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Layperson's Norms Surrounding Politician Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

LAYPERSON'S NORMS SURROUNDING
POLITICIAN SEXUAL MISCONDUCT
AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

YELYZAVETA V. DISTEFANO

CHICAGO, IL

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For my parents, who never stopped asking

Me too.

— Tarana Burke

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GSH	General Sexual Harassment
GP	Gender Prejudice
H	Hypothesis
HWE	Hostile Work Environment
MANOVA	Multivariate Analysis of Variance
QPQ	Quid Pro Quo
SC	Sexual Coercion
SH	Sexual Harassment
SIB	Sexually Inappropriate Behavior
SM	Sexual Misconduct

ABSTRACT

While there are legal definitions of what actions and circumstances constitute gender based prejudiced, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape, less is known about lay people's norms and perceptions of what behaviors and situations qualify as each of these categories, especially involving the role of context in which ambiguous social-sexual behaviors occur. Additionally, sexual harassment paradigms have not explored the unique power relationships of politicians and those working under them in political office, an especially topical locale of workplace SH in a post #MeToo America. 277 participants completed a survey with a 2 (setting: workplace, office party at the bar) x 2 (presence of others: alone, in a group of coworkers) x 2 (extremity of harassing behavior: mild, blatant) between-subjects x 9 (behavior type: control, dirty joke, sexual comment, term of endearment, shoulder touch, displaying pornography, ogling, kiss, grope) within-subjects design that measured a politician's varying degrees of guilt on a variety of misconduct measures and consequences ratings. More extreme versions of behaviors are significantly more likely to be perceived as constituting general sexual harassment, and workplace settings increase perceptions of sexual misconduct and sexual harassment, while being in a group increased perceptions of misconduct occurring. Behaviors did not form a linear hierarchy of severity, with verbal behaviors being perceived as equally inappropriate/harassing as physical ones. The results confirm that susceptibility to context occurs for more ambiguous behaviors, while more explicit behaviors are consistently rated higher on all misconduct measures, regardless of the situation they occur in.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Most people have an easy schematic to pull from when imagining sexual harassment in the workplace, easily provided by media in the form of show plots, movie characters, and news coverage. Sexual “jokes” and suggestions said in passing. Brushing against someone “accidentally”. A congratulatory pat, hug, or squeeze. Invading someone’s personal space in an empty room. Stealing a kiss at an office party. What determines when these behaviors are seen as sexually harassing? Under what contexts, and using what standards, do these actions get classified as sexual harassment by the average person? What behaviors are seen as sexual harassment specifically and what behaviors seem to fall into other categories of gender-based misconduct? Can these classifications be manipulated based on context? These are the questions surrounding lay people’s definitions of sexual harassment that the present study seeks to answer.

There is a surprising lack of research on subjective, lay perspectives of sexual harassment in the last 20 years, with most research on the topic dating back to the 1980s and 90s. Norms and expectations about social-sexual behavior in the workplace have severely changed during this span, a change that has been highlighted and even accelerated by the recent #MeToo movement and the media coverage around it. Behaviors that were previously brushed off as flirtatious or all in good fun in the minds of Americans are now potential national scandals, lawsuits, and career enders. Technology continues to provide new methods and venues for harassment (after hour texts from superiors, stalking via social media, revenge porn on the internet). Meanwhile, work

culture has shifted to a norm of always being “on”: always available via phone and email, always at the office, and even when not, leading a social life revolving primarily around it. All this equates to major shifts in norms around appropriate workplace behavior, rendering old models and the norms they were built around increasingly irrelevant. Additionally, previous studies have largely focused on sexual harassment in academic or factory-type settings, frequently deriving models from student and laborer samples. The goal of the present research is two-fold: 1) capture what current norms are around what constitutes sexual harassment according to the lay American 2) test sexual harassment perceptions in a novel and topical new context on which experimental research has not previously been conducted: politician sexual harassment while in office.

Definitional Issues

Sexual harassment (SH) can be broadly defined as unwelcome, unwanted, verbal, physical, or gestural social-sexual behavior and advances that can affect the condition of one’s employment and/or create a hostile or intimidating work environment (Gutek, 2015). It refers to the imposing of unwanted sexual requirements, typically in the context of unequal power, whether it be organizational, physical, or social, and can range in severity and unwelcomeness (MacKinnon, 1979). What behaviors and situations qualify as SH has been notoriously difficult to pin down, largely due to a variance in approaches, norms, and subjective factors used when attempting to draw a definition. For example, by the psychological definition of SH, regardless of legality, an individual is considered to have experienced SH if one *feels* that one has been sexually harassed: SH has occurred if the recipient is the target of unwanted sex-related behavior at work that is then appraised by the recipient as offensive, exceeding their resources, and/or threatening their well-being (O’Leary-Kelly, Bowes-Sperry, Bates, & Lean, 2009; Fitzgerald,

Swan, & Magley, 1997). On the opposing end, some define SH from the perpetrator's perspective: SH only occurs if the harasser *intends* to be sexually harassing in tandem with the target being made to feel upset, uncomfortable, or that they are being forced to work in conditions that are not of their choosing (Thacker & Ferris, 1991). Alternately, some take the individuals involved completely out of the equation and choose instead to define SH as behaviorally defined, with pre-determined specific social-sexual behaviors that are considered to constitute SH whether they cause psychological discomfort to recipient, are illegal, or meant to be harassing (Bowes-Sperry & Tata, 1999). Most often however, whether in research, policy, or media coverage, people turn to the legal definition of SH for the answer. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), put forth the guidelines most frequently relied upon when seeking a definition of SH:

“Harassment on the basis of sex [...] Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made explicitly or implicitly a term of condition of an individual's employment (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) 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.” (EEOC, 1980)

Even in the court of law, however, SH cases are judged on a case-by-case basis, incorporating the context, circumstances, and “nature of the sexual advances” of each allegation into final judgement (EEOC, 1980). This subjectivity comes in the form of use of the “reasonable person standard” when interpreting a case, a practice that has shifted to the use of the “reasonable woman standard” in cases specifically addressing claims of sexual harassment, in which decision makers are asked to take the perspective of the recipient of SH, in most cases a woman (Goldberg, 1995).

More specifically, the EEOC definition covers two distinct types of SH: quid pro quo (QPQ) and hostile work environment (HWE). QPQ SH involves direct or implied threat of job-related consequences (such as hiring, promotion, termination, performance ratings, or access to benefits) in an attempt to elicit target compliance with requests for social-sexual activity. The HWE category is concerned with social-sexual conduct that “unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance” or “creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment (EEOC, 1980)”. QPQ is often considered the more traditional, and more severe, type of SH, one that involves an easily recognizable form of SH in which a subordinate within a formal organizational hierarchy experiences or is threatened with tangible loss. The HWE form of SH is less tangible, but still results in non-discrete harm, usually building over time, and encases virtually any form of social-sexual behavior (Pina, Gannon, & Saunders, 2009). HWE harassment can be further broken up into two subcategories: gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention. Gender harassment refers to situations in which employees are regularly subjected to offensive, gender-related or sexual comments reflective of insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes toward women, while unwanted sexual attention refers to unreciprocated, unwanted social-sexual advances (whether verbal or non-verbal) which may not be directly relevant to job-related outcomes yet still contribute to a hostile work environment and negatively impact the recipient (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). HWE harassment is individually defined, and therefore more ambiguous—for some people, sex jokes, touching, or multiple requests for dates in the workplace pose no problem, others may find these behaviors unprofessional or immature but not harmful, and still others might be made uncomfortable to the point of impacting their work (Collins & Blodgett, 1981). It is this later, less clear-cut form of

SH as defined by the EEOC, HWE, that will be the focus of this study, specifically, the unwanted sexual attention component.

Prevalence and Problems

Statistics on the prevalence of SH are nearly as difficult to pin down as definitional issues. The way prevalence is quantified, methods of measurement, and what behaviors are included make it challenging to say exactly how frequently SH occurs. One thing is certain: for women, the statistics are never low. Some reviews report 40–75% of women have experienced SH in the workplace, while more recent national surveys report that 81% of women have experienced some form of SH in their lifetime, with 3-in-4 women having experienced verbal harassment and 1-in-2 experiencing unwelcome physical contact (McDonald, 2012; Kearly, 2018). Still others believe even this is an underestimate, with a nationally representative survey showing that over half of women in their sample reported being harassed in the past year *alone* (Rospenda, Richman, & Shannon, 2009). Women are targets of SH across a variety of settings, with SH following them into nearly all aspects of organizational and public life. As summarized in Fitzgerald and Cortina's 2017 review, women are harassed not just in the frequently researched settings of work and school, but in public by strangers (Davidson, Butchko, Robbins, Sherd, & Gervais, 2016), in their homes by landlords (Tester, 2008), and in school as teenagers by teachers (Hill & Kearl, 2011). Nurses are harassed by the physicians they work with (Williams, 1996), service workers by their customers (Gettman & Gelfand, 2007), hotel maids by their guests (Kensbock, Bailey, Jennings, & Patiar, 2015), and female inmates by their male correctional officers (Bell, Coven, Cronan, & Garza, 1999). The issue of SH is deep and wide spread, one of the reasons it remains so difficult to define across contexts.

Regardless of the context it occurs in, SH has been continuously linked with negative job consequences for not only the target, but the organization as a whole. Experiencing SH at work has been most prominently shown to lower job satisfaction (especially interpersonal satisfaction with coworkers and supervisors) and decrease organizational commitment, which in turn lead to organizational costs such as high work withdrawal (absenteeism, tardiness, distraction, and neglectfulness), loss of productivity and impaired work performance (both quality and quantity of work), and intentions (or action) to leave the organization by targets of SH (Lapierre, Laurent & Spector, 2005; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007; Woodzicka & LaFrance, 2005; Hanisch, Hulin, & Roznowski, 1998; Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). Though not as obvious as in instances of QPQ harassment, in which job consequences and rewards are directly threatened in exchange for compliance, HWE SH results in long term economic damage for the target: in order to escape their harasser, women often quit the jobs, request transfers or even demotions, refuse promotions or professional development opportunities, take sick days or leave, or even take themselves out of the workforce entirely to avoid unsafe work conditions altogether (MacKinnon, 1979; Martin, 1995).

Perhaps more important, however, are the extensive psychological and health consequences that result from experiencing SH: targets of SH have been shown to exhibit decreased mental health, higher stress, lower life satisfaction, and impaired physical health (Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Targets of SH often report feeling powerless, angry, nervous, unambitious, alienated and lonely, helpless, guilty, and self-conscious (Martin, 1995; Farley, 1978; Goodman, 1980). It is unsurprising then that being the target of SH has been linked to a slew of negative health outcomes: from increased anxiety and depression (Reed, Collinsworth, &

Fitzgerald, 2016), to displaying PTSD symptoms (Ho, et al., 2012), to increased escapist drinking and alcohol abuse (Rospenda & Richman, 2004; Magley, Hulin, Fitzgerald, & DeNardo, 1999). Psychological distress resulting from SH experiences is in part mediated by overperformance demands (the belief that one needs to constantly prove oneself to gain acceptance in the work group) in the workplace following harassment (Parker & Griffin, 2002). Somatic complaints also frequently follow a SH experience, with targets reporting nausea, headaches, sleeplessness, ulcers, and high blood pressure (Farley, 1978). That SH is a major societal issue is no question, however, how do members of that society decide when SH has occurred?

Sexual Harassment Norms and Categorization

At the minimum, most people are averse to social-sexual activity in the workplace if only because they find it unprofessional. In a 1995 study, Pryor found that 56% of men and 75% of women endorsed lack of professionalism as the reason they were negatively affected by uninvited sexual attention at work. This reaction points to negative response to SH at least in part stemming from the perception of the violation of important social norms around what constitutes appropriate workplace behavior. But what are these norms, and how do they differ at the individual level? Not everyone perceives the same situations and behaviors as sexual harassment to the same extent, or at all. For most people, SH is subjectively defined when it comes to evaluating external situations, with individuals relying on “personal definitions” of SH to make sense of social-sexual behavior experienced by themselves and others (O’Connor, Gutek, Stockdale, Geer, & Melancon, 2004). People’s subjective definitions used to label and categorize SH are shaped by norms surrounding social-sexual behavior in general and at work; these norms

take various forms and are influenced by a variety of factors. Examples of normative beliefs that influence perceived SH are ideas such as “SH is just a behavior one has to live with in the workplace”, “it’s natural for men in power to harass women”, and “every sexual harasser in a workplace should be punished” (Ellis, Barak, & Pinto, 1991).

Support for the idea that SH labeling is a subjective, norm-dependent process lies in numerous studies that have shown a gap between actual and perceived self-reports of SH, with targets failing to label legally-defined incidents of SH that occurred to them as constituting SH according to their personal definition. For instance, in a study of over 86,000 respondents, over half of working women in the sample reported being targeted with what might be considered sexually harassing behaviors at work (for example, checking off that sexual comments had been made about their bodies by coworkers), yet less than 25% considered these experiences to constitute “sexual harassment” (reporting the behavior occurred, but reporting not having experienced SH)—respondents who faced gender harassment in the absence of unwanted sexual attention were even less likely to label their experiences as SH (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Holland & Cortina, 2013). Norms might influence self-labelling of SH experiences, yet sexual harassment victims suffer similar psychological, physical, and occupational consequences whether or not they identify their experiences as SH (Magley, Hulin, Fitzgerald, & DeNardo, 1999; Woodzicka & LaFrance 2005).

Behavior Type and Severity

Stockdale, Vaux, and Cashin (1995) summarized five general factors for explaining how individuals come to identify behaviors as constituting SH, those of importance to the present study include norms surrounding type of experience and organizational power (to be discussed

later). Type of experience refers to the behavior in question, spanning from subtle remarks and sexist jokes to direct physical assault. Research has repeatedly backed that the severity of social-sexual behavior will indicate lay observers' willingness to label a behavior as sexual harassment (Hunter & McClelland, 1991; Terpstra & Baker, 1989). However, the relationship is not hierarchical. For instance, it is unclear that a dirty joke, for instance, is always objectively less severe than unwanted touching—it depends on what is said, under what social circumstances, and by whom. Supporting this, Stockdale et al. (1995) found that individuals in their study who had experienced sexual looks or touching were most likely to acknowledge having experienced SH, yet those who had been asked explicitly to perform favors or who were sexually assaulted did not. In another study, verbal comments (“how is your love life? Had any exciting dates lately?”) were seen as more controlling and elicited more negative reactions and interpretations than touching behaviors (Dougherty, Turban, Olson, Dwyer, & Lapreze, 1996). It is wrong then, to assume individuals perceive behaviors as simply belonging to a continuum or a hierarchy of severity of SH: people often mistake gender harassment and sexual coercion as not falling under the umbrella of sexual harassment, either for not being severe “enough” or so severe that they fall into a separate category altogether (sexual assault, rape).¹ It is important, then, to distinguish between behavior *type* and behavior *severity* separately when discussing norms around identification and categorization of SH, which through multidimensional scaling and cluster-analysis have been shown to act as two separate dimensions of SH (Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989).

¹ This group of constructs will here-in be referred to as general sexual harassment (GSH) and meant to include not just SH as an independent, specific construct, but also the constructs of interest to this study that fall under its umbrella, such as sexual coercion, gender-based prejudice, sexual misconduct, and sexually inappropriate behavior. SH will still be used when distinguishing that specific measure from GSH.

An alternate explanation of this phenomenon may lay in people's use of scripts when judging situations. Most individuals have a "typical SH incident" that comes to mind when asked to describe a workplace SH scenario, and these expectations are carried into social-sexual interactions either as participants or third-party observers, influencing whether an incident is perceived to be SH. These organizational behavior scripts are pulled on to help individuals understand and navigate workplace situations, and are developed from a combination of personal experiences, those shared by others, and those depicted in the media (Popovich, Jolton, Mastrangelo, Everton, Somers, & Gehlauf, 1995). As with other explanations of SH labeling and definition, scripts show a tendency to dichotomize SH behaviors in terms of behavior type, with more "blatant" scripts reflecting more severe and more stereotypical forms of SH, such as physical contact and sexual propositions in private settings, while "bantering" scripts reflect less severe behavior such as inappropriate jokes and gestures in more public settings (Popovich et al., 1995).

A more behavioral definitional approach can also be taken capture the subjective nature of SH, with the use of checklists of potential SH behaviors given to respondents and merely asking if each behavior, free of context, constitutes SH according to the respondent (see Gutek, 1986; USMSPB, 1981). One of the first classification systems used in attempting to define SH was Till's (1980) five category model, derived from a national sample of college women that were asked to describe, in an open-ended format, incidents of SH that had happened to them or that they knew about. Five types of behaviors emerged: (1) gender harassment (generalized sexist remarks and behavior not necessarily aimed at eliciting sexual cooperation but that instead reflect insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes towards an individual), (2) seductive behavior

(inappropriate but pressure/penalty free advances), (3) sexual bribery (direct solicitation of social-sexual activity by promise of reward), (4) threat (the coercion of social-sexual activity by threats of punishment), and (5) sexual imposition (forced sexual activity or assault). This model was then used as the basis for one of the most widely used measures of SH in psychology, Fitzgerald et al.'s (1988) Sexual Experience Questionnaire (SEQ), whose five-scale structure reflects these categories.

A norm surrounding SH that was initially brought to light using this type of behavioral checklist was the previously mentioned tendency of people to implicitly sort incidents of SH dichotomously into “more” (physical, carry negative job consequences) and “less” (verbal, no direct consequence) severe behaviors, echoing legal definitions of QPQ vs. HWE SH (Popovich, Gehlauf, Jolton, Somers, & Godinho, 1992; USMSPB, 1981; Terpstra & Cook, 1985). This tendency has been modeled by Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989), who showed support for a two-dimensional solution of SH labeling including both a behavior severity continuum and a behavior type dimension conforming to the legal QPQ vs. HWE distinction. According to this model, derived using questions from subcategories of the SEQ, four clusters emerge along these dimensions that align with Till's (1980) categories: seduction (less severe, HWE), sexual bribery (less severe, QPQ), threat (somewhat severe, QPQ), and sexual imposition (more severe, HWE). One factor in the perception variation of these behaviors is a lack of message explicitness: explicit messages (such as direct requests for sexual favors) eliminate a target's (and perceiver's) ability to misinterpret or ignore a potential harasser's intentions, while inexplicit messages free targets and observers to derive meanings for themselves, resulting in construction of more desirable interpretations of potentially threatening messages, and in turn, granting greater

freedom of response (Blum-Kulka, 1987). Explicit sexual advances are rated higher in SH, then, because of the greater constraint they place on target's response, and indeed message explicitness has been shown to largely determine SH evaluations (Solomon & Williams, 1997).

