Is society's view of sexual harassment evolving along with new legal precedents?

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IS SOCIETY'S VIEW OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT EVOLVING
ALONG WITH NEW LEGAL PRECEDENTS?

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
in
Psychology:
Industrial/Organizational

by
Amy Lynn Laufenberg
June 2002
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ABSTRACT

There are two purposes of this study. The first purpose is to examine whether perceptions of sexual harassment differ when varying the gender of victims involved in incidents of both same-sex and opposite-sex sexual harassment. If such perceptions differ, the second purpose is to investigate why such perceptions of same-sex sexual harassment occur. The between-subjects design varied the gender of the victim and the level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, or severe). Also, each participant completed the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire. All participants were undergraduate students at California State University, San Bernardino. Each participant was given one of six scenarios followed by an item assessing their perception of the level of sexual harassment depicted in the scenario. Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale. The findings indicate that participants differ in their ability to identify sexually harassing behaviors depending on whether the scenario portrays members of the same sex or opposite sex. Participants identified behaviors as less harassing in the same-sex scenario than in the opposite-sex scenario. Male participants who scored higher on a measure of aggression
did not perceive both opposite-sex and same-sex sexual harassment as less severe than male participants with lower aggression scores. This study found that people view opposite-sex sexual harassment as more injurious to a victim than same-sex sexual harassment. This perception may indicate that people are not aware that victims of same-sex sexual harassment have the same remedies in court as victims of opposite-sex sexual harassment. Therefore, organizations must inform their employees that sexual harassment is not limited to opposite-sex situations. By using the findings of this research, organizations will be able to begin altering their training programs to include education about same-sex sexual harassment.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

If you were to ask someone about their thoughts on sexual harassment, a typical reply would depict a scenario involving a male supervisor asking for sexual favors from a female subordinate. Indeed, the majority of instances of sexual harassment involve a male aggressor and female target, so this perception is largely correct, but limited. The 1990’s changed how the courts traditionally viewed sexual harassment by introducing legal principles covering same-sex sexual harassment (Mogilefsky v. Superior Court of Los Angeles, 1993, cited in Franklin, 1994) as well as by acknowledging that males can also be victims of sexual harassment (Gutierrez v. California Acrylic Industries, Inc., 1993).

In the more recent case of Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc. (1998) the United States Supreme Court decided that a claim of same-sex sexual harassment provides a basis for a Title VII hostile work environment claim. With this decision, the traditional view of sexual harassment involving only
members of opposite sexes is no longer valid. The precedent-setting Oncale rulings will have a substantial impact on employers for years to come. The 1998 Supreme Court ruling clarified three important issues: sexual harassment is unlawful between people of the same gender; there does not have to be tangible job detriment for harassment to be actionable; and employers now are liable for supervisors' misconduct.

Society has traditionally viewed sexual harassment as the victimization of females by males, but as evidenced by the aforementioned legal proceedings, this view should be evolving within organizations along with legal decisions. Same-sex sexual harassment must be taken into account because organizations will be held responsible for this type of sexual harassment. In 1999, nearly ten percent of sexual harassment charges filed with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) were by men. More recent charges, which indeed stray from the traditional definition of sexual harassment, also involve a victim and offender of the same sex. The EEOC, which investigates alleged violations of federal civil rights laws, defines sexual harassment as
“unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual’s employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual’s work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.” Based on the 1986 case of Meritor Savings Bank, FSB v. Vinson, an actionable case of hostile environment sexual harassment requires the following five elements: the employee was a member of a protected class, the employee was subjected to unwelcome sexual harassment, the harassment was because of sex, the harassment had the effect of unreasonably interfering with the employee’s work performance and creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment, and there is a basis for imputing liability to the employer. The EEOC’s definition of sexual harassment and the hostile work environment definition following from Meritor apply as much to men as to women, even though as noted, only about ten percent of sexual harassment claims are made by men.
There is little question that sexual harassment is a social problem of significant proportion, and the number of men who are impacted by sexual harassment is on the rise. The number of sexual harassment charges as reported to the EEOC have more than doubled over a ten year period. In 1990, the number of charges received by the EEOC was 6115 (96 percent females, four percent males); in 1993 the number had increased to 6900 (93 percent females, 7 percent males). By 1996 the number was 10,577 (91 percent females, nine percent males). By 1999 the sexual harassment charges totaled 12,694 (90 percent females, ten percent males). These numbers reflect both same- and opposite-sex claims of sexual harassment made in the United States.

The current study is designed to investigate if society’s view of sexual harassment is evolving along with new legal precedents that include remedies for same-sex sexual harassment. The focus of the first section of this study is on what society’s perceptions of same-sex sexual harassment are. The first hypothesis is drawn upon the conclusion of the first section of the study. Following the first hypothesis,
the focus of the second section of this study is on possible reasons why perceptions of same- and opposite-sex sexual harassment differ. The second hypothesis is then made regarding the second section of the study only, namely why there are perceptual differences between same- and opposite-sex scenarios.

Throughout the entire investigation, it will be necessary to refer to and examine the "traditional" opposite-sex view of sexual harassment since there is a rich body of literature on opposite-sex sexual harassment and relatively little on same-sex sexual harassment. In addition, the little research that is available on same-sex sexual harassment borrows its theoretical underpinnings from the traditional opposite-sex sexual harassment literature. Previous findings from opposite-sex sexual harassment research are instrumental in building the foundation of exploratory research in same-sex sexual harassment and may help explain why same-sex sexual harassment occurs.
Section 1: Sexual Harassment Perceptions; Traditional View of Sexual Harassment

"Sexual harassment is a problem with a long past but a short history" (APA, 1993, p. 3). In its traditional form, sexual harassment can be dated back "at least to the time women first traded their labor in the marketplace" (Fitzgerald et al., 1988, p.449). In the 1960's, the basis for a national awareness of sexual harassment fell into place: women began entering the workforce in large numbers. In 1959, there were 22 million women in the workforce, or approximately 33 percent; by 1991 there were 57 million working women, or 45 percent of the American workforce (Webb, 1991). It was also in the 1960's that the 1964 Civil Rights Bill was passed, broadening the women's movement.

Indeed, the women's movement has contributed to ambiguities in gender relations because it disrupted traditional patterns that dictate how men should relate to women in the work environment. According to proponents of social learning theory, women and men are socialized to conform to socially-prescribed sex roles (DuBois et al., 1998). In this theory, men are
socialized to be aggressive and dominant in their relations with women, while women are trained to be passive and submissive in accepting certain sexual advances from men. Survey findings have documented the aggressive and sexually predatory nature of many male workers in a variety of occupations and industries (Gruber, 1992). Women reportedly were subjected to aggressive, physical types of sexual harassment, including touching, being chased or surrounded, and sexual assault. According to the United States Merit Systems Protection Board (USMSPB) survey, 26 percent of the women respondents reported undesirable, intentional touching, leaning over, surrounding, or pinching. Unwanted demands for sex were reported by nine percent of the women respondents, and another eight percent of the women surveyed reported rape, attempted rape, or sexual assault (USMSPB, 1988). Also, in 1981, the USMSPB along with other later studies (Gutek, 1985; Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993) found that between 42 percent and 53 percent of working women have been sexually harassed. Similar percentages have been reported by students attending colleges and universities (Brooks & Perot, 1991;
Fitzgerald, Shullman, Bailey, Richards, Swecker, Gold, Ormerod, & Weitzman, 1988).

