to discuss what I can do to get a good performance review. I asked why we couldn't discuss it at the office during working hours, and he said we could have a much more "meaningful" talk away from office disruptions. I don't feel comfortable meeting him outside of work, but I fear that a direct refusal will wreck my chances for career advancement. There have been some rumors that he was instrumental in holding up other people's promotions after being rebuffed.

1. Ethically, the boss's behavior is:

Extremely			- -		Sligh	itly	Mode	rately	High	ıly	Ex	trem	ely
Trivial	Trivi	ial	Ambi	guous	Serio	ous	Seri	ous	Serio	ous	s	eriou	ıs
0 1 2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

2. The boss has committed a crime that is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

3. The boss should be tried, convicted and put in jail.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

4. If I were the worker I would feel guilty.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

5. Workers in today's workplaces just have to tolerate this sort of thing.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

6. If I were the worker I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

7. If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	адгее
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

8. Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	адтее
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

9. In this case the worker is probably imagining that the boss has romantic intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

10. The worker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

Optional: Comments (if any):

Appendix C

Female Boss Offender / Male Employee Victim Scenario

B) Please read the following vignette and then answer the questions below:

My boss is a not unattractive single woman and I'm a single man. At first the hints were subtle. She began commenting on how "expressive" my eyes are, how attractive my haircut is, etc. I actually enjoyed the flirting and attention. But lately I've gotten uncomfortable with it. I've noticed that she all-too-often "accidentally" brushes against me as we pass in the halls. She asked me to dinner a couple of times, but I declined by saying I was too busy. Now she has said we need to get together after work some evening to discuss what I can do to get a good performance review. I asked why we couldn't discuss it at the office during working hours, and she said we could have a much more "meaningful" talk away from office disruptions. I don't feel comfortable meeting her outside of work, but I fear that a direct refusal will wreck my chances for career advancement. There have been some rumors that she was instrumental in holding up other people's promotions after being rebuffed.

1. Ethically, the boss's behavior is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

2. The boss has committed a crime that is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

3. The boss should be tried, convicted and put in jail.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

4. If I were the worker I would feel guilty.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	адтее
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

5. Workers in today's workplaces just have to tolerate this sort of thing.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

6. If I were the worker I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

7. If I were the worker, I would be confused as to how to react.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

8. Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the boss's behavior, the worker contributed to a misunderstanding.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

9. In this case the worker is probably imagining that the boss has romantic intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

10. The worker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

Optional: Comments (if any):

Appendix D

Female Co-Worker Offender / Male Co-Worker Victim Scenario

B) Please read the following vignette and then answer the questions below:

My co-worker is a not unattractive single woman and I'm a single man. At first the hints were subtle. She began commenting on how "expressive" my eyes are, how attractive my haircut is, etc. I actually enjoyed the flirting and attention. But lately I've gotten uncomfortable with it. I've noticed that she all-too-often "accidentally" brushes against me as we pass in the halls. She asked me to dinner a couple of times, but I declined by saying I was too busy. Now she has said we need to get together after work some evening to discuss what I can do to get a good performance review. I asked why we couldn't discuss it at the office during working hours, and she said we could have a much more "meaningful" talk away from office disruptions. I don't feel comfortable meeting her outside of work, but I fear that a direct refusal will wreck my chances for career advancement. There have been some rumors that she was instrumental in holding up other people's promotions after being rebuffed.

1. Ethically, the female coworker's behavior is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

2. The female coworker has committed a crime that is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

3. The female coworker should be tried, convicted and put in jail.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

4. If I were the male coworker I would feel guilty.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

5. Workers in today's workplaces just have to tolerate this sort of thing.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

6. If I were the male coworker I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the female coworker's intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

7. If I were the male coworker, I would be confused as to how to react.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

8. Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the female coworker's behavior, the male coworker contributed to a misunderstanding.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

9. In this case the male coworker is probably imagining that the female coworker has romantic intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

10. The male coworker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

Optional: Comments (if any):

Appendix E

Male Co-Worker Offender / Female Co-Worker Victim Scenario

B) Please read the following vignette and then answer the questions below:

My co-worker is a not unattractive single man and I'm a single woman. At first the hints were subtle. He began commenting on how "expressive" my eyes are, how attractive my haircut is, etc. I actually enjoyed the flirting and attention. But lately I've gotten uncomfortable with it. I've noticed that he all-too-often "accidentally" brushes against me as we pass in the halls. He asked me to dinner a couple of times, but I declined by saying I was too busy. Now he has said we need to get together after work some evening to discuss what I can do to get a good performance review. I asked why we couldn't discuss it at the office during working hours, and he said we could have a much more "meaningful" talk away from office disruptions. I don't feel comfortable meeting him outside of work, but I fear that a direct refusal will wreck my chances for career advancement. There have been some rumors that he was instrumental in holding up other people's promotions after being rebuffed.

1. Ethically, the male coworker's behavior is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

2. The male coworker has committed a crime that is:

Extremely			Slightly	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Trivial	Trivial	Ambiguous	Serious	Serious	Serious	Serious
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

3. The male coworker should be tried, convicted and put in jail.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

4. If I were the female coworker I would feel guilty.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

5. Workers in today's workplaces just have to tolerate this sort of thing.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely	
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree	
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15	

6. If I were the female coworker I would feel flattered, even if I didn't want to go along with the boss's intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

7. If I were the female coworker, I would be confused as to how to react.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

8. Regardless of whether I condone or do not condone the male coworker's behavior, the female coworker contributed to a misunderstanding.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	agree
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

9. In this case the female coworker is probably imagining that the male coworker has romantic intentions.

Extremely	Highly	Moderately	Ambiv-	Moderately	Highly	Extremely
Disagree	disagree	disagree	alent	agree	agree	адтее
0 1 2	3 4	5 6	7 8	9 10	11 12	13 14 15

10. The female coworker should make a greater effort to avoid these advances.

Ex	tre	mely	Hi	ghly	Mode	rately	Amb	iv-	Mode	rately	Higl	nly	Ех	trem	ely
D	isag	gree	disa	gree	disa	gree	ale	nt	agı	ee	agre	ee	,	agree	;
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Optional: Comments (if any):

Appendix F

Subjects reporting having been victim to sexual harassment by ethnicity, gender

<u>-</u>	Percent Victims					
Ethnicity	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>All</u>			
White	12.3%	41.5%	27.9%			
Black	0.0%	60.0%	46.2%			
Hispanic	10.5%	33.3%	23.9%			
Pacific Islander	6.3%	15.4%	10.3%			
Other	4.3%	29.5%	20.9%			
All	9.9%	35.4%	24.6%			

Appendix G