Interestingly, Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989) found that participants viewed the concept of gender harassment (the first category in Till's model) to be so distinct from these other forms of SH as to not even fall into the same perceptual space, despite legal definition's inclusion of gender harassment under the umbrella of SH. Future models have indeed treated gender harassment as a separate yet related construct when discussing SH. For instance, implementation of the SEQ revealed that a consolidated three-factor structure accounted for over half the variance of Till's model: gender harassment, sexual coercion (a combination of sexual bribery and threat), and sexual harassment (seductive behavior and sexual imposition) (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995). This has since become known as Fitzgerald's tripartite model, classifying SH according to three related but distinct dimensions: gender harassment (verbal and nonverbal behaviors that convey negative/hostile gender-based attitudes, examples include slurs, suggestive stories, the display of porn or other obscene materials, crude sexual remarks, and hazing), unwanted sexual attention (verbal and nonverbal behaviors that don't imply direct loss or gain of job related consequences but are still unwelcome and unreciprocated and social-sexual in nature, examples include repeated requests for dates, sexual remarks about one's body, intrusive communications, ogling or staring, attempted touching and grabbing, and sexual propositions), and sexual coercion (classic QPQ harassment using explicit or subtle job-related threats or bribes to gain sexual cooperation, examples include hanging an upcoming promotion over a target's head while trying to engage in sexual touch) (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Magley, 1997;

Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995). Though these categories are distinct, they are not independent: a great majority of SH experiences include multiple types of behavior, often over time, and end up falling into more than a single category, with gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention frequently co-occurring (Schneider & Swan, 1994). It should also be noted that although sexual coercion is the most easily identifiable normative category of SH, it is the least common: 5-10% of target report experiencing QPQ SH, while 20%-25% faced unwanted sexual attention and over 50% experienced gender harassment (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991). Thus, it is important to explore the definitional norms around these less easily identified yet more prevalent forms of SH affecting targets. The focus of this paper will largely be on this middle ground: unwanted sexual attention.

The Present Study

The present study focuses on ambiguous behaviors that fall into the broad category of unwanted sexual attention and will range in behavior type and severity within this. More severe forms of general sexual harassment (rape, sexual assault, explicit QPQ propositions) and non-social sexual gender harassment (hostile gender-based comments) are excluded from the manipulations as they are often categorized as constructs other than SH (Stockdale et al., 1995). While sexual bribery and explicit propositions are perceived by most individuals as general sexual harassment, behaviors such as sexist comments, coarse jokes, and sexually directed are less likely to be perceived as general sexual harassment and are therefore of interest for further exploration under which circumstances they are and are not perceived to be harassing (Terpstra & Baker, 1987; Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989). Though they are perceived as general sexual harassment “less”, ambiguous social-sexual behaviors are not seen as completely innocent

either: in a study of faculty, civil service employees, graduate students, and undergraduates, groups on average agreed that stereotyped jokes (71% of respondents), sexual teasing, jokes, and remarks (84%), suggestive looks (86%), and leaning over/cornering (96%) were all SH (Frazier, Cochran, & Olson, 1995). A majority consider gestures, remarks, sexual graffiti, and unwanted physical contact (70-86%) to be SH, and less, but still a significant amount, of individuals consider whistles, requests for dates, staring, and shoulder squeezes to constitute SH (34%-43%) (Terpstra & Baker, 1987). A social-sexual behavior that seems to have a unique impact on general sexual harassment judgements but that is not often evaluated in studies like those mentioned above is that of displaying pornographic/obscene material in a workplace. Studies have shown that sexualized workplaces (those with “centerfold” posters displayed, frequent sexual banter/joking, the use of crude language) lead to stronger perceptions of SH taking place, regarding both personal and legal definitions (as compared to non-sexualized workplaces) (O’Connor et al., 2004). As such, displaying pornography as a behavior may be rated high on general sexual harassment measures as well.

Based on these previously mentioned general sexual harassment behaviors as well as other researched behaviors and typologies of SH (see Welsh, 2000 for summary of research), the following behavior types were chosen to be analyzed in the present study: dirty jokes, sexual comments, touches on the shoulder, groping, and “ogling”. A further content analysis (see Methods section) resulted in the later inclusion of kissing, pornography passing, and terms of endearment as manipulated behaviors. This study seeks to explore norms around what lay people constitute as general sexual harassment, however, it is unclear based off previous research what behavior types will necessarily be most likely to be rated various forms of general sexual

harassment : physical (shoulder touch, grope, kiss), verbal (term of endearment, dirty joke, sexual comment), or non-verbal/non-physical (pornography, ogling). However, severity of behavior has been shown to be a strong determining factor in SH ratings, as such, behavior types will vary in severity: each behavior will be presented in either a “mild” or “blatant” form. The following hypotheses result:

H1: Behavior type will not necessarily form a clear, linear hierarchy of general sexual harassment ratings, with physical behaviors not always rated as more sexually harassing than verbal ones.

H2: Less ambiguous, more explicit behaviors will be more likely to be rated as various forms of general sexual harassment , including more severe categories of general sexual harassment (sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, sexual coercion).

H3: Blatant versions of all behaviors will be more likely to be labeled as various forms of general sexual harassment than mild versions.

Setting and Presence of Others

Setting plays an important role as one of the determinants of perceptions of SH, although relatively little work has focused on this factor. Work-related sexual harassment does not always take place at work, and coworkers do not exclusively interact in the workplace alone. Women report SH episodes most frequently taking place in public spaces (in 66% of self-disclosed cases of SH experiences in a national survey) followed by the workplace (38%) (Kearly, 2018). Further, setting tends to change the context of behaviors: a slap on the butt in the locker room by a teammate is different than a slap on the butt by a coworker at the office. In one of the few studies done on the topic, Dougherty et al. (1996) found that social-sexual behaviors were rated

as more harassing and viewed as more controlling in a workplace setting than if they occurred at an afterwork happy hour. This points to the possibility that being in a non-workplace setting may make it harder to identify socio-sexual behavior as general sexual harassment (McCarty, Iannone, & Kelly, 2014). Or it may be that like message explicitness, constraint of target's choice of response is higher in a workplace setting than in a public, informal setting (it's easier to laugh off your boss's crude jokes at the bar than in your office). Bars specifically hold a prominent place in both work and school culture, with colleagues frequently meeting there to vent and unwind. It is unfortunate, then, that they are also frequently the setting for SH and assault (Parks & Zetes-Zanatta, 1999). This study is interested in manipulating the setting in which SH takes place to gauge its effect on norms surrounding SH, as such, two settings will be utilized: the workplace and an office party at a local bar, with the following hypotheses:

H4: Situations that take place in an informal, external context will be rated lower on general sexual harassment ratings than those that occur in the workplace.

Even less research has concerned itself with the effect of the presence of others during an incident of general sexual harassment and how this effects third party observations. Again, however, there is a contextual difference between a behavior occurring in private, with no witnesses vs. in a large group of non-strangers. Some research has looked at group SH, or when multiple individuals engage in the SH of a single target (ex: a group of men all pointing and laughing at a coworker while making sexually deriding comments) and found that harassers who acted alone were punished to a greater extent than those who acted in a group (Cummings & Armenta, 2002). Another way that general sexual harassment in a group setting can be viewed is an attempt at a form of public humiliation, closer to gender harassment, in which the goal is

degradation instead of a private attempt to become intimate with the target (ex: wolf whistling at someone across the room, making explicit references in ear shot of the target to another coworker) (Rhodes & Stern, 1995). However, the present study is concerned with the effect of the mere presence of bystanders (bystanders neither directly engage nor intervene in the general sexual harassment incident) vs. behaviors occurring in a private, removed space on general sexual harassment perceptions. Since others are not depicted as participating in the general sexual harassment but merely as neutral bystanders to it, it is hypothesized that the presence of others will downplay perceptions of general sexual harassment (ex: the dirty joke was said to the whole room), while private, 1-on-1 scenarios will increase perceptions of general sexual harassment occurring.

H5: Situations will be rated lower on various forms of general sexual harassment when there are others present.

Additionally, setting and presence of others are expected to interact such that:

H6: The more public (non-workplace setting, others present) the context of the behavior is, the less likely it will be to be perceived as various forms of general sexual harassment.

H7: The more private (workplace, alone in office) the context of the behavior is, the higher it will be rated on general sexual harassment ratings, and on a wider range of them.

Power and Status

The literature has repeatedly shown that people are more likely to label a situation as sexually harassing if the harasser's status is higher than the targets (Pryor, 1985; Stockdale et al., 1995; Popovich et al., 1992). This difference reflects one of Stockdale's (1995) previously

mentioned categories of factors that influence perceptions of SH: organizational power.

Organizational power refers to power within the organization, so that the higher the occupational status and power of the perpetrator in relation to the victim, the more likely both victims and third party observers are to identify SH as occurring and to rate it as a more serious issue (compared to when the same behaviors are perpetrated by coworkers or peers) (Stockdale et al., 1995; Gordon, Cohen, Grauer, & Rogelberg, 2005). Bursik (1992) found that these power effects were stronger when evaluating more ambiguous behaviors. Status differences between target and harasser lead to higher ratings of SH because power differences highlight the formal social power of harassers over the target, which lead to attributions of hostile intent to the harasser, who is seen as using his formal power to exploit the target's lower status (Coles, 1986; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). SH behavior coming from a superior (as compared to a coworker or fellow student) is also seen as more unexpected and inappropriate, and as a result is rated as more of a distraction from work, more of a "power play", and more productivity impairing (Pryor, 1985; Pryor, 1995). In the present study, ratings of general sexual harassment are expected to be especially high with the general sexual harassment behaviors coming from not just a superior, but a politician, making the scenarios especially unexpected and inappropriate to participants, making general sexual harassment extra salient.

Organizational power is bestowed when a harasser has supervisory authority over the target, and legitimacy of this power is conferred by the hierarchal structure of the organization in question. In their discussion on political power, Thacker and Ferris (1991) define two ways that harassers in higher status positions hold power: 1) the target is dependent upon the harasser for various work related outcomes (salary increases and decreases, flexible scheduling to

accommodate personal needs, good performance ratings) and 2) the harasser can use sanctions such as firing, poor reviews, or uncomfortable working conditions. Even when these things are not directly threatened/offered, such as in QPQ harassment, the simple dependence of the lower status target on the higher status harasser's judgements of their job confers enough power to make even implicit/ambiguous behaviors coercive, the implication always looming: if I don't do this, what are the consequences? If these same behaviors came from someone of lower status, who the target was had no dependence on for job outcomes, and who did not have the power to use sanctions to illicit compliance, power would not be held over the target, and the situation would be as a result much less likely to be considered sexual harassment, specifically (Thacker & Ferris, 1991).

It is for this reason that the present scenarios are set up to always feature a higher status harasser and one of his direct subordinates. Gender, which is often conflated with status and power, also plays a role: observers are more likely to label behaviors as SH when the behavior is initiated by a man toward a woman than the reverse (McCabe & Hardman, 2005). Scripts around sexual harassment scenarios almost always depict a man of higher power and older in age (a supervisor, manager, boss, etc.) harassing a younger, lower status, direct subordinate (a secretary, assistant, etc.) (Popovich et al., 1995). General sexual harassment of this type between a superior and his direct, female subordinate has been argued to arise from both harasser's and observer's beliefs in the traditional gender role of women as nurturing, caring, and serving. Thus emerges a stereotype of the woman who organizes the man's calendar, takes his messages, and responds to his business needs and that is also expected to make his coffee in the morning and respond to his sexual needs (Carothers & Crull, 1984). Following these scripts and stereotypes,

the gender of the high status harasser was always kept constant as a man, with the target always depicted as a woman, to line up with participants perceptions of a “typical” SH encounter in order to elicit the most “average” norms and responses.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS

Participants

A college sample of exclusively student participants was deemed inappropriate for this experiment due to students' uniquely high levels of sexism awareness, and their left-leaning political ideology. Instead, Amazon's Mechanical Turk (mTurk) Prime was used to gather a more diverse sample of the American population at large. Turk Prime's tools were utilized as an extra layer of protection to filter out bots, fraudulent data, and inattentive participants (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2017). The experiment is constructed as a 2 x 2 x 2 x 9 mixed factorial design, with the first three dichotomous variables manipulated between-subjects, and the fourth (nine-level) variable manipulated within-subjects (nine behavioral scenarios rated by each subject). Using this design, a power analysis was conducted using G-Power 3.1 to analyze the number of participants needed to power the between-subjects 2 x 2 x 2 design, with effect size set at $\eta^2 = 0.039$ (small-medium), power = 0.80, and $\alpha = 0.05$. Additionally, the repeated measures used in the study (five measures repeated nine times for nine levels of behavior) were predicted to correlate, which was factored into the analysis as well. Results of this power analysis suggest a total sample of 296 participants is required to properly power this analytic plan (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Unfortunately, there is no way to calculate the appropriate sample size for the proposed 4-way interaction in the study outside of running a simulation of the data, which is beyond the scope of the present project.

Due to an error that commonly occurs while using Turk Prime, more participants filled out the survey than were initially recruited, 320. However, out of 320 participants who initially completed the fully study, 43 were dropped under suspicion of fraudulent data. Participants were dropped if they failed one or more of the in-study quality checks, if they failed to legibly answer what the study was about, and if their data showed clear patterns of random/repetitive responses (ex: rating the control scenario as constituting rape, saying strongly agree to both that there should be no consequences and that there should be an arrest). After poor-quality data was removed, 277 were used in the present analyses. Participants ranged from 18 to 72 years of age ($M=37.90$, $SD=11.27$), 54% identified as men, and 72% of which were white. The sample was slightly liberal leaning, with the average ideology ($M=4.04$, $SD=2.41$) and party ($M=4.08$, $SD=2.30$) slightly left of center, and a majority of the sample had received some form of college education (38.6% of participants held bachelor's degrees, just 11% only completed or attended high school).

Procedure and Materials

This experimental design was constructed as a 2 (Setting: workplace, external) by 2 (Presence of Others: alone, in a group) by 2 (Behavior Extremity: mild, blatant) between-subjects factorial, along with a nine level within-subjects factor (Behavior: no touch/no comment, ogling, term of endearment, dirty joke, sexual comment directed at target, pornographic display, shoulder touch, grope, kiss). Participants completed five dependent measures reflecting general sexual harassment that might apply to each scenario.

Participants were instructed that they would be reading nine similar yet uniquely varied scenarios and told that each scenario will be followed by a series of questions (see Corr &

Jacson, 2011 for the basis of this design). Each scenario involved an interaction between a fictitious politician and his hired staff within a specific, manipulated context. Each participant read a scenario for each behavior type (within-subjects factor, nine scenarios total), with scenarios presented in a randomized order to eliminate order effects. The remaining between-subject conditions were randomly varied for each participant. Each scenario was presented by itself on a page of the study and immediately followed by a set of questions asking participants to assess the degree to which the politician's behavior constituted various forms of general sexual harassment in the previous scenario. After reading and rating the nine scenarios, the study concluded with a short demographics survey and data quality check.

Creating Materials: Content Analysis

A small, informal content analysis was conducted to provide source material for the scenarios. To increase ecological validity, scenarios were crafted based on terminology used to describe real accusations of sexual misconduct reported on in popular news outlets in the last two years (2017-2018). The intent of the brief content analysis was two-fold: 1) to see what behaviors were most commonly cited in coverage of sexual harassment and misconduct accusations, and 2) to evaluate how these behaviors were depicted, so that similar descriptions could be used in the study scenarios.

The websites of five major, reliable, geographically diverse news outlets (*Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *The Atlantic*, *Chicago Tribune*) were searched for online content that matched pre-determined keywords related to sexual harassment in the workplace and specific behaviors determined to be of interest in the early stages of study conception (“Sexual Harassment In the Workplace”, “Sexual Misconduct in the Workplace”,

“Accusations”, “Accused”, “Grope”, “Thigh”, “Inappropriate Work Behavior”, “Boss”, “#MeToo”). The articles chosen for further analysis (read in full and coded) were the first four to five articles that emerged in the search results for each term that reported an independent, unique incident. For example, many search results were varying coverage of the same, highly talked about accusation (e.g. Harvey Weinstein). In such cases only the first time the accusation was mentioned in a search result was it coded, and further mentions of the incident in later articles or articles that focused on this same accusation were ignored for the purposes of this analysis. Additionally, articles were excluded from analysis if the accusation description was too vague (simply alluding to inappropriate touching without giving a concrete example), if it was hyper-specific to a certain context (illegal immigrant farm workers), or if a majority or all of the allegations in the article were related to rape, which is not a behavior being analyzed in the current study.

Using this method, 23 articles (at least four from each news source) were coded for mentions of a priori generated behaviors (dirty joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, leg touch, grope) and later, for behaviors that seemed to emerge frequently in the articles but were not in the original experiment conception (kissing, exposing sex organs, sharing of pornography, “ogling”, and a miscellaneous category of behaviors). “Sexual comment” was the most often mentioned term throughout the 23 analyzed articles (59 uses), followed by grope (21), kissing (18), and dirty joke (12). Less frequently occurring behaviors mentioned were pornography passing (6), exposing sex organs and shoulder touches (5), “ogling” (3), and touching on the legs (1). As a result of these frequencies, sexual comment, grope, dirty joke, and shoulder touching were retained from the original set of behaviors generated, while touching on the leg was

dropped. Additionally, kissing, pornography passing, and terms of endearment (a specific example that repeatedly showed up under the sexual comment coding) were added to the list of behaviors included in the manipulation. “Ogling” was also included in a condition conceived later meant to convey non-verbal/non-physical sexual behavior.

In addition to tracking the types of behaviors being mentioned in accusations of sexual misconduct, examples of the way these behaviors were talked about and described were collected. Lines from the articles were pulled that directly quoted victims’ descriptions of the incidents and that reported on details of the situations and accusations being made. Additionally, *scripts* around what constitutes a “typical” workplace SH encounter in the minds of the average American were pulled on that were derived from previous content analyses. These include both “blatant” scripts (male superior harassing a younger female subordinate, often identified as a secretary, in a private setting with no witnesses featuring a variety of stereotypical behaviors, both sexual propositions and comments on physical appearance) and “bantering” scripts involving more public harassment (for example in a restaurant) involving a group of coworkers and sexual jokes (Popovich et al., 1995). As a result, the scenarios are a combination of stereotypical workplace situations, workplace sexual misconduct that often gets portrayed in the media (TV shows, movies, novels), SH scripts, and examples given in real life sexual misconduct scandals.