Other investigations have documented the aggressive tendencies of men in the workplace. In one study, Gutek (1985) found that 33 percent of a sample of 827 women workers reporting being sexually touched on the job, while 74 percent indicated that they had been touched in non-sexual ways. Twelve percent of the working women surveyed reported that socializing or dating was a job requirement, and eight percent stated that sexual relations were required.

Besides being subjected to unwanted physical contact and sexual assault, many women in surveys report a wide range of unwanted verbal comments of a sexual nature in the workplace (Gruber, 1992; USMSPB, 1988). The USMSPB (1988) reported that 35 percent of female federal employees experienced unwanted “sexual jokes, teasing, comments, or questions.” Moreover, 15 percent of the women surveyed reported receiving unwanted letters, phone calls, or sexually-oriented materials.

Again in Gutek’s (1985) study of 827 working women, it was found that women were subjected to high
rates of coercive sexual discussion. Gutek reported that 68 percent of the respondents indicated that they had been subjected to sexual talk that was meant to be complimentary. Other investigators found that verbal forms of sexual harassment in the work settings were directed at women in general (Terpstra & Baker, 1988). Studies document that women employees also were exposed to a wide range of undesirable visual types of sexual harassment, including staring, sexual graffiti, and sexually offensive sounds, including whistles (Terpstra & Baker, 1988, Terpstra & Cook, 1985).

One hypothesis is that many men sexually harassed women in work settings because women constituted a threat to the male culture (Walshok, 1981). In the past, societal expectations and norms dictated that men work only with other men. Men developed their own way of defining and determining the informal and formal work norms. The conditions of production and the male culture promoted group cohesion among male work groups. They tended to develop primary group relations that helped them deal with the stresses and boredom involved in daily work activities. Once women joined primary work groups, men engaged in various
forms of sexual harassment against women in the work environment.

The notion of a female "invasion" of the male-dominated work world is exemplified in the analysis of sex role spill over (Gutek & Morasch, 1985; Gutek, 1985). The sex role spill over theory postulates that women's sex roles are more likely to spill over into work settings when that group is in the minority. This spill over of gender roles increases the likelihood that men will sexually harass women on the job. This hypothesis was supported in a study of formal complaints of sexual harassment (Fritz, 1989; Terpstra & Baker, 1991). According to Fritz (1989), the rates of formal sexual harassment complaints in organizations were positively correlated with the percentage of male workers in the organization. The researcher discovered that the highest rates of formal complaints were in organizations where at least 75 percent of the workforce was male. The invasion of women into the traditionally male-dominated armed forces, police, and fire departments and well-documented prevalence of sexual harassment in these settings may support the sex role spill over
hypothesis (Rosenberg et al., 1993). Also, the prevalence of sexual harassment and sexist behaviors in the traditionally male dominated professions may illustrate sex role spill over hypothesis (Rosenberg et al., 1993).

The sex role spill over hypothesis may be more complex than previously thought (Yoder, 1991). Pure numbers alone may not predict the incidence of sexual harassment in different organizations. The work culture should be assessed within organizations to ascertain if that specific culture promotes sexual harassment. It is also important, in the context of the current study on same-sex sexual harassment, to take into account the gender composition of the workforce. Yoder (1991) makes the point that research should focus on the extent to which the sex role spill over hypothesis can apply equally to men who are in the minority within organizations. It is important to note that sexual harassment is not always linked to the invasion of male culture. The frequency and types of objectionable sexual advances are similar in many occupations and industries that are predominantly female (Yoder, 1991).
Traditional Sexual Harassment Theory

The variables that account for the occurrence of same-sex sexual harassment have not been examined. It is completely possible that the reasons why same-sex sexual harassment occurs may be observed in whole or in part within the opposite-sex sexual harassment literature. Therefore, it is of value to examine the existing opposite-sex sexual harassment theories. In the second section of this study, some of the opposite-sex sexual harassment theories that follow are discussed as they may relate to perceptions of same-sex sexual harassment.

A number of variables have been postulated to account for the sexual harassment of women by men. One theoretical approach to explaining the causes of sexual harassment in work settings is the biological perspective (Terpstra & Baker, 1991; Tangri et al., 1982). According to the biological framework, men engage in various forms of sexual harassment because of their natural biological propensity. Because of their biological makeup, men have greater sexual urges than women and are physically stronger and more aggressive than their female counterparts. Therefore,
men are more biologically predisposed to sexually harass than women.

Besides the biological approach, sociocultural and organizational theories help to explain why sexual harassment happens. In fact, sociocultural and organizational conditions are considered by many theorists to be more critical than biological variables (Tangri et al., 1982). For instance, during childhood boys are socialized to be aggressive and to make the "first move" in dating. The notion of men as sexually aggressive is a recurring theme in the mass media and is thus constantly being reinforced by culture.

The United States Navy Tailhook Scandal is a good example to help illustrate the usefulness of multiple approaches to explaining sexual harassment. Biological theorists would say that the male navy pilots involved in the Tailhook scandal were acting out of their inherent male impulses. Advocates of the biological approach suggest that men are inherently aggressive and unable to control their sexual desires. Biological theorists downplay the role of socialization, norms,
values, and related social constraints on regulating innately sexual energies.

Sociocultural theorists would argue that the U. S. navy pilots involved in the Tailhook affair perpetrated undesirable sexual advances against female navy aviation officers as a way of keeping women in subordinate roles within the elite group of navy aviation officers (e. g., Hurt et al., 1999; Powell, 1986). Women in the navy represented a threat to male machismo culture of these elite combat-ready navy aviation officers, and sexual harassment and sexual assault served to isolate and keep women from becoming full members of the "team." Organizational theorists would argue that these norms were promoted in tightly knit groups of males as well as by the organizational structure of the navy (Timmerman & Bajema, 1999).

On the topic of organizational theories of sexual harassment, sex role theorists provide an organizational definition of why sexual harassment might occur. Sex role beliefs regarding sexual harassment are shared and reinforced by some male groups in work settings (Welsh, 1999). In the past, a sex role stereotype that may have shaped the ways in
which men related to women in work settings was the belief that certain women who took paid employment were sexually promiscuous. Despite the changes in sexual mores in the mid-1960’s, traditional sex-role beliefs dictated that “nice” women adhere to their domestic roles by maintaining their domestic roles or taking a lower status job. Women who rejected these responsibilities by working in higher status, traditional male role-type jobs were regarded by some men to be looking to find and marry a man of high status. Single, divorced, or separated women workers, especially young women, may threaten the supposed sexual tranquility of the male culture underlying many male dominated occupations. These results are illustrated in many surveys that document the high prevalence of sexual harassment against single women in a variety of occupations and organizations (USMSPB, 1988).

