

**Assessing Mens' Reactions to
Workplace Sexual Harassment Stimuli**

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Madeline Oldham


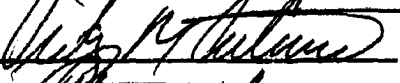

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**ASSESSING MENS' REACTIONS
TO WORKPLACE
SEXUAL HARASSMENT STIMULI**

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Abstract

Assessing Mens' Reactions to Workplace Sexual Harassment Stimuli

Madeline Oldham

September, 1994

The Natural/Biological, Organizational, Sociocultural, and, Sex-Role Spillover models of sexual harassment were applied in assessing the negative effects of sexual harassment on male workers who observe sexually harassing behavior. Negative affective (anxiety and hostility), cognitive (attributions of responsibility) and behavioral (assertiveness and passivity) consequences of sexual harassment on male workers from four urban businesses were examined. Forty volunteers received two audio simulations of sexual harassment, which were counterbalanced to control for order effects. One simulation depicted direct sexual harassment (a sexual proposition) and the second simulation depicted indirect sexual harassment (sexual joking). Twenty men listened to both simulations while imagining the initiator of harassment to be their boss/supervisor. The other twenty men listened to both simulations while imagining a coworker as the initiator. Multivariate analysis with repeated measures of anxiety and hostility revealed significant

increases in anxiety and hostility subsequent to the simulations. No significant difference in anxiety levels between treatment conditions was found, but direct harassment hostility was significantly greater. Type of initiator (boss/coworker) had no significant effect; it did not matter if the initiator of harassment was the boss or coworker. Significant order effects for treatment condition revealed that the presentation of direct harassment first produced the greatest anxiety and hostility. Multivariate analysis of the dependent measures revealed no significant main effects or interactions. Significant correlations between gender-role attributes and the dependent measures revealed that participants with high expressivity characteristics did not attribute blame to the victim for either sexual propositioning or sexual joking. Participants with high instrumentality characteristics were inclined to be less passive when responding to direct sexual harassment and be less anxious after indirect harassment. Participants with egalitarian attitudes toward women attributed blame to the workplace for the occurrence of sexual joking. These results did not support the Biological and Organizational models; however, some support was found for the Sociological and Sex-Role Spillover models in that stereotypic masculine attributes mediate and moderate the negative effects of indirect harassment.

Introduction

In the last two decades, a considerable amount of evidence suggests that sexual harassment is a widespread phenomenon, occurring with alarming and heretofore unrecognized frequency (Gutck, 1985; Tinsley & Stockdale, 1993; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981). Sexual harassment is also universally criticized as morally and ethically reprehensible and damaging to survivors. Case studies, testimonials and existing data indicate that the outcomes of sexual harassment are not trivial; the negative economic, physical, psychological and behavioral consequences for sexual harassment victims can be quite devastating (Baker, Terpstra, and Larntz, 1990; Crull, 1982; Gosselin, 1984). However, very little is known about the impact of sexual harassment on bystanders within the organization, especially employees who observe sexually harassing behavior in their workplace. The purpose of the present study is to extend the sexual harassment literature to include information about the effects of sexual harassment on bystanders. More specifically, the present study will investigate the affective, cognitive and behavioral impact of sexual harassment on males who observe sexually harassing behavior in their work environment.

The following literature review focuses upon the nature of sexuality in the workplace, types of social-sexual behavior in the workplace, definitions and theories of sexual harassment and consequences of sexual harassment for victims, and male workers who observe sexually harassing behavior in their workplace.

Sexuality in the Workplace

Over two decades ago, women transformed the traditional bastion of the male-dominated workplace by competing for and working in nontraditional jobs, excelling in male-orientated businesses, developing entrepreneurship skills, starting their own businesses and garnering new power on corporate boards. Men and women now share their working environment in close proximity. This transformation of sex ratios in the workplace has changed our very perceptions of the function of sex in the work world. These events have stimulated considerable interest in workplace male-female relationships (Gutek, 1989).

Men and women interact in the workplace in a variety of ways. There are times when social-sexual workplace interaction yields authentic romantic relationships. However, there are other occasions when working together yields unwanted social-sexual behaviors. It is only since the 1970's that there has been a marked increase in the attention paid to unwanted sexually-oriented behaviour or sexual harassment in the workplace.

Historically, sexuality has been deeply intertwined with cultural values and organizational policies. Because sexuality in the workplace often reflects the pattern of sexual expression in the rest of society, human sexuality is not extinguished when men and women walk through the office door; they bring their sexuality to work with them. Thus, the way that men and women relate to one another at work has a sexual component in that the behavior of each is constantly influenced by the sex of the other (Bradford,

Sargent, and Sprague, 1980) and stimulated in a setting of close physical and psychological proximity (Quinn and Lees, 1984). According to Hearn (1989), sexuality is not a thing brought into organizations, but an inherent aspect of individualistic "politics of the body" that moves from a private process to a public process. Sexuality is actively produced in a range of discourses and interactions from romantic relationships to coercive interactions, from feelings to flirtations to sexual acts, accomplished willingly, unwillingly or forcibly between those involved. While romantic relationships are usually pleasurable and rewarding for the individuals involved, coercive relationships are painful for at least one of the persons (Neugarten and Shafritz, 1980). Thus many of the difficulties that men and women experience in their relationships at work revolve around sexuality (Gutek, 1985).

Organizations are environments that facilitate the dynamics of interaction between genders. Since a greater number of women have entered the workforce, greater contact between men and women in a working environment provides the opportunity for more expressions of social-sexual behaviour to occur (Gutek, 1989). People tend to evaluate these workplace social-sexual encounters as interpersonal; they seem to underestimate the impact of organizational environment on their behavior. Many workers seem to think that social-sexual behaviors are unaffected by the structural characteristics or climate of the workplace. While organizations do nothing officially to encourage sexuality or social-sexual behavior among employees, its pervasive, subtle and often invisible presence is frequently ignored, suppressed, overlooked or denied. Even though, an overwhelming majority of working women do not like or welcome social-sexual

encounters in the workplace (Schneider, 1982), 80% of workers surveyed by Gutek (1985) reported some occurrence of social-sexual experience in the workplace ranging from office romances, ribaldry, sexual touching, to more extreme sexual assault behaviors. Thus, when men and women see social-sexual behavior in the workplace, they attribute it solely to individuals' wishes and actions and ignore organizational influences (Gutek, 1989). However, with increased public concern, both noncoercive and coercive sexual relationships at work will no longer be viewed as an issue that lies outside the realm of organizational life.

Organizational sexuality can be manifested in many forms from benign or positive expressions of sexual interest to sexual coercion and exploitation (Gutek, Morasch, and Cohen, 1983). These forms include sexual relationships between workers, flirtatious conversations, sexually-implied jokes, comments, and innuendos, whistling, staring, voluntary disclosure of intimate information, sexually explicit pictures and posters, touching (nonsexual and sexual), style of dress, and physical assault. Also included in the sexuality of the workplace are "extra-organizational rules", those societal understandings about the respective worth and functions of men and women that exclude and undervalue the work of women (Clegg, 1981, cited in Mills, 1989, p. 33). Consequently cultural arrangements in organizations exclude women from "man's work" or non-traditional occupations, and restrict them to the traditional "women's work" occupations having low status/low pay.

The broad range of behaviors labelled "social-sexual behavior at work", (Gutek, 1985) and "sexuality of organizations" by Burrell and Hearn (1989) constitute "social-

sexual behavior", encompassing the social and sexual aspects of workplace behavior irrespective of the behaviors being nonwork-related. "Sex role" and "gender role" refer to behavior expected of men and women in our society.

Types of Social-Sexual Behavior

Gutek, Cohen and Konrad, (1990) distinguish three types of social-sexual behavior: (1) direct nonharassing sexual behavior, (2) sexualization of the workplace and (3) direct sexual harassment. In their study participants were asked to categorize eight social-sexual behaviors from rarely considered harassment to those generally considered sexual harassment. These behaviors included; making complimentary sexual comments, making insulting sexual comments, giving complimentary looks or making complimentary gestures, giving insulting looks or making insulting gestures, touching sexually, touching nonsexually, and socializing with members of the other gender as part of the job.

Direct Nonharassing Behavior

Overtures of males and females to express sexual interest is the most plausible explanation why direct nonharassing behavior is the most common of social-sexual behaviors at work. In the Gutek, Cohen and Konrad (1990) study, 76.2 % of the men and 77.6% of the women had experienced nonharassing social-sexual behavior in their current job; complimentary sexual comments, attempts to initiate dating, and flirting were

commonly experienced nonharassing behaviors. Additionally, presenting sexually oriented jokes or cartoons, wolf-whistles and making sexual comments that are mildly annoying but not offensive to the listener were included in the broader definition of nonharassing behavior, if the respondents did not consider such behavior offensive. Although nonharassing behavior has been assumed to be more benign in its effects, relatively little is known about the consequences (Gutek, 1985).

Sexualization of the Workplace

Sexualization of the workplace refers to the climate of an organization that tolerates expressions of sexuality, encourages sexual overtures, tries to control sexuality through strict rules and practices (Gutek, 1985) or suppresses sexuality through "desexualization" (Burrell, 1984). While not directed at any particular individual, the organization's hierarchy, norms, rules and constraints profoundly affect the way men and women interact in the workplace.

A workplace may develop a sexualized ambience, i.e., a climate perpetuating a great deal of talk about sex, sexual joking and sexual behavior. Thus workers may become habituated to sexual behavior due to constant exposure, a condition labelled by Gutek (1985) as "sexual astigmatism". Such behaviors become a pervasive and condoned condition of the work environment and part of the organizational climate. Gutek, (1985) found that men are more likely to be habituated to the occurrence of sexual behaviors in the workplace and do not tend to label many sexual behaviors as harassment. This

explains another finding; male-dominated work environments tend to be sexualized, while female dominated work environments tend to be asexual (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). Consequently, a sexualized workplace will likely facilitate the occurrence of both nonharassing behaviors and harassment but not be labelled as such because of the "desensitization" factor (Konrad and Gutek, 1986).

However, sexualization of workplace can also create a hostile, polluted and offensive work environment. A workplace contaminated with degrading comments, jokes or innuendoes, and/or reference to women's bodies, public displays of derogatory sexually explicit pictures, the requirement that women dress in costumes that leave them the target of sexual comments and propositions from the general public can interfere with an employee's work. Sexualization of the workplace in this context is considered by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC: 1980) and the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC: 1983) as sexual harassment. It is an infringement of an employee's right to work in an environment free from sexual pressure of any kind; it is employment discrimination by means of sexual blackmail (Aggarwal, 1992).

Direct Harassing Behavior

A variety of sexual workplace behaviors that a person finds personally offensive constitute sexual harassment. Some of these offensive behaviors may be subtle or obvious, verbal or physical. Sometimes, sexual harassment is a single encounter; sometimes, a recurrent pattern. It may be perpetrated by one individual or by a group;

both males and females can initiate harassing behavior and both men and women can be victims of sexual harassment (Gutek, 1985). The scope of direct sexual harassment may run the gamut from "sexual annoyance" such as patting women's bottoms when they walk down the hall, to explicit propositions that require women to engage in sexual relations or be terminated or lose deserved promotions. The classical sexual harassment case involves an "employment nexus", where a supervisor uses his power over salary, promotions, training requests or employment, to coerce a subordinate into granting sexual favours (Aggarwal 1992).

Sexual harassment is neither rare or unique. According to Bularik (1978), sexual harassment existed since Colonial times; it has a long history, but a short past. Lack and Gwartney-Gibbs (1993) maintain that sexual harassment is just one of the many "gendered" workplace disputes that contribute to employment inequalities between men and women. This unequal treatment of working women has been stable across cultures and across history (Vaux, 1993). Until 1978, "sexual harassment" was referred to as "sexual misconduct", "sexual advances", or "sexual molestation". Since the Cornell Study in 1976, unwanted sexually harassing behaviour has been identified as a woman's problem requiring a resolution (Aggarwal, 1992).

Problems of Definition

The term "sexual harassment" includes diverse behaviors, experiences and contexts. Because this broad range of behaviors lacks conceptual clarity, a problematic

approach to definition still plaques researchers. However, to date, the most frequently quoted definition is the one formulated by Farley, (1978):

"Sexual harassment is best described as unsolicited, non-reciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as a worker".

Farley's extensive documentation of sexual harassment cases in a variety of work environments, including the incidence, severity and deleterious consequences of sexual harassment has helped establish sexual harassment as a legitimate problem (Livingston, 1982). However, Farley's definition fails to include sexual harassment of males who have been harassed by women or other men in their working environment (Gutek, 1985; Reilly, Lott and Gallagher, 1986). In an atypical finding Vaux (1993) reported that rates of harassing experiences reported by men were far higher than conventional wisdom would lead us to suspect. Even though direct sexually harassing behaviour is not solely initiated by men, it is reasonable to assume that in the majority of reported cases of sexual harassment, it is the woman being harassed. Hence, it is not a woman's issue but an employment and economic one.

To establish a working definition of sexual harassment, Powell (1983), identified key elements from case studies of women who claimed to have experienced sexual harassment. Harassing behaviour was regarded as: unwelcome or unsolicited; of a sexual nature; deliberate or repeated; and could be verbal or physical. Three degrees of severity were also identified. Severe sexual harassing behaviour consists of forced sexual

relations, sexual propositions, touching and brushing. Moderate sexual harassing behaviour included suggestive gestures, sexual remarks and sexual relations with the promise of ensuing rewards. Mild sexual harassment equated to staring and flirting. This attempt to define specific actions into categories of sexual harassment still does not provide an all-inclusive definition of sexual harassment.

However strongly the problem of sexual harassment has been legitimized, there remains a lack of a clear and concise definition of the term. Consistent differences between men and women in labelling specific behaviors as sexual harassment continue to pose a problem for researchers (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991). Universal acceptance of definition cannot be attained when confusion over definitions of sexual harassment, as well as operationalization of these definitions, remains a methodological problem for researchers (Gillespie and Leffler, 1987). There are very few complete definitions offered in the literature as the subject of sexual harassment is discussed and studied through examples of sexually harassing behaviour which can vary widely in terms of behaviours and the context of their occurrence. Therefore, an all-inclusive definition should take into account the behavioral, psychological and legal aspects of the sexual harassment (Meyer, Berchtold, Oestreich, and Collins, 1981).

Behavioral Aspects of Sexual Harassment

Sexually harassing behaviors include (1) physical contact, (2) non-physical contact and (3) verbal behavior. Actual, unwanted physical contact can range from offensive

conduct (patting, pinching or brushing up against the body, cornering or mauling, attempted or actual kissing or fondling) to criminal behavior (physical assault, coerced sexual intercourse and attempted rape or rape).

Sexually harassing behaviors not involving actual contact such as gestures and non-verbal behaviors are intended to get the attention of the victim or provoke a reaction from the receiver. Such behaviors include leering, ogling with sexual overtones, lewd gestures and persistent and unwelcome flirting.

Verbal behaviors do not necessarily have to be directed specifically at the victim to be sexually harassing (Aggarwal, 1992). Such behaviors include persistent risque jesting, vulgar humour, remarks about a woman's anatomy, speculations about a woman's sexual practices, threats or verbal abuse, inquiries about a woman's sexual partner, pseudo-medical advice, patronizing name calling and gender-based insults.

In an attempt to operationalize sexual harassment, Gruber, (1992) organized sexual harassment behaviours into eleven categories that distinguish between the type and severity of the harassment: (1) Verbal requests, including (a) sexual bribery ("I'll make it worth your while for a little cooperation"); (b) sexual advances ("When I see you, I want to touch you all over"); (c) relational advances (won't take no for an answer); and, (d) subtle pressures or advances ("Have you ever had an affair?"); (2) Verbal comments consisted of (a) personal remarks ("Your bra must have a D cup"); (b) subjective objectification ("She's gay"); and (c) sexual categorical remarks ("Women are whores"); (3) Nonverbal displays consisted of the most severe behaviour - (a) sexual assault or coercion; (b) sexual touching (including pinching and grabbing); (c) sexual posturing

(following or cornering); and (d) sexual materials (for the debasement of women). Essentially, the gravity of the harassment experience increases as the content of the initiator's behaviour becomes more personally and sexually focused on the recipient.

Psychological Aspects of Sexual Harassment

Both men and women agree that certain blatant behavior such as sexual assault or sexual bribery, constitute sexual harassment; but, women are more likely to see more subtle behaviors such as sexual teasing, looks, or gestures, as harassment (Collins and Blodgett, 1981). However, the variables that psychologically define sexual harassment have not been adequately investigated, partly because such incidents are frequently ambiguous in their intent and effect (Cohen and Gutek, 1985). Psychological sexual harassment is insidious in nature; instead of outright physical abuse, a subtle form of psychological intimidation occurs. Relentless sexual annoyance having no direct link to any tangible job benefit or harm can create a bothersome work environment and effectively makes the worker's willingness to endure that environment a condition of employment. Having to endure frequent conduct that demeans or humiliates a person lowers the recipient's job satisfaction and thus becomes a condition of employment.