For instance, former CBS intern Sarah Johansen said Jeff Fager, former executive producer of *60 Minutes*, “groped her at a work party”, a premise used for the non-workplace setting condition in this study (Izadi, 2018). Similarly, the set up for the kiss behavior condition was based on a claim against Leon Wieseltier, former literary editor at *The New Republic*, who

among numerous other allegations was accused of kissing one of the editors at the magazine on the lips under the guise of congratulating her on a life event (Cottle, 2017). In another example, phrasing for the “blatant sexual comment directed at target” condition was pulled directly from an accusation against news journalist and TV host Charlie Rose, in which he allegedly asked a news clerk “[...] do you like sex? Do you enjoy it? How often do you like to have sex?” (Brittain & Carmon, 2018). Likewise, phrasing for the “mild sexual comment directed at target” condition was inspired by a statement reportedly made by Mel Watt, former North Carolina congressman: “I wouldn’t mind seeing pictures of you, particularly in a bikini”; and a statement made by former Humane Society C.E.O, Wayne Pacelle (asking a female staffer to "take one for the team" by sleeping with a donor) was adapted for the “blatant dirty sexual joke condition” (Merle, 2018; Bosman, Stevens, & Bromwich, 2018).

Scenarios

The manipulation in this study was delivered via hypothetical scenarios, each of which was constructed to communicate the situational variables of interest (setting, presence of others, behavior type, and behavior extremity). The validity of using written scenarios in sexual violence research has been repeatedly supported (see Check & Malamuth, 1983). Before participants encountered the specific scenarios, they were given a short overview of and introduction to the scenarios in the general instructions. These instructions informed participants that the scenarios they were to read all involved United States congressmen and the various people they interact with over the course of their job. Additionally, they were provided with some background on congressional offices, staff, and duties that were relevant to the scenarios to come.

All scenarios in this study followed the same structure but varied in specific content to reflect each experimental condition. In the first sentence, the interaction “setting” was described (manipulated between subjects). Setting was communicated to be either in the work place, in this instance, implied by the general directions to be the congressional office the congressman runs out of Washington, DC, (setting: workplace) or at an annual office Christmas party at the local bar (setting: outside of work). When describing the setting, participants were also reminded of the possibility of the contrasting condition: for example, if the scenario was set in the workplace, some mention was given of something that recently occurred outside the workplace. Thus, even though each individual participant were only exposed to one of the between subject setting conditions, setting salience was primed by reminding participants of other possible settings. The next portion of the scenario established whether the behavior occurred in a group context or when the politician and assistant were alone. In the workplace setting, the staff assistant met with the politician in his private office (presence of others: alone) or joined him in a meeting with a larger group in a conference room (presence of others: group). When the scenario took place outside of work, the staff assistant was described as either sitting at a booth in the corner of the bar with the congressman (alone) or joining a conversation at the bar with the congressman and several other coworkers (group). Again, when communicating this, participants were reminded of the possibility of the contrasting condition to ensure the between-subjects manipulation of “presence of others” (in a group of coworkers vs. alone together) was salient. Minor differences in structuring and word order between the various conditions exist simply to retain the smoothness with which each scenario reads.

Finally, the last sentence of the scenario always described the politician's behavior toward the staff assistant. There were nine possibilities of behavior type that may occur in the scenario (no touch/no comment, non-verbal/non-physical, term of endearment, dirty joke, sexual comment directed at target, pornographic display, shoulder touch, grope, kiss) eight of which (all but the control no touch/no comment condition) occurred in one of two forms: a mild or blatant version (see Table 1 for examples of behavior variation according to these conditions). Each scenario ends immediately after the behavior is described, no details on the staff assistant's reaction or any other information is provided.

The behavior is always presented as happening while the congressman and staff assistant are talking (either in his office about a brief, in a meeting about a recent incident, in a booth at the bar, or standing near the bar) or as the staff assistant enters or exits these conversations. For example, the congressman makes a sexual joke to the staff assistant as she summarizes notes from the briefing to him, or, in another scenario, as the staff assistant moves to join the congressman and her co-workers at the bar, the congressman grabs her on the butt as she passes. In the control condition where there is no comment, touch, or non-verbal behavior, the congressman was simply described as listening to the staff assistant as she speaks.

Table 1. Behavior Variation by Severity Condition.

	mild	blatant
control	"...the congressman listens from across his desk"	"...the congressman listens from across his desk"
dirty joke	"...he wonders if the fellow legislator he is arguing with over the proposal is as difficult to deal with in the bedroom as she is on the senate floor"	"...she should 'take one for the team' and sleep with a legislator whose vote he's trying to swing in his favor on the proposal"

sexual comment	"...shows her pictures from a recent beach vacation he took. As he goes through them the congressman remarks, 'You know, I bet you would look good in one of those bikinis'"	"...says 'forget that' and starts asking her questions about her sex life. He asks 'if she likes sex' and 'what kind of positions she prefers'"
shoulder touch	"...places his hand on her shoulder briefly as he listens"	"...starts massaging her shoulders with both hands as he listens"
grope	"...hand brushes against the staff assistant's butt as she passes"	"...grabs the staff assistant on the butt as she passes"
kiss	"...hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the cheek"	"...hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the mouth and slips her some tongue"
pornography	"...inadvertently glimpses the congressman's open laptop screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up"	"...shows her his phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up, as he asks 'what do you think of <i>that</i> ?'"
term of endearment	"...thanks sweetheart"	"...hey sexy"
non-verbal/ non-physical	"...giving her a long look up and down"	"...notices the congressman leaning over her and looking down her shirt"

Politician Misconduct Ratings

After reading each scenario, participants were asked to describe their impressions of the politician's conduct by assessing what kinds of general sexual harassment they believe the politician has engaged in or not. While this study is primarily concerned with SH, it is also of interest when it errs into other related classifications, and how these classifications do or do not overlap based on the specifics of the situation. Therefore, multiple types of general sexual harassment were measured to attempt to detangle these closely related but distinct categorizations of social-sexual behavior in the workplace. Specifically, participants rated the behaviors on sexual harassment (SH), sexual misconduct (SM), sexually inappropriate behavior (SIB), sexual coercion (SC), and gender-based prejudice (GP). Question presentation was randomized to avoid ordering effects. Additionally, each rating appeared on a separate page to

eliminate the tendency of participants to respond to related questions varying in severity in a Guttman scale like fashion, changing earlier responses after being influenced by seeing later options in the attempt to stay logically consistent. Politician general sexual harassment questions fell on a 7-point Likert response scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” Questions were all structured as a statement, “This is an example of sexual harassment”, followed by a scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”, replacing the last part of the sentence with the construct being tested (“gender-based prejudice,” “sexual misconduct,” “sexually inappropriate behavior,” “sexual coercion”) for a total of five general sexual harassment behavior guilt ratings.

Terms for these questions were chosen based on language commonly used when talking about acts of sexual violence and unwanted sexual attention that would be easily recognizable to participants, specifically in the context of workplace harassment and categories of behavior politicians are frequently accused of in the media. Questions included a mix of terms that bear a specific legal definition (sexual harassment) as well terms that are used to talk about social-sexual behaviors that are viewed negatively more broadly (sexual misconduct, sexually inappropriate behavior, sexual coercion). Additionally, terms were chosen to represent a range of severity in what the behavior in question might constitute, ranging from gender-based prejudice, which need not be sexual in nature, to sexual coercion, often seen as a more severe form of sexual advance. All materials employed in this experiment are provided in Appendix A.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS

The present study was set up as a 2 (behavior extremity: mild, blatant) x 2 (setting: work, external) x 2 (presence of others: alone, in a group) between-subjects by 9 (behaviors: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, ogling, displaying porn, kiss, grope) within-subjects design with five general sexual harassment rating scales serving as dependent measures: SH, sexual misconduct, sexually inappropriate behavior, sexual coercion, and gender prejudice. Each rating scale used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). It should be noted, for interpreting means in tables, that the midpoint on the scale, 4, was labeled “unsure”, and that anything left of this midpoint (1-3) means the behavior was labeled as not constituting that form of general sexual harassment, and anything to the right (5-7) means it was rated as exemplifying that form of general sexual harassment. There was no missing data found in the data set, and fraudulent/low quality data was eliminated as detailed in the Methods section. Initial descriptives were run to check for outliers and variation, no outliers were found and almost all variables used the full 1-7 range on the Likert scale. Participants were evenly distributed across conditions. Only findings relevant to the hypotheses proposed in the introduction to this paper will be addressed here, and future analyses will be discussed in the discussion section that follows.

H1: Behavior type will not necessarily form a clear, linear hierarchy of general sexual harassment ratings, with physical behaviors not always rated as more sexually harassing than verbal ones.

First, multivariate analysis in the form of mixed-factor MANOVAS were run to confirm that behavior type (treated as a within-subjects condition) had a significant effect on general sexual harassment ratings in the first place. A full factorial mixed-factor MANOVA incorporating all conditions was run, using a 2 (behavior extremity: mild, blatant) x 2 (setting: work, external) x 2 (presence of others: alone, in a group) between by 9 (behaviors: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, ogling, displaying porn, kiss, grope) within design. For the purposes of testing this hypothesis, only the behavior levels within-subject effect will be discussed for the moment. Across all general sexual harassment rating scales (SH, SM, SIB, SC, GP), behavior was always calculated to have a statically significant effect on general sexual harassment ratings at the $p < .001$ level, regardless of the number of levels of behavior being analyzed, see Tables 3-7 for all F-values and accompanying significance. This analysis provides support for further analysis of specific behavior's effects on general sexual harassment.

To take an initial look at whether behaviors consistently formed a logical, linear order of general sexual harassment severity across rating scales, means for each behavior were calculated, ignoring and pooling across all conditions, for each general sexual harassment measure and then ordered by greatest to lowest magnitude. These means and their associated standard deviations can be found in Table 2. The top two highest rated behaviors were the same for SH, sexual misconduct, sexually inappropriate behavior, and sexual coercion : groping and sexual comments

directed at the target. After that, there is some variation between whether kiss, dirty joke, pornography, or ogling come next for the four scales. For all five general sexual harassment scales, control always has the lowest mean, followed by either touching on the shoulder or using a term of endearment as the second-to-lowest ranked behavior, depending on the rating. Gender prejudice, understandably, has a different structure than the more explicitly sexual scales, and it is the three verbal behaviors (dirty jokes, sexual comments, and terms of endearment) that rate highest on gender prejudice. The lack of consistent magnitude ordering beyond the top two highest rated behaviors provides initial support for the hypothesis that behaviors do not form a linear hierarchy of general sexual harassment ratings, especially since sexual comment is perceived to be second most sexually harassing behavior, not kissing.

Table 2. Behaviors Ordered by Mean Magnitude for each GSH Rating Scale.

SH			SM			SIB			SC			GP		
Behavior	Mean	SD												
Grope	5.96	1.40	Grope	5.94	1.33	Grope	6.17	1.27	Grope	4.04	1.91	Dirty Joke	5.39	1.80
Comment	5.70	1.59	Comment	5.37	1.70	Comment	5.95	1.35	Comment	4.02	1.97	Comment	4.87	1.84
Kiss	5.07	2.03	Kiss	5.25	1.94	Pornography	5.67	1.59	Kiss	3.95	2.10	Endearment	4.67	1.91
Dirty Joke	4.94	1.96	Pornography	4.88	1.99	Dirty Joke	5.57	1.66	Dirty Joke	3.61	2.16	Grope	4.35	2.03
Ogling	4.59	1.96	Dirty Joke	4.78	1.94	Kiss	5.48	1.84	Shoulder	3.13	1.90	Ogling	4.23	2.03
Endearment	4.21	2.05	Ogling	4.66	1.83	Ogling	5.37	1.67	Pornography	3.08	1.96	Kiss	4.06	2.01
Pornography	4.20	2.21	Shoulder	3.98	2.09	Endearment	4.46	2.06	Ogling	2.81	1.78	Pornography	3.68	2.08
Shoulder	3.93	2.09	Endearment	3.90	2.07	Shoulder	4.40	2.08	Endearment	2.80	1.72	Shoulder	3.54	1.98
Control	1.26	0.79	Control	1.25	0.82	Control	1.26	0.82	Control	1.32	0.89	Control	1.35	0.93

Note: Highlighted cells indicate ratings that fall past the “unsure” midpoint on the rating scales, indicating that on average, it was agreed upon that this behavior constituted that form of general sexual harassment. Under 4.50 rounded down, over rounded up.

To follow up this observed lack of hierarchical pattern in the means, behavior types were subjected to planned contrasts. First, however, behaviors were consolidated into categories: verbal (sexual joke, sexual comment, term of endearment), physical (shoulder touch, kiss, grope), and non-verbal (ogling, displaying pornography) in which behaviors included were averaged together. Since behaviors are objectively different based on extremity condition (for example, in the mild condition, a shoulder touch is merely a briefly placed hand on the shoulder,

while in the blatant condition, it is a shoulder massage), the data was first split by extremity condition, and the following analysis was conducted twice, once for mild behaviors, and again for blatant ones. A one-factor (behavior category: verbal, non-verbal, physical) within-subjects MANOVA with transformed variables was then used to directly compare categories of behavior to one another for each general sexual harassment rating. All relevant means for both sets of contrasts can be found in Tables 8-12.

Mild Behavior Contrasts

Differences between categories were significant for SH ratings, $F(2, 280) = 23.28, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=4.18$) being rated significantly higher on SH than non-verbal ones ($M=3.42$), $F(1, 140) = 51.68, p < .01$, and physical behaviors ($M=3.95$), $F(1, 140) = 3.95, p < .05$, and physical behaviors rating higher on SH than non-verbal ones, $F(1, 140) = 18.99, p < .01$. For sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, differences between categories were significant, $F(2, 280) = 8.52, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=4.78$) receiving higher sexually inappropriate behavior ratings than physical behaviors ($M=4.43$), $F(1, 140) = 10.86, p < .01$, and non-verbal behaviors ($M=4.84$) rating higher on sexually inappropriate behavior than physical ones, $F(1, 140) = 13.27, p < .01$, but with no significant difference between verbal and non-verbal behavior sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, $F(1, 140) = .31, p = .58$. For sexual coercion ratings, differences between categories were significant, $F(2, 280) = 17.01, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=2.64$) receiving significantly higher sexual coercion ratings than non-verbal behaviors ($M=2.26$), $F(1, 140) = 16.64, p < .01$, but not physical behaviors ($M=2.79$), $F(1, 140) = 3.38, p = .07$, and with physical behaviors receiving higher sexual coercion ratings than non-verbal ones, $F(1, 140) = 26.42, p < .01$. For ratings of gender prejudice, the differences

between categories were significant, $F(2, 280) = 133.58, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=4.89$) being rated significantly higher on gender prejudice than non-verbal ones ($M=3.36$), $F(1, 140) = 173.24, p < .01$, and physical behaviors ($M=3.43$), $F(1, 140) = 205.15, p < .01$, while non-verbal and physical behaviors did not significantly differ on ratings of gender prejudice, $F(1, 140) = .40, p = .53$. For sexual misconduct ratings, the effect of category was not significant, $F(2, 280) = 1.09, p = .34$.

Blatant Behavior Contrasts

Differences between categories were significant for SH ratings, $F(2, 270) = 26.01, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=5.75$) being rated significantly higher on SH than non-verbal ones ($M=5.40$), $F(1, 135) = 12.74, p < .01$, but significantly lower than physical behaviors ($M=6.06$), $F(1,135) = 19.68, p < .01$, which were also rated higher on SH than non-verbal ones, $F(1,135) = 41.00, p < .01$, a different pattern of comparisons than the one observed for mild behaviors. For sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, differences between categories were significant, $F(2,270) = 14.37, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=5.90$) receiving significantly lower sexually inappropriate behavior ratings than physical behaviors ($M=6.30$), $F(1, 135) = 26.52, p < .01$ and non-verbal behaviors ($M=6.22$), $F(1, 135) = 12.69, p < .01$, which were not significantly different from each other, $F(1,135) = 1.34, p = .25$, the opposite direction of findings for mild behaviors. For sexual coercion ratings, differences between categories were significant, $F(2,270) = 50.78, p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=4.35$) receiving significantly higher sexual coercion ratings than non-verbal behaviors ($M=3.65$), $F(1,135) = 50.44, p < .01$, but significantly lower sexual coercion ratings than physical behaviors ($M=4.66$), $F(1,135) = 9.24, p < .01$, and with physical behaviors receiving higher sexual coercion ratings than non-verbal ones,

$F(1,135) = 89.61$, $p < .01$, a different pattern than was observed for mild behaviors. For ratings of gender prejudice, the differences between categories were significant, $F(2,270) = 14.09$, $p < .01$, with verbal behaviors ($M=5.07$) being rated significantly higher on gender prejudice than non-verbal ones ($M=4.57$), $F(1,135) = 19.89$, $p < .01$, and physical behaviors ($M=4.56$), $F(1,135) = 20.69$, $p < .01$, while non-verbal and physical behaviors did not significantly differ on ratings of gender prejudice, $F(1,135) = .01$, $p = .96$, the same pattern of differences that was found for mild behaviors. For blatant behaviors, the effect of category on sexual misconduct ratings did emerge as significant, $F(2,270) = 33.33$, $p < .01$, unlike when analyzing mild behaviors, with verbal behaviors ($M=5.35$) receiving significantly lower ratings on sexual misconduct than physical behaviors ($M=6.10$), $F(1,135) = 58.95$, $p < .01$, and non-verbal behaviors ($M=5.68$), $F(1,135) = 15.27$, $p < .01$, which were in turn significantly different from one another, $F(1,135) = 20.08$, $p < .01$. This conflicting pattern of results provides support for the hypothesis that there is not necessarily a linear hierarchy of what specific behaviors are more likely to constitute general sexual harassment.

H2: Less ambiguous, more explicit behaviors will be more likely to be rated as various forms of general sexual harassment, including more severe categories of general sexual harassment (SH, sexual misconduct, sexual coercion).