The idea that women workers were immoral or sexually promiscuous was encouraged because women workers in traditional male occupations and industries were defined in terms of their gender. Hughes’ (1994) notion of the master status helps to explain how
gender constituted the master status since other roles and statuses of women workers were neglected in favor of the individual's gender. It did not matter whether the female employee was more competent than their male counterpart. The preponderance of men on the job forced men to view female workers in terms of stereotypic notions. "Nice" women also routinely were subjected to unwanted sexual advances at work. As in the case of the promiscuous woman, the nice woman was treated in terms of her master status, gender, rather than her technical skills and attitudes. These results are exemplified by the fact that women with diverse backgrounds report being sexually harassed.

In regard to a pat answer for why sexual harassment occurs, the literature on sexual harassment (e.g., Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982) suggests that no one explanation covers the full range of the phenomena of sexual harassment. None of the literature has demonstrated that any one "cause" is necessary or sufficient.

Characteristics of Aggressors and Targets

The previous section on theories that attempt to explain why opposite-sex sexual harassment occurs
demonstrates that there is an abundance of research on the traditional notion of sexual harassment. There is also a considerable amount of traditional research on aggressors and targets, and traditional research typically views males as the aggressors and females as the targets of sexual harassment (Gruber & Bjorn, 1985; Gutek & Morasch, 1982; Powell et al., 1981; Safran, 1976; Stockdale, 1993). However, through reported cases of sexual harassment, it has become evident that both males and females can be aggressors, and both males and females can be targets. For example, in 1993, the Los Angeles Superior Court demonstrated in Gutierrez v. California Acrylic Industries, Inc. that males are also victims of sexual harassment.

The offender and target of sexual harassment may not always be of the opposite sex. Same-sex sexual harassment cases have also been brought before the courts. In December of 1993, in Mogilefsky v. Superior Court of Los Angeles, a California court found that employees cannot legally sexually harass other employees, even if they are of the same sex. The court said the motive, the gender, and the sexual
orientation of the harasser is unimportant, what is important is whether the individual is sexually harassed.

In the current study on same-sex sexual harassment, it is imperative to recognize that the sexual orientation of the aggressor and of the target is not what is being examined. For the purposes of this investigation, same-sex sexual harassment should not be solely viewed as homosexual sexual harassment. The examination of the sexual attraction between the harasser and the target is immaterial. In the 1997 Doe v. City of Belleville case, the court stated that the harasser need not be sexually attracted to the victim as a requirement of sexual harassment under Title VII. Generally, the courts make no determination of the harasser's sexual attraction to the target or if the aggressor is heterosexual or homosexual. The court stipulates that regardless of the sexual orientation of the aggressor or of the victim, name calling that stereotypes the victim in a sexual manner or physical conduct that involves the touching of the victim should be considered sexual harassment under Title VII.
Sexual orientation is a factor that has been left out of much of the research. Reid, Nieri, and Cramer (1994), however, researched behavior severity effects on perceptions of harassment in same-sex offender and victim dyads. Using three levels of perceptions (innocent, ambiguous, and overt), the researchers found that male subjects rated ambiguous action involving male participants as less appropriate, more offensive, and more coercive than the same action involving female participants. Male subjects also rated ambiguous action involving male participants as more comfortable than action involving female participants. Unexpectedly, female subjects, compared to male subjects rated ambiguous action in a female dyad as less appropriate, more offensive, and more coercive.

Schneider, 1982, explored the ways in which a woman's sexual orientation affects her experiences and interpretation of interactions at work as sexual harassment. Schneider found that 82.3 percent of lesbian women versus 69.4 percent of heterosexual women had experienced any one of the following incidents: jokes about body or appearance; asked out
for a date; pinched or grabbed; sexually propositioned. One difference, discovered through handwritten comments on the research instrument, was that lesbian women were more often thinking of both males and females as harassers while heterosexual women were primarily perceiving the harassers as male. Overall, lesbians saw unwanted sexual approaches at work as more of a problem than heterosexual women did (91 percent versus 46 percent, respectively).

In 1992, Norris examined rates of victimization of and attitudes towards lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals at a well-known national liberal arts college. Based on sexual orientation, 213 lesbian, gay, and bisexual students in Norris's study reported incidents of victimization. Of those students, 93.9 percent of them did not report the incident of victimization. Most felt that their experiences would not be taken seriously. Others said they did not know where to report the incidences or did not trust the authorities to protect their identities (Norris, 1992).

A study conducted by Gutek, Morasch, and Cohen in 1983 explored the sexual harassment of women by women.
In contrast to most studies during that time period, the researchers took into consideration females as harassers as well as males. They found that incidents initiated by women were viewed more positively by both men and women. This finding may lead to the question: if a woman experiences sexual harassment by another woman and reports that behavior, will she be taken as seriously as if the behavior were initiated by a male? Their research findings suggest that she will not. An incident that demonstrates the double standard within our society based on same-sex sexual harassment was a report by Vice-Admiral Donnell in 1990, in which male-female sexual harassment was understood as a specific behavior that is unacceptable, but female-female sexual harassment was identified with a type of person who is unacceptable. Donnell suggested that all lesbians should be discharged, but that heterosexual men should be individually punished (and not necessarily by discharge) only if they actually harassed a woman (Herek, 1993). Thus, homosexuality was equated with same-sex sexual harassment, whereas no comparable linkage was made between heterosexuality and male-female harassment. From this example it
becomes evident that the homosexuality was being punished, not the sexually harassing behavior.

Although cases involving males as victims of sexual harassment are rising, there still remains a significantly lower percentage of reports by males than females. The question exists whether a significantly lower number of males are actually being sexually harassed, or whether a lower percentage of males are reporting the behaviors. There are several explanations that would lead one to believe that males are being harassed at greater numbers, but are not reporting the behaviors at the rate females are.

Societal norms suggest that men typically hold, and should hold, greater power than women (Lips, 1991; Mainiero, 1986). Further, in our society, men are socialized, given opportunities, and rewarded for the exercise of influence over other men and women. Women, on the other hand, are socialized to take on a more passive role, are not reinforced when influence attempts are made, and may consequently develop limited skills in the exercise of power (Kerst & Cleveland, 1993).
What message is society sending to men who find themselves victims of sexual harassment? Should males be afraid to report sexual harassment for fear of not being taken seriously? Will there be negative outcomes such as ridicule, job loss, being passed over for a promotion, and so on? Because as a society we place a great deal of pressure on males to be more domineering than females, it may be uncomfortable for men to perceive themselves as victims of sexual harassment and it may be even more uncomfortable for males to report being victims of sexual harassment.

Sexual Harassment Research on Perceptions

One of the concerns with regard to sexual harassment is that the definition set forth by the EEOC is somewhat ambiguous and subject to interpretation. Some research has begun to address the problem of determining what types of behaviors are perceived as sexual harassment; however, many of these studies have assessed only a limited range of behaviors. For example, the USMSPB (1981) surveyed 20,000 federal employees regarding their perceptions of sexual harassment. The employees who participated in the study reported that letters and calls,
deliberate touching, and pressure for sexual favors almost always constituted sexual harassment.