Other conduct, such as relentless proposals for physical intimacy, beginning with subtle hints, may eventually lead to overt sexual requests. A woman may receive an offer for after-work drinks, expensive dinners and business trips with the implicit message that sexual favours are expected. Thus, a sexual encounter imposed upon a worker against

her wishes as a trade-off or condition of employment becomes sexual harassment (Gutek, 1985).

Women working at the bottom of the economic scale are subject to the more gross expressions of sexual harassment. They often encounter crude, suggestive comments and propositions for sexual intimacy. They may be required to wear sexy, revealing attire or suggestive uniforms, materials or buttons as part of the job which is another form of psychological sexual harassment. Professional and managerial women are more likely to experience more subtle forms of harassment. Instead of outright gross verbal and physical abuse, they may experience psychological intimidation, e.g., verbal innuendoes and inappropriate affectional gestures (MacIntyre and Renick, 1982).

Legal Aspects of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment by nature is difficult to define. Courts and Human Rights Tribunals have had difficulty in ascertaining the nature and scope of sexual harassment. Consequently, they have had difficulty in formulating a statutory definition of sexual harassment. However, in the late 1970's, sexual harassment became a "cause of action". The United States courts established the principles that (a) sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, (b) sexual harassment should not be a condition of employment; and, (3) employers may be held liable in such cases, (Aggarwal, 1992).

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission published guidelines on

sexual harassment for the purpose of explaining what behavior constitutes discrimination under Title VII. These guidelines define sexual harassment as "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature". The guidelines set out three criteria for determining whether an action constitutes unlawful behavior:

1. when submission to the conduct is either an explicit or implied term or condition of employment;
2. when submission to, or rejection of, such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual; or
3. when 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 (quality of environment rule).

In essence, the Commission's position specifies that sexual harassment occurs when environmental harassment (an intimidating, offensive, or hostile working environment) interferes with an individual's work performance. Thus, it is the employer's responsibility to maintain a workplace free of sexual harassment and intimidation. While these guidelines do not have the force of the law, the federal courts have relied quite heavily on these EEOC guidelines in sexual harassment cases (Baxter, cited in Grauerholz and Koralewski, 1991).

Summary: Since 1976 the courts have recognized two categories of sexual harassment as sex discrimination: "*quid pro quo*" harassment in which tangible employment-related

benefits are made contingent upon participation in sexual activity and "*environmental harassment*" where employees are subjected to endure sexual gestures and posturing in an intimidating, offensive and hostile work environment.

Canadian Legal Aspect:

Prior to 1980, sexual harassment was virtually unknown in Canadian jurisprudence. The *Cherie Bell* case of 1980 laid the foundation for sexual harassment law in Canada. Two complainants alleged their job dismissal was due to their refusal of sexual advances from their restaurant-owner employer. Even though the Courts found the employer not guilty of sexual harassment, the Human Rights Board did determine that sexual propositioning as described in this case was sexual harassment which constitutes sex discrimination, and is prohibited by the Human Rights Code. From this point onwards, the meaning and scope of sexual harassment and its legal ramifications began to unfold, as the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace became public concern, involving victims, employers, alleged harassers, lawyers, and courts (Aggarwal, 1992).

The Canadian Human Rights Act protects individuals from harassment on any prohibited ground of discrimination - sex, age, marital status, race, religion, national or ethnic origin, colour, physical disability or pardoned offence. An amendment to the Act in 1983 specifically prohibited sexual harassment by outlining the legal criteria under which sexual harassment occurs:

- it must be reasonably perceived as a term or condition of employment or
-

of the provision of goods, services, facilities, or accommodation customarily available to the general public; or

- it must influence decisions on such matters; or
- it must interfere with job performance or access to or enjoyment of goods, services, facilities and accommodation; or
- it must humiliate, insult or intimidate any individual.

Harassment is considered to have taken place if a reasonable person ought to have known that such behavior was unwelcome, (CHRC, 1983).

The Supreme Court of Canada put the unqualified stamp of its approval on the principles as well as on the meaning and scope of sexual harassment by concluding:

Sexual harassment is not limited to demands for sexual favours made under threats of adverse job consequences should the employee refuse to comply with the demands. Sexual harassment also encompasses situations in which sexual demands are foisted upon unwilling employees or in which employees must endure sexual groping, propositions, and inappropriate comments, but where no tangible economic rewards are attached to involvement in the behavior. In as much as these actions create a negative psychological and emotional work environment, this conduct is considered sexually harassing on the basis of discrimination of sex. (Aggarwal, 1992).

Operational Definitions

Operational definitions of sexual harassment range from broad to very narrow; from legal definitions (Hughes and May, 1980) to victim-generated definitions (U.S.

Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981); from perceptual/attributional characteristics (Collins and Blodgett, 1981) to structural/ecological features (Gruber and Bjorn, 1981); from definitions completely tied to human sexuality (MacKinnon, 1979) and social exchange theory (Jones and Remland, 1992) to definitions that consider sexuality irrelevant to the problem (Bularzik, 1978). Since there is no universal agreement on an appropriate operational definition of sexual harassment, variations in operational definitions are probably due to different theoretical conceptions of the problem (Gillespie and Leffler, 1987). However, the present study focuses on three different theories presented by Tangri, Burt, and Johnson, (1982), including an explanation for the occurrence of workplace sexual harassment proposed Gutek (1985).

The following operational definitions have been adapted for this study:

Social-sexual behavior denotes any workplace interaction that constitutes an expression of sexuality. It includes, **Sexualization of the workplace** which refers to sexual gestures, coarse language, and sex-orientated jokes among males in the presence of, but not necessarily directed towards, a female worker or another male worker; and, **Direct Sexual Harassment** which refers to sexual touching and a proposition with promises of job enhancement from a male to an individual male or female worker.

Theories of Social-sexual Behavior

Much of the research into sexual harassment is based on case studies of large scale surveys. It is descriptive (impressionistic, anecdotal documentation based upon

women's observations about themselves and others) and focuses on factors (i.e., gender, status, and relative power of the initiator and the target) that differentiate incidents of possible sexual harassment. This research generally reflects the frequency of sexual harassment, who is harassed by whom and the conditions under which the sexual harassment takes place (Cohen and Gutek, 1985). However, this descriptive research does not provide insight into what causes sexual harassment, or how to predict and prevent its occurrence (Popovich and Licata, 1987). In the search for causal explanations of sexual harassment, some researchers have turned to biosexual theory and psychosocial theory (Meyer et al., 1981). Within these parameters, Tangri, Burt and Johnson, (1982) identified three general explanatory formulations of sexual harassment:

(a) a natural/biological explanation (natural sexual attraction); (b) an organizational model suggesting that harassment results from the misuse of organizational authority (by both men and women); and (c) a socio-cultural gender model conceptualizing men's general social and political preeminence. These causal explanations or models for sexual harassment are presented as: (1) the Natural-Biological Model; (2) the Organizational Model; and (3) the Sociocultural Model.

The Natural-Biological Model

The Natural-Biological Model states that all social-sexual behavior is the expression of natural sexual attraction between two people, implying mutual involvement and positive consequences for the individuals. This model can be viewed as a

motivational model implying that men and women make overtures at work because they are sexually attracted to each other; the intent is not to discriminate, dominate or harass.

There are three translations of this model:

- (1) Men and women are naturally attracted to each other with both sexes freely participating in social-sexual behavior in many social situations including the workplace; thus, sexual harassment is merely the expression of sexual attraction between the sexes;
- (2) The human sex drive is stronger in men, leading them to initiate sexual advances more frequently and aggressively against women, but without harassing intent; and, (3) Sexually harassing behavior is the result of idiosyncratic tendencies in a minority of men.

The Natural-Biological Model proposes that social-sexual behavior is harmless and the result of natural sexual attraction occurring in the workplace. Without intent or effect of discrimination against women, sexual harassment will not cause harmful consequences.

Several predictions can be derived from versions one and two of this model (Gutek, 1985; Tangri et al., 1982). If sexual harassment is an expression of romantic interest, the social-sexual behavior should follow established patterns of liking, attraction and courtship, without intent to coerce or intimidate. The recipient and initiator would be similar in age, race, attitudes, social status and other background characteristics; the expected recipient would be perceived as a romantically available partner (unmarried or eligible) while the initiator (harasser) would be from the age group with the highest biological sex drive. Sexual harassment would occur equally across hierarchical positions of power and status within the organization. The third version asserts that sexual harassment is the deviant behavior of a few sick men; therefore, sexual harassment

should not be a widespread phenomenon.

According to the Natural-Biological Model, incidents of sexual harassment would only be initiated by one harasser, since multiple harassers would be indicative of intimidation or coercion, not an attempt to develop a romantic liaison. Additionally, if the behavior is actually the expression of mutual attraction, then both sexes should be comfortable with this workplace social-sexual behavior, and the positive effects derived from this behavior would be approved by coworkers. Thus, if assuming this model correct, the occurrence of a sexually harassing behavior would have no negative effects, other than perhaps the discomfort of refusing natural sexual advances.

The Organizational Model

It is frequently argued that sexual harassment is not about sex but about power. This model holds that the concept of power is central to understanding sexual harassment; however, the nature of power varies considerably from clear position or authority differences to more general differences between men and women in their perspectives and use of interpersonal power in the workplace (Cleveland and Kerst, 1993). Organizational power is often viewed as an extension of societal power in the workplace. Thus, the structure of occupations within the organization, who occupies these positions, and who has access to vital resources are all characteristics that contribute to the central theme of the Organizational explanation.

The Organization Model assumes that the deliberate existence of "opportunity"

structures inherent in most organizations actually facilitate the occurrence of sexual harassment. These organizational structures have been identified by Tangri et al., (1982) as:

- (1) differential legitimized organizational power between superordinates (usually males) and subordinates (usually females) which is used to extort sexual gratification;
- (2) visibility and contact between males and females, (i.e., the greater visibility of a minority or newcomer may facilitate sexual harassment);
- (3) occupational norms (i.e., a waitress required to be physically and sexually attractive);
- (4) job requirements (i.e., overtime work and business trips allowing for a more "sexy atmosphere" than found during normal working hours; and,
- (5) lack of grievance procedures and job alternatives (i.e., inadequate investigations of complaints or opportunities to transfer to a new department or job).

Thus, those individuals who possess either formal or informal power will harass others the misuse of their organizational power. It is the abuse of power of the powerful over the powerless.

The Sociocultural Model

Another abuse of power of the powerful over the powerless at the macrolevel is the Sociocultural explanation of sexual harassment. The Sociocultural model proposes

that sexual harassment occurs in the workplace because traditional cultural and societal norms (i.e., male entitlement, sexual access rights, and, coercion), influence the interactions between men and women in workplace as well as in society in general (Walker, 1989). "Sexual harassment reflects the larger society's differential distribution of power and status between the sexes", (Tangri et al., 1982, p.34). Similarly, harassment may stem more from the confluence of sex and power that characterizes the male-female relationship in our society than from specific status and power differentials inherent in the organizational structure of the workplace.

Sexual harassment originates from the sexual context of patriarchy in which men have traditionally exerted power over women both in the home situation and in the workplace (Farley, 1978). The cultural and societal beliefs supported by a differential socialization process promotes male power, sexual aggressiveness, competitiveness and assertiveness and female physical attractiveness, compliancy, helpfulness, and passivity. Thus, socialization provides the validity for the belief in the more powerful man and the less powerful woman and sexual harassment is the manifestation of this culturally dictated power and status differential which gets "spilled over" into the workplace (Gutek and Morasch, 1982). Accordingly, males may consciously or unconsciously set out to harass, intimidate or dominate females in their efforts to maintain their economic and political superordinancy while women acquiescence to avoid confrontation and conflict. Hence, sexual harassment in the workplace will occur in all status and power positions as a means of preserving this status quo (Bradford, Sargent and Sprague, 1980).

In summarizing the findings by Tangri et al.(1982), no unequivocal support for

any one model emerges. Rather, some support of the three models indicates that sexual harassment is not a unitary phenomenon but is influenced by a combination of characteristics from each of these models. Such is the model proposed by Gutek and Morasch, (1982), the Sex-Role Spillover perspective. It focuses on the workplace and its environment rather than either individual differences or broad cultural beliefs.

The Sex-Role Spillover Model

Gutek and Morasch (1982) proposed an integrative explanation of sexual harassment. They argued that effects of sex-role expectations in an organizational context provide a clearer explanation of sexual harassment. They contend that power\gender variables ingrained within societal and cultural norms (Sociocultural Model) and power\gender variables within the Organizational infrastructure (Organizational Model) interact within the workplace to facilitate and perpetuate the existence of sexual harassment. This Sex-Role perspective is the carryover into the workplace of gender based roles that are usually irrelevant or inappropriate to work (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). Simply stated, gender-role occurs when a job comes to be seen as primarily a man's or a woman's job - the gender role spills over into the work role; this is especially apparent in jobs that are numerically dominated by either men or women. These practices originated from societal sex-role expectations.

Social-sexual behavior is inherently "gendered". Men and women have different experiences because there are specified roles for men and women to enact; they are

expected to behave in a manner consistent with their established sex roles. Thus, by definition, one's sex role is a set of shared expectations about the social behavior of men and women. Socialization and training processes provide us with basically invisible cultural axioms concerning appropriate masculine and feminine sex-roles. Since gender (sex) is perhaps the most salient characteristic of human experience, it is just as likely to be salient at work as in other social settings, even though the expression of some aspects of one's self may be considered inappropriate for the working environment (i.e., the display of excessive emotion). Similarly, one's sexuality is generally considered inappropriate to one's work-role (expectations associated with task accomplishment within a job). Thus, sexual jokes, teasing, suggestive remarks, flirtatious behavior and sexual coercion would be inappropriate to one's work-role. However, these sexual aspects of sex-role are present in the workplace as a result of being "spilled over" into the workplace. Consequently, the work-role takes on aspects of the sex-role (Gutek and Morasch, 1982).

Sex-role spillover occurs when women are expected to be more nurturant, sympathetic, and loyal than men in work roles, and when women are expected to serve as helpers (laboratory assistants), assistants (administrative assistants), or associates (research associates). Sex-role spillover also occurs when men are expected to assume leadership roles in mixed group interactions, pay for the lunch of a female colleague or confront a poorly performing colleague. Thus, attributes deemed appropriate to a feminine sex-role and a masculine sex-role are carried over into work-roles. Men are more likely to perceive the world in sexual terms, to perceive more sexuality in their

own and others behavior. For example, the sex-role for men includes talking about sex, approaching women as sex objects, and displaying readiness for sexual interaction. So, a man can make sexual jokes and comments, proposition women at work and still be considered a desirable worker - the sexual aspect of the male sex-role is carried over into his work-role without interference. A man can be a sexual human and a productive worker at the same time (Gutek, 1985). However, a woman cannot be a sex object and a worker at the same time. Her status as a sex object overpowers other aspects of her sex-role and overwhelms the work-role that she is trying to occupy (Gutek, 1985). Projecting a sexual image and being a sex object (seductress) are aspects of the female sex-role that are also spilled over into work roles. When a woman is required to project her sexuality through dress, demeanour and appearance, this is an indication of sex-role being carried over into her work-role (Samoluk and Pretty, 1994).

The transference of sex-role into work-role is facilitated by the cognitive processing of gender identity (the perception of one's maleness or femaleness) and male acceptance of stereotyping (female nurse, male police officer). Many males may be most comfortable interacting with females in their more familiar gender-roles (spouses, lovers, parents or children). Thus, gender identity with the accompanying element of sexuality becomes an integral part of man's work-role; social-sexual behavior on the job is viewed by them as natural and expected. Gutek, Morasch, and Cohen (1982) concluded that men tend to engage in more sexual interactions in the workplace and view these encounters as "appropriate" workplace behavior.

In summation, Gutek and Morasch (1982), proposed that sex ratio of occupation,

job and work-role set often leads to sex-role spillover which may lead to sexual harassment. However, the experience of sexually harassing behaviors (frequency and kinds) depends upon whether the person is in the majority or minority sex. While the sex-role spillover perspective by itself cannot provide a complete explanation of sexual harassment, it does provide a substantial contribution to further awareness and understanding of sexual harassment in the workplace.

A Comparison of the Power Perspective and the Sex-Role Spillover Perspective

The power differential perspective helps to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment in the context of male-female relationships. Its basis is the concept of stratification and male-female conflict. Men will impose their will upon female workers because of authority and status (the Organizational Model) and because of the "naturalness" of it (the Sociocultural Model), often resulting in sexual harassment. The sex-role spillover perspective helps to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment in the context of work behavior. It places more emphasis upon the variables of sex ratio, work-role, and sex-role spillover, factors that might determine whether or not a specific social-sexual behavior is defined as sexual harassment.

In an attempt to explain the occurrence of sexual harassment, both perspectives (power and sex-role spillover) identify possible solutions for the prevention of sexual harassment. Implications arising from the Organizational Model, suggest that the delineation of a highly vertically-stratified infrastructure or greater integration for women

into all levels of hierarchy within organizations might deter the occurrence of sexual harassment by defusing the power differentials between male and female workers. The Sex-role Spillover Model suggests that greater integration of women into horizontal and internal stratifications, would contribute to a sex-integrated work environment across hierarchical levels, across occupations and across jobs thus, facilitating more "appropriate" social-sexual behavior in the workplace.