It was conceptualized that more ambiguous behaviors (comments, jokes, shoulder touches, terms of endearment) would be less likely to be rated as various forms of general sexual harassment than more explicit behaviors (kissing, groping). Returning to Table 2, we can see that there is partial support for this hypothesis: while grope is consistently the highest rated behavior on SH, sexual misconduct, and sexual coercion, which supports the hypothesis, sexual comment,

which was originally conceptualized as “ambiguous”, consistently comes in close second as the second highest behavior rated on SH, sexual misconduct, and sexual coercion . Additionally, while kissing was consistently rated as constituting general sexual harassment for SH and sexual misconduct, so was the originally ambiguously deemed dirty joke (again, see Table 2). However, adding partial support to the hypothesis, the ambiguous behaviors of shoulder touching and using terms of endearment were consistently not rated as constituting various forms of general sexual harassment . To explore this issue more directly, pooling across all conditions (including extremity this time), one-factor (behavior: comment, joke, shoulder touch, term of endearment, kiss, grope) between-subjects MANOVAs with contrasts were conducted to analyze these six specific behavior type’s impacts on various general sexual harassment ratings.

First, the explicit behaviors of groping ($M=5.96$) and kissing ($M=5.07$) were individually compared to the average of the four ambiguous behaviors, with differences in SH ratings being statistically significant ($p < .01$) for both comparisons, $F(1, 276) = 209.57$ and 18.18 , respectively. Next, the ambiguous behaviors that ranked relatively high on SH, joke ($M=4.94$) and comment ($M=5.70$) were individually compared to the average of the explicit behaviors to test whether they did in fact differ significantly from explicit behaviors on SH ratings, and they did, with $F(1, 276) = 31.04$, $p < .01$ and $F(1, 276)= 4.48$, $p < .05$, respectively. However, behaviors within the original conception of ambiguous behaviors also significantly differ from one another: for instance, out of the two lowest sexually harassing behaviors, terms of endearment ($M=4.21$) elicit significantly higher SH ratings compared to touching on the shoulder ($M=2.93$), $F(1, 276) = 7.23$, $p < .01$, signifying these behaviors may not actually fall into the same conceptual category.

This same analysis was conducted for sexual coercion ratings. Again, the explicit behaviors of groping ($M=4.04$) and kissing ($M=3.95$) were individually compared to the average of the four ambiguous behaviors, with differences in sexual coercion ratings being statistically higher ($p < .01$) for the explicit behaviors as compared to the average of ambiguous behaviors for both comparisons, $F(1, 276)= 54.55$ and 42.80 , respectively. Next, ambiguous behaviors sexual joke ($M=3.61$) and sexual comment ($M=4.02$) were each compared against the average of the explicit behaviors, however only sexual jokes significantly differed from grope and kiss in sexual coercion ratings, $F(1, 276)= 13.34$, $p < .01$, while comments did not, $F(1, 276) = .057$, $p = .81$. Opposite of the direction found for SH ratings, shoulder touching ($M=3.13$) elicited significantly higher ratings of sexual coercion than using terms of endearment ($M=2.80$), $F(1, 276) = 11.62$, $p < .01$. For sexual misconduct ratings, groping ($M=5.94$) and kissing ($M=5.25$) both individually garnered significantly higher sexual misconduct ratings ($p < .01$) than the averaged ambiguous behaviors they were being compared against $F(1,276) = 302.57$ and 70.40 , respectively. Again, sexual jokes ($M=4.78$) and comments ($M=5.37$) were conversely compared against averaged explicit behaviors, each one garnering lower sexual misconduct ratings, $F(1,276) = 59.45$, $p < .01$ and $F(1,276) = 5.83$, $p < .05$, respectively. When it came to sexual misconduct ratings, touching on the shoulder did not significantly differ from using terms of endearment, unlike previous ratings, $F(1,276) = .43$, $p = .51$. For sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, groping ($M=6.17$) and kissing ($M=5.48$) also both individually garnered significantly higher sexually inappropriate behavior ratings ($p < .01$) than the averaged ambiguous behaviors they were being compared against $F(1,276)= 176.17$ and 19.64 , respectively. Similarly, to ratings of sexual coercion, only sexual jokes ($M=5.74$) significantly differed from the average of grope and kiss

in sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, $F(1,276) = 5.98, p < .05$, while sexual comments ($M=5.95$) did not, $F(1,276) = 2.43, p = .12$. And similar to sexual misconduct ratings, touching on the shoulder did not again significantly differ from using terms of endearment, $F(1,276) = .38, p = .54$. Lastly, when it came to gender prejudice ratings, the opposite pattern occurred: groping ($M=4.35$) and kissing ($M=4.06$) both garnered significantly *lower* gender prejudice ratings ($p < .01$) than the averaged ambiguous behaviors they were being compared against, $F(1,276) = 9.19$ and 38.53 , respectively. Meanwhile, sexual jokes ($M=5.39$) and comments ($M=4.87$) were conversely compared against averaged explicit behaviors, each one explicitly significantly *higher* gender prejudice ratings ($p < .01$), $F(1,276) = 115.62$ and $F(1,276) = 46.59$, respectively. For gender prejudice ratings, terms of endearment ($M=4.67$) elicited higher responses than shoulder touching ($M=3.54$), $F(1,276) = .99.63, p < .01$. Thus, there is support for the hypothesis that one group of behaviors consistently elicits lower or higher general sexual harassment ratings based on being more or less ambiguous, though this pattern is dependent on scale of measure.

H3: Blatant versions of all behaviors will be more likely to be labeled as various forms of general sexual harassment than mild versions.

To test this hypothesis, both multivariate and univariate tests were run to examine the impact of extremity of behavior on general sexual harassment ratings. It should be noted that in this analysis and all future ones, whenever the control condition was included in the analysis, extremity and all its corresponding interactions were not analyzed. This is due to the fact that while the control condition could vary in setting and presence of others, if there was no behavior to manipulate the extremity of, such as in the control condition, there can be no extremity effect

to analyze. Instances where this situation applied are left as an “X” in all summary tables.

Starting with multivariate testing, a 2 (between-subjects extremity: mild, blatant) x 9 (within-subjects behavior: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, porn display, ogling, kiss, grope) mixed-factor MANOVA was run for each of the general sexual harassment rating scales: SH, sexual coercion, sexual misconduct, sexually inappropriate behavior, and gender prejudice. The specific *F*-values and their corresponding *p*-values for these tests can be found in column two in Tables 3-7, however for brevity’s sake here it will just be noted that the two-way interaction of extremity condition and behavior type was significant at a $p < .001$ level for all general sexual harassment scales. Further mixed-factor tests run to analyze this interaction include a 2 (extremity) x 8 (sexual behaviors) MANOVA that drops the control condition out of the analysis to exclude the possibility that this condition was driving the differences between behaviors, however the two-way interaction remained significant at $p < .001$ for all scales. Additionally, the previously calculated categorical variables of verbal, non-verbal, and physical behaviors were also input as a three-level within-subject variable and subjected to a MANOVA, which, like its eight and nine level counterparts remained significant at $p < .001$ for all behavior by extremity interactions across general sexual harassment rating scales.

Table 3. Sexual Harassment Mixed MANOVA Within Subject Behavior Effects (F-Ratios) for Behavior (B), Extremity (E), Setting (S), and Presence of Others (P)

	B	B x E	B x S	B x P	B x E x S	B x E x P	B x S x P	B x E x S x P
2 Level: Control, Avg Sexual Behaviors	1324.19***	X	3.00⁺	0.11	X	X	0.51	X
9 Level: Sexual Behaviors + Control	298.84***	32.6***	1.25	0.49	1.17	1.34	0.65	1.28
8 Level: Individual Sexual Behaviors	84.08***	21.53***	0.96	0.55	1.27	1.48	0.68	1.36
3 Level: Verbal, Physical, Non-Verbal	40.78***	8.05***	0.38	0.81	2.32	0.82	1.43	3.37*

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ⁺ $p < .10$

Table 4. Sexual Misconduct Mixed MANOVA Within Subject Behavior Effects (F-Ratios) for Behavior (B), Extremity (E), Setting (S), and Presence of Others (P)

	B	B x E	B x S	B x P	B x E x S	B x E x P	B x S x P	B x E x S x P
2 Level: Control, Avg Sexual Behaviors	1371.45***	X	3.82*	0.08	X	X	0.29	X
9 Level: Sexual Behaviors + Control	305.97***	27.54***	2.00*	1.08	2.46**	1.79⁺	0.74	1.92*
8 Level: Individual Sexual Behaviors	78.49***	31.33***	1.68	1.23	2.74**	2.02*	0.82	1.90⁺
3 Level: Verbal, Physical, Non-Verbal	15.66***	14.89***	1.40	3.14*	6.31***	0.33	1.63	1.54

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ⁺ $p < .10$

Table 5. Sexually Inappropriate Behavior Mixed MANOVA Within Subject Behavior Effects (F-Ratios) for Behavior (B), Extremity (E), Setting (S), and Presence of Others (P)

	B	B x E	B x S	B x P	B x E x S	B x E x P	B x S x P	B x E x S x P
2 Level: Control, Avg Sexual Behaviors	2052.19***	X	1.82	0.14	X	X	0.76	X
9 Level: Sexual Behaviors + Control	425.98***	38.25***	1.98*	1.60	1.78⁺	1.46	0.77	1.86⁺
8 Level: Individual Sexual Behaviors	75.58***	32.86***	2.02*	1.83⁺	2.05*	1.26	0.80	2.04**
3 Level: Verbal, Physical, Non-Verbal	4.89***	17.46***	1.58	4.27**	1.88	0.54	0.58	4.13**

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ⁺ $p < .10$

Table 6. Sexual Coercion Mixed MANOVA Within Subject Behavior Effects (F-Ratios) for Behavior (B), Extremity (E), Setting (S), and Presence of Others (P)

	B	B x E	B x S	B x P	B x E x S	B x E x P	B x S x P	B x E x S x P
2 Level: Control, Avg Sexual Behaviors	452.55***	X	2.09	1.46	X	X	0.78	X
9 Level: Sexual Behaviors + Control	127.01***	29.14***	0.75	1.18	0.24	0.66	1.15	1.17
8 Level: Individual Sexual Behaviors	49.61***	32.37***	0.53	1.04	0.26	0.74	1.11	1.19
3 Level: Verbal, Physical, Non-Verbal	63.58***	6.06***	0.15	1.52	0.14	0.04	1.73	2.84⁺

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ⁺ $p < .10$

Table 7. Gender-Based Prejudice Mixed MANOVA Within Subject Behavior Effects (F-Ratios) for Behavior (B), Extremity (E), Setting (S), and Presence of Others (P)

	B	B x E	B x S	B x P	B x E x S	B x E x P	B x S x P	B x E x S x P
2 Level: Control, Avg Sexual Behaviors	867.44***	X	0.01	0.00	X	X	0.49	X
9 Level: Sexual Behaviors + Control	204.54***	15.56***	1.14	0.95	1.61	0.62	1.01	0.78
8 Level: Individual Sexual Behaviors	60.65***	16.00***	1.36	1.15	1.88⁺	0.75	1.10	0.85
3 Level: Verbal, Physical, Non-Verbal	113.75***	29.51***	0.41	1.64	4.36**	0.63	0.54	0.48

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ⁺ $p < .10$

Significant two-way interactions were then followed up with univariate testing to examine between-subjects effects at each level of behavior. To analyze the effect of extremity on general sexual harassment ratings of each behavior, a one-way ANOVA was conducted for each behavior with extremity as the two level between-subjects factor. Ratings of general sexual

harassment were significantly higher (all at the $p < .001$ level) in the blatant versions of all eight sexual behaviors for SH, sexual misconduct, sexual coercion, and sexually inappropriate behavior (see Tables 8-11 for means and mean differences for each behavior according to extremity condition in the Extremity column). gender prejudice ratings were significantly higher ($p < .001$) in the blatant version of most, but not all, behaviors: sexual comments ($F(1,75) = .02, p = .88$), jokes ($F(1,175) = 1.37, p = .24$), and terms of endearment ($F(1,275) = 2.06, p = .15$) failed to exhibit significant differences in gender prejudice ratings between mild and blatant versions, however means are in the predicted direction (higher in blatant condition) for sexual jokes and terms of endearment (see Table 12). As can be seen by the highlighted cells in Tables 8-12, almost all (if not all) behaviors in the blatant extremity condition for every rating scale with the exception of sexual coercion fell above the “unsure” midpoint of the scaling, meaning that on average, blatant behaviors were almost always seen as constituting various forms of general sexual harassment (with the exception of sexual coercion, more on this in the discussion). Thus, strong support is provided for Hypothesis 3.

Table 8. Sexual Harassment Ratings: Between Subject Effects (Means, Mean Differences, Simple Effects, Interactions)

	Extremity (E)			Setting (S)			Presence of Others (P)			$S_{blatant}$	S_{mild}	$E \times S$	$P_{blatant}$	P_{mild}	$E \times P$	$P_{workplace}$	P_{bar}	$S \times P$
	Blatant	Mild	Diff	Work	Ext	Diff	Alone	Group	Diff	SE	SE	$S_{DiffB} - S_{DiffM}$	SE	SE	$P_{DiffB} - P_{DiffM}$	SE	SE	$P_{DiffW} - P_{DiffB}$
Grope	5.23	3.97	1.26***	6.01	5.90	0.11	5.82	6.09	-0.26	6.57	5.37	0.48	6.57	5.37*	0.49	6.01	5.90*	0.42
Comment	6.15	5.26	0.89***	5.77	5.61	0.16	5.62	5.77	-0.15	6.15*	5.26	0.66*	6.15*	5.26	-0.22	5.77	5.61	0.48
Kiss	6.40	3.79	2.61***	5.26	4.85	0.42*	4.99	5.14	-0.15	6.40	3.79	0.13	6.40	3.79	0.37	5.26	4.85	0.26
Joke	5.71	4.21	1.50***	5.10	4.77	0.33	4.79	5.09	-0.31	5.71*	4.21	0.45	5.71*	4.21	-0.31	5.10	4.77*	0.56
Ogling	6.57	5.37	1.20***	4.64	4.53	0.12	4.56	4.62	-0.06	5.23	3.97	0.18	5.40	3.06	0.40	4.64	4.53	0.56
Endearment	5.40	3.06	2.33***	4.28	4.13	0.15	4.02	4.39	-0.38	5.38*	3.06	1.00*	5.57	2.87	0.14	4.28	4.13*	0.4
Porn	5.57	2.87	2.71***	4.38	3.98	0.39	4.13	4.26	-0.14	5.57	2.87	0.23	5.23	3.97	0.07	4.38	3.98*	1.13*
Shoulder	5.21	2.70	2.51***	4.18	3.64	0.55*	3.89	3.97	-0.08	5.21	2.70*	-0.12	5.21	2.70	-0.31	4.18	3.64	0.45
Control	X	X	X	1.23	1.29	-0.06	1.19	1.32	-0.14	X	X	X	X	X	X	1.23	1.29*	0.25
Verbal Avg	5.75	4.18	1.57***	5.05	4.84	0.21	4.81	5.08	-0.27	5.75**	4.18	0.70*	5.75*	4.18	-0.13	5.05	4.84*	0.48
Physical Avg	6.06	3.95	2.11***	5.15	4.79	0.36*	4.90	5.06	-0.16	6.06*	3.95	0.16	6.05	3.95	0.18	5.15	4.79	0.38
Non-Verb Avg	5.40	3.42	1.98***	4.51	4.26	0.25	4.34	4.44	-0.10	5.40	3.42	0.21	5.40	3.42	0.01	4.51	4.26*	0.85*
Overall Avg SH	5.28	3.60	X	4.54	4.30	X	4.33	4.52	X	5.78	3.90	X	5.78	3.90	X	4.54	4.30	X

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ + $p < .10$. Highlighted cells indicate ratings that fall past the “unsure” midpoint on the rating scales, indicating that on average, it was agreed upon that this behavior constituted that form of GSH. Under 4.50 rounded down, over rounded up.