Powell et al. (1981) surveyed 101 women as to their perceptions of a limited range of behaviors. Sexual propositions were considered to be sexual harassment by 81 percent of the respondents. Such behaviors as touching, grabbing, and brushing (69 percent); sexual remarks (51 percent); and suggestive gestures (46 percent) were also considered sexually harassing by some of the women. Relatively few respondents considered flirting (8 percent) or staring (7 percent) to be sexual harassment.

Gutek, Nakamura, Gahart, Handschumacher, and Russell (1980) researched the perceptions of 219 working women with respect to five types of social-sexual behaviors and found the following behaviors were considered sexual harassment: requests for sexual activity that would hurt the recipient's job situation if refused or would help if accepted (88 percent), a request to socialize or date, with the understanding that it would hurt the recipient's job situation if refused or help if accepted (86 percent), nonverbal behaviors of a sexual nature; looking,
leering, making gestures, touching, brushing against (66 percent), verbal comments and remarks of a sexual nature that are negatively perceived (63 percent), and verbal comments and remarks of a sexual nature that are positively perceived (27 percent).

In 1992, Gruber completed a comprehensive categorization of harassment types based on previous research. Specifically he found eleven types of harassment: four types of verbal requests; three types of verbal remarks; and four nonverbal display types. Verbal requests, ranking from more to less severe include sexual bribery, sexual advances, relational advances, and subtle pressures/advances. Verbal comments, ranking from more to less severe include personal remarks, subjective objectification, and sexual categorical remarks. Nonverbal displays, ranking from more to less severe include sexual assault, sexual touching, sexual posturing, and sexual materials. While the research has identified behaviors which are often labeled as sexual harassment, such as quid pro quo harassment and unwanted physical attention including assault and deliberate touching, it is also important to recognize there are many
identified behaviors with less consensus and which are more subject to interpretation, such as verbal comments of a sexual nature and unwanted nonverbal attention including stares and whistles because ambiguous or covert actions can be just as harmful as overt sexual harassment.

Outcomes of Sexual Harassment

There are often negative outcomes associated with sexual harassment. For example, Jensen and Gutek (1982) surveyed victims of sexual harassment and reported that 20 percent of the respondents experienced depression in response to incidents of sexual harassment, in addition to other types of self-reported affect such as disgust (80 percent) and anger (68 percent). Analyses also indicated significant relationships between self-reported negative affect and items measuring loss of job motivation, feelings of being distracted, and dread of work. Individuals who perceive a given behavior to be sexual harassment are more likely to experience negative affective and work-related outcomes than individuals who do not perceive the behavior to be offensive. In addition, Gutek and Koss (1993) found
that substantial numbers of harassed individuals leave their jobs, withdraw from work through absenteeism and lowered productivity, change career intentions, experience lower job satisfaction and deteriorated workplace interpersonal relationships, and many other negative attitudinal and emotional changes. Particularly interesting is the emerging evidence that harassment experiences, even those that have been labeled as "less serious" are correlated with post-traumatic stress disorder and depression (Kilpatrick, 1992). At a time when both public and private sector organizations are struggling with quality-of-workforce issues with the skills gap, ignoring the sexual harassment phenomena could create serious financial burdens for organizations. Besides the obvious costs associated with litigation and payment of damage awards, one also has to recognize the sometimes hidden organizational costs associated with the outcomes of the behaviors mentioned above, such as absenteeism, lowered productivity, deteriorating workplace relationships, and so on.
Purpose of Study

The existing research on sexual harassment has not addressed whether society's traditional views of sexual harassment are hindering those who experience non-traditional forms of sexual harassment from reporting the harassing behavior. Not reporting the sexual harassment may cause some of the negative outcomes associated with sexual harassment to occur. Therefore, it is necessary to examine whether sexually harassing behaviors are being perceived similarly for all individuals regardless of the gender of the victim or the gender of the offender. The findings will be of value to organizations because as the number of non-traditional cases of sexual harassment continues to increase, organizations need to be aware that sexual harassment can affect all employees, male and female alike.

The purpose of this section of the current study is to explore whether perceptions of sexual harassment differ based on varying the gender of the victims and gender of the offenders. Therefore, same-sex and opposite-sex sexual harassment will be examined,
considering that males as well as females can be victims of sexual harassment.

A study conducted by Pryor (1985) examined the layperson's understanding of sexual harassment. His evidence suggested that a typical perception of sexual harassment usually involves viewing the male as the offender and the female as the victim. Therefore, because it is more commonplace for women to report being the target of sexual harassment, the scenario that pertains to the female as target and the male as aggressor will be seen as more harassing. Since the layperson's understanding of sexual harassment typically rests on the belief that sexual harassment occurs among members of the opposite sex, the mild and moderate conditions are more likely to be misconstrued as friendly or relatively nonharassing behavior in the same-sex scenario (Pryor, 1985). In addition to Pryor's research, Bartels and Dutile (1993) found that participants perceived the degree of sexual harassment in the mild and moderate conditions of the opposite-sex scenario as more severely harassing than in the same-sex scenario. As for the severe condition, it was perceived as severely harassing whether the scenario
was opposite-sex or same-sex. There was no difference in participant perceptions of the severe level regardless of whether the scenario described opposite- or same-sex sexual harassment. Applying these results to the current study, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a main effect of type of scenario (opposite-sex and same-sex) and level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe) on participant perceptions of sexual harassment.

Hypothesis 1a: In the mild and moderate conditions, participants will rate the opposite-sex scenario as more severely harassing than the same-sex scenario.

Hypothesis 1b: Participants will rate the severe conditions in the opposite- and same-sex scenarios the same: both scenarios will be rated as severe.

Section 2: Why Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexual Harassment Differ from Perceptions of Opposite-Sex Sexual Harassment

As Tangri & Hayes (1997) point out, most sexual harassment studies offer descriptive models that primarily describe covariates and do not offer
explanations as to why differences in perceptions of sexual harassment occur. Two of the existing traditional sexual harassment models mentioned in section one apply to and help explain possible reasons why perceptions of same-sex sexual harassment and opposite-sex sexual harassment are different. These are the biological and sociocultural models, which shed light on same-sex sexual harassment. The mechanisms involved in these traditional sexual harassment models are relevant to same-sex sexual harassment.

The biological model is an explanation based on the individual level of analysis. This theory states that due to biological characteristics, men are physically stronger and more aggressive than women. Therefore, men engage in sexually harassing behaviors because of their natural propensity for aggressive behavior. The construct of aggression is considered part of the biological model by Tangri & Hayes (1997) and Pryor (1987 and Pryor et al., 1993), who explain that an individual’s level of aggression depends upon their hormonal levels. Therefore, the current study categorizes aggression under the biological model.
The literature is limited on the biological explanation of sexual harassment. Research does exist on the biological proclivities of rapists. Pryor (1997 and Pryor et al., 1993) finds men who score high on his Likelihood-to-Sexually-Harass scale are more likely than other men to harass women in organizations that do not inform employees about sexual harassment policies in the workplace. This provides an explanation of why same-sex sexual harassment occurs. Men who are more likely to harass women are also more likely to harass other men as a display of aggressiveness and power, especially within an organization or society that tolerates sexual harassment. Organizational cultures that tolerate sexual harassment are linked to increased incidents of sexual harassment (Hulin et al., 1996 and Pryor et al., 1993). There may be a melding of biological characteristics and the level of organizational acceptance of sexually harassing behaviors.