Application of the Sexual Harassment Models and the Sex-Role Spillover Perspective to Observer Research

The research of Tangri, Burt and Johnson (1982) and Gutek (1985) provide a basis from which to begin an exploration of the utility of the Natural-Biological, Organizational, Sociocultural Models, and Sex-Role Spillover perspective of workplace social-sexual behavior as applied to observers of sexual harassment. The three models predict different consequences for victims. Can these same models be utilized when determining the consequences of sexual harassment for bystanders? The Natural-Biological Model predicts little or no victim distress subsequent to sexual harassment (a misinterpreted display of sexual attraction). Will male workers be unaffected subsequent to observing sexually harassing workplace behavior? The Organizational Model predicts that the harasser's organizational power and status will influence the degree of negative victim reactions. Will power and status of the harasser affect the observer's attribution of responsibility for the sexually harassing behaviors?

The Sociocultural Model predicts that, because workplace social-sexual behavior is the perpetuation of patriarchy, all female victims would be affected by this exploitation of power. Will observers view social-sexual workplace behavior as male exploitation of power and be affected by their observations? Perhaps sexualization of the workplace has conditioned male workers, including observers of harassment, to accept sexual joking and coarse sexual language as normative, appropriate workplace behavior.

A goal of the present study is to extend the application of sexual harassment theory to include participants, other than victims, in the sexual harassment paradigm, while utilizing methodology that moves beyond descriptive statistics (Brewer, 1982). Males consider sexually related behavior on the job more natural, more to be expected, not problematic, and not serious (Reilly et al., 1986). They also tend to label fewer social-sexual behaviors at work as sexual harassment (Konrad and Gutek, 1986). There is also evidence to suggest that males may have difficulty in distinguishing between illegal sexual harassment and permissible (although perhaps unwanted) social interactions. Audio simulations of two different flagrant incidents of inappropriate workplace behavior were utilized to enable participants (male observers of harassment) to clearly identify such behavior as "inappropriate", thus providing potential control over differential perspectives.

This review of the literature on causes of sexual harassment, now leads to the examination of research dealing with the consequences of sexual harassment. Clinical and empirical sexual harassment literature shows that outcomes and consequences to sexual harassment have received very little attention especially in comparison to the abundance

of research that has been devoted to the definition of harassment and to the frequency of its occurrence (Gutek and Dunwoody, 1988). While the literature suggests that harassment is hardly benign - either for the individual victim or the organization, most of the research has been confined to case studies or self-reports addressing victim consequences; little information about the consequences of sexual harassment for bystanders, has been addressed. This study is an exploratory attempt to include male observer data which will help to gain a clearer understanding of the pervasiveness of sexual harassment as a workplace problem affecting both victims and bystanders.

Consequences of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment clearly does hurt; there is no single impact. The consequences of sexual harassment affect not only victims of harassment but bystanders, such as coworkers who observe harassing episodes. However, research supports the fact that victims suffer the most devastating and negative effects of sexual harassment. Sandroff's (1992) Working Woman survey of 9,000 men and women reported that victims suffered such ill effects as being fired or forced to quit their jobs (25%), seriously undermined self-confidence (27%), impaired health (12%) and long-term career damage (13%). Only 17% percent of the victims reported no ill effects. Hemming (1985) cites emotional reactions of stress, fear, guilt, shame and anger as typical victim responses to sexual harassment.

One of the more obvious restraints on existing research is that most information

on the experience of sexual harassment has been obtained from those who are actual or potential recipients, namely women. Male workers have been included in surveys involving judgements of sexual harassment, but information on incidence, precipitating conditions, and consequences comes almost exclusively from the victim's perspective, relying upon interpretations and memories of individual respondents (Brewer, 1982). While there is some justification for this methodology, the focus upon victim-reports of sexual harassment suggests limitations to our understanding of sexual harassment. Thus, there is a need to expand the research paradigm of this dyadic social issue to others in the workplace, such as male workers who observe sexually harassing episodes in the workplace. These "third-person" experiences could provide another dimension to the sexual harassment literature. Does observing sexually harassing behaviors in the workplace affect observers' feelings, their attributions of responsibility and blame toward the harasser, the victim and their working environment and their responses as a consequence of viewing these actions and players?

Cognitive Consequences of Sexual Harassment

Malovich and Stake (1990) examined the relationship between sex-roles attitudes and two sexual harassment scenarios. Their assessment included; (1) responsibility for the harassing behavior (victim-blame, initiator-blame, no-blame); (2) actions to be taken (confrontive, complaint, ignoring); and (3) educational and emotional effects. They found that nontraditional attitudes toward women, as measured by the Attitudes toward Women

Scale (Spence and Helmreich, 1978), were associated with lower victim blame, higher perpetrator blame and lower endorsement of no blame. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement with confrontive, compliant and ignoring actions in response to sexual harassment. The researchers found that participants with traditional attitudes toward women, were more likely to endorse a comply response than participants with nontraditional attitudes.

Since the gender role self-concept is multidimensional, it includes attitudes, behaviors and attributes which may or may not be orthogonal. Hence measures of the attitudes' dimension of the gender role self-concept cannot be substituted for measures of the attributes dimension (i.e., possession of liberal attitudes cannot be used as an index of nontraditional attributes). Samoluk & Pretty, (1994) addressed this deficiency by utilizing the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ: Spence and Helmreich, 1978) as this measure possesses both conceptual and psycho metric validity (McCreary, 1990a). The PAQ illustrates a bidimensional gender-role concept (a instrumentality-expressivity dichotomy) and is a more appropriate measure of conformity to traditional gender role attributes.

Behavioral Consequences

Research supports the fact that friends and coworkers of sexually harassed victims are not immediately responsive to harassment (Livingston, 1982). But, virtually few studies have examined patterns of organizational reactions to the presence of sexual

harassment in the workplace. Cleveland and Kerst (1993) maintain that organizational responses to sexually harassing situations may influence the extent to which work conditions in an organization enhance or inhibit future harassing behaviors. Additionally, the organization's acceptance of, or sanctioning of, sexually harassing behavior will likely influence the ways in which employees respond to such behaviors. To what extent is the organization responsible for providing guidelines of "appropriate" workplace behavior and grievance procedures for sexual harassment complaints? Do workers blame management (or lack of management) when observing sexual harassment in their working environment?

Recent empirical studies examining the behavioral responses to sexual harassment have focused upon individual and situational characteristics. Baker, Terpstra and Larntz (1990) suggest that individual differences ("individual level factors") may influence an individual's behavioral reaction to sexual harassment. Potentially two people may perceive a situation similarly, but react differently as a result of individual differences. If this is true, then what personal factors determine an individual's behavioral reaction to sexual harassment? A number of individual level (or personal) factors were explored. Of these factors, gender and attitudes toward women are relevant to this research. Participants were requested to utilize 1 of 10 reaction categories when responding to each of the 18 scenarios depicting varying degrees of sexually harassing behaviors. The researchers found that reactions varied more as a function of the severity of the harassment than personal factors. The more severe the sexual harassment (i.e., fingers straying to the breast), the more assertive the response (reporting the incident). Similarly,

the more innocuous the situation, (i.e., coarse language), the relatively more passive the response (ignore or do nothing), regardless of individual differences.

Personal factors were associated with reactions to 8 scenarios included in the top two thirds of the severity continuum. Of the personal factors studied, sex had the strongest effect; women would react more assertively to severe sexual harassment (Baker, Terpstra and Larntz, 1990). The researchers also found that participants with more liberal attitudes towards women were more likely to select assertive responses (report and /or physically or verbally react) to a proposition game. Other personal factors contributed relatively little new knowledge regarding reactions to sexual harassment (i.e., traditional sex-role orientation).

Examination of the 18 scenarios utilized in this research is helpful in understanding the limited results. Consider, for example, the following scenario depicting off-color joking:

As the supervisor and crew sat down for coffee during the break, Mr. Y led off with his usual off-color, sex-oriented joke. Ms. X knew that more would follow as male members roared their approval. She considered the jokes to be offensive. (Baker, Terpstra and Larntz, 1990, p.325).

This incident was ranked 16 out of 18 on the severity continuum of sexual harassment, and only 15% of 243 men and women considered this incident to be sexual harassment. The first and second ranked reaction types for this scenario were "avoid" and "verbally react". The level of threat here was perceived to be minimal compared to the following scenario of a proposition with job enhancements:

Although Ms. X had indicated that she was not interested, Mr. Y persisted in propositioning her. Mr. Y had indicated that her job status might be enhanced if she would have an affair with him. (p.324).

This scenario was rated third on the severity continuum and perceived by 98% of men and women to be sexual harassment. The first and second ranked reaction types for this scenario were to "report internally or externally", and, "leave the situation".

These results suggest that when participants strongly perceived incidents to be harassment, the more assertive their reactions became. Perhaps the written description of off-color joking was not severe enough to be perceived as sexual harassment. To avoid the utilization of materials, often ambiguous in intent, the present study utilized audio simulations (a medium facilitating clearer imagery) possibly providing a better contribution to an understanding of the relationship between reaction type, situational and individual variables.

Affective (Emotional) Consequences

Psychological harm might take diverse forms and occur at extremes of intensity. It might be inferred from negative affect (i.e., anger, disgust, anxiety, confusion, depression) often reported in personal acts of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment literature confirms that victims of sexual harassment are likely to experience some form of emotional distress, from simple annoyance to more profound symptoms (Benson and Thomson, 1982). Among the emotional reactions to sexual harassment reported by

females, Hemming (1985) cites tension, stress, fear, guilt, shame, anger, irritability, confusion, anxiety, and depression. Vaux (1993) suggests that such negative affective reaction is by no means universal. Some literature indicates that males may experience equally serious negative emotional consequences of harassment (Reilly et al., 1985); however, to date, there is very little empirical evidence about the emotional effects of harassment on males (Terpstra and Baker, 1986).

The effects on bystanders (men who are observers of sexual harassment) will vary because of influential variables. For the husband whose wife is being harassed, feelings of anger toward the perpetrator and possibly toward his wife, or, feelings of helplessness or revulsion may arise. On the other hand, a non-involved observer may have his own feelings of power reaffirmed and his sense of male-bonding reinforced. Then too, the man who comes to the defence of a woman may feel embarrassed in the presence of his co-workers or he may feel self-righteous (Brewer, 1982).

To predict the emotional consequences of sexual harassment for observers, several questions need to be answered. Will males observing sexual harassment in their workplace be emotionally affected by such incidents? Will the affective response to sexual harassment vary as a function of severity of the sexually harassing incident? Will power and status of the initiator of the incident influence the affective response of the male observing the sexually harassing incident? Will men with more traditional attitudes and beliefs be more affected by an incident of sexual harassment than men with more liberal attitudes?

Malovich and Stake (1990) studied emotional reactions to sexual harassment as

a function of attitudes and beliefs. They found that students with traditional attitudes and beliefs endorsed the least adverse effects on six emotional variables, indicating that individuals holding traditional beliefs and attitudes may be more likely to minimize the seriousness of sexual harassment. These results also imply that traditional individuals, socialized to accept the sexual initiative and aggressivity in men, may be more complacent about, and therefore, less adversely affected by sexual harassment. At the least, this study indicates that traditional individuals are not aware of the potential harm.

Affective reactions to sexual harassment as a function of power and status of the initiator of harassment have been studied (Brewer, 1982; Livingston, 1982). These findings suggest that sexual behavior initiated by low status workers appears to be regarded as less problematic than sexual behavior initiated by a high-status individual. The results of this research indicate that affective reaction varies as a function of the power and status of the initiator doing the harassing. Based upon these findings, one would expect a more negative response to a supervisor than a coworker or subordinate.

Questions concerning contextual interpretations and power and status were addressed in this research. Audio simulations in which harassment was initiated by a *newly-hired* boss or supervisor, implying both higher power and status, as compared to harassment initiated by a coworker were utilized. The coworker was qualified as *a coworker who does the same job as you do*, thereby implying equal status and power.

"Newly-hired" was included at both levels of initiator to control for the context in which participants' interpreted behavior. A social-sexual behavior described as "repeated" or "habitual" may be interpreted with less tolerance than the same behavior

displayed by a "newly-hired" worker. Or perhaps educational efforts have increased public awareness of the inappropriateness of social-sexual behaviors from any worker. Thus, the inclusion of "newly-hired" allowed for differential perceptions among male observers, while controlling the context of interpretation for the harassment (Samoluk and Pretty, 1994).

Additionally, the use of audio simulations was designed to more directly assess the emotional reaction of the participant, rather than asking the subject to respond to how another individual would react to an incident of sexual harassment. Previous research has not utilized a standardized assessment of affect. This research includes the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List, Revised (MAACL-R), both preceding and following the simulated sexual harassment scenarios. This standardized measure provided individual scores for anxiety, and hostility, both relevant to this study. Moreover, the audio simulations were intentionally designed to meet the Canadian Human Rights Commission's definition of harassment. It was anticipated that these legally clear-cut and emotionally provocative incidents of harassment, which relied upon the participant's imagination to place himself as an observer in the situation, would provide a more accurate generalization to the participant's own reaction to an actual incident.

In summary, research has identified personal variables and situational variables that directly effect the way individuals perceive social-sexual behaviors as sexual harassment, the way in which individuals respond to sexual harassment and the consequences for individuals involved in sexually harassing situations. Moreover, the application of attribution theory to sexual harassment helps to clarify the relationship of

causation, responsibility and blame assignment for sexually harassing behaviors.

Sexual Harassment and the Attribution Process

In an attempt to make the social world understandable, controllable and predictable, individuals utilize their beliefs and attitudes to form impressions and perceptions to explain the actions of others. How one person thinks and feels about another person, how one perceives another, what one expects another to do or think, and how one reacts to the actions of another are some of the phenomena that we address when trying understand the "why" of an event (MacArthur, 1972). These cognitive differences (beliefs and attitudes) are important in sexual harassment research to the extent that they impact upon (a) perceptions and interpretations of harassment, (b) attributions of responsibility, and (c) the amount of support or blame directed to the victim (Malovich and Stake, 1990).

Attributions of Causality

Heider (1958) posits that people attempt to discover the connections between the various effects and possible causes of events by relying upon attributions to the environment (external or situational attributions) or to something in the person involved in the event (internal or trait attributions). In applying this axiom to sexual harassment research, a supervisor may conclude that a worker's proclivity to engage in crude and

coarse sexual language in the presence of female coworkers can be traced to the "badgering" by his male peers. This conclusion represents an external attribution. On the other hand, an internal attribution would be represented by the supervisor's inference that the worker engages in this type of sexually-orientated verbosity because his socio-cultural upbringing emphasizes differences in sexual orientation (Brewer, 1977). However, these causal attributions are subject to error when made without adequate information or analysis of the event, or are affected by our expectations, attitudes, past experiences and the way we attend to stimuli; ambiguous or salient information may affect our understanding of individual actions, our predictions regarding their future behavior and our attitudes toward them.

Jones and Davis (1965) suggest that individual attributions are influenced by specific factors, such as the appropriateness or cultural desirability of the behavior. Unexpected, undesirable behavior will be informative to the observer when making an inference regarding the situation (i.e., if a male boss/supervisor sexually propositions a female subordinate during a staff meeting, we would feel very confident that his actions are unexpected, socially undesirable and inappropriate and, hence, would tell us something about his true nature).

Kelley's (1972a) attributional approach of covariation, suggests that attributors use three types of information - distinctiveness, consistency, and consensus, to correctly link cause and effects in a very deliberate manner of information assimilation. To illustrate, consider an attributor's problem in evaluating why a particular coworker frequently initiates sexual joking and coarse language whenever female coworkers are near. If this

type of behavior is common to other nonwork situations (social and family situations), the behavior is not distinctive and the attribution of causality would be directed toward the coworker (dispositional attribution) as opposed to the female coworker, other coworkers or aspects of the work situation. If engaging in sexual joking and coarse language was a frequent occurrence for this male coworker, then the behavior would be consistent over time and modality and attribution to the coworker's disposition probably would be made.

However, if sexual joking and coarse language was used by a number of male coworkers and was seen as "commonplace" behavior in the working environment, then the attributor might assign attribution causality to conditions in the workplace. In sum, Kelley's analysis predicts that an attribution to the male coworker's personal dispositions would be made if the sexual joking and coarse language was low in distinctiveness, high in consistency and low in consensus.

In an extension of causal attributional investigations, Jones and Nisbett (1972) focused upon the question how people with different perspectives (actors - observers) diverge in their attributions about the causes of the same behavior. They argued that actors will attribute causality or responsibility for their behavior to situational influences which are most salient to them; whereas, observers will attribute causality for the same behavior to stable dispositions possessed by the actor. For example, individuals who sexually harass may cling to the idea that such behavior is appropriate (situationally determined) as suggested by Pryor and Day (1988). However, from the observer's perspective, lack of information about the distinctiveness and consistency of the actor's

behavior obscures the situational cues, leading them to focus upon the actor's behavior itself which is determined by the presumed stable dispositions of the actor.

Harvey, Harris and Barnes (1975) maintain that contextual conditions involving expected positive or negative outcomes might affect an observer's attributions to the actor. Thus, observers may feel a greater need to control the actor's behavior the more negative it is, and they use their attributions toward attainment of this goal.