Table 9. Sexual Misconduct Ratings: Between Subject Effects (Means, Mean Differences, Simple Effects, Interactions)

	Extremity (E)			Setting (S)			Presence of Others (P)			S _{blatant}	S _{mild}	E x S	P _{blatant}	P _{mild}	E x P	P _{workplace}	P _{bar}	S x P
	Blatant	Mild	Diff	Work	Ext	Diff	Alone	Group	Diff	SE	SE	S _{DifFB} - S _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFB} - P _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFW} - P _{DifFB}
Grope	6.52	5.38	1.15***	6.01	5.86	0.15	5.87	6.00	-0.13	6.52	5.38	0.07	6.52	5.38⁺	0.44	6.01	5.86	0.42
Comment	5.80	4.97	0.83***	5.51	5.20	0.31	5.40	5.34	0.06	5.79*	4.97	0.70⁺	5.79	4.97	0.34	4.99	4.53	0.62
Kiss	6.49	4.05	2.44***	5.47	4.99	0.47*	5.11	5.37	-0.26	6.49	4.05*	-0.37	6.49	4.05⁺	0.44	4.14	3.74	0.54
Porn	5.84	3.97	1.87***	5.19	4.54	0.65**	4.96	4.81	0.15	5.84	3.97**	-0.46	5.84	3.97	-0.28	5.19⁺	4.54	0.86⁺
Joke	5.28	4.29	0.99***	4.99	4.53	0.47*	4.67	4.88	-0.21	5.28*	4.29	0.30	5.28	4.29	-0.36	5.51	5.20⁺	0.49
Ogling	5.52	3.84	1.68***	4.83	4.47	0.37⁺	4.74	4.59	0.16	5.52	3.84	-0.02	5.52	3.84	0.26	4.83	4.47	0.45
Shoulder	5.28	2.72	2.56***	4.18	3.74	0.43⁺	3.88	4.06	-0.18	5.28	2.72*	-0.56	5.28	2.72	-0.38	4.18	3.74	0.01
Endearment	4.99	2.85	2.14***	3.91	3.90	0.01	3.79	4.01	-0.23	4.99	2.85	0.80⁺	4.99	2.85*	0.75⁺	3.91	3.90⁺	0.60
Control	X	X	X	1.24	1.26	-0.02	1.12	1.32	-0.2	X	X	X	X	X	X	1.24	1.26⁺	0.24
Verbal Avg	5.35	4.04	1.31***	4.80	4.54	0.26	4.62	4.74	-0.12	5.35*	4.04	0.60⁺	5.35	4.04	0.24	4.80	4.54	0.57
Physical Avg	6.10	4.05	2.05***	5.22	4.87	0.04*	4.96	5.15	-0.19	6.10	4.05*	-0.28	6.10	4.05	0.17	5.22	4.87	0.20
Non-Verb Avg	5.68	3.90	1.78***	5.01	4.50	0.51**	4.85	4.70	0.15	5.68	3.90**	-0.24	5.68	3.90	-0.01	5.01	4.50	0.66⁺
Average SM	5.22	3.69	X	4.59	4.28	X	4.40	4.49	X	5.71	4.01	X	5.71	4.01	X	4.44	4.14	X

Table 10. Sexually Inappropriate Behavior Ratings: Between Subject Effects (Means, Mean Differences, Simple Effects, Interactions)

	Extremity (E)			Setting (S)			Presence of Others (P)			S _{blatant}	S _{mild}	E x S	P _{blatant}	P _{mild}	E x P	P _{workplace}	P _{bar}	S x P
	Blatant	Mild	Diff	Work	Ext	Diff	Alone	Group	Diff	SE	SE	S _{DifFB} - S _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFB} - P _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFW} - P _{DifFB}
Grope	6.60	5.76	0.84***	6.17	6.18	-0.01	6.11	6.23	-0.12	6.60	5.76	0.19	6.60	5.76	0.48	6.62	6.18	0.36
Comment	6.31	5.60	0.71***	6.05	5.84	0.21	5.86	6.04	-0.18	6.31⁺	5.60	0.09	6.31	5.60	0.15	6.05	5.84	0.30
Porn	6.38	4.99	1.39***	5.92	5.38	0.54**	5.68	5.66	0.03	6.38	4.99**	-0.47	6.38	4.99	0.24	5.92	5.38	0.77*
Joke	5.74	5.42	0.32	5.70	5.43	0.26	5.38	5.76	-0.38*	5.74	5.42	0.06	5.74	5.42	-0.21	5.70	5.43*	0.55
Kiss	6.61	4.40	2.21***	5.60	5.35	0.25	5.33	5.63	-0.31	6.61	4.92	-0.01	6.61	4.40	0.69*	5.60	5.35	0.04
Ogling	6.07	4.69	1.39***	5.46	5.26	0.19	5.37	5.37	0.01	6.07	4.69	0.28	6.07	4.69	0.28	5.46	5.26	0.55
Endearment	5.65	3.32	2.33***	4.41	4.52	-0.11	4.20	4.71	-0.51*	5.65	3.32*	0.94*	5.65	3.32	0.71⁺	4.41	4.52**	0.68
Shoulder	5.70	3.14	2.56***	4.59	4.18	0.41	4.22	4.57	-0.36	5.70	3.14	-0.17	5.70	3.14	0.15	4.59	4.18**	0.78
Control	X	X	X	1.25	1.27	-0.02	1.17	1.35	-0.18⁺	X	X	X	X	X	X	1.25	1.27*	0.19
Verbal Avg	5.90	4.78	1.12***	5.39	5.26	0.13	5.15	5.50	-0.35*	5.90	4.78	0.36	5.90	4.78*	0.22	5.39	5.26**	0.51
Physical Avg	6.30	4.43	1.87***	5.45	5.24	0.21	5.22	5.48	-0.26	6.40	4.43	0.01	6.40	4.43**	0.44⁺	5.45	5.24*	0.39
Non-Verb Avg	6.22	4.84	1.38***	5.69	5.32	0.37*	5.53	5.51	0.02	6.22	4.84*	-0.09	6.22	4.84	0.26	5.69	5.32	0.66*
Average SIB	5.60	4.28	X	5.02	4.82	X	4.81	5.03	X	6.13	4.73	X	6.13	4.66	X	5.07	4.82	X

Table 11. Sexual Coercion Ratings: Between Subject Effects (Means, Mean Differences, Simple Effects, Interactions)

	Extremity (E)			Setting (S)			Presence of Others (P)			S _{blatant}	S _{mild}	E x S	P _{blatant}	P _{mild}	E x P	P _{workplace}	P _{bar}	S x P
	Blatant	Mild	Diff	Work	Ext	Diff	Alone	Group	Diff	SE	SE	S _{DifFB} - S _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFB} - P _{DifFM}	SE	SE	P _{DifFW} - P _{DifFB}
Grope	4.61	3.48	1.13***	4.12	3.94	0.18	4.10	3.97	0.13	4.61	3.48	-0.21	4.61	3.48	-0.17	4.12	3.13	-0.27
Comment	4.61	3.45	1.16***	4.15	3.87	0.28	4.07	3.97	0.10	4.61	3.45	0.12	4.61	3.45	0.14	4.15	3.87	-0.07
Kiss	5.27	2.69	2.58***	4.14	3.74	0.39	3.82	4.09	-0.27	5.27	2.69	0.23	5.27	2.69⁺	0.42	4.14	3.74⁺	0.54
Joke	4.99	2.28	2.72***	3.71	3.50	0.21	3.62	3.60	0.02	4.99	2.28	0.12	4.99	2.28	-0.33	3.71	3.50	-0.15
Shoulder	4.10	2.21	1.89***	3.22	3.04	0.18	3.07	3.19	-0.12	4.10	2.21	0.13	4.10	2.21	0.02	3.22	3.04	-0.08
Porn	4.04	2.15	1.90***	3.22	2.92	0.29	3.16	3.01	0.15	4.04	2.15	0.18	4.04	2.15	-0.05	3.21	2.92	-0.63
Ogling	3.26	2.37	0.89***	2.82	2.78	0.04	2.90	2.71	0.19	3.26	2.37	0.12	3.26	2.37	0.25	2.82	2.78	0.27
Endearment	3.43	2.18	1.25***	4.28	4.13	0.15	2.82	2.78	0.03	3.43	2.18	0.31	3.43	2.18	0.35	2.83	2.76	0.12
Control	X	X	X	1.36	1.28	0.09	1.22	1.42	-0.20⁺	X	X	X	X	X	X	1.28	1.36**	0.45*
Verbal Avg	4.35	2.64	1.71***	3.56	3.37	0.19	3.50	3.45	0.05	4.35	2.64	0.18	4.35	2.64	0.05	3.56	3.37*	-0.03
Physical Avg	3.65	2.26	1.39***	3.02	2.85	0.17	3.03	2.86	0.17	4.66	2.79	0.05	4.66	2.79	0.09	3.82	3.57	0.06
Non-Verb Avg	4.66	2.79	1.87***	3.82	3.57	0.25	3.66	3.75	-0.09	3.65	2.26	0.15	3.65	2.26	0.09	3.02⁺	2.85	0.45
Average SC	3.96	2.45	X	3.28	3.10	X	3.20	3.19	X	4.29	2.60	X	4.29	2.60	X	3.27	3.01	X

Table 12. Gender Based Prejudice: Between Subject Effects (Means, Mean Differences, Simple Effects, Interactions)

	Extremity (E)			Setting (S)			Presence of Others (P)			S _{blatant}	S _{mild}	E x S	P _{blatant}	P _{mild}	E x P	P _{workplace}	P _{bar}	S x P
	Blatant	Mild	Diff	Work	Ext	Diff	Alone	Group	Diff	SE	SE	S _{DiffB} - S _{DiffM}	SE	SE	P _{DiffB} - P _{DiffM}	SE	SE	P _{DiffW} - P _{DiffB}
Joke	5.52	5.26	0.26	5.51	5.25	0.26	5.30	5.48	-0.19	5.52*	5.26	0.83*	5.52	5.26	-0.60	5.51	5.25	-0.51
Comment	4.85	4.89	-0.03	4.91	4.83	0.08	4.97	4.76	0.21	4.85*	4.89	0.95*	4.85	4.89	0.47	4.91	4.83	-0.43
Endearment	4.84	4.51	0.33	4.76	4.57	0.20	4.61	4.73	-0.12	4.84	4.51	0.67	4.84	4.51	-0.03	4.76	4.57	-0.12
Grope	4.86	3.85	1.01***	4.32	4.38	-0.06	4.38	4.31	0.07	4.86	3.85	-0.17	4.86	3.85	0.14	4.32	4.38	-0.04
Ogling	4.54	3.93	0.61**	4.24	4.22	0.02	4.10	4.36	-0.26	4.54	3.93	0.52	4.54	3.93	-0.09	4.24	4.22	0.00
Kiss	4.59	3.55	1.04***	4.19	3.91	0.28	4.05	4.07	-0.02	4.59	3.55	-0.02	4.59	3.55	0.03	4.19	3.91	0.45
Porn	4.60	2.79	1.80***	3.78	3.57	0.21	3.62	3.74	-0.12	4.60	2.79	0.29	4.60	2.79	-0.27	3.78	3.57	0.05
Shoulder	4.23	2.87	1.36***	3.78	3.26	0.53*	3.63	3.44	0.18	4.23	2.87*	-0.05	4.23	2.87	-0.03	3.78	3.26	0.51
Control	X	X	X	1.43	1.26	0.17	1.33	1.36	-0.03	X	X	X	X	X	X	1.43	1.26	0.40*
Verbal Avg	5.07	4.89	0.18	5.06	4.88	0.18	4.96	4.99	-0.03	5.07*	4.89	0.82*	5.07	4.89	-0.35	5.06	4.88	-0.02
Physical Avg	4.56	3.42	1.14***	4.10	3.85	0.25	4.02	3.94	0.08	4.56	3.42	-0.08	4.56	3.42	-0.02	4.10	3.85	0.31
Non-Verb Avg	4.57	3.36	1.21***	4.00	3.89	0.11	3.86	4.05	-0.19	4.57	3.36	0.41	4.57	3.36	-0.18	4.00	3.89	0.03
Average GP	4.38	3.66	X	4.10	3.91	X	4.03	4.00	X	4.75	3.96	X	4.75	3.96	X	4.10	3.91	X

H4: Situations that take place in an informal, external context will be rated lower on general sexual harassment ratings than those that occur in the workplace.

Starting with multivariate testing incorporating multiple dependent variables, a 2 (between-subjects setting: workplace, external) x 9 (within-subjects behavior: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, porn display, ogling, kiss, grope) mixed-factor MANOVA was run for each of the general sexual harassment rating scales: SH, SC, SM, SIB, and gender prejudice. Similarly to the extremity analysis, mixed-factor MANOVAS were run using a few within-subjects approaches: a nine level factoring in all behavior conditions (including control), an eight level approach excluding the control condition, an analysis of the three behavioral categories (verbal, non-verbal, physical), as well as a new two level factor which averaged all sexual behaviors into one factor and compared them against the control condition for the measure being predicted. F-values and corresponding significance levels for all these analyses across rating scales can be found in column three of Tables 3-7. For sexual misconduct ratings, there was a statistically significant interaction effect between setting and behavior when analyzing behavior at two levels (control, averaged sexual behaviors), $F(1,273) = 3.83, p < .05$, such that when behaviors occurred in the workplace ($M=5.01$) sexual

misconduct ratings were higher than when behaviors occurred at the bar ($M=4.65$). Setting and behavior also had a two-way interaction when analyzing all nine behavior conditions separately, $F(8, 2152) = 2.00, p < .05$. See Table 4 for additional F - and p -values for analyses not discussed here. For sexually inappropriate behavior, the interaction of setting and behavior was also significant for the analysis of all nine behaviors, $F(8,2152) = 1.98, p < .05$, as well as the eight-level analysis of just sexual behaviors $F(7,1883) = 2.03, p < .05$. See Table 5 for additional tests and Table 10 for setting means at each behavior level consistently reflecting higher sexually inappropriate behavior ratings in workplace (vs. external) settings. For sexual harassment ratings, the interaction of behavior and setting was not significant for any of the within-subjects levels analyzed, although it was marginally significant when only two levels of behavior were analyzed, the control condition and the average of all sexual behaviors, $F(1, 273) = 3.00, p = .09$, see Table 3 for all F -values and significance levels. For both sexual coercion and gender prejudice, none of the multivariate setting by behavior interactions were significant at any level of analysis, see Tables 6 and 7 for F -values.

Next, follow up univariate testing was conducted to more closely analyze differences between setting conditions by conducting one-way ANOVAS with setting as a two level (at work, at the bar) between-subjects factor on each individual behavior, as well as on each averaged category of behavior (verbal, non-verbal, physical). The means and mean differences for each condition at each level of behavior can be found in the Setting column of each general sexual harassment scale's table, see Tables 8-12. Setting had the most significant effect on sexual misconduct ratings, with sexual misconduct ratings being significantly higher when the behavior took place in the workplace (vs. at the bar) for sexual jokes, $F(1,275) = 4.02, p < .05$, displaying

porn, $F(1,275) = 7.61, p < .01$, and kissing, $F(1,275) = 4.17, p < .05$, as well as for the physical, $F(1,275) = 3.75, p < .05$, and non-verbal, $F(1,275) = 6.71, p < .01$, categories of behaviors as a whole. Shoulder touching, $F(1,275) = 2.95, p < .10$, and ogling, $F(1,275) = 2.76, p < .10$ had marginally significant differences between setting conditions in the same direction. Setting had less of an impact on other categories of general sexual harassment. SH ratings were significantly higher in the workplace for touching on the shoulder, $F(1,275) = 4.78, p < .05$, and were marginally higher at work for kissing, $F(1,275) = 2.95, p < .10$, and as a result were also significantly higher at work for the physical behaviors category the two behaviors belong to, $F(1,275) = 3.75, p < .05$. For sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, setting had a significant effect on displaying porn, $F(1,275) = 8.08, p < .01$, and as a result, the non-verbal behavior category at large, $F(1,275) = 4.87, p < .05$. Setting influenced gender prejudice in the shoulder touching condition, with greater gender prejudice reported in the workplace condition, $F(1,275) = 5.00, p < .05$. Setting did not have a significant impact on any of the sexual coercion ratings.

Further exploration of the effect of setting on general sexual harassment ratings was done to analyze whether setting had differing impacts depending on the extremity of the behavior occurring. As a result, each behavior was subjected to a 2 (setting: work, bar) x 2 (extremity: mild, blatant) between-subjects ANOVA, with the various general sexual harassment measures serving as dependent measures. Cell means derived from these analyses were also used to calculate follow up simple effects tests which looked at the effect of setting within 1) mild and 2) blatant conditions independently for any significant two-way interactions for each general sexual harassment rating. Group means for these analyses can be found in the Simple Effects (SE) columns of Tables 8-12, as can calculated cell mean differences (in the Extremity x Setting

interaction column), as well as all the corresponding significance levels for each. Behavior categories were also subjected to the analysis but will not be discussed here, however means and significance are reported in the tables. Additionally, marginally significant interactions are highlighted in the tables but will not be discussed here.

Gender prejudice ratings were most impacted by the interaction of setting (within differing levels of extremity). For sexual jokes, there was a significant interaction between setting and behavior extremity on gender prejudice ratings, $F(1,273) = 3.76, p < .05$, see Figure 1. Within the blatant behavior condition, the behavior occurring within the workplace ($M=5.82$) resulted in significantly higher gender prejudice ratings than if it occurred at the bar ($M=5.15$), $F(1,269) = 5.35, p < .05$, however in the mild behavior condition, setting had no effect $F(1,269) = .27, p = .61$. Sexual comments also produced a significant two-way interaction between setting and extremity on gender prejudice ratings (see Figure 1), $F(1,273) = 4.60, p < .05$, however the simple effect of workplace ($M=5.11$) setting only marginally increased gender prejudice ratings compared to the bar ($M=4.55$) within the blatant behavior condition, $F(1,269) = 3.20, p < .10$, and had no significant effect within the mild behavior condition, $F(1,269) = 1.59, p = .21$. No other two-way interactions had a significant effect on gender prejudice ratings.

For SH ratings, a significant two-way interaction between setting and extremity occurred for terms of endearment, $F(1,273) = 6.18, p < .01$, see Figure 2, with behavior occurring at the workplace ($M=5.68$) within the blatant behavior condition resulting in significantly higher SH ratings, $F(1,269) = 5.06, p < .05$ than at the bar ($M=5.07$), but not significantly impacting SH within the mild condition $F(1,269) = 2.03, p = .16$. This same behavior elicited a significant two-way interaction but with a different pattern of findings for sexually inappropriate behavior

ratings, $F(1,273) = 5.36, p < .01$: setting had a significant impact on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings when terms of endearment were given in their mild forms, $F(1,269) = 4.89, p < .05$, in the opposite direction of previous findings with terms of endearment used at the bar eliciting higher sexually inappropriate behavior ratings ($M=3.64$) than when used at work ($M=3.03$). Setting did not have a significant impact in the blatant condition, $F(1,269) = 1.54, p = .22$, see Figure 2.

Figure 1. Setting by extremity two-way interactions for gender prejudice ratings of sexual jokes and comments

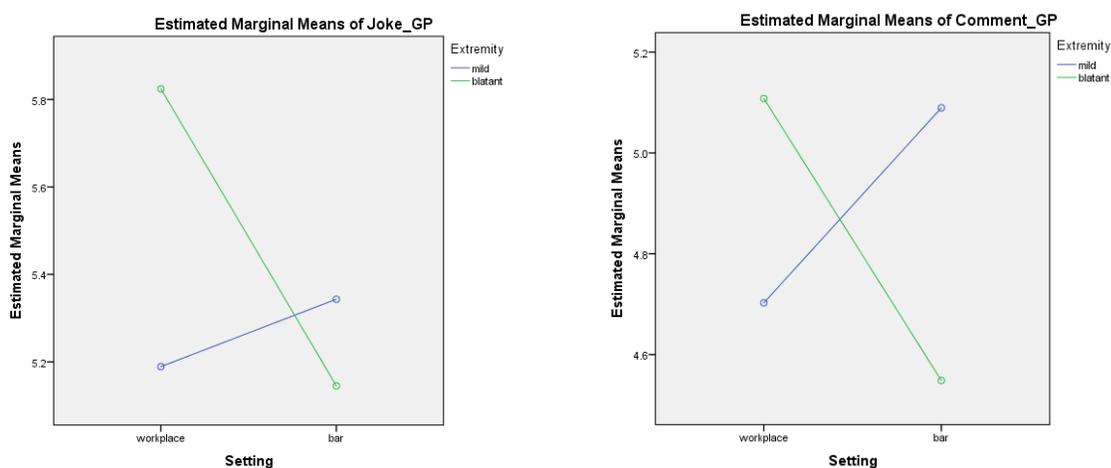
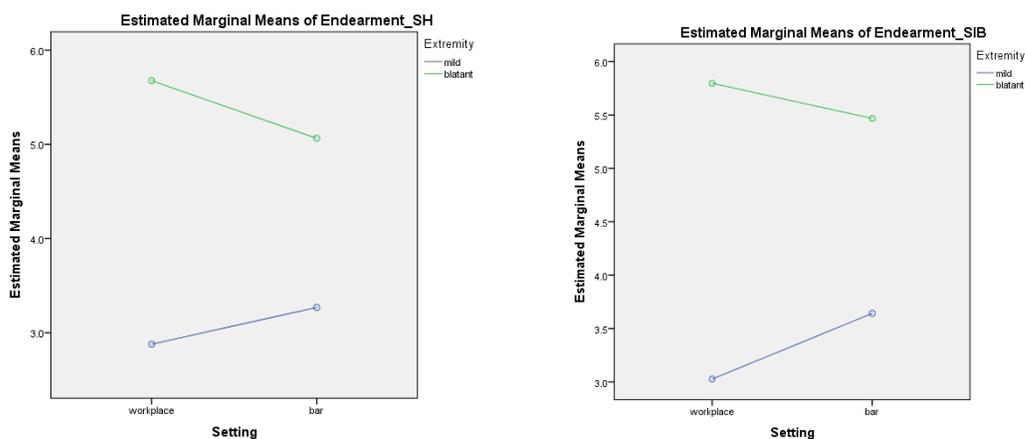


Figure 2. Setting by extremity two-way interactions for SH and SIB ratings of terms of endearment.