Although biological theorists would downplay the role of socialization on any investigation involving aggressive behavior, the sociocultural explanation must be considered. After all, men who are highly
aggressive are, like everyone else, raised in a society that tolerates the sexual harassment of women. The sociocultural theory of sexual harassment actually fits closely with the biological dominance model that emphasizes sexual harassment's origins in patriarchal society (MacKinnon, 1979; Cockburn, 1991; Stanko, 1985; Rospenda et al., 1998; Padavic & Orcutt, 1997). In the social context, sexual harassment is a byproduct of the gender socialization process and is one way that men assert power and dominance over women (Tangri et al., 1982). This mirrors the layperson's belief that sexual harassment only occurs between people of the opposite sex.

The sociocultural model purports that sexual harassment is a product of culturally legitimated power and status differences between men and women (Farley, 1978 and MacKinnon, 1979). Perhaps this applies to same-sex sexual harassment in that the gender socialization process is so strongly reinforced that men transfer their socially learned dominance behaviors not only to women, but to other men as well. Male-male sexual harassment aggressors target in particular men who are less traditionally masculine
than other men in the work group. Men go outside of the traditional harassment parameters and harass other men rather than women in order to assert culturally reinforced dominance behaviors with less chances of being charged with a claim of sexual harassment. This offers some explanation as to why same-sex sexual harassment occurs, especially when combined with the biological explanation that men are biologically inclined to behave more aggressively in general.

Since men are given social messages that it is acceptable to sexually harass women, men will harass women at a higher rate than they will harass men. Men are not socialized to sexually harass other men at nearly the same rate as they are socialized to harass women, but same-sex sexual harassment still occurs due to men’s aggressive drives to assert dominance over other men. This is especially the case with highly aggressive males. Although highly aggressive men sexually harass other men at a higher rate than less aggressive men, highly aggressive men will still be less apt to think male-male sexual harassment is sexual harassment due to their socialization and
layperson's belief that sexual harassment occurs between men and women.

It is possible that the biological and sociocultural theories operate in isolation, but it is more likely that the elements found in each theory occur together. For example, a male with an intrinsically high motivation to be aggressive and dominant who lives within a highly paternalistic society is at high risk of sexually harassing people of the opposite and/or same gender. The ultimate message that is sent to the offender is that it is within acceptable limits to sexually harass others regardless of their gender in order to maintain a position of power within an organization. Hence, it is hypothesized that there is a "gender spillover" effect, where men's harassment of women transfers to men's harassment of men.

Since the preceding theory is based on men and does not describe women, it is not of concern to this study to assess women. Therefore, in the hypotheses that follow, only male participants will be examined.

Hypothesis 2: There will be an interaction between level of aggression (low, medium, and high)
and type of scenario (opposite-sex and same-sex) on male participants' perceptions of sexual harassment.

Hypothesis 2a: Male participants with higher scores on the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire will perceive less harassment in both opposite-sex and same-sex scenarios. Since highly aggressive men display more aggressive behaviors toward others in general, they will not see the behavior of the aggressor in the scenario as very injurious to the target. This will be the case regardless of level of scenario (mild, moderate, or severe).

Hypothesis 2b: Male participants with higher scores on the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire will perceive the opposite-sex scenario as slightly more severe than the same-sex scenario.

Since men have been socialized to believe that sexual harassment occurs between a male aggressor and female target, they will be more likely to view the opposite-sex situation as sexual harassment. The same-sex situation will not fit in with their socially taught schema of what sexual harassment is. Furthermore, participants subscribing to the layperson’s belief know that there are organizational
and legal sanctions for sexual harassment between males and females, but they may not be aware that the sanctions are also in place for sexual harassment between people of the same sex. Therefore, even though more aggressive males will perceive both the opposite-sex and same-sex scenarios as not very harmful, they will still see the opposite-sex scenario as slightly more severe than the same-sex scenario due to their knowledge of and personal desire to avoid the legal ramifications of sexual harassment.
CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Participants were 213 undergraduate students in psychology courses at California State University, San Bernardino, 42 males and 171 females. The mean age was 24 years. The mean year in college was third year. Participation was voluntary.

Design

There were three independent variables in this study. The independent variables were level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe), type of scenario (opposite-sex scenario with male aggressor and female target and same-sex scenario with male aggressor and male target), and level of aggression. Level of aggression was a continuous independent variable.

Instruments

Three scenarios were written to represent three levels of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe). Scenarios were developed based on the
comprehensive categorizations summarized by Gruber (1992). Using the categorizations of Gruber’s research (1992), mild sexual harassment includes personal remarks. Personal remarks consist of comments or questions of a nonsolicitory nature directed to the victim including jokes, teasing, questions about sexuality or appearance, and semantic derogation. Moderate sexual harassment consisted of subtle pressures or advances. This category includes statements in which the victim of the request is implicit or ambiguous. Their harassing behavior is seen most clearly through an analysis of the full context of the interactions. Severe sexual harassment contained overt behaviors directed at the target, and may include physical violence. This form of sexual harassment clearly and purposefully imposes a hostile work environment on the target.

Procedure

Pilot Testing

The scenarios developed for this study were pilot tested to check their reliability and validity in evaluating perceptions of sexual harassment. The pilot
test revealed that the scenarios are actually rated as mild in the mild condition, moderate in the moderate condition, and severe in the severe condition.

Current Study

The experimenter visited undergraduate psychology classes, described the study, and informed the students that their participation was voluntary. Each participant received one of the scenarios. Upon completion of the scenario, all participants received the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire. Each participant was also given questions designed to gain demographic information such as gender, age, and number of years, if any, in the workforce.

Dependent Measure

Perceived level of sexual harassment was measured by the participant's response to one item asking for their assessment of the level of sexual harassment portrayed in the scene. Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = mild sexual harassment to 5 = severe sexual harassment, as well as an option for "Not at All" if the participant did not believe sexual harassment was depicted in the scenario.
**Measurement Issues**

Because of the inconsistent state of sexual harassment research, basic questions of definition and measurement have only begun to take shape. Researchers have faced significant difficulty in conceptualizing and measuring sexual harassment because it is often ambiguous by nature (Gruber, 1992). There has been a great deal of confusion over both the definitions and measurements of unwanted sexual advances on the job. Various studies define and operationalize sexual harassment differently, making it difficult to compare the results across studies. In addition, early measures of sexual harassment often lacked validity due to inconsistent question wording, a lack of exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories, and insufficient contextual information (Gillespie & Leffler 1987; Gruber, 1989; Welsh & Nierobisz 1997; Welsh, 1999). Recent advances include behaviorally-based survey questions, which reduce errors due to varying respondent interpretations, and measures that distinguish between quid pro quo and hostile work environment harassment (Gillespie and Leffler 1987, Gruber, 1989, Welsh and Nierobisz 1997,
Welsh, 1999, Rotundo, Nguyen, & Sackett, 2000). The current study employs behavioral scenarios in order to measure perceptions of more true to life experiences and contexts.
CHAPTER THREE
FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Preceding the main analysis, assumptions of normality were evaluated using SPSS. The histograms and residuals of the scenario scores and aggressive provocation questionnaire scores revealed no outliers. Normality of distributions was examined. The scenario scores and aggressive provocation questionnaire scores were not found to have either a negative or positive skew, so data transformation was not necessary. The distributions of the scenario scores and aggressive provocation questionnaire scores were normal. No adjustments to the data were necessary.