Monson and Synder (1977) proposed that an actor's intentionality (behavior that has been performed in a situation chosen by the actor) is a critical determinant of actor-observer differences. Observers are more likely to judge a male's sexual overtures toward a woman as sexually harassing if these behaviors are attributed to the male's enduring negative intentions (hostility or insensitivity) toward the female (Pryor, 1985).

Gould and Signall (1977) investigated the role of empathy in influencing attributions of causality for success or failure. They reported that success was attributed to dispositional causes and failure to situational causes.

While knowledge of divergence is far from complete, we know that people often take account the persons with whom they will communicate their attributions, and this factor may influence actor-observer differences (Wells and Harvey, 1977). From the research conducted by Gilbert, Jones, and Pelham (1987), we know that active observers' (those on the receiving end of the actor's behavior) attributions are more likely to be affected than passive observers' (onlookers of an event involving an actor and an observer).

Central to the works on attribution causality is the question of how aware (or

unaware) people are of the various and often complex attributions they make about others. Nisbett and Wilson (1977) argue that people's attribution activity is influenced by cognitive limitations; people often lack awareness of their thought process and react in habitual, stereotypic ways which are influenced by implicit and explicit cultural rules.

Attributions of Responsibility

While causality and responsibility are not totally different, independent phenomena, they are conceptually distinct. However, there is a confusion in the variety of meanings that can be attached to the term "responsibility". It has been referred to as attributing simple causality on one hand and deciding moral blame or culpability on the another. An individual may be judged as responsible and hence as answerable for an event even though the individual did not directly produce it (i.e., a company may be held responsible (vicarious responsibility) for occurrences of sexual harassment even though the executives may be unaware of this behavior being initiated by some of their employees).

Criteria for attributions of responsibility are influenced by the standard of behavior which members of society expect from each other. Deviations from these standards provide for attribution of responsibility and hence the imposition of sanctions (blame). Thus, attribution of responsibility becomes a moral evaluation of an actor.

Judgements of responsibility require the consideration of a number of different

dimensions other than causality. Attributing responsibility to a person will increase with increases in the person's (a) observed or apparent causal contribution of the outcome (i.e., an alleged harasser is held responsible for sexual harassment if the observer is certain of both physical causality and psychological causality); (b) knowledge of the consequences of the action taken; (c) intention to produce the outcome; (d) degree of volition versus coercion; and (e) appreciation of the moral wrongness of the action (i.e., if the behavior produces minor consequences, low responsibility is attributed to the actor).

Heider's (1958) theory of interpersonal attribution, identifies a hierarchical movement of five specific levels, moving from judgements of cause to judgements of responsibility:

- (1) The **Association level** makes an actor responsible for an event caused in his presence or the occurrence of an event unknown to him but caused by an associator (i.e., a male worker in a group of peers, sexually propositions a female coworker in their presence; thus, all individuals in the group are responsible by association with the male who initiated the sexually harassing behavior.
 - (2) At the **Causality level**, an individual must be a necessary cause of an event in order to be held responsible for the event regardless of intent.
 - (3) At the **Foreseeability level**, an individual becomes responsible for acts caused and possibly foreseen. Foresight increases responsibility.
 - (4) At the **Intentional level**, an individual would be responsible only for all intentional acts performed. Thus, the existence of a "guilty mind" would hold the
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harasser responsible for that behavior (Thomman and Weiner, 1987).

- (5) The final level of **Justification** is based on the criterion of a noncoercive environment. An individual's responsibility for acts caused freely by him/her diminishes by the presence of external coercion or force (i.e., a worker's harassment of a coworker may be justified if the worker was "forced" to initiate such behavior by his/her peers).

A salient factor in assigning responsibility for sexual harassment may be the acceptance of traditional versus progressive sex-role beliefs (Jensen and Gutek, 1982). Sex differences in assignment of responsibility of sexual harassment indicate that men are more likely than women to attribute greater responsibility to the victim. Thus, it could be conceivable that male workers who adhere to traditional sex-role beliefs will assign responsibility of sexual harassment to the victim.

Attributions of Blame

Distinctions between the assignment of responsibility and blame have not been consistently made; most attribution research has considered the terms interchangeable, with both assessed by any questions regarding an actor's naughtiness, blame or responsibility for some event. Thus, assigning blame for some event follows the attribution of responsibility as a moral evaluation of a human action. Where the action results in harm, this evaluation is commonly constructed in terms of blameworthiness of the actor.

Shaver (1985) makes a conceptual differentiation between assignment of responsibility and blame. While both terms refer to attribution for negative outcomes, the latter involves attributional disagreement between actor and observer. Shaver suggests that blame usually occurs when an actor has provided some excuse or justification for a negative outcome that an observer disbelieves. Blame incorporates a sequence of judgements that occur after a negative event; attribution of causality precedes judgements of responsibility which in turn elicits excuses and justifications from the actor for his/her behavior. The latter are then evaluated by an observer and blame is assigned to the actor accordingly. Hence, in applying Shaver's (1985) defense notion, males seek to avoid blame and the fear of unfortunate outcomes by shifting the responsibility to the victim.

Jensen and Gutek (1982) proposed a blame avoidance explanation by concluding that males, not wanting to be blamed in the future, would shift the responsibility to the victim. Another blame avoidance notion suggests that as the consequences of the situation grow more severe, there is a tendency for observers to assign increasing responsibility for the event to the victim, thus stressing the dissimilarity of the victim and themselves (Walster, 1966).

In summary, different perceptions and interpretations of causation of sexual harassment, responsibility for sexual harassment and attributions of blame will be evident because of variables such as, gender differences, sex-role beliefs, past experience with sexual harassment, actor-observer "role relevancy", amount of contact between actors and observers, "in-role" and "out-of-role" behavioral expectations, and the severity of the behavioral outcome.

Summary

Because sexual harassment is a relatively new topic of concern for researchers, much of the research has been descriptive in nature with analysis dependent on retrospective data from the memory of victims. Consequently, the cognitive, behavioral and emotional consequences of sexual harassment have been identified mainly from the victim's perspective. Little attention has focused upon the cognitive, behavioral and emotional consequences of sexual harassment for bystanders. At the same time it has overlooked controlling for power and status level of the initiator. Previous research has focused on the importance of traditional gender-role orientation, but has failed to measure it appropriately. Affective, cognitive and behavioral responses have similarly been studied generally, but not through methodologies that provide distinct identification of these three consequences simultaneously. This research is designed to move beyond current methodology by combining distinct measures of affective, cognitive and behavioral responses in an analogue study of two types of social-sexual behavior initiated from two different sources. Additionally, participants in this study will be male bystanders (observers) of harassment.

Hypotheses

1. There will be a main effect for type of harassment, direct harassment and indirect harassment (sexualization of the workplace) over all three measures, (affective,

cognitive and behavioral). Based on the literature, participants (male observers) exposed to the direct harassment simulation are expected to have higher negative affect (anxiety and hostility) scores as measured on the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List - Revised (MAACL-R); higher attribution scores indicative of more perpetrator blame than victim blame as measured on an index of external responsibility; and, more assertive responses to the harassment as measured on an index of assertive and passive behavioral responses.

2. There will be a main effect for the initiator of the social-sexual behavior (boss/supervisor and co-worker) over all three measures (affective, cognitive, and behavioral). Previous literature identifies power and status of initiator as factors that may determine the way an individual reacts to sexual harassment. Although this research is exploratory, we predict that male observers will react more negatively (affectively, cognitively and behaviorally) to sexual harassment initiated by a boss or supervisor as opposed to sexual harassment initiated by a coworker.
 3. The interaction between type of sexual harassment (sexual propositioning versus coarse, sexual language) and initiator (boss/supervisor versus coworker) will be explored although no prior hypotheses will be made. It is possible that a male observer may react with different affective, cognitive and behavioral responses to direct sexual harassment as opposed to sexualization of the workplace,
-

depending on who initiates the harassment. Literature suggests that the more imposing the behavior, the greater the negative affect; male workers may be more offended observing direct sexual harassment (the most severe form of harassment) as opposed to sexualization of the workplace (sexual language). The Organizational Model suggests that sexual harassment incidents are facilitated by differential status levels between victim and harasser. Direct sexual harassment by a supervisor as compared to a coworker may be considered more offensive because the observer may disapprove of this exploitation of power and respond with greater anxiety and hostility, blame the perpetrator, and respond more assertively to the situation. Alternatively, the Sociocultural Model posits that patriarchy is a cultural norm; power differentials inherent in society and practised in the workplace are reflected as sexual harassment. Perhaps an observer of sexual harassment would be more angry and hostile toward a co-worker who makes sexual jokes as compared to a supervisor because the observer works more directly with the harassing coworker. It is possible then that sexualization of the workplace initiated by a co-worker as compared to a supervisor may result in greater effect of negative affect for the observer.

Lack of interaction and main effects may be supportive of the Natural-Biological Model. This Model suggests that sexual harassment is the harmless expression of sexual attraction. If so, each experimental condition (sexual propositioning and coarse, sexual language) should, at minimum, yield no negative affect (anxiety and hostility).

4. There will be a significant relationship between gender-role attributes and the behavioral and cognitive measures. Conforming more to traditional gender-role attributes (being more masculine), will produce more victim-blame in response to sexual harassment while men who have more liberal attitudes to women will blame the perpetrator more. Thus, there should be a significant positive correlation between scores on a measure of instrumentality (the Personal Attributes Questionnaire "M" or masculine scale), and the victim-blame scores and the assertiveness scores. Conversely, there will be a significant positive correlation between expressivity (the PAQ "F" scale), and the perpetrator-blame scores and passive behavior response scores.

Method

Participants

Male workers from an urban area were invited to participate in this research. These men worked in municipal and provincial government departments, or large public companies. Of the forty-four male workers who indicated their willingness to participate in the study, four were excluded because convenient interview sessions could not be arranged. The participants met the following criteria:

- (1) 18 years of age or older;
- (2) employed at least 6 months of the past year;

- (3) had regular (at least weekly) contact with women at work: as coworkers, supervisors, customers or clients;

Participants ranged in age from under 30 to 60 years of age with 62.5% being in the 41 to 50 years old range. The majority of the participants had attended college, technical or business school with 85% of them having graduate training. The majority (52%) of participants had been in their present job for 5 to 10 years and 90% stated that their positions were of medium or high prestige within their organization (managerial and executive level). Sixty-five percent of the participants had regular (weekly) contact with women as coworkers, while 92% indicated daily contact with women. The demographic data for the entire sample are summarized in Appendix A.

Stimuli

Two audio simulations of workplace social-sexual behavior were utilized. The audio simulations were developed for previous sexual harassment research (Samoluk and Pretty, 1994) and were designed to meet the Canadian Human Rights Commission's definition of sexual harassment. It was anticipated that these legally clear-cut and emotionally provocative incidents of harassment, which relied upon the participant's imagination to place himself as a observer of a harassing situation, would provide a more accurate generalization to the participant's own reaction to witnessing an actual sexually harassing incident.

The following communication, recorded by a male, exemplified direct sexual harassment:

"Hey Babe, you look as if you could use some help. I'll tell you what, you make it worth my while tonight in bed, and I'll help you out."

The audio simulation depicting indirect sexual harassment (sexualization of the workplace) and recorded by two males was as follows:

Male No. 1: "I went out hogging last night. Picked up this real pig. Before I knew it, we were banging, sucking, doing things I wouldn't do to a farm animal. Then this babe turned on me. She got real upset; she said she was feeling guilty because she has a boyfriend."

Male No. 2: "So what did you do"?

Male No. 1: "I told her, 'Hey, Babe, what's the worry. We're through here anyway.'"

Male No. 2: (Laughter)

The above indirect sexual harassment simulation (sexualization of the workplace) is an edited version of material from Andrew Dice Clay Live: The Diceman Cometh (Lynch and Dublin, Producer and Director respectively, 1988).

Measures

Affective Measure

The Multiple Affect Adjective Check List Revised (MAACL-R; Zuckerman and Lubin, 1985) was used to measure participants' affect both preceding and following presentation of the sexual harassment simulations. The MAACL-R produces five subscales, anxiety (A), depression (D), hostility (H), positive affect (PA), and sensation seeking (SS). The anxiety and hostility scores were utilized because of their relevance to the hypotheses. These subscale scores were obtained by summing the number of adjectives checked on each scale. For the anxiety, and hostility scales, high scores indicate a great negative affect. Zuckerman and Lubin (1985) obtained split half reliabilities of .80 (anxiety), and .82 (hostility) from a college sample size of 536, over a period from 2 to 5 days. See Appendix B for excerpts of the affective measure used in this research.

Cognitive Measure

Part One of the cognitive measure, was adapted from research by Mynatt and Allgeier (1990) who assessed subject attribution subsequent to an experience of sexual coercion (forced or attempted intercourse). The twelve individual items were designed to measure attribution of responsibility. The first four items of the scale required the

participants to indicate their thoughts on the extent of responsibility regarding the tape simulation on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all responsible) to 7 (completely responsible).

The last eight items of the scale required the participants to indicate with a check their agreement with the statements indicating responsibility for the harassment as related to the tape presentation. Agreement (check) with the statement was assigned a score of 2 while disagreement (no check) with the statement was assigned a score of 1.

The twelve individual items comprised three attribution subscales measuring external attribution (responsibility for the sexual harassment occurrence); victim responsibility, perpetrator responsibility, and, workplace/organization responsibility.

In order to provide value consistency across the items of the subscales, the first four items were recorded so that responses 1-4 were assigned a score of 1 indicating disagreement or no responsibility while responses above 4 were assigned a score of 2 indicating agreement or responsibility.

Part Two of the cognitive measure was used to determine whether each participant considered the simulation of social-sexual behavior to be sexual harassment. Extant research (Gutek, 1985; Gutek, Cohen and Konrad, 1990; Terpstra and Baker, 1987) suggests that perceptions of sexual harassment may vary depending on variables such as lack of a commonly accepted definition, occupational variables (sex-ratio of the job, contact with the opposite sex, or familiarity with sexually harassing behavior in the workplace). Thus, it was possible that not all participants would consider the taped

simulations to be examples of sexual harassment. Participants were presented with a written description of the simulation received and then were asked to respond to the question, "Do you consider this incident to be sexual harassment" by circling one of three possible answers (Gutek, 1985). See Appendix C for excerpts the cognitive measures (Part One and Part Two) utilized in this research.

Behavioral Measure

The behavioral measure consisting of two parts was designed to assess the participants' behavioral response to the type of harassment presented. In **Part One**, a classification of responses depicting assertiveness and passivity was used (see Terpstra and Baker, 1985, 1989, as cited by Baker, Terpstra and Larntz, 1990). Participants were asked to respond to each of 10 response types on a 7-point scale. The scale items ranged from Definitely Unlikely (1) to Neither likely nor unlikely (3) to Definitely likely (7). For both subscales of Assertiveness and Passivity, high scores on either scale indicated great assertiveness or great passivity in responding to sexual harassment.

Part Two of the behavioral measure queried participants as to what kind of advice they would give to a female colleague if she were involved in a situation like the one described in the taped simulation. This measure was adapted for this research from a similar measure included in The Working Woman's survey "Sexual Harassment in Your Office" (Sandroff, 1992). From the ten suggestions of advice, depicting passive advice ("Grin and bear it as part of her job") or assertive advice ("File a complaint"),

participants were asked to circle only one item. See Appendix D for excerpts of the behavioral measure.

Personal Attributes Questionnaire - (PAQ)

The short form of the PAQ developed by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) and Spence and Helmreich (1978) was used to measure gender role attributes. This short form consists of three 8-item scales measuring masculinity (M), femininity (F), and masculinity-femininity (M-F). Only the 16 items forming the M and F scales were included. Each item consists of a pair of bipolar traits on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Participants were instructed to choose the point where they fall between the extremes. The items are scored from 1 to 5, with a score of 5 indicating the extreme response for the scale on which the item is placed. The total scores on the M and F scales can be obtained by summing the participants scores on the eight items for that scale. High scores on the M scale indicate an extreme masculine response and high scores on the F scale items indicate an extreme feminine response.

The masculine scale (PAQ "M") was designed to assess instrumentality (Spence, 1984; Spence and Helmreich, 1978) which is conceptually defined by Cook (1985; as cited in McCreary, 1990a) as "attributes linked to a general goal orientation and the ability to maintain the self in the outside world". The feminine scale (PAQ "F") was designed by Cook as "attributes linked to other-centredness and a concern with interpersonal relationships".

The M and F scales contain items having two criteria: (1) characteristics considered to be socially desirable for both sexes; but (2) perceived as stereotypic in either the typical male or female. For example, items on the M scale are socially desirable for both sexes but males are perceived to possess the characteristic in greater abundance than females (i.e., independence). Alternatively, the social desirability of the M-F scale items is sex specific; that is, the bipolar items reflect what is desirable in the female (i.e., submissiveness) versus what is considered desirable in a male (i.e., dominance). As this research is designed to assess how stereotypic the participant perceives himself, not amount of socialization as reflected in the M-F scale, only the M and F scales were used in this study. An excerpt of the PAQ is presented in Appendix E.

