Solving the Chronic Problem of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: An Empirical Study of Factors Affecting Employee Perceptions and Consequences of Sexual Harassment

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I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the attention given to sexual harassment in the workplace has increased dramatically. Unwanted sexual attention between men and women in the workplace has an extensive history and, for many years, has been classified as "natural" male/female interaction.[1] However, as women have become a more integral part of the organization, the collective consciousness regarding this behavior's acceptability is changing. What was once acceptable, expected behavior has become recognized as undesirable and problematic in the U.S. and other countries.[2]

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1. *See* Mary Bularzik, *Sexual Harassment at the Workplace*, *in* MYTH AMERICA: PICTURING WOMEN, 1865-1945 25 (Carol Wald ed., 1975).

2. *See* Vivienne Gay, *Sexual Harassment: Legal Issues, Past and Future Developments*, *in* VULNERABLE WORKERS: PSYCHOSOCIAL AND LEGAL ISSUES 203 (Marilyn J. David-

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Despite this recognition, surveys assessing the incidence of sexual harassment indicate that it continues to be a widespread problem with important consequences—not only for the victim, but for the perpetrator and the organization as well.[3] When researchers in academia, the federal government, and the private sector workplace explored the extent and nature of sexual harassment of women in their environment, they found self-report incidence rates ranging from 30% to 90%.[4] These findings have brought sexual harassment to the forefront of issues within organizations and the legal system.

Building on the concept of sexual discrimination, the issue of sexual harassment gained legal recognition as a problem contributing to inequity in employment and educational opportunity in the mid-1970s.[5] In response to this problem, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ("EEOC") established guidelines in 1980 that placed sexual harassment within the purview of unlawful discrimination because of sex. This began a path of legal precedents that further clarified what constitutes sexual harassment. Several subsequent court decisions in the U.S. led to judgments that held employers responsible for preventing sexual harassment and for establishing effective grievance procedures.[6] Gay traces the development of legal remedies for sexual harassment in the U.K.[7] Because of these developments, organizations have been increasingly pressured to find methods to

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son & Jill Earnshaw eds., 1991); Marianne Junger, *Women's Experiences of Sexual Harassment, Some Implications for Their Fear of Crime*, 27 BRIT. J. CRIMINOLOGY 358 (1987); David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *Sexual Harassment at Work: The Psychosocial Issues, in* VULNERABLE WORKERS: PSYCHOSOCIAL AND LEGAL ISSUES 179 (Marilyn J. Davidson & Jill Earnshaw eds., 1991).

3. *See* Amy L. Culbertson & Paul Rosenfeld, *Assessment of Sexual Harassment in the Active-Duty Navy*, 6 MILITARY PSYCHOL. 69 (1994); Barbara A. Gutek & Mary P. Koss, *Changed Women and Changed Organizations: Consequences of and Coping with Sexual Harassment*, 42 J. VOCATIONAL BEHAV. 28 (1993); U.S. MERIT SYS. PROTECTION BD., SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: AN UPDATE (1988) [hereinafter SEXUAL HARASSMENT UPDATE].

4. *See* Donna J. Benson & Gregg E. Thomson, *Sexual Harassment on a University Campus: The Confluence of Authority Relations, Sexual Interest and Gender Stratification*, 29 SOC. PROBS. 236 (1982); James E. Gruber & Lars Bjorn, *Women's Responses to Sexual Harassment: An Analysis of Sociocultural, Organizational, and Personal Resource Models*, 67 SOC. SCI. Q. 814 (1986); MELANIE MARTINDALE, SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE MILITARY: 1988 (Defense Manpower Data Center 1990); Donald E. Maypole & Rosemarie Skaine, *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*, 28 SOC. WORK 385 (1983); Chaya S. Piotrkowski, *Gender Harassment, Job Satisfaction, and Distress Among Employed White and Minority Women*, 3 J. OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PSYCH. 33 (1998); U.S. MERIT SYS. PROTECTION BD., SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE FEDERAL WORKPLACE: IS IT A PROBLEM? (1981) [hereinafter SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROBLEM]; SEXUAL HARASSMENT UPDATE, *supra* note 3.