There were no significant two-way interactions between setting and extremity that emerged for sexual misconduct (only marginally significant ones for sexual comment and endearment) or sexual coercion ratings. Setting, analyzed alone or within extremity, seems to have highly variable impacts on general sexual harassment depending on rating type and behavior. However, the pattern of means (see Tables 8-12) almost always lean in the direction of higher general sexual harassment ratings in workplace (vs. external) settings, providing some support for the hypothesis that behaviors that occur in the workplace explicitly are seen as more likely to be general sexual harassment than those that occur outside of work. Commentary on potentially patterns and interactions with other variables will be left for the discussion section.

H5: Situations will be rated lower on various forms of general sexual harassment when there are others present.

Starting with multivariate testing incorporating multiple dependent variables, a 2 (between-subjects presence of others: alone, in a group) x 9 (within-subjects behavior: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, porn display, ogling, kiss, grope) mixed-factor MANOVA was run for each of the general sexual harassment rating scales: SH, SC, SM, SIB, and GP. Like previous analyses, mixed-factor MANOVAS were run using a few within-subjects approaches: a nine level factoring in all behavior conditions (including control), an eight level approach excluding the control condition, an analysis of the three behavioral categories (verbal, non-verbal, physical), as well as a new two level factor which averaged all sexual behaviors into one factor and compared them against the control condition for the measure being predicted. *F*-values and corresponding significance levels for all these analyses across rating scales can be found in the Presence of Others column of Tables 3-7. For

sexual misconduct ratings, the analysis for which the presence of others by behavior interaction had a significant impact on perceived sexual misconduct was the categorical one, $F(2,538) = 3.14$, $p < .05$, see Table 4 for all other F -values. However, when including extremity as a factor, the 2 (presence) x 2 (extremity) x 8 (sexual behaviors) three-way interaction also had a significant impact on sexual misconduct ratings, $F(7,1883) = 2.02$, $p < .05$, while the three-way interaction was marginally significant when including control (9 level) (see Table 4). The presence by behavior two-way interaction similarly had an impact when analyzed by behavior categories on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, $F(2,538) = 4.27$, $p < .01$, and was marginally significant when analyzing the eight levels of behavior (see Table 5), however including extremity as an interaction term did not yield any significant interaction effects. Presence did not have a significant effect on any other general sexual harassment ratings when conducting a mixed-factor multivariate analysis with behavior as a within-subjects variable.

Next, follow up univariate testing was conducted to more closely analyze differences between conditions in which others were present or the target and politician were alone by conducting one-way ANOVAS with presence of others as a two level (alone, in a group) between-subjects factor on each individual behavior, as well as on each averaged category of behavior (verbal, non-verbal, physical). The means and mean differences for each condition at each level of behavior can be found in the Presence of Others column of each general sexual harassment scale's table, see Tables 8-12. The presence of others had a significant effect on one general sexual harassment rating: sexually inappropriate behavior, where both sexual jokes, $F(1,275) = 3.72$, $p < .05$, and terms of endearment, $F(1,275) = 4.30$, $p < .05$, (and as a result, the verbal category at large) resulted in significantly different sexually inappropriate behavior

ratings based on the presence of others. However, the pattern of means is in the opposite direction of what was initially predicted: sexually inappropriate behavior is higher when others *were* present, or when the behavior occurred in a group, than when behaviors occurred while the target and politician were alone. This pattern of means holds true across all rating types, even when the effects are non-significant, as can be seen by the majority negatively valenced mean differences in the Presence of Others column of Tables 8-12. Presence did not have a significant effect on any other behaviors or rating scales at the univariate, one-way analysis level.

Further exploration of the effect of presence of others on general sexual harassment ratings was done to analyze whether being alone vs. in a group had differing impacts depending on the extremity of the behavior occurring. As a result, each behavior was subjected to a 2 (presence of others: alone, in a group) x 2 (extremity: mild, blatant) between-subjects ANOVA, with the various general sexual harassment measures serving as dependent measures. Cell means derived from these analyses were also used to calculate follow up simple effects tests which looked at the effect of presence of others within 1) mild and 2) blatant conditions independently for any significant two-way interactions for each general sexual harassment rating. Group means for these analyses can be found in the Simple Effects (SE) columns of Tables 8-12, as can calculated cell mean differences (in the Extremity x Presence interaction column), as well as all the corresponding significance levels for each. Behavior categories were also subjected to the analysis but will not be discussed here, however means and significance are reported in the tables. Additionally, marginally significant interactions are highlighted in the tables but will not be discussed here.

Like univariate analyses, the presence by extremity two-way interaction elicited significant differences in one general sexual harassment rating scale, sexually inappropriate behavior, for kiss, $F(1,273) = 3.81, p < .05$, although simple effects testing did not reveal a significant effect of presence in either mild or blatant versions of the kiss behavior for this interaction. The presence by extremity interaction was not significant for any other behaviors or rating scales, failing to provide support for the hypothesis that presence of others decreases perceptions of general sexual harassment and instead providing support for the opposite.

H6 and H7: The more public (non-workplace setting, others present) the context of the behavior is, the less likely it will be to be perceived as various forms of general sexual harassment and the more private (workplace, alone in office) the context of the behavior is, the higher it will be rated on general sexual harassment ratings, and on a wider range of them.

We have already come across some evidence against this hypothesis in the fact that general sexual harassment means are higher for conditions in which others are present, contrary to what was originally hypothesized, throwing a wrench in both predicted interactions that relied on the contrary pattern of findings for alone vs. in a group. However, to directly test this hypothesis, both multivariate and univariate tests were run to test the interaction of setting and presence of others, both with and without the extremity condition interaction term included. First, simple two-way interactions between setting and presence for each general sexual harassment rating scale will be discussed (excluding extremity), then, higher order interactions between all four variables for each rating scale will be discussed and broken down.

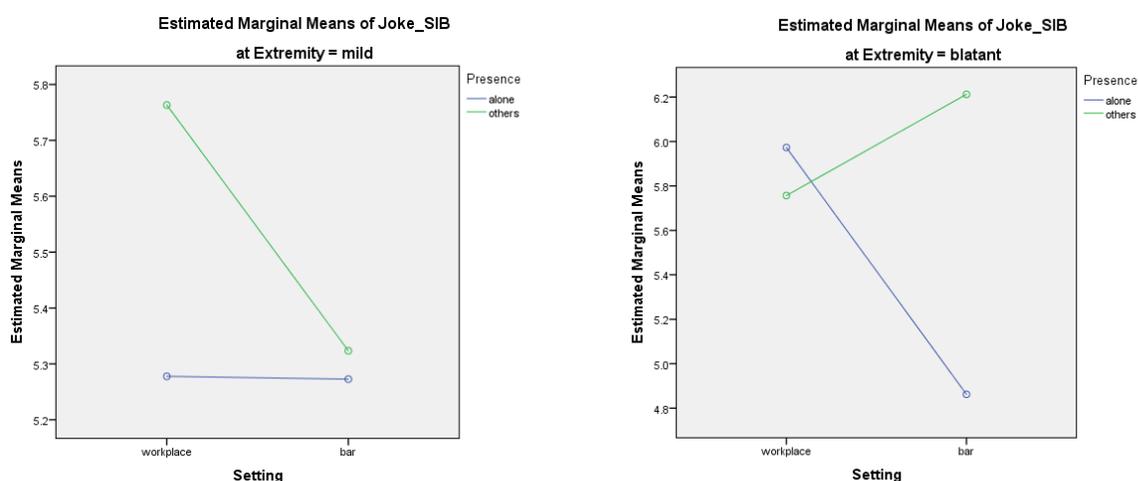
Sexually Inappropriate Behavior

Simple univariate two-way interactions between setting and presence of others for sexually inappropriate behavior ratings were carried out on each behavior and category of behaviors, this interaction came out significant only for displaying porn, $F(1,273) = 4.11, p < .05$, such that being alone in the workplace when the porn was displayed elicited higher sexually inappropriate behavior ratings ($M=6.11$) than when alone at the bar ($M=5.18$), supporting the “private” (alone x workplace) prediction of H7, however, the opposite relationship did not occur (“public”: in a group, in the bar) that was predicted by H6: being in a group at the bar ($M=5.57$) was not rated lower on sexually inappropriate behavior than being alone, however neither simple effect was significant, see Table 10. This was the only significant in two-way interaction between setting and presence of others for sexually inappropriate behavior ratings.

To analyze the full, four-way interaction, a full factorial mixed-factor MANOVA incorporating all conditions was run with each general sexual harassment rating scale as a dependent measure, using a 2 (behavior extremity: mild, blatant) x 2 (setting: work, external) x 2 (presence of others: alone, in a group) between-subjects by 9 (behaviors: control, sexual joke, sexual comment, shoulder touch, term of endearment, ogling, displaying porn, kiss, grope) within-subjects design. Like previous analyses, several differing levels of behaviors were tested, comparing controls to an average the remaining sexual behaviors, looking at just sexual behaviors, looking at the full nine levels at once, and looking at averaged behavior categories. All F -values and accompanying significance levels can be found in Tables 3-7 for those analyses not discussed here.

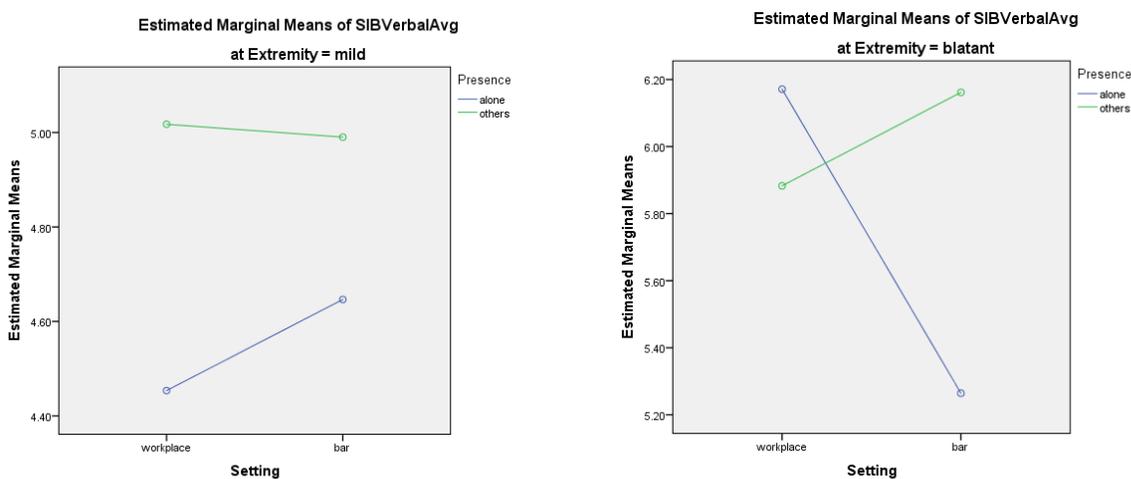
There is a significant four-way interaction between sexual behaviors (eight level factor), setting, presence of others, and behavior extremity on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, $F(7,1883) = 2.04, p < .05$. Three-way univariate ANOVAS looking at the interaction of setting, extremity, and presence of others were run on each of the eight behaviors individually to further break down this interaction. The three-way interaction had a significant impact on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings for sexual jokes, $F(1,269) = 6.48, p < .01$, plots for which can be seen in Figure 3. Evaluating the pattern of the means in line with the private (alone, at work) vs. public (in a group, at a bar) hypotheses, we see that when behavior extremity is mild, sexual jokes made in the workplace in the presence of others elicit the highest sexually inappropriate behavior ratings ($M=5.76$) while being alone doesn't change sexually inappropriate behavior ratings between the workplace ($M=5.28$) and the bar ($M=5.27$). However, when the sexual jokes are blatant, they are interpreted as being sexually inappropriate in the workplace regardless of being said in private ($M=5.97$) or in a group ($M=5.75$), but are actually taken much less seriously when *alone* at the bar ($M=4.86$) than in a group ($M=6.21$), the opposite of what was predicted.

Figure 3. Three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity for sexual jokes on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings



Additionally, there is a significant four-way interaction between behavior categories (three level factor), setting, presence of others, and behavior extremity on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, $F(2, 538) = 4.13, p < .05$. Exploring these at the univariate level of analysis, three-way ANOVAS looking at the interaction of setting, extremity, and presence of others were run on each category of behavior. The three-way interaction was significant for the verbal category of behavior, $F(1,269) = 5.57, p < .05$: when the mild version of verbal behaviors were given, sexually inappropriate behavior ratings were higher when actors in a group ($M=5.00$) regardless of setting, however in the blatant version, when actors were alone in the workplace ($M=6.17$) and when they were in a group at the bar ($M=6.16$) elicited the highest sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, while being alone at the bar elicited the lowest ratings ($M=5.26$) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity for verbal behaviors on sexually inappropriate behavior ratings



Sexual Misconduct

There were no significant two-way interactions between setting and presence for any of the behaviors on sexual misconduct ratings, although there was a marginally significant effect for porn, see Table 9, which followed the same pattern of means as the significant interaction obtained for sexually inappropriate behavior. There is also a significant four-way interaction between all behaviors (nine level factor), setting, presence of others, and behavior extremity on sexual misconduct ratings, $F(8,2152) = 1.92, p < .05$. To decompose these further, three-way (setting, presence of others, extremity) ANOVAS were conducted on each behavior. The three-way interaction had a significant effect on sexual misconduct ratings for shoulder touching, $F(1,269) = 4.99, p < .05$, such that in the mild version of the behavior, the presence of others elicited higher sexual misconduct ratings in the workplace ($M=3.24$) but lower sexual misconduct ratings at the bar ($M=2.12$), while the blatant version of the behavior elicited higher sexual misconduct ratings when actors were in a group at the bar ($M=5.61$) and lower ratings when they were alone at the bar ($M=4.80$). The three-way interaction also had an impact on use of terms of endearment, $F(1,269) = 4.77, p < .05$, so that when the term of endearment was mild, being alone ($M=2.88$) vs. in a group ($M=3.27$) followed the same pattern (see Figure 6), with higher sexual misconduct perceptions at the bar, but when the term of endearment was more blatant, sexual misconduct while alone was higher at work ($M=5.57$) but lower at the bar ($M=4.45$).

Figure 5. Three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity for touching on the shoulder on sexual misconduct ratings

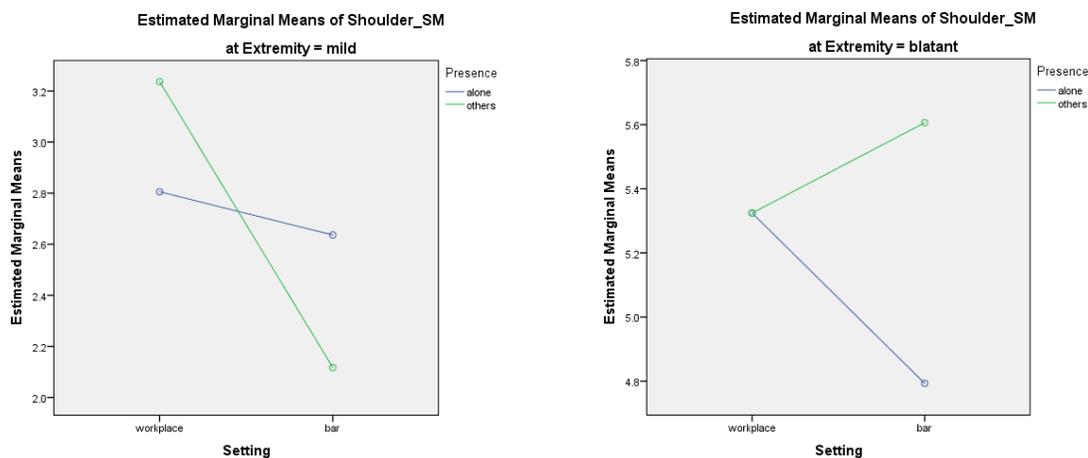
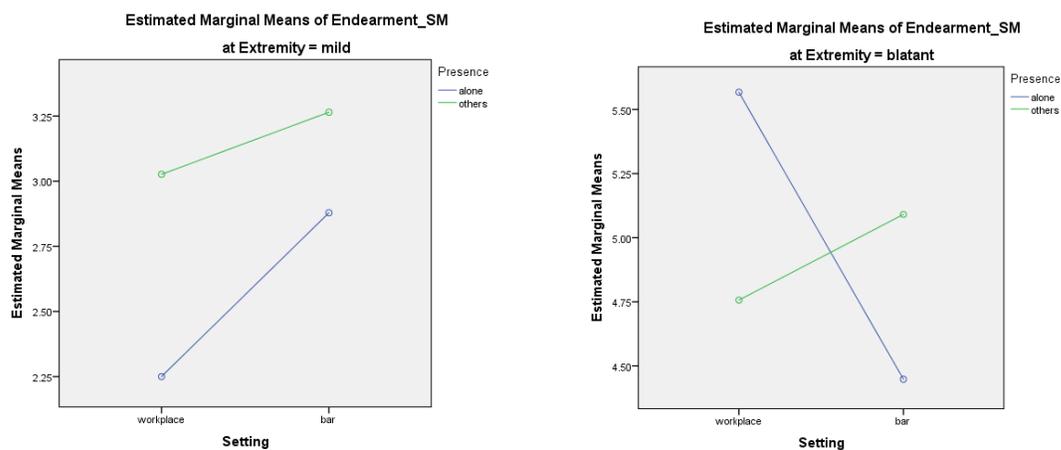