The means for participant perceived level of sexual harassment are listed in Table 1. In order to test Hypothesis 1, a 3 x 2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was performed (see Table 2). The independent variables were level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe) and type of dyad (opposite-sex and same-sex). The dependent variable was the perceived level of sexual harassment.
Table 1. Perceived Level of Sexual Harassment by Level (Mild, Moderate, and Severe) and Type of Dyad (Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cell Means and Standard Deviations</th>
<th>Opposite-Sex</th>
<th>Same-Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Sexual Harassment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild Level</td>
<td>1.69 (SD=1.30)</td>
<td>0.94 (SD=1.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Level</td>
<td>3.50 (SD=0.96)</td>
<td>2.67 (SD=1.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe Level</td>
<td>4.51 (SD=0.77)</td>
<td>4.00 (SD=1.37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were significant main effects for the level of sexual harassment on the assigned rating indicating the perceived level of sexual harassment $F(1,212) = 94.38, \ p < .001$ (see Table 2). This shows support for the manipulation. Participants viewed the three levels of the scenarios (mild, moderate, and severe) significantly different from each other. Bonferroni comparisons indicated that all three levels (mild, moderate, and severe) were significantly different from each other.
Table 2. 3 x 2 Analysis of Variance for Level of Sexual Harassment (Mild, Moderate, and Severe) and Type of Dyad (Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level (Mild, Moderate, and Severe)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>155.40</td>
<td>94.38</td>
<td>p &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyad Type (Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>p &lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was also a significant main effect of dyad type (opposite-sex and same-sex). Participants rated the opposite-sex scenario as significantly more harassing than the same-sex scenario, F(1,212) = 15.61, p < .001 (see Table 2).

An interaction was not found between dyad type (opposite-sex and same-sex) and level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe), F(1,212) = .29, p = .75 (see Table 2). Regardless of dyad type (opposite-sex and same-sex), the pattern was the same within the levels (mild, moderate, and severe). Therefore, this study does not show support for
Hypotheses 1a and 1b. Despite the absence of a significant interaction, Bonferroni comparisons suggest that there may be a pattern that warrants additional study. The results of these tests suggest that significant differences may be found if a more powerful test is performed in future research. For exploratory reasons, the tests examining the interaction between the level of sexual harassment (mild, moderate, and severe) and type of scenario (opposite-sex and same-sex) are reported and interpreted in the current study.

The exploratory evaluation of whether participants view the opposite-sex and same-sex scenarios differently in the mild and moderate levels yielded significant differences in both the mild level, $F(1,206) = 5.59, p = .02$, and the moderate level, $F(1,206) = 6.04, p = .02$ (see Table 3).
Table 3. Exploratory Bonferroni Comparisons of Hypotheses 1a (Mild and Moderate Levels of Sexual Harassment) and 1b (Severe Level of Sexual Harassment)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1a:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mild Level</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>( p = .02 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1a:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>( p &lt; .01 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1b:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severe Level</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>( NS )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next exploratory test examined whether participants would rate the severe scenario as severe regardless of condition (opposite-sex or same-sex). This test did not reveal a significant difference between the severe level of the opposite-sex scenario and severe level of the same-sex scenario, \( F(1,206) = 2.88, p = .09 \) (see Table 3).

For the second hypothesis, a standard multiple regression analysis was conducted using SPSS. Regression analysis was performed rather than ANCOVA because regression offers the magnitude of the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire itself as well as the interaction. Only male participants were included
in the analysis (n = 42). The independent variables were dyad type (opposite-sex and same-sex) and the Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire. The dependent variable was the perceived level of sexual harassment. Each regression analysis was performed separately.

Hypothesis 2 was not significant (see Table 4). In addition, no pattern was found to support Hypotheses 2a (see Table 5) and 2b (see Table 6).

Table 4. Hypothesis 2 Regression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables Tested</th>
<th>Std. Beta</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>( R^2 ) change</th>
<th>Sig. F change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Dyad Type</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Aggressive Provocation</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction between Type of Scenario</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex) and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Hypothesis 2a Regression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables Tested</th>
<th>Std. Beta</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$R^2$ change</th>
<th>Sig. F change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Dyad Type (Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of Sexual Harassment (Both Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex) and Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables Tested</td>
<td>Std. Beta</td>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>$R^2$ change</td>
<td>Sig. F change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Dyad Type (Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex)</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Effect of Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceptions of Sexual Harassment (Opposite-Sex vs. Same-Sex) and Aggressive Provocation Questionnaire</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study examined whether perceptions of sexual harassment differed based on the gender of the victim, gender of the offender, level of sexual harassment, and participant level of aggression. Both same-sex and opposite-sex sexual harassment were taken into account. While there was a considerable amount of prior research on "traditional" sexual harassment, males as the offender and females as the victim, there has been minimal research on same-sex sexual harassment. One of the aims of this study was to broaden the horizons of sexual harassment research by acknowledging that sexual harassment can and does occur between members of the same sex.

When studying the layperson's understanding of sexual harassment, Pryor (1985) discovered that it usually involved a male offender and a female victim. In the current study, it was hypothesized that given opposite-sex sexual harassment, participants would be more likely to identify the behaviors as sexual harassment when the male was the offender and the
female was the victim versus when both the victim and offender were male.

This investigation supports the findings of previous research. In support of Hypothesis 1, participants perceived the opposite-sex scenario as more injurious to the victim than the same-sex scenario. Traditional sexual harassment, or a male offender and female victim, was perceived by participants as more severe than sexual harassment between two males. While much is being done to address the issue of sexual harassment through training and education, it appears that the layperson's view of sexual harassment still typically involves the male as offender, female as victim dyad. This is true despite the fact that 10% of those filing sexual harassment claims with the EEOC are men, and further, male victims of sexual harassment now have the same remedies as female victims of sexual harassment under the law. This study suggests that same-sex sexual harassment is still perceived as less harassing than opposite-sex sexual harassment.

The exploratory examination of whether participants would rate the opposite-sex scenarios as
more severely harassing than the same-sex scenarios in the mild and moderate levels was partly based on the research of Pryor (1985), which rests on the belief that sexual harassment occurs between males and females. The behavior depicted in the mild and moderate scenarios was more likely to be viewed as friendly or relatively nonharassing when the victim and offender were of the same sex. Despite a nonsignificant result, the exploratory analyses may show a pattern of significance. Participants might identify behavior as more harassing in the mild and moderate levels of the opposite-sex condition. This pattern is worth pursuing for the purposes of future research.