Criterial Referents Attitudes Toward Women Scale

Criterial Referents Attitudes Toward Women Scale (CRAWS) developed by Smith and Walker (1992) was used to measure socially-shared attitudes about women. The 50 items represent criterial behaviors that describe the degree of "appropriateness" of the behavior for a woman in 8 identity roles which are categorized under three founding principles; tradition, equality and autonomy. For example, 'starting her own business' is a criterial behavior associated with the identity of "worker", which is an identity criterial for the principle of "equality". Reliability coefficients for the three subscales were .89, .89, and .90 respectively. Participants were required to indicate their feeling

about each of the behaviors if they were done by a woman on a 7-point Likert-type scale from (1) highly negative to (7) highly positive. Refer to Appendix F for excerpts of the Criterial Behaviours, the 8 Criterial identities for "woman" comprising the three subscales of tradition, equality and autonomy. The tradition and equality subscales were the only scales relevant to this research. Subscales scores are determined by summing the scale items. Thus, a high score on the CRAW-TRAD subscale would indicate conformity to traditional male stereotypic attitudes; whereas a high score on the CRAW-EQ scale would indicate less conformity to stereotypic male attitudes (more liberal attitudes toward women).

Tolerance Toward Sexual Harassment

Attitudes toward and acceptance of sexually harassing behaviors were measured by a 10-item Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (TSHI) developed by Lott, Reilly, and Howard (1982). Reliability of the ten items of the TSHI yielded an alpha reliability coefficient of .78 and a Guttman split-half reliability coefficient of .83.

Participants were required to indicate the extent of their agreement with each statement on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Responses were coded so that high scores indicated high tolerance for harassment and more acceptance of sexually harassing behaviors. An excerpt of the TSHI is presented in Appendix G.

Interview Schedule

The participants were also asked to respond to an adapted version of The Interview Schedule developed by Gutek (1985). The Interview Schedule consists of three major sections. In **Section One**, the demographic characteristics of age, marital status, racial origin and educational level were obtained. **Section Two** was comprised of items requesting participants to describe elements of their job, such as job title, length of time in that job, the amount of prestige the job has within the organization, contact with the opposite sex, level of job satisfaction, amount of supervision, and other organizational contingencies. **Section Three** assessed participants' definitions of sexual harassment, the observation of social-sexual behavior on the current job or any previous job, and any negative consequences experienced as a result of observing sexually harassing behavior. Additional questions from The Working Woman's survey, "Sexual Harassment in Your Office" (Sandroff, 1992) were utilized to reflect organizational commitment to stop sexual harassment in the workplace. Also utilized in the interview schedule were questions adapted from Pryor's (1987) Likely to Sexually Harass, a measure of sexual harassing propensity in men which is correlated to male attitudes and belief measures. Relevant questions asked in the Interview Schedule are included as Appendix H.

Procedure

The principal researcher contacted a small number of business associates by

phone, providing them with a brief verbal explanation of the study and a request for their organization's voluntary involvement in the study. Interested business associates were then sent a fax outlining the project and requesting volunteers to participate in the study. This correspondence is presented in Appendix I. Interviews with forty volunteers were conducted over a three-week time frame. Since interviews are especially prone to extraneous influence when they are related to sensitive issues, sex of the interviewer on responses in face-to-face interviews about gender-related topics might lead to changes in responses to minimize discourtesy toward the interviewer. Therefore, to control for interviewer effects, a male colleague of the principal researcher was hired to conduct person-to-person interviews with the male volunteers. The interviewer followed a standard interview script provided by the principal researcher for the paper and pencil sessions.

An analogue technique was used to assess participants' immediate affective, cognitive and behavioral responses to two types of workplace social-sexual behavior. The participants were instructed to listen to two different tape recordings - one tape depicted a direct sexual harassment simulation, while the second tape depicted an indirect sexual harassment (sexualization of the workplace) simulation. In each interview, the interviewer gave the participant the following verbal instructions before listening to the simulated direct sexual harassment recording:

Imagine that you are having an extremely busy day at work when quite unexpectedly you observe (your newly-hired boss or supervisor/

a newly-hired coworker who does the same job as you do) approach a female colleague of yours. You observe his fingers stray to her breast and then hear him say to her:

The audio simulation depicting direct sexual harassment was then played for the participant.

The following verbal instructions were given to all participants immediately before the indirect sexual harassment simulation (sexualization of the workplace) was played:

Imagine that you are seated at your desk near a female colleague, when quite unexpectedly you overhear the following conversation between two of (your bosses or supervisors/coworkers who do the same job as you do) who were just recently hired. As you look up, you see the two men making obscene sexually oriented gestures as they talk to each other. You are aware that your female colleague has heard this exchange and has seen the sexually oriented gestures.

All participants received both treatment conditions (direct harassment, indirect harassment). Presentation of the harassment simulations was counterbalanced to control for order effects. Consequently, twenty participants were randomly assigned to listen to the direct harassment simulation first and the indirect harassment simulation second. The remaining twenty participants received the indirect audio simulation first and the direct

harassment scenario second. Additionally, all participants were randomly assigned to one of two initiator conditions and were instructed that the communications were being made by either a boss /supervisor or a coworker.

Participants were interviewed individually for approximately one hour. Each completed the MAACL-R preceding the simulation presentations as a control measure of affect. Following each trial, the participants completed the Affective Measure (MAACL-R), the Cognitive Measure (attribution of responsibility and definition of sexual harassment, respectively) and the Behavioral Measure (assertiveness versus passivity), in this order. After completing these dependent measures, participants completed the PAQ, the CRAWs, the TSHI, and, the Interview Schedule. Debriefing was provided for each participant in written form. A copy of the written debriefing is included as Appendix J. Participants were also provided with the opportunity to discuss the research with the interviewer and ask relevant questions concerning the project.

Study design and Analytic technique

A multivariate, 2 x 2 mixed factorial design with repeated measures was employed. The within-subjects variable, type of sexual harassment, had two levels (direct harassment and indirect sexual harassment-sexualization of the workplace). Initiator of sexual harassment was the between-subjects variable with two levels (boss/supervisor and coworker). The presentation of type of harassment and initiator of harassment was completely counterbalanced to control for order effects (Keppel, 1982).

Using the general rule of 10 subjects per every dependent variable cell (Olson, 1974), the total number of participants needed for the multivariate design was at least 40 (20 per initiator of sexual harassment). This criteria was achieved with 40 participants.

Before testing the hypotheses, data obtained for the affective, cognitive (attribution of responsibility measure) and behavioral measures were subjected to preliminary and general analyses. While the MAACL-R provides three subscale scores for a measure of negative affect (anxiety, depression and hostility), only the anxiety and hostility scores were utilized in the study. The first four scale items for Part One of the attribution of responsibility measure were coded dichotomously in order to combine them with the eight agree-disagree check items. Cronbach alpha reliabilities were obtained to determine internal consistency of these summary attribution scores. Cronbach's alpha was also calculated for the behavioral measure and the covariate measures (PAQ, CRAWs, and TSHI). In addition, general analyses consisted of calculation of correlation coefficients of the major variables in the study.

Four hypotheses were analyzed. The first three hypotheses explored for mean differences on a linear combination of anxiety, hostility, victim-responsibility, perpetrator-responsibility, workplace-responsibility, assertive responses, and passive responses. This was tested by computing univariate analysis of variance and subsequently multivariate analysis with the within-subjects factor, type of harassment and the between-subjects factor, initiator of harassment. Order was entered as an additional between-subjects factor.

The fourth hypothesis tested for significant relationships between gender role

attributes and attribution of responsibility and assertiveness. This was tested by Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients.

All analyses were conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Release 4.1 for VAX/VMS.

Results

Preliminary analysis assessed the reliability and utility of the dependent measures for subsequent tests of the hypotheses.

Preliminary Analysis of Dependent and Covariate Measures

Affective Measure

The MAACL-R provides three negative affect and two positive affect subscales. Only two of the negative affect subscales, anxiety and hostility were relevant to the hypotheses. The two negative affect scales were intercorrelated $r = .4984$, $p < .01$.

Reliability of the negative affect subscales anxiety (A) and hostility (H) produced an alpha coefficient of .5221 and .8017 respectively.

Cognitive Measures

Each participant completed two cognitive measures, including attribution of responsibility and perceptions of sexual harassment. **Part One** of the cognitive measure (attribution of responsibility) consisted of four 7-point scale items (victim-, perpetrator-,

and workplace responsibility) and 8 dichotomous items which were checked only if the participant agreed with the statement. Cronbach's alpha scores for the combined 12 items in the direct and indirect conditions yielded .03 and .19 respectively. Dichotomization of the scale items with the check items resulted in relatively unchanged reliabilities (.19 for direct and .13 for indirect), indicating that the attribution measure was heterogeneous in content. Subsequently, since the coefficients revealed low inter-item consistency across all items of this measure, they were then entered into the reliability statement as three subscales. Alpha coefficients for the direct and indirect harassment conditions of victim responsibility (.38 and .37 respectively), for the perpetrator responsibility (.28 and .07 respectively), and for the workplace responsibility (.36 and .44 respectively) were also insufficient to utilize for the multivariate analysis. Even when the perpetrator and workplace responsibility scales were combined into the "other" responsibility scale, Cronbach's alpha improved somewhat but still failed to reach acceptable reliability levels (.40 for direct and .37 for indirect). Consequently, due to low reliability coefficients obtained for items measuring victim responsibility, perpetrator responsibility and workplace responsibility, these subscales were excluded from the multivariate equation of the remaining dependent measures, but were retained for all other analyses.

Part 2 of the cognitive measure consisted of one item requiring participants to indicate the extent of their perception of sexual harassment. 92.5 % of the participants stated that the simulation was indeed sexual harassment in the direct harassment condition and 52.5% in the indirect condition. Participants not sure that the simulations were sexual harassment were 5 % for the direct simulation and 20% for the indirect simulation.

Additionally, 25% of participants in the indirect condition said that this was not sexual harassment.

Behavioral Measures

Preliminary analysis of the behavioral measure included a test for the reliability of the direct and indirect harassment conditions. Cronbach's alpha was computed across all items (.53 for direct and .61 for indirect), across the items measuring assertive behavior (.51 and .69 respectively), and across the items measuring passive behavior (.27 and .53 respectively). The reliability coefficient rose when item #10 - "Ignore or do nothing" was excluded from the passive behavior scale (.44 for the direct and .67 for the indirect condition).

Personal Attributes Questionnaire

Cronbach's alpha (.71), computed across all items of the PAQ identified moderate inter-item consistency. Likewise, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were obtained for the PAQ Masculine scale (MPAQ) and PAQ Feminine (PAQF) scale collapsed across boss and coworker conditions, Alpha = 0.6641 for the PAQM scale and Alpha = 0.7924 for the PAQF scale.

Criterial Referents Attitudes Towards Women Scale

Alpha coefficients were obtained for the CRAWs Equality scale, Alpha = 0.9255 and for the CRAWs Tradition scale, Alpha = 0.8533

Tolerance Towards Sexual Harassment Inventory

The reliability test of the TSHI inventory yielded an Alpha = 0.6653

Preliminary analyses also included assessment of the intercorrelations between the dependent variables namely, anxiety, hostility, victim responsibility, perpetrator responsibility, workplace responsibility, assertive responses and passive responses. A positive relationship between assertive behavior and anxiety was found under both experimental conditions ($r = .3405$, $p < .05$) for direct, and ($r = .3911$, $p < .05$) for indirect. Likewise, a positive relationship was also found between assertive behavior and hostility in both the experimental conditions ($r = .4277$, $p < .01$), for direct harassment and ($r = .7008$, $p < .01$), for indirect harassment. A significant negative relationship was found between victim-blame and perpetrator-blame in both the direct harassment condition ($r = -.6586$, $p = < .01$), and the indirect harassment condition ($r = -.6013$, $p < .01$). A significant positive correlation was identified between assertiveness and workplace blame ($r = .3739$, $p = < .05$) in the indirect harassment condition. In the direct harassment condition, passivity was significantly positively correlated to assertiveness ($r = .3513$, $p = < .05$). Intuitively, it would appear that these two measures describe distinctly contrasting behaviors. Assertive behaviors are representative of the item, "Report the incident to someone in the workplace"; and, passive behaviors are representative of the item, "Grin and bear it as part of the job". However, the significant positive correlation between assertiveness and passivity suggests a measurement anomaly, in that participants viewed assertiveness and passivity as being

positively related in the same direction. See table 1 for these intercorrelations.

Table 1 Intercorrelations Between Dependent Variables in the Study

Direct Harassment (n=20)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anxiety	-						
Hostility	.4277**	-					
V-blame	.0100	.0619	-				
P-blame	.1728	.1812	-.6586**	-			
W-blame	.0723	.0868	-.2349	.1882	-		
Assertiveness	.3405*	.6414**	-.0645	.2166	.0854	-	
Passivity	.0597	.2118	-.1679	.1426	.1780	.3513*	-

Indirect Harassment (n=20)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anxiety	-						
Hostility	.7008**	-					
V-blame	.1284	-.1396	-				
P-blame	.2194	.3156*	-.6013**	-			
W-blame	.0956	.2360	.0190	.1404	-		
Assertiveness	.3911*	.4707**	-.2870	.3057	.3739*	-	
Passivity	.2158	.1594	.1075	.0606	-.0722	.1457	-

NOTE: **p<.01, two tailed P-Blame = Perpetrator Blame
 * p<.05, two tailed V-Blame = Victim Blame
 W-Blame = Workplace/Company Blame

Manipulation Checks

In order to determine the effectiveness of the treatment conditions, the MAACL-R was administered to the participants in a pretest/posttest design. T-tests for paired samples were conducted with the one pretest (control) and the two posttest (after treatment) responses for the anxiety and hostility scores of the MAACL-R. Mean differences for control anxiety with direct harassment anxiety and indirect harassment anxiety were significant $t(39) = -2.55$, $p=.015$; and, $t(39) = -3.05$, $p=.004$. Similarly, the mean differences between control hostility with direct harassment hostility and indirect harassment hostility were significant ($t(39) = -10.23$, $p=.000$, and $t(39) = -10.06$, $p=.000$). Table 2 illustrates the mean anxiety and hostility scores for the pretest/posttest experimental conditions. There was no significant difference between direct and indirect harassment anxiety ($t(39) = .47$, n.s. However, a significant difference was identified between direct and indirect harassment hostility $t(39) = 2.18$, $p=.035$, indicating more hostility after the simulation of direct harassment than the indirect harassment condition.

Table 2 Mean Anxiety and Hostility Scores for Type of Harassment Condition (N=40)

	Control		Direct Harassment		Indirect Harassment	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Anxiety	.2500	.543	.9000	1.464	.8000	.911
Hostility	1.000	.379	6.0500	3.693	5.1250	3.131

Additionally, pretest/posttest anxiety and hostility responses were analyzed in a repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (see table 3).

Table 3 MANOVA Summary Table for Multivariate Analysis of Repeated Measures of Anxiety and Hostility

Source	F	P
Initiator (I)	.25	.779
Order (O)	3.41	.044
Order x Initiator	.33	.717
Type of Harassment (H)	43.27	.000
Order x Harassment	2.76	.044
Harassment x Initiator	.59	.668
O x H x I	1.11	.367

The between-subjects factor of initiator of harassment was nonsignificant, $F(1,36) = .25$, n.s. When order was entered as a between-subjects factor, it was significant, $F(1,39) = 3.41$, $p = .044$. The within-subjects effect of treatment condition was significant $F(1,39) = 43.27$, $p = .000$. Univariate analysis revealed that the interaction between the between-subjects effect (order) and the within-subjects effect of treatment condition was significant, $F(1,39) = 2.76$, $p = .044$. Refer to Table 4 for the Table of Means.

Table 4 Table of Means for Repeated Measures of Anxiety and Hostility

Initiator	Order	Control		Direct Harassment		Indirect Harassment	
		Anxiety	Hostility	Anxiety	Hostility	Anxiety	Hostility
Boss	DH, IH	.20	.10	1.70	7.40	.90	5.00
	IH, DH	.40	.30	.20	5.80	.90	5.10
Co-Worker	DH, IH	.40	.00	1.40	6.70	.90	6.30
	IH, DH	.00	.00	.30	4.30	.50	4.10

A manipulation check was provided by the one item comprising Part 2 of the cognitive measure. This item queried the participant's perception of the simulations of sexual harassment. Of the 40 participants who received the direct harassment simulation, 92.5% felt that the simulation was an example of sexual harassment, regardless of initiator, while 5% said that it was not sexual harassment. For the indirect harassment simulation, 52.5% of the 40 participants agreed that the simulation was an example of sexual harassment while 25% said "no" and another 20% said they were not sure. Overall, participants were less convinced that the indirect harassment simulation represented sexual harassment.

The utility of designs calling for repeated measures is limited where carry-over effects are likely to confound results. In such cases, such effects may be controlled by counterbalancing the order in which treatment conditions are given to the participants (Winer, 1962; p.300). Complete counterbalancing was used to control for practice or sequence effects; half of all subjects within each experimental group (Boss and Coworker as Initiators) were randomly assigned to each of two possible sequences: direct harassment before indirect harassment, and indirect harassment before direct harassment. Counterbalancing, however, cannot control for differential carryover effects. Order can be built into the design to check for the presence of such an effect. The significance of order indicates that some or all of the dependent variables are influenced by the particular sequence in which the treatment levels were administered (Winer, 1962). If such significance occurs, a within-groups analysis of the data in which every subject's first set of scores is utilized, can eliminate the confounding by order. To check for the influence

of carryover effects, order was entered as an additional between-groups factor into multivariate analyses of anxiety, hostility, assertiveness and passivity. Results are reported with order as an additional between-groups factor.