Figure 6. Three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity for terms of endearment on sexual misconduct ratings



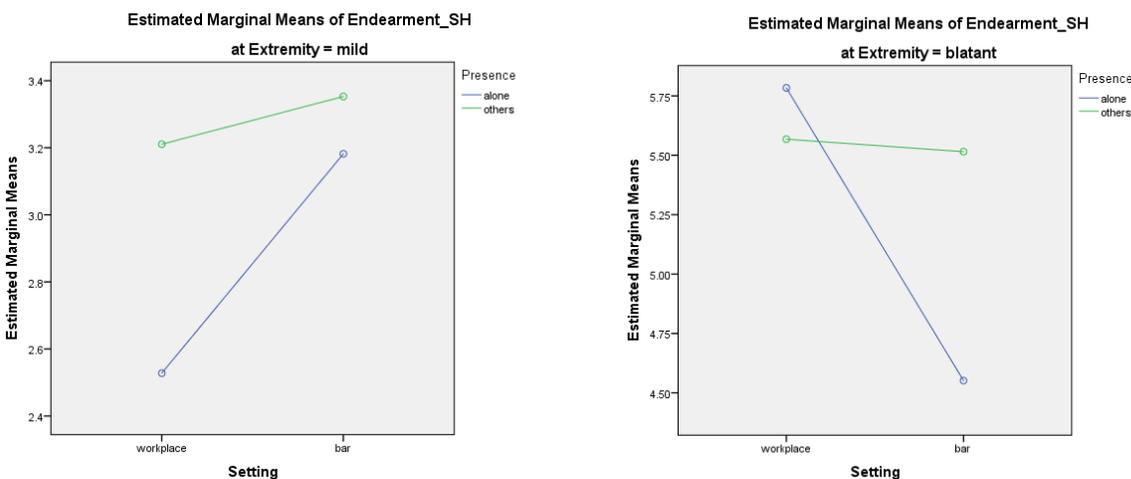
Sexual Harassment

Like in sexual misconduct and sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, there was a significant two-way interaction between setting and presence of others on displaying pornography, $F(1,273) = 4.61, p < .05$, with significant differences (see Table 8 for simple effects) emerging in the bar setting: being alone at work ($M=4.58$) resulted in higher SH ratings than being alone at the bar ($M=3.60$), which supports the “private” condition effect predicted in

H7, however like in the other general sexual harassment constructs, H6 was not supported: being in “public” (in a group in the bar) ($M=4.34$) did not lower SH perceptions.

There was also a significant four-way interaction between category of behavior (three level factor), setting, presence of others, and behavior extremity on SH ratings, $F(2,538) = 3.37$, $p < .05$. Looking at the follow-up univariate analyses, the three-way interaction of setting, presence, and extremity on SH ratings came out significant for one behavior: endearment, $F(1,269) = 4.47$, $p < .05$. When in the mild behavioral condition, differences lie in the workplace condition, with SH perceptions higher when actors are in a group ($M=3.21$) vs. alone ($M=2.53$), while in the blatant version of events, differences instead emerge at the bar, but in the same pattern, with the presence of others eliciting higher SH ratings ($M=5.52$) than being alone ($M=4.55$), see Figure 7.

Figure 7. Three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity for terms of endearment on SH ratings



No other two-way, three-way or four-way interactions involving setting and presence were significant for any of the other general sexual harassment rating scales (gender prejudice and sexual coercion) at the multivariate or univariate level. Settings and presence of others seems

to have differing effects based on the extremity of the behavior depicted, additionally, being in a public (group, bar) situation actually lead to higher general sexual harassment perceptions in many cases, contrary to the hypothesis that general sexual harassment perceptions would be higher in private (alone, at work) settings, thus, neither though there are some interaction effects between the two variables, they are not in the directions originally predicted in Hypothesis 6 and 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

The overarching goal of this study was to capture current norms held by American lay people around what constitutes sexual harassment, and under what conditions. Specifically, this study sought to explore the definitional norms around less easily identifiable, more ambiguous forms of sexually harassing behaviors affecting targets—those that by their lack of severity, are the most prevalent in workplace SH. Additionally, this study set out to test whether physical SH was always necessarily seen as “worse” than non-physical forms of harassment, or whether any clear hierarchy of behaviors emerged across the board as consistently constituting sexual harassment, regardless of situation. The present study fills a gap in the literature by directly manipulating situational variables, such as setting and presence of others, to test whether these contextual factors impact perceptions of behaviors as various forms of SH-related constructs, extended the literature beyond typical SH measures and including a probe into the distinctions between merely “sexually inappropriate behavior”, proper sexual harassment, more politically-oriented sexual misconduct, power specific sexual coercion, and gender-based prejudice at large. The results confirm that susceptibility to context occurs for more ambiguous behaviors, such as use of terms of endearment, touching on the shoulder, and making general dirty jokes, while more explicit behaviors such as sexual comments directed specifically at the target and groping are consistently rated higher on general sexual harassment measures, regardless of the situation they occur in. Additionally, while this study is generally concerned with sexual harassment

specifically, there was much greater variation in measures of perceptions of sexually inappropriate behavior and sexual misconduct, specifically, while other rating scales included in the study to address general sexual harassment seem to be entirely unrelated constructs (sexual coercion, gender-prejudice) that acted much differently than SH, sexual misconduct, and sexually inappropriate behavior. Regarding the factors manipulated, while extremity of behavior significantly impacted general sexual harassment ratings across the board, the effects of setting and presence of others were more behavior-specific and rating scale dependent. Specifically, the data suggests that while general sexual harassment perceptions are generally higher in the workplace (vs. the bar) as predicted, the presence of others actually increases perceptions of general sexual harassment, as compared to when the politician and target are alone, contrary to the original hypothesis. Additionally, analysis suggests that these two contextual factors interact in different, sometimes opposing ways depending on the behavior and specific rating being examined. Each of these findings will be discussed in the capacity they answer main research questions below.

H1: Behavior type did not form a linear hierarchy of general sexual harassment ratings.

As we saw in Table 2, physical behaviors (groping, kissing, touching on the shoulders) were not always perceived as more sexually harassing than verbal ones, and verbal behaviors were not always seen as more sexually harassing than non-verbal ones (ogling, displaying porn) when looking at individual behaviors on their own. Across sexually-oriented measures, groping and sexual comments directed at the target were consistently seen as the most egregious behaviors, highlighting that sometimes, a directed lewd comment can be perceived as more sexually harassing, wrong, coercive, and inappropriate than even something as forward as

physically kissing a coworker. When averaging behaviors into categories, the order of severity was typically verbal>physical>non-verbal across rating scales. This coincides with prior research that found verbal comments to be perceived as more controlling and eliciting more negative reactions and interpretations than touching behaviors (Dougherty et al., 1996). However, it also contradicts older research that placed more emphasis on physical, more explicit advances as always being more severe and constraining on targets than behaviors that can be “left up to interpretation”. Previous research has sorted physical vs. verbal behaviors into opposing dichotomies of SH (see Popovich et al., 1992; Terpstra & Cook, 1985; Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989), however, this is clearly not the case in the present research, where physical and verbal behaviors mutually vie for the highest general sexual harassment ratings.

There are some discrepancies of note based on which construct was being analyzed. For instance, on average, participants considered all behaviors except shoulder touches and terms of endearment to be sexual misconduct and sexually inappropriate behavior, yet while they viewed pornography as constituting sexual misconduct and being inappropriate, they did not see it as constituting SH (all other behaviors were seen as SH that were seen as sexually inappropriate behavior and sexual misconduct). This is contrary to previous research which has shown that workplaces with “centerfold” posters displayed lead to stronger perceptions of SH taking place (O’Connor et al., 2004). Another major difference among the general sexual harassment scales is that, despite most behaviors being perceived as to some extent constituting SH, sexual misconduct, and sexually inappropriate behavior, on average, none of the behaviors were seen as sexually coercive. This might be because no QPQ-like situations or behaviors were used in the present study, which intentionally focused on more ambiguous behaviors falling into the HWE

category of workplace sexual harassment. Though it was initially hypothesized that simply the implied power differential between the male politician and his direct subordinate, female staffer was enough to render situations as being seen to some degree as sexually coercive, this was not the case. These results potentially signify that sexual coercion is a concept distinct from other forms of SH, and past work has treated it as such: both Till (1980) and Fitzgerald (1995) held sexual coercion as a separate category of behaviors alongside gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention. It may be that people do not view sexual advances as coercive unless there is an explicit QPQ element, or if job-related consequences of refusal are not explicitly made salient, which they were not in the present study. Since participants failed to rate any of the behaviors as sexually coercive in the first place, this specific component of general sexual harassment will not be discussed further.

Like sexual coercion, the structure of behavior ratings on the gender prejudice measure were also completely different from other general sexual harassment ratings: exclusively verbal behaviors were seen as falling under gender-based prejudice, with a dirty joke being the most deriding behavior, while none of the physical or non-verbal behaviors were seen as specifically involving gender prejudice. Using terms of endearment was the third most gender-prejudiced behavior on average, yet terms of endearment were not on average seen as SH, sexual coercion, SH, or even sexually inappropriate behavior. This finding fits in with prior research that has found that respondents who face gender harassment in the absence of unwanted sexual attention are less likely to label their experiences as SH, which may extend to third-party observers as well (Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Holland & Cortina, 2013). Terms of endearment, then, may be seen as sexist but not necessarily sexual in nature. Similar to sexual coercion, the

unique pattern of findings for the gender prejudice measure throughout the analyses point to it as a construct completely separate from the other three general sexual harassment measures, which are more interrelated. This has already been confirmed in prior research, which often treats gender harassment as a separate category of sexual harassment (see Till's 1980 model) or as a distinct sub-category of HWE harassment alongside, but separate from, unwanted sexual attention (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). Fitzgerald and Hesson-McInnis (1989) similarly found that participants viewed the concept of gender harassment to be so distinct from other forms of SH as to not even fall into the same perceptual space, despite legal definition's inclusion of gender harassment under the umbrella of SH. However though these categories are distinct, they are not independent: a great majority of SH experiences include multiple types of behavior, often over time, and end up falling into more than a single category, with gender harassment and unwanted sexual attention frequently co-occurring, as such, gender prejudice is still a relevant construct to compare against in this study (Schneider & Swan, 1994).

H2: Less ambiguous, more explicit behaviors were more likely to be rated as more severe categories of general sexual harassment.

More "explicit behaviors" (kissing, groping) were more likely to be recognized as SH, sexual misconduct, and sexually inappropriate behavior than more ambiguous behaviors (touching on the shoulders, use of a term of endearment, making a dirty joke or a sexual comment), however they were also "less ambiguous" ambiguous behaviors, such as terms of endearment (as opposed to shoulder touching). As we already saw, the opposite was the case for gender prejudice: more explicit behaviors were less likely to be seen as gender prejudice than ambiguous ones. This may be because participants see physical advances as more clearly signs

of sexual interest, and not necessarily “sexist” in a deriding way. However more subtle behaviors (the shoulder message, calling a coworker a gendered endearment, gender-based jokes) may be seen as more closely tied to establishing dominance in a situation, being patronizing, and generally treating women in an unprofessional matter that implies their incompetence.

H3: Blatant versions of behaviors were more likely to be labeled as general sexual harassment than mild versions.

Being presented with any given behavior in the blatant (more extreme) form significantly increased general sexual harassment ratings across the board. Only in a few behaviors being rated for gender prejudice was the difference between blatant and mid versions not significant. Not only were general sexual harassment ratings significantly higher in blatant forms of behaviors, but in 58% of cases, general sexual harassment ratings flipped from “disagree” (below 4.50) to “agree” (above 4.50) between conditions, see Tables 8-12 for side-by-side comparisons in the extremity condition. Thus, over half of behaviors that were not considered to be general sexual harassment in the mild condition *were* considered to be general sexual harassment in the blatant condition. This included more “subtle” behaviors such as shoulder touching, terms of endearment, and dirty jokes, which became not-so-subtle in their blatant forms. Participants clearly discerned a difference between a handle on the shoulder and a shoulder massage, calling a female co-worker sweetheart or calling her sexy, and making a dirty joke about someone else or about the target. Thus, is not only behavior type/severity (more physical, more imposing) that matters, but also how that behavior is carried out, how “far” the behavior goes has a major impact on SH interpretations.

H4: Situations that took place in an informal, external context were rated lower on general sexual harassment ratings than those that occurred in the workplace.

Changing the setting of the interaction had a significant impact on ratings of sexually inappropriate behavior, sexual misconduct, and sexual harassment for select behaviors, it did not however significantly impact perceptions of sexual coercion or gender prejudice. Regardless of significance, all means were in the direction originally predicted: general sexual harassment ratings were higher when the behavior took place at work than when the same behavior occurred at an office party at the bar. sexual misconduct ratings were affected the most by setting, with significantly higher sexual misconduct perceptions of dirty jokes, displays of porn, and kissing (and marginally significantly higher perceptions of shoulder touching and ogling) occurring when these behaviors occurred in the workplace. Though these behaviors were slightly more accepted in the bar setting, all the behaviors except for ogling were still considered to be sexual misconduct in general in either setting. The most egregious (grope, sexual comment) and most ambiguous (endearment) behaviors were not affected by the context of setting. The results indicate that behaviors that occur at work are more likely to be considered sexual misconduct. Setting had less of an impact on other general sexual harassment perceptions. For instance, setting only significantly impacted participants' sexually inappropriate behavior perceptions of displaying porn and the mild behavioral version of endearment, and their SH perceptions of shoulder touching and the blatant form of endearment. Setting also had an impact on the gender prejudice perceptions of touching on the shoulders, and the blatant forms of sexual jokes and comments.

One explanation for setting's impact on sexual misconduct ratings (but not others), is that sexual misconduct is uniquely tied to workplace harassment. For instance: someone might sexually harass you in a bar, or they might make sexist comments or act sexually inappropriately towards you. However, you probably wouldn't, outside of a work relationship or that individual holding some type of official position, accuse someone of sexual misconduct for approaching you sexually in a bar. Accusations of, and perceptions of, sexual misconduct are uniquely tied to having an expectation of an authority figure who yields power to have *good* conduct, such a police officer, a big Hollywood producer, the head of a large corporation, or, in the case of this study, a politician. This finding, then, might be unique to the novel politician situation being tested in the present study.

H5: Situations were rated *higher*, not lower, on general sexual harassment when others were present.

The presence of others, on its own, had much less of an impact than setting as a contextual variable. Presence did not have either a main effect or an interaction effect with extremity on SH, sexual misconduct, or gender prejudice. It did, however, influence perceptions of sexually inappropriate behavior. The sexual inappropriateness of telling dirty jokes and using terms of endearment was significantly impacted by presence, however the effect was in the opposite direction of what was predicted: in both instance, the behaviors were actually seen as *more* inappropriate when they occurred in a group than if they occurred while the politician and his staff assistant were alone. This pattern of higher general sexual harassment ratings in the group condition held for 78% of behaviors when looking at sexual misconduct, sexually inappropriate behavior, SH, and gender prejudice, even when the difference was not significant,

see negative difference values in Tables 8, 9, 10, and 12. Initially, it was predicted that being alone would lead to higher general sexual harassment perceptions because the action was predicted to be seen as more implicitly coercive if it occurred in private, which might be seen as more trapping and more confining of the targets response options. We have already seen that participants did not perceive any of the behaviors to be sexual coercive, which might explain why they did not perceive the situations using this line of thought. An alternate way to view it, in light of the results, is that perhaps the behavior occurring in front of others makes it more embarrassing for the target, and therefore more inappropriate (hence why only sexually inappropriate behavior ratings were significantly affected). This explanation for the results would be backed by previous research, which has shown that behaving in a sexual manner toward a target can be an attempt at a form of public humiliation, closer to gender harassment, in which the goal is degradation instead of a private attempt to become intimate with the target (Rhodes & Stern, 1995). However, this would not explain the lack of significant impact on gender prejudice and SH ratings, which should also increase if the presence of others increased perceptions of the harassing and derogatory nature of the behavior. Why is the perception of the sexual inappropriateness of dirty jokes and terms of endearment specifically effected by the presence of a group? No conclusions can be drawn from the present research.

H6 and H7: The interactions of setting, presence of others, extremity, and behaviors.

We have already seen that presence of others is not going to play well into the initially hypothesized interactions of general sexual harassment being higher when behaviors occur in private (alone, in the politician's office) than in public (in a group, at the bar). For one behavior that consistently emerged as susceptible to the interaction of setting and presence of others,

regardless of extremity, displaying porn, general sexual harassment ratings were higher in private conditions, when actors were alone in the politician's office, as compared to all other combinations of setting and presence of others, supporting H7. However, general sexual harassment ratings were not specifically lower in public conditions, where behaviors occurred out at a bar in a group, instead the presence of others did not have much differing impact regardless of setting, thus support for H6 is lacking.

When factoring in extremity as a third variable interacting with setting and presence of others, however, more behaviors elicited significantly impacted general sexual harassment ratings, specifically, the same three behaviors showed up as repeatedly garnering a significant three-way interaction between the variables: dirty jokes, terms of endearment, and touching on the shoulder. Beginning with perceptions of sexually inappropriate behavior, dirty jokes were significantly impacted by the three-way interaction of the remaining study variables, with extremity reversing the impact of presence and setting: when the dirty joke is mild, sexually inappropriate behavior ratings are the same for work-alone, bar-alone, and bar-group conditions, however perceptions of the behavior occurring when others are present at the work elevate sexually inappropriate behavior ratings. The comparatively lower bar-group means in this case could be in line with the original hypothesis (see Figure 3). When the dirty joke is blatant, there is no difference between work-alone and work-group conditions, however being in the bar elevates perceptions of sexually inappropriate behavior when others are present but lowers them when the two actors are alone. There is no theoretical explanation for this effect, this is something that must be explored further in the future. The alone-work condition being relatively high to the alone-bar and work-group could be in line with the original hypothesis (see Figure 3).