5. Wiener and Hurt recently traced the legal history of sexual harassment in the United States. *See* Richard L. Wiener & Linda E. Hurt, *Social Sexual Conduct at Work: How Do Workers Know When It Is Harassment and When It Is Not?*, 34 CAL. W. L. REV. 53 (1997).

6. *See* Joy A. Livingston, *Responses to Sexual Harassment on the Job: Legal, Organizational, and Individual Actions*, 38 J. SOC. ISSUES 5 (1982); F.L. Sullivan, *Sexual Harassment: The Supreme Court's Ruling*, 83 PERSONNEL 37 (1986).

7. *See* Gay, *supra* note 2.

deal with sexual harassment, rather than face high costs in terms of increased legal fees, increased turnove., and decreased productivity.

Interestingly, Quick has suggested that sexual harassment constitutes "a chronic occupational health problem to which the public health and preventive medicine notions of prevention may be applied."[8] As he introduces an issue of the *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* devoted in part to sexual harassment, he argues that the costs associated with sexual harassment—organizational and individual—can best be reduced by a combination of prevention and early diagnosis and intervention.

The courts' primary recommendations for dealing with sexual harassment focused on encouraging organizations to establish policies, to set up effective grievance channels within the organization, and to educate employees about sexual harassment. Although organizations are beginning to follow these recommendations, several studies have shown that employees do not always perceive the policies and grievance procedures set up as being effective. Thus, sexual harassment in the workplace continues to be a prevalent problem.[9]

Livingston suggests that the employees' perception of ineffectiveness may be due to the process by which management handles grievances. In reviewing the actions of several organizations, Livingston found that many of them require the victim to bring a complaint to her/his immediate supervisor, who, in turn, either takes action or refers the charges to a higher authority for action. However, if the supervisor does not perceive the incident(s) as harassing, the complaint is dropped, unless the victim chooses to go to a higher authority for resolution. Consequently, even though policies and grievance procedures are set, individual judgment is still a determinant of what does, or does not, constitute sexual harassment and what action is taken. It is at this level of individual judgment that many policies and procedures break down.[10]

This idea is supported by research looking at definitions used to develop policy and grievance procedures for sexual harassment in academia and the federal workforce. Findings suggest that, even though many organizations have adopted the EEOC guidelines as part of their definition, the interpretations of these guidelines vary widely and are often expressions of management's personal understanding of sexual harassment. Somers also found that many of the definitions depended on some implicit understanding of what a "reasonable" person would view as harassing behavior.[11] How-

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8. James Campbell Quick, *Introduction*, 3 J. OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PSYCHOL. 3, 3 (1998).

9. *See* Eliza G.C. Collins & Timothy B. Blodgett, *Sexual Harassment . . . Some See It . . . Some Won't*, 59 HARV. BUS. REV. 76 (1981); Culbertson & Rosenfeld, *supra* note 3; Barbara A. Gutek, *Sexual Harassment: Rights and Responsibilities*, 6 EMPLOYEE RTS. & RESP. 325 (1993); *Livingston, supra* note 6; SEXUAL HARASSMENT UPDATE, *supra* note 3.

10. *See* Livingston, *supra* note 6.

11. *See* Amy Somers, *Sexual Harassment in Academe: Legal Issues and Definitions*,

ever, research shows that what one "reasonable" person may perceive as being sexual harassment may not be perceived as such by another "reasonable" person.[12]

Because perceptions, in general, are influenced by many different factors, we need to know which factors influence how sexual behaviors/incidents are interpreted by the "reasonable" person, especially for incidents that, although they may not meet the criteria for legal action, are still inappropriate and may warrant some action. If we can begin to identify the factors associated with individuals' varying perceptions of sexual harassment, we might be able to better predict and deal with the negative individual and organizational consequences resulting from sexual harassment. Assessing some of the characteristics of the interpreter or perceiver[13] and the organization may help to determine some of these factors.

Gutek argued that individuals are affected by sexual harassment whether they acknowledge the behavior as harassment or not.[14] Thomas found that participants "were more likely to rate scenario behaviors as interfering with work performance and creating a hostile environment than they were to label the behaviors 'sexual harassment.'"[15] The question remains as to the effect on bystanders as well as direct victims.

Two experiments were conducted. The first examined the effect of rank, race, and gender in perceived seriousness, recommended action, and discrepancy between that action and expected command action. The second examined the extent to which sexual harassment effects extend to "bystander" observers as well as to "direct" victims.