Demographics

The demographic variables of age, education, length of time within the job, and amount of job prestige were correlated with the dependent variables of anxiety, hostility, attribution of responsibility: victim-blame, perpetrator-blame, and situation-blame (workplace) and behavioral response. Pearson product-moment correlations identified only the demographic variable of education as significantly negatively correlated to victim blame (attribution of responsibility) in the direct harassment condition ($r = -.4114$, $p < .01$). Additionally, education was significantly positively correlated to passivity (behavioral measure) ($r = .3176$, $p < .05$).

Hypotheses 1 through 3

The Pillai-Bartlett V (Pillai's V) is the most robust and one of the most powerful multivariate test statistics. The Pillai's V is likely to detect group differences when they exist and the significance level is reasonably correct even when the assumptions of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) are violated (Olson, 1974 and 1976). Hence, the Pillai's V is reported in the MANOVA analyses.

Multivariate Analysis of Variance

The dependent measures of anxiety, hostility, assertive behavior and passive behavior for each treatment condition were entered into the multivariate analysis equation. Order was entered as an additional between-subjects factor. The MANOVA revealed no significant between-subjects effects for initiator, Pillais $V=.13$, $F(4,31)=1.19$, n.s.; no significant order effect, Pillais $V=.20$, $F(4,31)=2.0$, n.s.; and, no significant interaction between initiator and order, Pillais $V=.03$, $F(4,31)=.25$, n.s. Similarly, multivariate analysis revealed no significant within-subjects effect; type of harassment was nonsignificant, Pillais $V=.12$, $F(4,31)=.25$, n.s. The interaction of the within-(harassment type) and between-subjects (initiator) effects was not significant, Pillais $V=.09$, $F(4,31)=.84$, n.s. Likewise, the interaction of the within- (harassment type) and between-subjects (order) effects was nonsignificant, Pillais $V=.16$, $F(4,31)=1.57$, n.s. The three-way interaction of harassment type, order and initiator of harassment was nonsignificant, Pillais $V=.12$, $F(4,31)$, n.s.

Multivariate analysis is especially appropriate when a group of dependent measures is utilized to address multivariate hypotheses, such as the impact of measures representing three interrelated aspects of sexual harassment consequences. In such a situation, a linear combination of these variables is of genuine interest, hence justifying a multivariate approach. However, the multivariate power was not sufficient to detect any treatment effects. Refer to table 5 for the Table of Means for the dependent measures in the multivariate equation.

Table 5 Table of Means for the Dependent Measures in the Multivariate Analysis across all Conditions

Initiator	Order	Direct Harassment							
		Anxiety		Hostility		Assertiveness		Passivity	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Boss	DH, IH	1.70	(2.26)	7.40	(3.89)	20.10	(4.35)	16.80	(4.54)
	IH, DH	.22	(.67)	6.44	(3.20)	18.33	(5.36)	17.33	(5.29)
Co-worker	DH, IH	1.25	(1.38)	6.25	(3.67)	18.25	(2.43)	14.12	(1.55)
	IH, DH	.30	(.48)	4.30	(3.33)	18.10	(3.90)	15.60	(2.87)

Initiator	Order	Indirect Harassment							
		Anxiety		Hostility		Assertiveness		Passivity	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Boss	DH, IH	.90	(1.01)	5.00	(3.74)	18.40	(6.13)	18.70	(6.33)
	IH, DH	1.00	(1.00)	5.33	(2.34)	17.66	(4.12)	18.55	(5.19)
Co-worker	DH, IH	1.00	(.92)	6.00	(3.81)	19.25	(3.57)	13.25	(3.24)
	IH, DH	.50	(.70)	4.10	(2.92)	16.00	(6.03)	16.10	(3.10)

Hypothesis 4

The fourth hypothesis examined the relationship between gender-role attributes and the dependent measures. Gender-role attributes consisting of instrumentality and expressivity, using the M or masculine, and the F or feminine scales of the PAQ, the Equality and Traditional Attitude scales of the Criterial Referents Attitudes Toward Women Scale (CRAWS), and the Tolerance for Sexual Harassment Inventory (TSHI), were correlated with the dependent measures of anxiety, hostility, attribution of responsibility, assertiveness and passivity. Table 6 presents the correlations between the gender-role attributes and the dependent measures.

Table 6 Intercorrelations between Dependent Measures and Potential Covariates.

Dependent Measures	Potential Covariates				
	Direct Harassment				
	PAQM	PAQF	ATT.EQ	ATT.TRAD	TSHI
Anxiety	.0344	.2498	.1629	.1789	.1507
Hostility	-.0329	.0539	.0901	.0089	.1548
Victim Blame	.0267	-.4862**	-.1841	.1588	-.1972
Initiator Blame	.0071	.3170*	.1815	.1681	.1996
Workplace Blame	.1702	.1756	.2418	.0784	.1197
Assertiveness	-.1085	.0762	.0713	-.0725	.1127
Passivity	-.3181	-.0001	-.1036	-.0158	-.1490

Table 6 Intercorrelations between Dependent Measures and Potential Covariates (Continued)

Dependent Measures	Potential Covariates Indirect Harassment				
	PAQM	PAQF	ATT.EQ	ATT.TRAD	TSHI
Anxiety	-.3198*	.1017	-.0794	-.0346	.0924
Hostility	.0414	.2900	.0559	.1168	.1297
Victim Blame	.1300	-.3902*	-.0168	-.2295	-.3309*
Initiator Blame	.0980	.2232	.0648	.2720	.1887
Workplace Blame	.1488	.3001	.3633*	.1284	.4824**
Assertiveness	-.0599	.0700	-.0666	-.0780	.3170*
Passivity	-.2417	.0194	-.2254	-.2628	-.2367

The masculine - PAQ(Masc), feminine - PAQ(Fem) and TSHI scores revealed the strongest correlations. The more instrumental, the less anxiety felt ($r = -.3198$, $p < .05$) for indirect harassment. The feminine scale revealed that greater expressivity results in less victim blame ($r = -.4862$, $p < .01$) for direct harassment and ($r = -.3902$, $p < .05$) for indirect harassment, and more perpetrator blame ($r = .3107$, $p < .05$) in response to direct harassment. These results suggest that more expressivity results in less victim blame but greater perpetrator blame in response to direct sexual harassment. A significant correlation was identified between attitudes of equality and workplace blame for indirect

harassment, indicating that observers with more liberal views toward women, perceive the workplace/company responsible for the occurrence of gender harassment (indirect harassment). In the indirect harassment condition, tolerance toward sexual harassment was significantly correlated to workplace blame ($r = .4824$, $p < .01$) and inversely to victim blame ($r = -.3309$, $p < .05$). These significant correlations suggest that observers who tolerate a sexualized workplace blame the organization for the occurrence of sexually harassing behavior, but do not blame the victim. A positive correlation was found between tolerance and assertiveness suggesting that those observers who have a high tolerance for sexual harassment, perceive themselves to be more assertive in responding to sexual harassment.

Discussion

Support/No support for the Sexual Harassment Models

This research was designed as an exploratory application of the three models of sexual harassment (Tangri, Bur: and Johnson, 1982) and the Sex-Role Spillover perspective of sexual harassment proposed by Gutek (1985) to male observers of sexual harassment. The models provide explanations of the causes of sexual harassment and thereby provide implications for predictions and prevention. The Sex-Role Spillover perspective provides a further explanation of the occurrences of sexual harassment in the workplace and suggestions for preventing the occurrence of sexually harassing behaviors.

The Biological Model (Tangri, Burt, and Johnson, 1982) asserts that sexual harassment is a result of natural attraction between people; these expressions of sexual attraction would resemble courtship behaviors, engendered acts of "male sexuality", that would only lead to positive feelings; no negative reactions will be experienced. If the Biological Model is credible, the participants in this study should not have been unduly distressed by listening to the audio simulations of sexual harassment.

The posttest response anxiety and hostility scores differed significantly from the two pretest response anxiety and hostility scores. Thereby, the Biological Model's premise that workplace social-sexual behavior is not distressing has been refuted by the before-after design of this study. Anxiety and hostility scores were significantly higher after the audio simulations of direct and indirect sexual harassment; the participants showed significantly more anxiety and hostility after imagining that they observed these sexually harassing incidents in their workplace.

Although dismissed in its original form by all sexual harassment researchers, the Natural/Biological model may account for some instances of sexual harassment if viewed in light of misperception theory (Stockdale, 1993). For example, natural sexual desire may stimulate men to look for cues to determine whether a woman is similarly interested. However, these cues may be ambiguous in courtship patterns, so chances of misperceiving these cues are high. Until the woman's intentions are made clear, misconceptions regarding "interest" will continue, especially when associated with traditional, patriarchal beliefs (the sexual aggression belief system). If Farley's (1978) assertion (sexual harassment is a male gender-role behavior) is correct, then sexual

harassment becomes less an issue of sex and more an issue of gender.

The Organizational Model highlights the influence of power distribution patterns within organizations. These power inequities are the result of the hierarchical structure of organizations where men occupy the majority of power positions. Men usually control other power sources; work group alliances, personal characteristics and valued resources (Kanter, 1977). Thus, people with power, harass the less powerful by malevolently misusing their organizational position and other power sources. According to this model, it is the organizational position, not gender, per se, that is the best predictor of sexual harassment. Those workers in top hierarchial positions have greater opportunity to exploit their legitimate power by extorting sexual favours from subordinates. Thus, this model might be a good predictor of quid pro quo harassment; the boss/supervisor perpetrator may be violating his professional role to a greater degree than when engaging in indirect harassing behaviors. Thus, observing a boss/supervisor as initiator of sexual harassment as opposed to a coworker may be more repulsive and threatening to the observer's own reputation and status within the organization. If the Organizational Model is credible, the participants in this study should have been more distressed by the simulations of sexual harassment initiated by a boss/supervisor as compared to a coworker; more specifically, to direct harassment initiated by a boss. However, the findings of this research indicate that power (organizational status) of the initiator was not a salient factor when assessing anxiety levels after listening to either harassing simulation, thereby failing to substantiate the Organizational Model's power concept. Similarly, the results of the Lafontaine and Tredeau (1986) study undermined the organizational power model in that most people in

their study were harassed by coworkers with similar power.

The Sociocultural Model holds that facilitating factors within society (i.e., a patriarchal-based belief system) support the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace. The norms of western society suggest that men typically hold greater power than women; being male, confers higher status which in turn provides a basis for power. The extension of this societal power of men is extended into organizational power when organizations are dominated by gender-related values that bias organizational life in favour of men. The organization merely reflects the patriarchal structure of society (Fain and Anderton, 1987; Ragins and Sundstrom, 1989). Thus, if the Sociocultural Model is credible, participants in this study would not be distressed, or at the very least, be unaffected by the display of sexually harassing behaviors. However, the male participants in this study indicated higher anxiety and hostility levels after the presentations of both harassing conditions. Thus, it would seem, both subtle and more blatant sexually harassing behaviors are perceived by these men as anxiety-producing situations, however, varying in perceived levels of anxiety.

The Sex-Role Spillover Model is a microlevel theory which delineates a process by which culturally-based gender stereotypes result in differential treatment of men and women holding similar organizational roles. In essence, the Sex-Role Spillover advocates that gender-role characteristics are "spilled" over into the workplace to become inherent within particular workroles (e.g., "female nurse", "male mechanic"). Additionally, certain situations increase the saliency of gender cues (i.e., sex-skewed workforce), (Gutek, 1985). Gender-role characteristics of the dominant workgroup will dictate the

workplace behavior. This organizational atmosphere may actually depress the number of behaviors labelled as sexual harassment. Thus a male-dominated work group will likely label only blatant behaviors they observe (sexual bribery, sexual assault) as sexual harassment and tend to label the more subtle forms of sexual behavior (sexual teasing, sexual joking), as common "male horseplay". Researchers find that observers rarely classify behaviors fitting into the category "gender harassment" (sexist remarks, jokes and looks) as sexual harassment (Gutek, Morasch and Cohen, 1983). Additionally, male-dominated workplaces tend to be sexualized and men more habituated to the occurrences of sexual harassment due to constant exposure. From this perspective, male observers will experience little or no negative reactions after observing sexually harassing behaviors in their workplace. The male observers in this study perceived both harassment conditions as anxiety-producing events; direct harassment produced the greatest anxiety. However, when order of presentation of harassment condition was considered (indirect followed by direct), anxiety perceived after the indirect harassment stimulation was less than when direct harassment was presented first. Perhaps, as Gutek (1985) suggests, sexualization of the workplace (indirect harassment) are behaviors that might be perceived as normative of workplace behavior; thus, male observers would perceive these behaviors (sexual jokes) to be not harmful or less harmful than sexual propositioning (direct harassment). From this perspective, the results of this study provide some support for the Sex-Role Spillover Model.

In summation, this exploratory test of the models of sexual harassment offer no support for the Biological and Organizational Models but some support for the

Sociocultural Model and the Sex-Role Spillover Model. Across a linear combination of negative affect (anxiety and hostility) sexual harassment elicited high anxiety and hostility responses for observers. However, no significant differences in the levels of anxiety and hostility were revealed when sexual harassment was direct (sexual propositioning) or indirect (sexual language). This result suggests that when male workers observe "engendered" male acts of sexuality in the workplace (sexual propositioning) and perceive this behavior to be out-of-role behavior (not a worker-role) for the boss or coworker, they view this an anxiety-producing situation. However, male observers are less inclined to view "engendered" male acts of sexuality (sexual joking) as out-of-role (worker role) behavior, and therefore less anxiety-provoking. Sexual harassment initiated by a boss did not elicit greater anxiety and hostility than sexual harassment initiated by a coworkers. Hence, the hierarchial position within the organization, which affords extortion of sexual gratification, cannot explain these results. In sum, the simulations of sexual harassment elicited anxiety and hostility within the participants, but beyond this finding, little information concerning the effect of type of harassment and initiator of harassment on the affective and behavioral responses has been revealed.

Support/No support for the Hypotheses in this Study

Hypothesis #1 predicted that the type of harassment condition (direct vs. indirect harassment) would have an effect upon all the dependent variables. Partial support of Hypothesis 1 was supported by multivariate analysis of repeated measures for the

negative affect scores of anxiety and hostility; posttest anxiety and hostility scores were significantly higher than the pretest scores in all treatment conditions (direct harassment and indirect harassment - sexualization of the workplace). Univariate analysis revealed no significant differences between posttest anxiety and hostility scores in the direct harassment condition versus the indirect harassment condition, indicating that the male participants did indeed recognize both audio simulations as sexual harassment, but were affected similarly by both types of sexual harassment. This was supported by the cognitive item requesting if they viewed the behavior depicted in the simulation as sexual harassment (refer to Appendix C, part 2). 92.5% of the participants recognized and labelled direct harassment while 52.5% labelled the indirect (gender) harassment as sexual harassment. Direct harassment caused the participants similar anxiety and hostility to the effects of indirect harassment. However, when order was entered into the analysis equation, direct harassment produced a significantly higher score for anxiety when participants listened to this simulation first. Thus, harassing behavior that is more severe may be expected to be more anxiety producing, sustaining this level of anxiety to effect the observations of sexual harassing behaviors that might be perceived as "nonharassing". Conversely stated, the presentation of indirect harassment (sexual joking) first resulted in low anxiety scores, which increased after the direct harassment simulation was heard. From this perspective, a "preexisting conditioning effect" moderated the anxiety level of the indirect harassment condition. Then, subsequent to the direct harassment simulation, this anxiety level increased. Perhaps, this "preexisting conditioning effect" is similar to Gutek's (1985) description of workplace sexual ambience where only the most

severe/blatant sexual harassing behaviors are perceived to be sexual harassment. Workplace conditions reported by these participants, indicate support for this proposition; 82.5% of participants reported that social-sexual behavior such as dating was acceptable in their workplace; sexual joking in the workplace, as reported by 90% of the participants, was a frequent occurrence in their workplace; and, swearing was also a frequently occurring workplace behavior (reported by 75% of the participants).

Extremely low reliability scores for the cognitive measure (attribution of responsibility) prevented its' inclusion in the multivariate analysis; therefore, providing no support for the assumption that type of harassment would effect the cognitive measure (attribution of responsibility).

Additionally, type of harassment had no significant effect on the behavioral responses; participants would react (assertively or passively) similarly when observing both types of harassment. Research has stated that observers perceptions regarding whether a particular behavior constitutes sexual harassment may result in different kinds of responses (Bingham and Scherer, 1993). Harassing behavior that is perceived to be more severe may elicit a more assertive response (i.e., tell the harasser to stop the behavior). Most researchers have categorized different responses to sexual harassment according to a degree of assertiveness (Livingston, 1982). This study utilized both assertiveness and passivity as two distinct measures - assertive responses and passive responses in order to clarify which responses observers would likely make in different sexual harassing situations. The "no effects" results of the multivariate analysis provides little information regarding observer responses to harassment other than what has already

been identified by previous research.