Regardless of condition, dirty joke is rated as constituting sexually inappropriate behavior (all cell means were about 4.50, past the “unsure” midpoint of the scale).

Perceptions of sexual misconduct occurring were impacted by the three-way interaction for two behaviors: touching on the shoulder and terms of endearment. When shoulder touching is portrayed in its mild form, sexual misconduct ratings are the same for work-alone and bar-alone but are higher for being in a group at work, and lower for being in a group at the bar (this last condition matching the original hypothesis). When shoulder touching is more blatant, the pattern of means replicates that of dirty joke’s effect on sexually inappropriate behavior: there is no difference between work-alone and work-group conditions, however being in the bar elevates perceptions of sexual misconduct when others are present but lowers them when the two actors are alone. Again, the author cannot think of a logical explanation for this pattern of findings based in theory or common sense, this is an interaction that needs greater follow up. It should be noted that none of the conditions in the mild version cross over into constituting sexual misconduct, while all conditions fall into the “agree” side of the scale in the blatant version, see Figure 5. The three-way interaction effects for terms of endearment on sexual misconduct take on a totally different pattern, however. In the mild version of the endearment, the presence of others leads to generally higher sexual misconduct ratings, but there isn’t much difference between workplace and bar settings, while being alone in the workplace leads to low sexual misconduct ratings, contrary to the original hypothesis. In the blatant version, the opposite effect occurs: sexual misconduct judgements are elevated when the actors are alone at work, in line with the original prediction, while they are lowered for being alone in the bar, meanwhile, being in a group at work receiving lower sexual misconduct judgements than being in a group at the

bar, contrary to the hypothesis. Again, none of the conditions in the mild interaction are considered by participants to be sexual misconduct, while all conditions except alone at the bar do in the blatant version (see Figure 6).

One behavior's SH ratings were significantly impacted by the three-way interaction of setting, presence of others, and extremity: using terms of endearment. In the mild condition (not rated as constituting SH), replicating the findings for the same behavior on sexual misconduct ratings, the presence of others leads to generally higher SH ratings, but there isn't much difference between workplace and bar settings, while being alone in the workplace leads to low sexual misconduct ratings, contrary to the original hypothesis, and contrary to how most studies cite SH as working. In the blatant condition (rated as constituting SH), being alone leads to higher SH ratings at work, as predicted, and lower SH at the bar, while presence of others does not differ between work and bar settings (both are high, see Figure 7).

There are some takeaways from all these seemingly differing interactions. One, it is clear that movement on this level occurs only for the most ambiguous behaviors studied here: touching on the shoulder, terms of endearment, and dirty jokes (though they are not discussed explicitly here, refer back to the results to see that the effect of the three-way interaction was marginally significant for this behavior as well multiple times). This is in line with the original impetus of the study, that ambiguous behaviors, more so than explicitly sexually harassing ones, are prone to the effects of context. Two, while the full private (alone, at work) by public (in a group, at the bar) interaction never fully came out in one analysis, there was support for it in parts.

Specifically, there were higher general sexual harassment ratings when the politician and his staff assistant were alone in his office for blatant use of terms of endearment and blatant sexual

jokes. This makes sense, as letting a verbal slip happen, such as a work inappropriate joke or the use of a catcall, may be more “excusable” in the setting of an informal work event, at a bar where alcohol is assumedly being consumed, while they may seem more intentional, menacing, and implicative when exercised in a less jovial setting. However more severe behaviors, such as physical contact, blatant checking out, or directed sexual comments may be less excusable, even in this context. Additionally, general sexual harassment ratings for mild shoulder touching and mild sexual jokes displayed the other half of the predicted pattern: ratings for these behaviors were much lower when they occurred in a group setting at the office party but were high if they occurred in a group at work. This may relate to the earlier theory that directing sexual attention based on someone’s gender in a workplace context is an attempt at humiliation and power assertion, therefore increasing perceptions of general sexual harassment compared to making the same joke with no audience (supported by the fact that neither behavior changes between setting conditions in the alone condition) however when these behaviors occur in a non-formal, non-workplace context, these feelings of it as a “power move” dissipate, lowering general sexual harassment ratings. However, there were also several interactions that did not make theoretical sense, these will be discussed in the future directions section.

Limitations and Future Directions

One limitation of this study, as we just saw, is interoperability. Dealing with several four-way and many three-way interactions in the analysis, many of which had follow up simple two-way interactions and simple effects tests that were non-significant, was difficult on the front of clearly identifying and efficiently interpreting patterns. For three-way interactions that were significant, the direction of effects was often conflicting between behaviors and rating scales,

making them difficult to compare. Some effect directions directly go against decades deep research on how SH perceptions should change according to setting and group context, while others perfectly line up with a priori predictions. It should be noted that every scenario manipulated both extremity, presence of others, and setting at once, meaning there were no situations that just manipulated setting against “control” conditions of the other variables, all conditions used were of theoretical interest. As such, future research might wish to analyze these effects separately, one at a time, before delving into crossing them with each other.

Another limitation may lie in the choice of measurement. Each construct was represented with a single item Likert-scale measure, not a full validated scale of each specific construct. Future studies may wish to use full scales to tap these constructs, especially ones like sexual coercion, gender prejudice, and SH that participants may need several questions to tease out their opinions on, as a single item question might capture a failure to identify sexual coercion, gender prejudice, and SH that could be corrected by multiple opportunities to identify sexually harassing behaviors connection to these constructs. Additionally, many behavior ratings averaged around 4.0, the midpoint of the scale, making it harder to interpret whether participants on average agreed or disagreed that a behavior constituted the general sexual harassment construct of interest. Future studies in this realm should include a dichotomous measure that forces participants to choose whether they believe behaviors fall into a category of general sexual harassment, in addition to continuous measures.

Finally, since this study used a novel paradigm involving a politician perpetrator of SH, it is hard to gauge generalizability of the results. For instance, no previous research has directly manipulated SH in the context of political office, so there is no previous research to compare

these results against at that specific of a level. Additionally, as noted previously, sexual misconduct saw the most variability and interesting effects, however, sexual misconduct is a term very closely tied to politics and politician scandals, it is unclear if these same effects would emerge for the same study run using another status difference paradigm, such as a manager as a perpetrator.

Implications

The variables manipulated in this study had differing magnitudes of effect: extremity had a very large effect on how behaviors were rated on various general sexual harassment scales, setting had a selective impact, mostly limited to effects on sexual misconduct, and presence only played a part when interacting with setting. Additionally, behaviors effected by context to varying degrees were those that fell on the ambiguous end of the severity spectrum. Regardless of context, behaviors themselves did not form a clear, hierarchal structure from “most severe” physical behaviors to less severe verbal and non-verbal ones, as in previous studies, instead, direct sexual comments came out as one of the behaviors most likely to be perceived as general sexual harassment. Additionally, it was discovered that the lay American does not necessarily consider behaviors to be SH, sexual coercion , or gender prejudice just because they consider them to be sexually inappropriate behavior and sexual misconduct in a workplace relationship. The present study answers questions regarding the effects of behavior type, extremity, and setting on sexual misconduct, SH, and sexually inappropriate behavior ratings, but leaves room for further research into how setting and presence of others consistently interact within behavior extremity and across behaviors and general sexual harassment constructs. This study has taken an initial, exploratory step into manipulating these two potentially related/interdependent

contextual factors, filling a gap in the research where these constructs have only been studied separately. Additionally, it extends SH research in general to a novel, and topical, context, that of politician sexual misconduct while in office. Follow up studies are planned in order to compare politician findings against non-politician power holders in a direct and controlled manner. Additionally, several other follow up studies are already in the works that seek to manipulate other contextual factors, such as status differences, prior history of consent, number of attempts, and specific political party. Further, additional statistical analyses are planned to approach the presence by setting interaction from different methods and directions to attempt to tease apart the directions of the effects observed in the initial analysis. Though the foundation has been laid by illuminating relationships between behavior type, behavior extremity, and the relationship between different general sexual harassment constructs, how contextual factors interact beyond this need to be explored further.

APPENDIX A
STUDY MATERIALS

Instructions

In this study, you will be presented with nine different scenarios to read. These scenarios will all be similar and are hypothetical, so please pay close attention to the unique aspects of each specific scenario as you read it. The scenarios all involve United States congressmen (senators and representatives of the house), all of whom are required to run offices out of Washington, DC to carry out their congressional duties, and who typically maintain a large personal staff such as legislative assistants, communications directors, and press secretaries to do so. Part of their congressional duties also involve meetings with fellow legislators in the senate and house of representatives to discuss legislation.

You will be reading about potential interactions that may occur between congressmen and the various people they interact with over the course of their job. After each scenario is described, you will be asked to answer a series of questions about that specific scenario before proceeding to the next one. Please make sure to keep in mind the details of that specific scenario when making judgements.

Scenarios

Workplace x Alone

No touch/no comment: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman listens from across his desk.

Dirty sexual joke mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman jokes to her that he wonders if the fellow legislator he is arguing with over the proposal is as difficult to deal with in the bedroom as she is on the senate floor.

Dirty sexual joke blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman makes a joke that she should “take one for the team” and sleep with a legislator whose vote he’s trying to swing in his favor on the proposal.

Sexual comment directed at target mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman shows her pictures from a recent beach vacation he took. As he goes through them the congressman remarks, “You know, I bet you would look good in one of those bikinis.”

Sexual comment directed at target blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman says “forget that” and starts asking her questions about her sex life. He asks “if she likes sex” and “what kind of positions she prefers”.

Shoulder touch mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman places his hand on her shoulder briefly as he listens.

Shoulder touch blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman starts massaging her shoulders with both hands as he listens.

Grope mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the staff assistant paces the room reading the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman's hand brushes against the staff assistant's butt as she passes.

Grope blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the staff assistant paces the room reading the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman grabs the staff assistant on the butt as she passes.

Kiss mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the cheek.

Kiss blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the mouth and slips her some tongue.

Pornography mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the staff assistant paces the room reading the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, she inadvertently glimpses the congressman's open laptop screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up.

Pornography blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the staff assistant paces the room reading the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman shows her his phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up, as he asks "what do you think of *that*?"

Term of endearment mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman says, “thanks sweetheart.”

Term of endearment blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, the congressman says, “thanks sexy.”

Non-verbal/non physical mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the staff assistant paces the room reading the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, she notices the congressman giving her a long look up and down.

Non-verbal/non physical blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from the common co-working area where multiple office staff are working into his private office to review notes the staff assistant took on a recent briefing she accompanied him to outside the workplace. As the assistant is summarizing the information from the proposal briefing out loud from her notes, she notices the congressman leaning over her and looking down her shirt.

Outside of Work x Others Present

No touch/no comment: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, the congressman listens along with the rest of the group.

Dirty sexual joke mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman makes a joke that he wonders if the fellow legislator he is currently arguing with over a proposal is as difficult to deal with in the bedroom as she is on the senate floor.

Dirty sexual joke blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman makes a joke that she should “take one for the team” and sleep with a legislator whose vote he’s trying to swing in his favor on a proposal.

Sexual comment directed at target mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman is showing everyone pictures from a recent beach vacation he took. As he goes through them the congressman remarks to his staff assistant, “You know, I bet you would look good in one of those bikinis.”

Sexual comment directed at target blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, the congressman says “forget that” and starts asking her questions about her sex life. He asks “if she likes sex” and “what kind of positions she prefers”.

Shoulder touch mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, the congressman places his hand on her shoulder briefly as he listens.

Shoulder touch blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, the congressman starts massaging her shoulders with both hands as he listens.

Grope mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant moves to join them at the bar, the congressman’s hand brushes against her butt as she passes.

Grope blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant moves to join them at the bar, the congressman grabs her on the butt as she passes.

Kiss mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and everyone is congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the cheek.

Kiss blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and everyone is congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the mouth and slips her some tongue.

Pornography mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant moves to join them at the bar, she inadvertently glimpses the congressman's open phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up.

Pornography blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation, the congressman shows her his phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up, as he asks "what do you think of *that*?"

Term of endearment mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant comes over to join in on the group conversation, the congressman says, "hey sweetheart."

Term of endearment blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant comes over to join in on the group conversation, the congressman says, “hey sexy.”

Non-verbal/non physical mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, she notices the congressman giving her a long look up and down.

Non-verbal/non physical blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. The congressman and several members of the office are standing around the bar talking, and he calls over one of the staff assistants to join them from where she was standing alone off to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant joins in on the group conversation and starts telling a related story, she notices the congressman leaning over her and looking down her shirt.

Workplace x Others Present

No touch/no comment: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman listens from the end of the conference table.

Dirty sexual joke mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman makes a joke to the group that he wonders if the legislator at the center of the incident is as difficult to deal with in the bedroom as she is in this situation.

Dirty sexual joke blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman makes a joke to the group that she should “take one for the team” and sleep with the legislator at the center of the incident to smooth things over.

Sexual comment directed at target mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman shows the group pictures from a recent beach vacation he took. As he goes through them the congressman remarks to his staff assistant, “You know, I bet you would look good in one of those bikinis.”

Sexual comment directed at target blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman says “forget that” and starts asking her questions about her sex life. He asks “if she likes sex” and “what kind of positions she prefers”.

Shoulder touch mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman places his hand on her shoulder briefly as he listens.

Shoulder touch blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman starts massaging her shoulders with both hands as he listens.

Grope mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant enters the room to join the group in the meeting, the congressman’s hand brushes against her butt as she passes.

Grope blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant enters the room to join the group in the meeting, the congressman grabs her on the butt as she passes.

Kiss mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he’s hugging her and everyone is congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the cheek.

Kiss blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and everyone is congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the mouth and slips her some tongue.

Pornography mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant enters the room to join the group in the meeting, she inadvertently glimpses the congressman's open laptop screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up.

Pornography blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, the congressman shows her his phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up, as he asks "what do you think of *that*?"

Term of endearment mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant enters the room to join the group in the meeting, the congressman says, "welcome sweetheart."

Term of endearment blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant enters the room to join the group in the meeting, the congressman says, "welcome sexy."

Non-verbal/non physical mild: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, she notices the congressman giving her a long look up and down.

Non-verbal/non physical blatant: A congressman calls one of his staff assistants from her private work space into a conference room to take part in a meeting with several other members of the congressional staff, who are gathered to discuss a political incident that took place outside of work recently. As the staff assistant gives her opinion on what happened to the group, she notices the congressman leaning over her and looking down her shirt.

Outside of Work x Alone

No touch/no comment: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman listens to her from across the table.

Dirty sexual joke mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman makes a joke that he wonders if the fellow legislator he is currently arguing with over a proposal is as difficult to deal with in the bedroom as she is on the senate floor.

Dirty sexual joke blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman makes a joke that she should "take one for the team" and sleep with a legislator whose vote he's trying to swing in his favor on a proposal.

Sexual comment directed at target mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman shows her pictures from a recent beach vacation he took. As he goes through them the congressman remarks, "You know, I bet you would look good in one of those bikinis."

Sexual comment directed at target blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman says "forget that" and starts asking her questions about her sex life. He asks "if she likes sex" and "what kind of positions she prefers".

Shoulder touch mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As

the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman places his hand on her shoulder briefly as he listens.

Shoulder touch blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman starts massaging her shoulders with both hands as he listens.

Grope mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, the congressman's hand brushes against her butt as she passes.

Grope blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, the congressman grabs her on the butt as she passes.

Kiss mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the cheek.

Kiss blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman brings up an award the staff assistant was recently recognized with. As he's hugging her and congratulating her on the achievement, he kisses her on the mouth and slips her some tongue.

Pornography mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, she inadvertently glimpses the congressman's open phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up.

Pornography blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, the congressman shows her his phone screen, which has an image of a naked woman pulled up, as he asks "what do you think of *that*?"

Term of endearment mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, the congressman says, "cya sweetheart."

Term of endearment blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, the congressman says, "cya sexy."

Non-verbal/non physical mild: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant gets up to get another drink from the bar, she notices the congressman giving her a long look up and down.

Non-verbal/non physical blatant: A congressman and his congressional staff are attending a yearly office Christmas party at the local bar after work, something that has traditionally been held back in the office during work. Several members of the office are standing around the bar talking together, while the congressman and one of his staff assistants sit at a booth alone to the side of the bar. As the staff assistant tells him a story she finds to be related to the topic they're discussing, she notices the congressman leaning over her and looking down her shirt.

Dependent Variable Measures

We will now ask you a series of questions regarding your opinions based on the scenario you just read. The same scenario you just finished reading will be presented at the top of each question for reference if you need to go back and reread any of the details. Please make sure you are responding to the questions with only the specific scenario they are attached to in mind.

[the following DV items were presented separately and the order of appearance was randomized]

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of gender-based prejudice.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of sexual misconduct.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of sexually inappropriate behavior

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of sexual coercion.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of sexual harassment.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of sexual assault.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This is an example of rape.

Strongly Disagree ← Disagree – Slightly Disagree – Unsure – Slightly Agree – Agree → Strongly Agree

Demographics

What is your age? _____

Please select the gender(s) you most identify with. Check all that apply.

- Man
- Woman
- Transgender
- Non-Binary/Gender Non-Conforming
- Other/Prefer not to say

How would you describe yourself? Check all that apply.

- Black/African American
- East Asian/Asian American
- Hispanic/Latinx
- Middle Eastern
- Native American
- White/European American
- South Asian/Indian American
- Other:

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

[some high school; high school or GED; some college; 2-year degree; 4-year degree; Master's degree; Doctoral degree; Professional degree (MD or JD); Other]

Where would you place yourself on this political spectrum?

[1=Strong liberal, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9=Strong conservative]

If you had to choose, where would you place yourself on this political spectrum?

[1=Strong Democrat, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9=Strong Republican]

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VITA

Yelyzaveta DiStefano was born in Lugansk, Ukraine, and has lived in St. Louis, Missouri for most of her life since immigrating to the United States. There, she earned her Bachelor of Science in Psychology from Saint Louis University in 2016. She currently lives in Chicago, Illinois, where is pursuing a PhD in Applied Social Psychology at Loyola University Chicago. There, she serves on several committees, including presiding as co-chair of the graduate student group Enhancing Diversity in Graduate Education, as well as serving as a representative on both the Graduate Student Advisory Council and the Council of Graduate School Programs. She has won several awards for her undergraduate research, as well as funding for this project through the Heckler Fellowship.