II.   EXPERIMENT I

A.   Background

1.   Perceiver Characteristics

In an attempt to identify common characteristics of the "reasonable" person, research has been conducted to determine what perceiver characteristics influence whether or not an incident is considered to be sexual harassment. Findings suggest that demographic variables such as gender, oc-

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38 J. Soc. Issues 23 (1992).

    12. *See* David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *A Framework for the Study of Sexual Harassment*, 7 BASIC & APPLIED SOC. PSYCHOL. 17 (1986) [hereinafter *Framework*].

    13. The perceiver in this study refers to a third party person who is judging or interpreting a given vignette. The perceiver is not the victim, a bystander, or witness to the act.

    14. *See* Barbara A. Gutek et al., *A Psychological Examination of Sexual Harassment*, *in* SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY 131-63 (Barbara A. Gutek ed., 1982).

    15. MARIE D. THOMAS, GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CONCEPTUALIZING SEXUAL HARASSMENT 22 (Navy Personnel Research and Dev. Ctr. Technical Report 95-5, 1995).

cupational status, and education;[16] personal experience with harassment;[17] and sex-role identity[18] are factors that influence people's perceptions of what behaviors constitute harassment. Interactions of personality and attitude variables such as attitude towards women and sex, religiosity, and locus of control have also been found to be influencing factors.[19]

Demographic Variables: Gender is the demographic variable that most consistently predicts differences in perceptions of sexual harassment. Women are likely to view sexual harassment as more common and more serious a problem than do men.[20] Also, women and men perceive what behaviors constitute sexual harassment differently: Women are more likely than men to view certain incidents as harassment, and to regard such behaviors as sexual jokes and gestures as offensive.[21] The work of Marie Thomas is particularly noteworthy. She developed a set of vignettes based on those of Baker, Terpstra and Larntz, each of which depicted behaviors occurring in a Navy environment.[22] Male and female Navy personnel rated the vignettes as to the seriousness of the behavior and the degree to which they agree or disagree with the statement that the situation described in the vignette is sexual harassment. Further, they were to respond from the perspective of the "average" person of the opposite gender. Women rated the 16 vignettes as slightly (but significantly) more serious than did the men, and women gave significantly higher sexual harassment ratings than did men. The most interesting findings, however, are the comparisons of the ratings of each gender with those expected by personnel of the opposite gender. Men overestimated the "average" women's ratings while women underestimated men's ratings to a great extent.[23]

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16. *See* Barbara A. Gutek et al., *Interpreting Social-Sexual Behavior in a Work Setting*, 22 J. VOCATIONAL BEHAV. 30 (1983) [hereinafter *Social-Sexual*].

17. *See* Inger W. Jensen & Barbara A. Gutek, *Attributions and Assignment of Responsibility in Sexual Harassment*, 38 J. SOC. ISSUES 121 (1982); Donald B. Mazer & Elizabeth F. Percival, *Ideology or Experience? The Relationships Among Perceptions, Attitudes, and Experiences of Sexual Harassment in University Students*, 20 SEX ROLES 135 (1989).

18. *See* Gary N. Powell, *Definition of Sexual Harassment and Sexual Attention Experienced*, 113 J. PSYCHOL. 113 (1983).

19. *See* David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *Psychological and Demographic Correlates of Perceptions of Sexual Harassment, in* GENETIC, SOCIAL, AND GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY MONOGRAPHS 461 (1986).

20. *See* Benson & Thomson, *supra* note 4; Collins & Blodgett, *supra* note 9; Barbara A. Gutek et al., *Sexuality and the Workplace*, 1 BASIC & APPLIED SOC. PSYCHOL. 255 (1980).

21. *See* Gutek et al., *Social-Sexual, supra* note 16; Gary N. Powell, *Effects of Sex Role Identity and Sex on Definitions of Sexual Harassment*, 14 SEX ROLES 9 (1986); SEXUAL HARASSMENT UPDATE, *supra* note 3; Eleanor Weber-Burdin & Peter H. Rossi, *Defining Sexual Harassment on Campus: A Replication and Extension*, 38 J. SOC. ISSUES 111 (1980).