Also worthy of future study is the exploratory relationship of whether participants perceive the opposite-sex and same-sex scenarios similarly within the severe level. Although clear support for this hypothesis was not found in the current study, Bartels and Dutile (1993) did find that in opposite-sex situations, participants had no problem rating an instance of severe sexual harassment as highly injurious to the victim.
The other aim of this investigation was to examine the role of aggression in people's perceptions of sexual harassment. Aggression is considered part of the biological model by Tangri and Hayes (1997) and Pryor (1987 & Pryor et al., 1993), who state that an individual's level of aggression depends upon their hormonal levels. The current study also considers the construct of aggression as part of the biological model. Although the literature is limited on the biological explanation of sexual harassment, there have been studies on the biological predispositions of rapists. Pryor (1987 & Pryor et al., 1993) determined that men who score higher on his Likelihood-to-Sexually-Harass measure are more likely than other men to harass women in organizations that do not inform employees of sexual harassment policies.

In the present study, Hypothesis 2 stated that in males, aggression might play a role in the way that sexual harassment is viewed. However, the role of aggression was not supported. It is possible that this nonsignificant result is due to a lack of participants, but the near zero correlation suggests a
significant effect would not have been found even if there was a larger sample size.

The nonsignificant result of this study's investigation on aggression does not mean that the biological model should be ruled out as a possible reason why sexual harassment occurs. It is possible that a variable related to aggression, such as competitiveness (Rotundo et al. 2000), or hormonal levels (Pryor, 1987) may help explain why sexual harassment occurs. A recommendation for future research is to replicate this study with the smaller variables, or competitiveness, power, and hormonal levels that may explain some of the variance for aggression.

A smaller component within the construct of aggression may be a factor that accounts for the occurrence of sexual harassment. Other constructs within the biological model, such as hormonal levels, are also worthy of future research. In addition, with sweeping advances in genetic research, a pattern of genes may be found that account for a predisposition to sexually harass. The current investigation strongly recommends future research on the biological model and
how it relates to sexual harassment. In addition, same-sex sexual harassment ought to be taken into account when designing future studies.

Implications of the Study

Before the Oncale decision, sexual harassment was viewed by the courts primarily as a phenomenon that occurred between a male supervisor and female subordinate. The courts now provide the same remedies to male and female victims of sexual harassment. According to the EEOC, male victims of sexual harassment are now filing 10% of all sexual harassment claims. This study found that people view opposite-sex sexual harassment as more injurious to a victim than same-sex sexual harassment. This perception may indicate that people are not aware that victims of same-sex sexual harassment have the same remedies in court as victims of opposite-sex sexual harassment. Therefore, organizations must inform their employees that sexual harassment is not limited to opposite-sex situations. By using the findings of this research, organizations will be able to begin altering their training programs to include education about same-sex
sexual harassment, and in turn, avoiding the high cost associated with legal battles and litigation. Besides legal costs, organizations also need to educate employees on the relatively hidden costs associated with both opposite- and same-sex sexual harassment such as lowered job satisfaction, increased absenteeism, lowered productivity, deteriorating work relationships, and anger (Gutek & Koss, 1993; Jensen & Gutek, 1982).

Accepting these realities may be difficult for many; society is somewhat comfortable viewing males as more powerful, dominating, and sexual than females (Lips, 1991; Mainiero, 1986). Maintaining these views may stifle both men and women. Men, afraid of being seen as unmasculine, may be afraid to report being the victim of sexual harassment. They still may, however, experience the negative affective behaviors listed above. Who experiences the costs associated with those feelings and behaviors? The organization. Both women and men may fear losing their jobs or being looked over for future growth within the organization. Although this study looked at the victim and offender dyads according to gender, it is also important to
note that sexual harassment can occur at all levels of an organization. Sexual harassment does not necessarily occur solely between a supervisor and an employee under him or her on the organizational ladder. Sexual harassment is a very complicated issue and one that will need further research to gain understanding about who it is happening to, who it is happening by, and how sexual harassment affects men and women. What has been brought to light by this study is that sexual harassment between a man and a woman is perceived as more severe than sexual harassment between two men. Organizations must take action to change this alarming perception.
APPENDIX A:

MILD, OPPOSITE-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
Jane and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both Jane and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

Jane spent the weekend at the beach and received a very noticeable sunburn. She hadn’t been out in the sun at all since last summer, so her sunburn was really bad. The following Monday morning, at work, she had to make a bunch of copies, so she headed from her cubicle over to the copy room. She walked up to a group of fellow employees who were hanging out in the copy room waiting to make copies. They were all standing around and talking about what they did over the weekend while they waited for the copy machine to be free. Jane joined them and listened to what they did over the weekend, but didn’t say anything yet about what she did over the weekend. John, who was one of the coworkers standing among the group said to Jane, “Wow are you red. I bet you have some great tan lines.”

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

Not at All Mild Moderate Severe

1------2------3------4------5
APPENDIX B:

MILD, SAME-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
James and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both James and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

James spent the weekend at the beach and received a very noticeable sunburn. He hadn’t been out in the sun at all since last summer, so his sunburn was really bad. The following Monday morning, at work, he had to make a bunch of copies, so he headed from his cubicle over to the copy room. He walked up to a group of fellow employees who were hanging out in the copy room waiting to make copies. They were all standing around and talking about what they did over the weekend while they waited for the copy machine to be free. James joined them and listened to what they did over the weekend, but didn’t say anything yet about what he did over the weekend. John, who was one of the coworkers standing among the group said to James, “Wow are you red. I bet you have some great tan lines.”

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>Mild</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Severe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C:

MODERATE, OPPOSITE-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
Jane and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both Jane and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

Friday morning at work, John calls Jane into his office. John wants to check out a movie over the weekend, and he wants to know what Jane thinks about it. Jane says she saw the movie last week and it’s not even worth waiting to rent it. John says he’ll go see something else then, and asks Jane what her plans are for the weekend. Jane says that she’s going horseback riding at the beach, and that she really loves taking care of her horse on weekends. John then says that he’s heard that people like to ride horses because it feels as good as having sex. John says he just read a magazine article on it and finds the magazine in his desk drawer. Jane sees the cover of the magazine and realizes it’s a very explicit adult magazine. John opens the magazine to the article and starts reading it to Jane. While he’s reading, John makes sexual hand gestures to describe the actions in the article.

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

1-----2-----3-----4-----5
Not at All   Mild   Moderate   Severe
APPENDIX D:

MODERATE, SAME-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
James and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both James and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

Friday morning at work, John calls James into his office. John wants to check out a movie over the weekend, and he wants to know what James thinks about it. James says he saw the movie last week and it’s not even worth waiting to rent it. John says he’ll go see something else then, and asks James what his plans are for the weekend. James says that he’s going horseback riding at the beach, and that he really loves taking care of his horse on weekends. John then says that he’s heard that people like to ride horses because it feels as good as having sex. John says he just read a magazine article on it and finds the magazine in his desk drawer. James sees the cover of the magazine and realizes it’s a very explicit adult magazine. John opens the magazine to the article and starts reading it to James. While he’s reading, John makes sexual hand gestures to describe the actions in the article.