Hypothesis #2 predicted a main effect for initiator of harassment over all three measures - affective, cognitive and behavioral. The multivariate effect was not significant. Specifically, no differences were found between participants who observed sexual harassment initiated by a boss/supervisor compared to sexual harassment initiated by a coworkers. Participants observing sexual harassment were equally distressed by sexual harassment initiated by a boss as compared to that by a coworker. The results of this finding indicate that male perceptions of sexual harassment are not affected by their awareness of the power of the harasser. Thus, sexual harassment may not be an issue of power but an issue of sex. Is this an atypical result? Perhaps a more critical analysis of power vis a vis personal resources, occupations and positions would provide different results.

Hypothesis #3 proposed an interaction between type of sexual harassment (sexual propositioning versus coarse, sexual language) and initiator (boss/supervisor, coworkers). Multivariate analysis revealed a nonsignificant interaction between harassment condition and initiator. Similarly, the three-way interaction of harassment condition by initiator by order was nonsignificant. These findings suggest that anxiety and hostility were no greater when the boss/coworkers initiated either type of harassment as compared to the coworkers initiating direct or indirect harassment. It also did not matter in which order the presentation of harassment conditions occurred; all combinations of the presentation simulations produced similar anxiety and hostility levels.

Multivariate analysis revealed that the interaction of type of harassment and

initiator of harassment produced no significant effects on the behavioral responses. Regardless of the type of harassment, participants would respond similarly to either initiator. Research states that requests for sex within the workplace context are perceived as a form of severe harassing behavior (Gruber, 1992). Direct requests for sex (face-to-face propositioning) are perceived to exceed the scope of the working relationship; whereas, objective, sexual (nonpersonal) comments might be perceived to be an intrinsic component of the working environment. Thus, sexual propositioning may be perceived to be "out-of-role" behavior for a boss but part of the comradery of coworker interactions. However, this proposition is not supported by these results.

The "flat" results of the multivariate analysis of anxiety, hostility, assertiveness and passivity indicate that the power of the MANOVA was insufficient to detect any effects of the interventions. While choice of experimental design may exert great influence on the resultant power to detect treatment effects (Stevens, 1980), other remedies to increase statistical power have been identified. Cole, Maxwell, Arvery and Salas (1994), suggest that in certain circumstances, power of the MANOVA increases with increases in correlations among the dependent variables. Thus, there is greater power with high correlations (near 1.0 or -1.0) of the dependent variables than with moderate correlations (less than .8 or -.08). Including weaker variables may be especially detrimental to statistical power when they are highly correlated with the strong variables (Ramsey, 1982). However, the exclusion of the cognitive measure from the equation failed to increase the MANOVA power sufficiently to detect treatment effects. The low correlations of the remaining dependent variables in the multivariate analysis could

possibly have contributed to these "no effects" results.

Another way to increase the sensitivity (power) of the MANOVA is to increase the number of participants assigned to each treatment condition; hence, the greater the sample size, the greater the power and the more sensitive the experiment in detecting treatment differences. Thus, in order to determine the number of subjects needed to reach statistical significant effects, it is necessary to state "ahead of time" the nature of the treatment effects that are expected to be achieved. Since this study was exploratory in nature, only the prediction that there would be a "significant" effect could be made. Consequently, by not being able to estimate treatment effect size, we could not utilize the procedure for estimating the sample size needed to produce this effect (Keppel, 1982).

Hypothesis #4 predicted significant relationships between gender-role attributes and the dependent measures of anxiety, hostility, attribution of responsibility and assertive and passive behavioral responses. Gender-role attributes were identified as instrumentality (masculine), expressivity (feminine), attitudes of tradition and equality toward women and tolerance for sexual harassment.

The Importance of Gender-Role

Researchers have had considerable success in predicting the assignment of causality, responsibility and blame in a wide variety of harassing scenarios. However, observer attributions will be adequately explained only according to the observer's beliefs

and attitudes. Thus, gender stereotypic attitudes (traditional vs. egalitarian) will influence attributions of blame. Men tend to be conservative and rigid in their attitudes to male-female interactions (Larsen and Long, 1988). To the extent that men will have more traditional attitudes toward women, they will usually blame the victim for provoking the sexually harassing behavior (Jensen and Gutek, 1982). Also, perceived similarity between observer and actor will determine the probability that defense attribution will occur; thus justifying victim-blame. However, men with more equalitarian attitudes may be less willing to assign responsibility to the victim, and, more willing to blame "others" rather than the victim. If they perceive the sexually harassing behavior as an out-of-role work behavior initiated by a coworker, they will assign responsibility to the harasser. Likewise, if they perceive their work environment conducive to sexual harassing behavior, they will attribute the organization as deserving of retribution. In this study, participants holding high attitudes of equality, blamed the harasser and not the victim, thus supporting the findings of existing attributional literature. Also, participants with a high tolerance for sexual harassment indicated that the organization, and not the victim, was responsible for the occurrence of gender harassment (sexual joking).

Additionally, gender stereotypic characteristics (masculinity/instrumentality vs. femininity/expressivity) will influence the way in which observers will respond (assertively vs. passively) to sexual harassment. Previous research indicates that men have a strong negative reaction to sexual impropriety (i.e., sexual proposition). Thus, direct harassment will incite "masculine" men to react with more assertiveness. However, in situations involving less clearly-defined sexual impropriety (i.e., workplace gender

harassment), "masculine" men may be less inclined to act against the harassment, thus remaining passive. This proposition is supported by this research.

Hypothesis 4 predicted significant relationships between gender-role attributes and attribution of responsibility and assertive and passive behavior. This hypothesis was supported for both the masculine and feminine scales of the PAQ and for the attitudes of equality in the Criterial Referents Attitudes Toward Women Scale. Participants who were more instrumental displayed less anxiety when observing indirect harassment (sexual, coarse language) and more passivity under the indirect harassment condition. Femininity or expressivity was positively related to perpetrator blame and inversely related to victim blame. The ATWEQ score was significant for workplace blame in the direct harassment condition; participants with more egalitarian views (nontraditional) toward women, blamed the workplace for the occurrence of sexual propositioning. This research extends the earlier findings of Malovich and Stake (1990); they found that nontraditional orientation towards women's rights was associated with less victim blame and more "other" blame. All other relationships between gender-role attributes and the dependent measures failed to reach significance. This lack of association between the dependent measures and many of the gender-role attribute measures suggests deficiencies in measurement and sampling. Perhaps, the small sample size - too few numbers for correlation analysis, affected the size of the correlations. Further studies with a larger sample size, might identify more significant intercorrelations that were not discovered in this research. Additionally, the items comprising the cognitive (attribution of responsibility) measure had extremely low reliability, indicating the need to distinguish

more clearly between the three subgroups of "other blame" - victim, harasser, and organization. Perhaps the addition of items to the cognitive subscales would have addressed this deficiency.

Implications for Past and Future Research

The results of this research are qualified by three factors; sampling limitations, carryover effects, and differential perception.

Stratified Sampling

The data base upon which the prevalent sexual harassment literature rests has been criticized by several authors (Gillespie and Leffler, 1987; Gruber, 1990), and it is clear that the majority of research has been conducted on small, local and nonrepresentative samples. However, some more recent studies are based upon large stratified samples; but, their conclusions cannot be generalized to settings that likely differ in important ways from other organizations. The findings of this study cannot be viewed as most representative of the general workforce because of its specialized population. Participants involved in this research are a stratified random sample of male workers; 62.5% are over forty years of age, all are white males, 85% have been educated beyond high school, 90% have medium to high job prestige, and work in male-dominated organizations (engineering, policing, forestry, communication sales). Whereas, the stratification of the sample by age, education, ethnic origin, and job level enhances the accuracy for the

results of such subgroups, these results cannot be generalized to other specialized workgroups of younger, mixed-colour, blue-collar male workers or the general workforce population. The step that follows logically from this exploratory study is to include other larger samples from this subgroup in order to validate these findings. Additionally, as we know very little about the impact of sexual harassment on nonmiddle-aged, Non-Euro American people, this data can serve as an "initiator" for a "second-generation" of research which focuses mainly upon observers of sexual harassment; those individuals who are drawn into the sexual harassment vortex because of situational, or personal factors. But, until future research is conducted on other samples of male observers, in various organizational contexts, the generalizability of these findings is cautioned.

Carryover Effects

Factorial experiments in which the same participant is observed under more than one treatment condition require special attention due to confounding of results (Winer, 1962). In this experiment, negative consequences of sexual harassment as a function of type of harassment necessitated the utilization of repeated measures. Further, the order of type of harassment, under control of the experimenter, was counterbalanced to control for carry-over effects. However, carry-over effects were present regardless of counterbalancing. This carry-over effect was realized when the treatment administration sequence for the within-subjects factor (the order of administration of direct and indirect harassment) yielded a main effect, thus revealing the influence of consecutive events of sexual harassment (additive carry-over effects). Presentation of direct harassment first,

resulted in more anxiety than the presentation of indirect harassment first.

Previous studies have employed a repeated measures design to study sexual harassment (Baker, Terpstra and Larntz, 1990; Kenig and Ryan, 1986; Konrad and Gutek, 1986; Reilly et al., 1986). While the scenarios used may or may not have been randomly ordered or counterbalanced, the researchers may have reported different results had a between-groups design been employed or if order had been included in the analyses. While counterbalancing can control for some systematic sequence or order effects, randomization or counterbalancing does not remove practice, fatigue and transfer of training effects, which become entangled with treatment effects. Only sufficient time between trials can eliminate the influence of differential carryover effects. The few minutes required by the participants to complete the measure was insufficient to dissipate the effect of the previous simulation on the next audio simulation. These findings suggest that even an audio simulation of sexual harassment can be powerful enough to maintain a level of anxiety over a period of time. Beyond a doubt, this repeated-measures analysis of workplace sexual harassment has highlighted the potential for extended anxiety when sexual propositioning precedes sexual, coarse language. However, these results also suggest that a "harassment-prone" work environment where (sexual joking) gender harassment is perceived as normative, acceptable workplace behavior, might habituate workers to different forms of sexually harassing behaviors which will then be perceived as less anxiety-producing within that workplace context. Thus, the repeated occurrence of sexual joking (sexualization of the workplace) may mitigate or moderate the degree of anxiety produced as a result of observing direct harassment (sexual propositioning).

In summary, the presence of carry-over effects provided us with the opportunity to examine the additive effect of repeated sexual harassment.

Perception Control

There has been little investigation of the variables that psychologically define an incident as sexual harassment as these incidents are frequently ambiguous in intent and effect. In order to replicate actual harassing situations more closely, much of the sexual harassment research relies upon survey methods incorporating scenarios or simulations that depict explicit sexually harassing behavior. However, observers will superimpose their own preexisting beliefs and attitudes onto the event. The simulations utilized in this research were intentionally designed to meet the Canadian Human Rights Commission's definitions of sexual harassment. By definition, harassment includes sexual, coarse jokes, gestures with sexual connotations, unnecessary physical contact, and sexual propositions. Perception has an important role here. Men agree that certain blatant behaviors (i.e., sexual bribery) constitute sexual harassment; thus, the more explicit or extreme the situation, the greater likelihood it will be viewed as sexual harassment (Gutek, Morasch and Cohen, 1983). Regardless of initiator, 92.5% of participants in this study recognized the sexual proposition as sexual harassment. However, participants were less convinced that sexual joking in the workplace was an example of sexual harassment, despite the significant increase in anxiety and hostility scores from pre- to post-simulations. One quarter of the participants were unsure if sexual joking in the workplace (gender harassment) constituted sexual harassment. To many men, this type of behavior is not

offensive, but enjoyable, especially when humour is involved. A major question raised by this study is this, "How severe does a sexually harassing behavior have to be, before it is perceived by a "reasonable individual" as sexual harassment"?

Perhaps, a sexualized workplace atmosphere in which sexual talking and joking is common in organizations may be perceived by males to be normative behavior for the workplace. 90% of the participants in our study reported that sexual joking takes place in their workplace, and of this percentage, 17.5% stated that sexual joking was a frequent occurrence. 75% of participants reported the frequent occurrence of swearing (see Appendix H for reference). When an organizational climate is perceived to be encouraging (or failing to sanction) sexually harassing behaviors, sexual harassment is likely to occur (Pryor, LaVite and Stoller, 1993). However, 40% of the participants reported that sexual harassment was not a problem in their workplace. Perhaps, the participants in this sample (executives, professionals, and technical managers) are isolated from observing the extreme forms of harassment, and do not perceive the sexual joking and swearing that occurs in their work environment, as sexual harassment. Konrad and Gutek (1986) suggest that people adapt to a given level of stimulation; mild doses of frequent sexual joking may temporarily lessen awareness to gradual increases in more intense behavior (sexual propositioning), a condition labelled "sexual astigmatism".

In fact, many managers and workers think the seriousness and frequency of sexual harassment is overrated (Gutek and Koss, 1993). Additionally, some important aspects of harassment have been "lost" by being ignored. Previous research has focused primarily on interpersonal forms of harassment while deemphasizing the "chilling effect"

that environmental or nonpersonal harassment has upon work relationships and job-related attitudes. However, environmental forms of harassment have emerged as legal and policy issues, requiring more attention to sexual categorical remarks occurring in the workplace. Thus, it appears that public education has been insufficient regarding an employer's responsibilities to keep the work environment free from unacceptable sexual joking and horseplay. Interventions to increase men's awareness of inappropriate workplace social-sexual behaviors must be a societal and organizational goal (Lobel, 1993). Perhaps this requires men to "think like women", with an understanding that many women find offensive, more subtle forms of behavior such as sexual jokes or comments. Males who are able to view this type of behavior from different perspectives will then be more capable of seeing that even socially-accepted behavior can sometimes be harassing (Riger, 1991).

This study revealed a link between feelings and actions. Instrumentality (masculinity of the PAQ) was negatively related to anxiety; thus, a participant with stereotypic male attributes, will feel less anxiety when observing sexual joking in the workplace (indirect harassment). This same participant would also act less assertively in this situation. However, those male participants with stereotypic nontraditional gender attributes (expressivity of the PAQ), will attribute responsibility for sexual harassment to the perpetrator and blame the victim less.

Beyond the measures they completed, the participants were given the opportunity to provide written comments on the research as part of the interview. One participant felt that sexual harassment was less of a problem than the whole issue of women's inequality

in the workplace. Another participant commented on the "difficult to prove" issue of sexual harassment. Finally, one participant commented that the audio simulation of sexual propositioning (direct harassment) was totally unrealistic - "it wouldn't happen in my workplace". While such quantitative data does not offer empirical support for this study, it does address the issue of differential individual perceptions of sexual harassment in the workplace

In addition to documentation of the consequences of sexual harassment for observers, an important goal of this type of research is prevention. The results reveal the need to further educate employers and workers regarding the detrimental effects of an offensive work environment. 40% of the participants did not perceive the sexual joking (indirect harassment) as sexual harassment or were unsure if sexual joking constituted sexual harassment. However, there was a significant increase in anxiety as a result of exposure to both types of sexual harassment simulations. Hence, education must be focused upon changing the perception that an offensive work environment in which sexual joking and horseplay are common, must be tolerated. Thus, sexual harassment must not be viewed as just a personal responsibility, but rather as a societal and organizational responsibility.

The proposition that workplace norms or organizational climate can inhibit sexual harassment is the motivation to change. The immediate challenge is to provide a nonharassing work environment for all employees. A large number of participants in this study find the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace bothersome to extremely offensive (see Appendix H for reference). Additionally, the majority of these participants

believed the organization responsible for the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace. When the *Harvard Business Review* conducted its study in 1981, (Collins and Blodgett, 1981) only 29% of respondents said that their organization's top executives had issued statements to employees disapproving of sexual conduct in the workplace. Recent efforts have focused on developing policies to discourage harassment and laying out penalties for the harasser (Geller-Schwartz, 1994). Sixty percent of the participants in this study claimed that their organization does have a written sexual harassment policy. Even though these participants perceived the audio simulations as anxiety-provoking, the existence of sexual harassment policies in their workplaces might decrease the occurrences of these anxiety-producing situations. In addition to the personal distress caused to victims and bystanders, sexual harassment creates indirect organizational costs in the form of loss of motivation, loss of commitment to the organization, and deterioration of workgroup cohesiveness.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study was conducted in an exploratory mode, appropriate to initial stages of research in an newly-emerging area of sexual harassment research. It is the first attempt to include empirical data from observers of sexual harassment. Previous research has focused upon the incidence and prevalence of sexual harassment as reported by female victims. Victim reactions to harassment (see Hemming, 1985) and the consequences for victims have also been explored (Terpstra and Cook, 1985). Research findings

concerning the effects on men are almost nonexistent; these effects can be expected to vary, depending on whether a man is the perpetrator or the observer. Some research has focused on the characteristics of perpetrators (Pryor, 1987) and some research has focused upon differential perceptions of sexual harassment (Cohen and Gutek, 1985) and the attribution of responsibility for sexual harassment (Jensen and Gutek, 1982). However, empirical data focusing on the effects of sexual harassment on male workers who observe workplace sexual harassment has never been documented. The findings of this study reveal that negative consequences of sexual harassment affect others as well as the victims. Analysis of variance showed that participant's anxiety and hostility levels increased in response to repeated harassment. Direct harassment (sexual propositioning) produced more anxiety than sexual joking. Perhaps this is due to the fact that sexual joking is likely to be a widely "overlearned" behavior, particularly by males; which may be perceived by males as benign sexual behavior and quite acceptable behavior in some male-dominated workplaces. Research on workplace social-sexual behavior must expand so that misunderstandings and misconceptions of what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behavior in the workplace can be clearly defined and understood.