22. *See* Douglas B. Baker et al., *The Influence of Individual Characteristics and Severity of Harassing Behavior on Reactions to Sexual Harassment*, 22 SEX ROLES 305 (1990).

23. *See* THOMAS, *supra* note 15.

Wiener and Hurt interviewed 50 individuals—including 25 men and 25 women—living in a metropolitan area who were asked to describe behavior that was in their view clearly sexual harassment as well as behavior that was sexual but not sexual harassment and behavior that was sexual and ambiguous as to whether it was sexual harassment. The most often reported behaviors included touching, comments on appearance, date requests, and dirty jokes. Follow-up questions dealt with characteristics of the behavior which were considered in determining whether the behavior constituted sexual harassment. Men and women employ different standards in judging whether a behavior is sexual harassment. Men more than women ask "Was the behavior wanted by the woman," while women more than men ask "Were the man's intentions benign?" In general, women's judgment as to what behavior is sexual harassment is more inclusive than men's.[24]

Women and men also differ in their perception of how sexual harassment is viewed and dealt with within their work environment. Collins and Blodgett found that they differ significantly in their perceptions about how top management will act in an ambiguous situation.[25] Further, Kenig and Ryan found that women tend to view sexual harassment as an organizational problem, whereas men view harassment as more of a personal issue.[26]

To date, little research has been conducted to determine how gender affects recommended actions in sexual harassment cases. However, because gender seems to be a common perceiver characteristic in predicting how sexual harassment is perceived in the workplace, it seems that it would also affect what actions are recommended.

Race is one demographic variable that has been consistently overlooked in determining the effects of perceiver characteristics in research on sexual harassment and rape.[27] Feild states that lawyers have used data such as age, sex, and race in studying juror verdicts or in selecting juror candidates, but that little research has been done to determine whether these variables affect juror sentencing in rape trials.[28] Feild looked at the variables of age and gender, but again overlooked race. If these variables are important in juror decision making for other types of trials, it would seem that they would also be important in decision making in rape and sexual harassment cases.

The effects of race on individuals' perceptions have recently been studied in the Navy. Rosenfeld, Culbertson, Booth-Kewley, and Magnusson reported a Navy-wide survey to assess the way that active duty Navy personnel perceive the Navy's equal opportunity ("EO") climate. Results indicate

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24. *See* Wiener & Hurt, *supra* note 5.

25. *See* Collins & Blodgett, *supra* note 9.

26. *See* Sylvia Kenig & John Ryan, *Sex Differences in Levels of Tolerance and Attribution of Blame for Sexual Harassment on a University Campus*, 15 SEX ROLES 535 (1986).

27. *See* D.C. DeFour, *The Interface of Racism and Sexism on College Campuses*, in IVORY POWER: SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON CAMPUS (Michelle A. Paludi ed., 1990).

28. *See* Hubert S. Feild, *Juror Background Characteristics and Attitudes Toward Rape*, 2 LAW & HUM. BEHAV. 73 (1978) [hereinafter *Juror Background*].

that the perceptions of EO climate differed, based on the rank, gender, and race of the personnel. More specifically, it was found that white male officers typically perceived the Navy EO climate more positively than did other groups, and that blacks, particularly black enlisted females, typically perceived it the least positively.[29]

Attitudes: Attitudes or belief structures (sex-role stereotypes, acceptance of rape myths, etc.) are another important perceiver characteristic that has been found to affect perceptions. In research on rape and sexual harassment, it has been argued that this characteristic contributes to perceptions regarding the attribution of responsibility (i.e., to the victim or the harasser) and recommended actions in rape and sexual harassment cases.[30]

The literature on rape suggests that those who have traditional sex-role beliefs will assign more responsibility to victims, adhere to more rape myths, view rape as a less serious problem, and assign less severe punishments to offenders than will those with non-traditional sex-role beliefs.[31]

Consistent with these findings, many studies of sexual harassment have found that sex-role attitudes play an important role in how sexual harassment and attribution of responsibility are perceived in harassment cases. Jensen and Gutek assessed sex-role attitudes and attribution and found that those with more traditional sex-role beliefs assigned more responsibility to the victim.[32] Mazer and Percival found further evidence to this effect.[33] Perot, Brooks and Gersh, who assessed attitudes regarding sexual harassment by using the "Sexual Harassment Belief Scale," found that individuals who tend to blame victims for harassment also perceive certain behaviors as less offensive.[34]

Judgment and Decision Making: Although policies and procedures have been developed to provide guidelines for decision making in handling reported incidents of sexual harassment, many factors can affect that decision making process.