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

Not at All Mild Moderate Severe
APPENDIX E:

SEVERE, OPPOSITE-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
Jane and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both Jane and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

At the office, late on Friday afternoon when almost everyone had gone home, John tells Jane he needs to talk to her about an important account. Jane meets John at his cubicle, where a group of all male coworkers are standing around talking. Jane realizes they’re making sexual jokes about their coworkers, but she ignores it and asks what John wanted to talk to her about. John talks a little about the account, but while he’s talking he’s listening and laughing at the jokes. The group then starts joking about Jane, and one person from the group—a male coworker--pins Jane against the cubicle wall and rubs up against her like he’s having sex with her to illustrate the joke he is making.

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

1——2——3——4——5
Not at All   Mild   Moderate   Severe
APPENDIX F:

SEVERE, SAME-SEX SCENARIO
Background:
James and John are coworkers at a large, well-established company. They are both account managers and have worked for the company less than ten years. Both James and John have received above average performance evaluations from their department head and are well liked by their coworkers. They are both single and are in their early thirties.

Directions:
Please read the scenario below. Then, consider whether you think the scenario depicts sexual harassment or not. If you think the scenario does depict sexual harassment, consider what degree of sexual harassment it represents.

At the office, late on Friday afternoon when almost everyone had gone home, John tells James he needs to talk to him about an important account. James meets John at his cubicle, where a group of all male coworkers are standing around talking. James realizes they’re making sexual jokes about their coworkers, but he ignores it and asks what John wanted to talk to him about. John talks a little about the account, but while he’s talking he’s listening and laughing at the jokes. The group then starts joking about James, and one person from the group—a male coworker—pins James against the cubicle wall and rubs up against him like he’s having sex with him to illustrate the joke he is making.

If you do feel that the behavior described is sexual harassment, circle the number that best represents your response (whole numbers only.) If you do not feel the scenario describes sexual harassment, place an “X” on the line that reads “Not at All.”

Not at All 1—2—3—4—5
Mild Moderate Severe
APPENDIX G:

AGGRESSIVE PROVOCATION QUESTIONNAIRE
Instructions: Please read the situations below. When answering the question, “How would you feel in this situation,” please circle the number on the table: 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 for each of the three feelings: Angry, Frustrated, and Irritated. When answering the question, “What do you think you would do in this situation,” please place an “X” in the circle next to your answer.

1. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
   It’s Saturday evening and you’re in line to buy a lottery ticket. It’s very busy and the store will be closing soon. You’ve already been waiting for 10 minutes. When it’s almost your turn, someone cuts in front of you.
   How would you feel in this situation?

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   What do you think you would do in this situation?
   O Feel angry but do nothing.
   O Push the person who cut in front of you and yell “wait your turn.”
   O Wait patiently until that person had bought their lottery ticket.
   O Say, “I’m sorry, but it was my turn.”
   O Walk out of the store.

2. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
   You have gone out to have a couple of drinks with your girl/boyfriend. While you’re at the bar, a stranger approaches your girl/boyfriend and grabs her/his backside. On your return, your girl/boyfriend tells you what happened.
   How would you feel in this situation?

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   What do you think you would do in this situation?
   O Leave and go somewhere else.
   O Do nothing.
   O Threaten the stranger and swear at him/her.
   O Tell him/her that such behavior is unacceptable and out of order.
   O Feel angry but do nothing at the time.
3. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You’re in a big hurry and a car stops right in front of you. A man gets out but he carries on talking to the driver, blatantly ignoring your calls for him to move. You can’t get past the car.

*How would you feel in this situation?*

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*What do you think you would do in this situation?*
O Get out of your car, walk over to the man and threaten him.
O Put your car in reverse, back up, and take another route.
O Sit in the car and feel angry, but do nothing.
O Calmly wait until he moved.
O Go over to him, tell him that he is being unreasonable and ask him to move.

4. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
Your boss believes you’ve made a minor mistake at work. In front of all your coworkers, he embarrasses you by calling you an incompetent idiot.

*How would you feel in this situation?*

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*What do you think you would do in this situation?*
O Yell back at him that it wasn’t your fault.
O Tell him that this is not the right way to talk to his employees.
O Feel angry, but don’t do anything.
O Shrug it off and go back to work.
O Walk away from him.

5. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You’re at the movies watching a movie. Behind you, two kids are talking, laughing loudly, and kicking the back of your seat a lot.

*How would you feel in this situation?*

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Turn around and ask them to be quiet or leave.
O Feel angry, and do nothing.
O Move to another seat.
O Try to ignore them.
O Turn around and threaten to hit them if they don’t keep quiet.

6. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You’re driving down the freeway. As you’re switching lanes to a slower lane, a reckless
driver speeds out from the fast lane, cutting you off, causing you to slam on your brakes, swerve
and almost lose control of your car.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Honk your horn several times at them.
O Feel angry but do nothing.
O Try to move away from that driver.
O Chase after the other car and try to do the same to them.
O Just keep on driving.

7. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You find out from a friend that your boy/girlfriend has been unfaithful to you on one
occasion, after a Christmas party at work.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Confront your boy/girlfriend about it the next time you see him/her.
O Get angry and make a big scene when you see him/her.
O Just not believe what you’d heard.
O Just not bother about it.
O Feel very angry but do not do anything.
8. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You’re walking down the street on your way to an interview for a new job. As you turn
the corner, a window washer accidentally spills soapy, hot water on your newly drycleaned
clothes.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Move away from the scene as quickly as possible.
O Feel angry but don’t do anything.
O Attract the window washer’s attention, and yell and swear at the window washer.
O Attract the window washer’s attention, and point out what the window washer had done.
O Just walk on and think that you were unlucky today.

9. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You’re sitting on a train quietly reading the newspaper. A couple of football fans are
sitting a few seats in front yelling, swearing, and generally being obnoxious. Suddenly, one of
them throw a empty beer can in the air and it accidentally hits you.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Sit there feeling angry.
O Try to ignore them.
O Find somewhere else to sit.
O Attract their attention and ask them to be more careful.
O Go over to them and threaten them.

10. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
It’s Saturday afternoon and you’re looking for a parking space downtown. You drive
into a parking garage and just as you’re about to reverse into one of the few remaining spaces,
another car speeds into your space.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Drive away and look for another space.
O Get out of the car, go over to the other driver and yell and swear at the other driver.
O Do nothing.
O Go over to the other driver and tell the other driver that this was your space.
O Feel angry but do nothing.

11. Imagine yourself in the following situation:
You arrive home from work, and it’s been a long day. The kids are screaming and running around the living room while you’re trying to relax and watch TV.

How would you feel in this situation?

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What do you think you would do in this situation?
O Feel angry but do nothing at the time.
O Say, “Kids, please sit down and be quiet.”
O Yell at the kids to be quiet.
O Sit patiently and ignore the kids.
O Get up and go into another room.
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Sexual harassment as defined by working women. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, San Diego, CA.


Sexual harassment in the federal government.