To the extent that exclusive focus on the victim limits our understanding of the causes and consequences of sexual harassment, efforts need to be made to reach a broader range of individuals who are drawn into the vortex of sexual harassment, those who observe sexual harassment. Previously, male workers have been included in surveys involving judgements of sexual harassment. This research makes a unique contribution to the literature; this is an empirical attempt to assess the negative impact of sexual

harassment on male observers of sexual harassment. Suggestions for further sexual harassment research including male observers would be a replication of this study on other samples of male workers, specifically younger, blue-collar, mixed-colour workers; continued development and refinement of measurement techniques for individual perceptions and attributions of responsibility; and caution regarding carryover effects.

This study has extended previous research by including assessment of affective, cognitive, and behavioral responses to sexual harassment. Previously, factors have been typically studied in isolation (i.e., perceptions, attitudes, behavioral responses, emotions), whereas in reality they occur simultaneously and in interaction with one another. Thus, the need of a multilevel analysis is paramount in unravelling the complexity of sexual harassment (Cacioppo and Bernston, 1992). This study has moved from survey methodology and correlational techniques to examine multiple variables simultaneously through multivariate analysis of variance. Multivariate analysis allowed for an appreciation of the interplay between anxiety, hostility, and, assertive or passive behavior. While anxiety increased in response to repeated harassment, assertiveness was not affected by repeated harassment. The value of multilevel analysis will help dispel misunderstandings that arise from oversimplified explanations of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald and Shullman, 1993).

Concluding Remarks

Sexual harassment has been conceptualized in at least three different ways: a

problematic social interaction between individuals; a reflection of the relationship between men and women in society; and, the sexual exploitation of lower-status individuals within the organizational hierarchy. Since few aspects of interpersonal relations among humans have a clear and simple explanation, the multidimensionality of sexual harassment remains unclear.

Additionally, there is no single impact of sexual harassment; symptomatology is multiply determined. There is no single victim; victims, bystanders and organizations have felt the negative effects of sexual harassment. The prevalence of sexual harassment and the attitudes of women, men, and organizations toward sexual harassment affect everyone in ways which have not yet been realized. Because we all suffer from its continuation, sexual harassment should be a concern for all. Data from this study suggests that the impact of sexual harassment is not confined only to victims of harassment but also is felt by workers who observe harassment; sexual harassment via an audio simulations can elevate anxiety and hostility. Stereotypic masculine attributes act as a buffer for the male observer experiencing the ill effects of indirect sexual harassment. Additionally, participants with higher levels of tolerance toward sexual harassment, perceive themselves to be less assertive in response to sexual harassment. The within-subjects design, allowed for assessment of the negative effects of repeated harassment. In sum, the results indicate that individual-level factors, societal-level factors and organizational-level factors, all appear to influence the impact of sexual harassment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Summary of Demographics for Participants

Variable		Total	
		N	%
Age	40 and Under	15	37.5
	Over 40	25	62.5
Education	High School or Less	6	25.0
	Some College, Technical or Business School, University or Graduate Degree	34	85.0
Length of Time in Job	Less than 1 year	1	2.5
	1 year to 5 years	6	15.0
	Over 5 to 10 years	9	22.5
	Over 10 to 15 years	2	5.0
	Over 15 to 20 years	4	10.0
	Over 20 to 25 years	3	7.5
	Over 25 years	15	37.5
Job Prestige	High Prestige	14	35.0
	Medium Prestige	22	55.0
	Low Prestige	2	5.0
	No Prestige	1	2.5
Contact with Women	Co-workers	26	65.0
	Supervisor	9	22.5
	Clients/Customer	5	12.5

Appendix B Sample items from the Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist - Revised

Control MAACL-R Instructions:

How Do You Feel? The following words describe different kinds of moods and feelings. Put a check mark beside the words which describe how you feel now. Some of the words may sound alike, but we want you to check all the words that describe your feelings. Your first impressions are important; do not spend too much time considering each word.

Post Simulation MAACL-R Instructions:

How Do You Feel? The following words describe different kinds of moods and feelings. Put a check mark beside the words which describe how you feel now - after hearing this tape. Some of the words may sound alike, but we want you to check all the words that describe your feelings. Your first impressions are important, do not spend too much time considering each word.

Subscales

ANXIETY (A)

afraid
fearful
frightened
impatient
nervous
panicky
shaky
tense
timid

DEPRESSION (D)

alone
destroyed
discouraged
forlorn
lonely
lost
miserable
rejected
sad

HOSTILITY (H)

angry
annoyed
complaining
critical
cross
cruel
disagreeable
disgusted
enraged

Appendix C Sample Items from the Cognitive Measure (Part 1)

Below you will find four questions. For each one, please indicate the extent of responsibility you feel best describes your thoughts regarding the tape presentation by circling the appropriate number. Use the following categories for each answer:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Not at all responsible | 2. Mostly not responsible |
| 3. Somewhat not responsible | 4. A little of both |
| 5. Somewhat responsible | 6. Mostly responsible |
| 7. Completely responsible | |

1. To what extent do you think the woman could have encouraged or tolerated this kind of behaviour?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. To what extent do you think the man/men could be responsible for this incident?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. To what extent do you think the workplace could have encouraged or tolerated this kind of behaviour?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. To what extent do you think the company could be responsible for this incident such as not having formal standard policies for office behavior?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Below you will find sample items from the eight statements related to the tape presentation. Please place a check mark beside those items with which you agree.

1.	She must have unintentionally sent some kind of message that sexual horseplay doesn't bother her.	
2.	The company should do something to stop this behavior.	
3.	She must be dressing too attractively.	
4.	She has gotten herself into an awkward situation with this man.	

Appendix C Cognitive Measure (Part 2)

(Direct Harassment Simulation)

We would like to find out what the term "sexual harassment" means to you. Imagine that you have just overheard your recently-hired boss-supervisor/coworker ask one of your female co-workers to have sexual relations with him with the understanding that it would help her job situation. As he is speaking, you see his fingers stray to her breast. Do you consider this incident to be sexual harassment? Please circle the item number of the answer with which you agree:

1. Yes, this is sexual harassment;
2. No, this is not sexual harassment; or
3. I do not know or I am sure.

(Indirect Harassment Simulation)

We would like to find out what the term "sexual harassment" means to you. Imagine that you have just overheard your recently-hired boss-supervisor/coworker using sexual gestures, coarse language, and sex-orientated jokes in the presence of a female coworker of yours, knowing that she overheard the conversation even when it was not directed specifically to her. Do you consider this incident to be sexual harassment? Please circle the item number of the answer with which you agree:

1. Yes, this is sexual harassment;
2. No, this is not sexual harassment; or
3. I do not know or I am sure.

Appendix D Sample Items from the Behavioral Measure

Imagining that this taped presentation has occurred in your workplace, how likely are you to respond in each of the following ways. Please read each item carefully and write the appropriate number for each reaction type.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) definitely likely | (5) unlikely |
| (2) very likely | (6) very unlikely |
| (3) likely | (7) definitely unlikely |
| (4) neither likely nor unlikely | |

- ____ (1) interrupt and suggest to him/them that this behavior is inappropriate
- ____ (2) ask him/them to apologize to the woman
- ____ (3) discuss the incident with the woman later during the day
- ____ (4) suggest to the woman that she file a complaint
- ____ (5) offer to be a witness if she files a complaint
- ____ (6) suggest to the woman that she tell him/them to stop this behavior

What would you advise a female colleague of yours to do if she were involved in a situation like the one described in this taped presentation. Circle only one number.

1. Grin and bear it as part of her job.
2. Let the male(s) know, loud and clear that if the behavior doesn't stop at once, she will take action against them
3. Leave the job at once, to put herself out of danger
4. Remain silent to protect her career
5. File a complaint
6. Discuss this with her female co-workers

Appendix E Sample Items from the Personal Attributes Questionnaire

The items below inquire about what kind of a person you think you are.

Each item consists of a *pair* of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

<i>Not at all Artistic</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very Artistic</i>
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Each pair describes contradictory characteristics, that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as *very artistic*, and *not at all artistic*.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where you fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose "A". If you think you are pretty good, you might choose "D". If you are only medium, you might choose "C", and so forth.

<i>Not at all independent</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very independent</i>
<i>Not at all emotional</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very emotional</i>
<i>Very passive</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very active</i>
<i>Not at all able to devote self completely to others</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Able to devote self completely to others</i>
<i>Very rough</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very gentle</i>
<i>Not at all helpful to others</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very helpful to others</i>
<i>Not at all competitive</i>	A	B	C	D	E	<i>Very competitive</i>

Appendix F Sample Items from the Criterial Referents Attitudes Toward Women Scale

Instructions to participants: We are interested in knowing about your attitudes to women. Please indicate your feeling about each of these things if they were done by a woman by marking the appropriate number. For example, if a woman used her maiden name after marriage, would you feel highly negative towards this behavior (-3) or highly positive (3).

Criterial Referent Behavior	Principle	Identity
1. Standing for election in parliament	Worker	Equality
2. Giving up a child for adoption in preference to abortion	Mother	Tradition
3. Protesting about discrimination against women	Activist	Autonomy
4. Proposing marriage	Lover	Equality
5. Not swearing	Lady	Tradition
6. Deciding to make mathematics her major area of study	Student	Autonomy
7. Taking full responsibility for preparing children for bed	Mother	Tradition
8. Working in a feminist women's refuge	Activist	Autonomy
9. Seeking promotion to executive level	Worker	Equality
10. Not telling dirty jokes	Lady	Tradition

Appendix G Sample Questions from the Tolerance Toward Sexual Harassment Inventory

How much do you agree with the following statements. Please indicate the extent of your agreement with each statement by checking the appropriate number (1) strongly agree to (5) strongly disagree.

1. Most women who are sexually insulted by a man provoke his behavior by the way they talk, act, or dress.

(Strongly Agree).....(Strongly Disagree)

1 2 3 4 5

2. An attractive woman has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them.

(Strongly Agree).....(Strongly Disagree)

1 2 3 4 5

3. Most men are sexually teased by many of the women with whom they interact on the job.

(Strongly Agree).....(Strongly Disagree)

1 2 3 4 5

4. A man must learn to understand that a woman's "no" to his sexual advances really means "no".

(Strongly Agree).....(Strongly Disagree)

1 2 3 4 5

5. It is only natural for a woman to use her sexuality as a way of getting ahead at work.

(Strongly Agree).....(Strongly Disagree)

1 2 3 4 5

Appendix II Relevant Questions from the Interview Schedule

11. **Would you say that joking or talking about sexual matters at your workplace happens....**
- 17.5% Frequently?
- 72.5% Sometimes?
- 10.0% Not at all?
12. **Would you say that workers swear or use rough language at work**
- 20.0% Frequently?
- 55.0% Sometimes?
- 25.0% Not at all?
35. **Are you familiar with the term "sexual harassment"?**
- 100% Yes
58. **How much of an issue is sexual harassment to you?**
- 42.5% No issue.....to.....Somewhat annoying?
- 57.5% Bothersome...to.....Extremely offensive?
59. **Which of these statements comes closest to your view of sexual harassment?**
- 32.5% I'm not sure about the exact definition, but I know it intuitively
- 47.5% The definition of sexual harassment is perfectly clear to me
- 20.0% I'm not sure about the boundaries between sexual harassment and harmless fooling around

Appendix II Relevant Questions from the Interview Schedule (continued)

62. In your opinion, most harassers are:

- 12.5% Looking for a love affair
- 37.5% Satisfying their ego for recognition
- 7.5% Trying to bully and humiliate women
- 10.0% Trying to be flirtatious
- 7.5% Unaware of what they are doing
- 20.0% Unconcerned about how they interact with female colleagues

37. How much of a problem at your place of work do you consider sexual harassment to be?

- 60.0% A minor problem
- 40.0% No problem

64. What is your organization doing to stop sexual harassment in your workplace?

- 27.5% Nothing that I am aware of
- 10.0% It runs workshops to educate men and women about the issue
- 00.0% It has set up a confidential reporting process
- 2.5% It punishes offenders
- 00.0% Members of top management act as good role models
- 60.0% It has a formal sexual harassment policy known to all employees
- 00.0% It takes immediate investigative action for all formal complaints

Appendix II Relevant Questions from the Interview Schedule (continued)

66. We are interested in your reaction to workplace behaviors. Assuming that you fear no reprisals in your job, would you engage in the male behavior described in tape #1 (the simulation of direct harassment)?

2.5% Definitely likely

95.0% Unlikely

2.5% No answer

67. We are interested in your reactions to the workplace behavior described in tape #2 (the simulation of indirect harassment). Assuming that you fear no reprisals in your job, would you engage in this behavior?

10.0% Likely

90.0% Unlikely

Appendix I Letter sent to Participants

June 7, 1993

Re: Request for Research Project Volunteers

Dear ,

I am writing to you to introduce a research project that might be of interest to you and your Department. As part of a master's thesis research project done in conjunction with Dr. G. Pretty of the Psychology Department at Saint Mary's University, we are interested in how males perceive workplace interactions between men and women. Although there are various ways that men and women interact in a working environment, this study focuses upon two types of workplace interactions.

In this regard, we are seeking the cooperation of some local organizations and businesses to access their employees for participation. I am asking for your cooperation in involving some men from your Department in this project. We ask for voluntary participation from men who are employed full or part-time and who work with, or come in regular contact with women in their place of work.

Participation consists of an interview session conducted by a male interviewer from our research team who would come into your Department to interview volunteers. It is mostly a pen and paper session, approximately one hour in duration. It is hoped that these sessions can be arranged as soon as possible as we have a deadline of June 25th. Participants are assured that all replies are confidential and not identifiable with any individual.

Organizations involved in this project will be acknowledged for their participation and will be sent a summary of the project findings.

Enclosed is an example of a memo that you might wish to use.

I hope that I can count on your support and the support of the employees in your department. In the near future, I will follow up this letter with a phone call to you. However, if you wish any more information about the project, please call me. Thanking you in advance, I remain

Yours truly

Appendix J Debriefing

First, I want to take the opportunity to thank you for your willingness to participate in this research. I am hoping that this research will contribute to a better understanding of the societal problem of sexual harassment. In order to assist me in the further collection of data, I would ask that you kindly refrain from discussing this research with acquaintances or associates who may also be participating in this study.

In summary, this research is designed to assess the consequences of two types of sexually harassing behaviors initiated by a boss or supervisor as compared to the same behavior initiated by a co-worker. The Canadian Human Rights Commission considers sexual harassment to be an illegal form of sex discrimination for which the employer is responsible. Sexual harassment can be physical, verbal and environmental. Examples of physical sexual harassment include sexually explicit or suggestive gestures, deliberate touching of a sexual nature, leaning over or cornering someone with sexual intent, and pinching. Verbal harassment includes pressure for dates, sexual teasing, telling sexual jokes, remarks, questions and retaliation. Sexually explicit pictures, graffiti, or other materials of a sexual nature which create a polluted, hostile or offensive work environment also constitute sexual harassment. The most severe form of sexual harassment is actual or attempted rape or assault.

Sexual harassment has been identified as an unwanted, non-reciprocated form of social-sexual behavior exhibited in the workplace. Direct sexual harassment and sexualization of the workplace are two examples of social-sexual behavior which are being studied in this research. You participated in only one of these conditions. The simulation of direct sexual harassment includes sexual touching and a proposition with

promises of job enhancement from a male to an individual female worker. The simulation of sexualization of the workplace comprises sexual gestures, coarse language, and sex-orientated joking, among males in the presence of, but not directed towards, an individual female worker.

Victims of sexual harassment often experience a variety of emotional reactions, from simple annoyance to more profound symptoms, such as anger, fear, depression, anxiety, irritability, diminished self-esteem, humiliation, and vulnerability. Observers of sexually harassing behaviors in the workplace may be unaffected or experience physical and psychological reactions. You may have felt some of these or different emotions simply by participation in this research.

Complaining of sexual harassment is a double-edged sword. Reporting sexual harassment may assist a victim in regaining a sense of control at the potential cost of retaliation and victim blaming. Witnesses to sexual harassment may also experience negative consequences as a result of filing a complaint. Sexual harassment can be reported internally within the organization to senior officials and union representatives. Workers, customers, clients or tenants can also file a complaint of unsolicited sexual attention to the Human Rights Commission or a general practitioner.

A list of phone numbers is provided below. These organizations can be contacted if you have further individual concerns and/or questions regarding sexual harassment.

Crisis Centre	24 hour Help Line	421-1188
Human Rights Commission	Nova Scotia	424-4111
	Federal	426-8380
Service For Sexual Assault Victims (SSAV)		425-0122