Researchers using attribution theory to study and explain judgment and decision making in cases of rape and sexual harassment found, in general, that women tend to attribute less responsibility to the female victim than do men.[35] These findings are explained by Shaver, who theorized that people

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29. *See* PAUL ROSENFELD ET AL., ASSESSMENT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE: RESULTS OF THE 1989 NAVY-WIDE SURVEY (Navy Personnel Research and Dev. Ctr. Technical Report 92-14, 1992).

30. *See* Hubert S. Feild, *Attitudes Toward Rape: A Comparative Analysis of Police, Rapists, Crisis Counselors, and Citizens*, 36 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 156 (1978); Kenig & Ryan, *supra* note 26; Mazer & Percival, *supra* note 17.

31. *See* Feild, *Juror Background*, *supra* note 28.

32. *See* Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17.

33. *See* Mazer & Percival, *supra* note 17.

34. *See* Annette R. Perot et al., Peer Sexual Harassment: Exploring a Predictive Model of Perceived Offensiveness, Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Convention (Aug. 16, 1991) (on file with author).

35. *See* Calhoun et al., *The Effects of Victim Physical Attractiveness and Sex of Re-*

tend to assign more responsibility to the actor with whom they least identify, due to fear of becoming victims themselves.[36] Thus, persons who identify themselves as potential victims of sexual harassment may be more sensitive to the issues and less accepting of behaviors that may threaten them personally or professionally.

Research linking the characteristics of perceivers (those who review and rule on cases of sexual harassment) with their decisions regarding how serious an incident is or what actions to take in sexual harassment cases is limited. Although a few studies have tallied data regarding victim and corporate responses to certain types of cases,[37] no experimental investigation has been done. Thomann and Wiener used the legal model to investigate decision making in sexual harassment cases. They found, consistent with Shaver's theory, that decision makers who attribute less responsibility to the victim are more likely to recommend harsher punishment for the harasser.[38] It seems reasonable to expect that factors contributing to different perceptions of harassment would also contribute to actions taken in response to sexual harassment.[39]

2. *Organizational Factors*

Although organizational factors in sexual harassment have been less widely studied than perceiver characteristics, they are an intrinsic part of sexual harassment by definition and must be looked at in terms of dealing with the problem. Under EEOC guidelines, employers are held responsible for preventing and eliminating sexual misconduct within their organizations. However, individuals at different levels of the organization may not always agree on what constitutes sexual harassment or on what actions to take to resolve it. This would affect perceptions of an organization's attitudes towards preventing, identifying, and dealing with sexual harassment.[40] Organizational factors, such as perceived organizational support and organiza-

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spondent on Social Reactions to Victims of Rape, 17 BRIT. J. SOC. & CLINICAL PSYCHOL. 191 (1978); Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17; Kenig & Ryan, *supra* note 26; Daniel A. Thomann & Richard L. Wiener, *Physical and Psychological Causality as Determinants of Culpability in Sexual Harassment Cases*, 17 SEX ROLES 573 (1987); James W. Selby et al., *Sex Differences in the Social Perception of Rape Victims*, 3 PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYHOL. BULL. 412 (1977).

36. *See* Kelly G. Shaver, *Defensive Attribution: Effects of Severity and Relevance on the Responsibility Assigned for an Accident*, 14 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 101 (1970).

37. *See* Frances S. Coles, *Forced to Quit: Sexual Harassment Complaints and Agency Response*, 14 SEX ROLES 81 (1986); Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17; Livingston, *supra* note 6.

38. *See* Thomann & Wiener, *supra* note 35; Shaver, *supra* note 36.

39. *See* Baker et al., *Influence of Individual Characteristics and Severity of Harassing Behavior on Reactions to Sexual Harassment*, 22 SEX ROLES 305 (1990).

40. *See* Timothy Reilly et al., *The Factorial Survey: An Approach to Defining Sexual Harassment on Campus*, 38 J. SOC. ISSUES 99 (1982).

tional response to sexual harassment, may also affect perceptions regarding sexual harassment.[41] In addition, personal beliefs of men employees in an organization have been shown to interact with perceived organizational characteristics—such as organizational sanctions on harassment behavior—in predicting sexual harassment.[42] Also, women's perceptions of male co-workers' attitudes toward women influences the women's judgment that the workplace is hostile.[43]

Surveys conducted in the federal workplace, particularly in the Navy, indicate that perceptions vary based on perceived management awareness of the issue, the perceived willingness of management to take action, and the expectation as to whether filing a grievance would lead to a positive outcome.[44] If management does not perceive sexual harassment as important, it may establish policies because they are a requirement but will not focus on preventing and resolving the issue. In addition, if management is not seen as being aware of the issue and supportive thereof, victims may not report any inappropriate behavior, which could serve to encourage harassment to continue. This is evidenced in studies that report that senior management is not aware of the extent of harassment in an organization and tends to under-estimate the need to take action regarding it.[45]

Other studies offer further evidence. Lafontaine and Tredeau found that individuals in firms perceived as having strong equal employment opportunities for women reported significantly less sexual harassment than did those in firms without such opportunities.[46] Collins and Blodgett found that, in the private sector, upper management is less aware of the extent of sexual harassment in their companies than are middle and lower management or employees and that many women employees do not have confidence in their management to solve the problem.[47]

Theorists studying men and women in the organization contend that these differences in perception are due to power differentials within the organization.[48] Although surveys indicate a difference due to rank in percep-

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41. *See* Terpstra & Baker, *Framework, supra* note 12.

42. *See* Inez Dekker & Julian Barling, *Personal and Organizational Predictors of Workplace Sexual Harassment of Women by Men*, 3 J. OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PSYCHOL. 7 (1998).

43. *See* Richard C. Sorenson & Nancy J. Amick, Factors Influencing Women's Perceptions of a Sexually Hostile Work Environment, Paper presented at the 9th Annual APS Convention (1997) (on file with the author).

44. *See* STEPHANIE BOOTH-KEWLEY & FAYE A. BLOOM, WHY VICTIMS FAIL TO REPORT SEXUAL HARASSMENT (Navy Personnel Research and Dev. Ctr. Technical Report, 1997); SEXUAL HARASSMENT UPDATE, *supra* note 3.

45. *See* Collins & Blodgett, *supra* note 9.

46. *See* Edward Lafontaine & Leslie Tredeau, *The Frequency, Sources, and Correlates of Sexual Harassment Among Women in Traditional Male Occupations*, 15 SEX ROLES 433 (1986).

47. *See* Collins & Blodgett, *supra* note 9.

48. *See* Francis L. Hoffmann, *Sexual Harassment in Academia: Feminist Theory and Institutional Practice*, 56 HARV. EDUC. REV. 105 (1986); ROSABETH MOSS KANTER, MEN

tion within the organizational structure regarding sexual harassment, little research to date has studied this, even in a quasi-experimental way. Therefore, it is important to investigate rank within the organization to determine whether managers and employees have discrepant attitudes about the seriousness of sexual harassment, or in severity of actions to take in sexual harassment incidents. Most of the studies assessing rank and attitudes regarding sexual harassment have focused on the rank of the perpetrator—not the perceiver. However, Reilly et al. conducted a study within the academic setting that assessed the effects of status on perceptions of harassment. They found that students were apt to perceive more behaviors as sexual harassment and to see it as more of a problem than did professors.[49] Kenig and Ryan also found discrepancies in status within the academic setting regarding the definition and seriousness of harassment.[50]

B. Procedures

Our first experiment examined the effect of rank, race, gender, and the interactions of rank, race, and gender in judgments of (a) the seriousness of the sexual harassment represented in ten vignettes, (b) the action the respondent thinks should be taken in response to the harassment, and (c) the difference between the action the respondent would take and the action he/she would expect the organization would take. In addition, this study examined the effects of gender, rank, and race on attitudes towards sexual harassment, in general, by using the Sexual Harassment Attitude Scale ("SHAS")[51] as a dependent variable in a separate analysis. This was done in order to study the role of such attitudes as a mediator and moderator of relationships found among the other variables.

1. Vignettes

The narratives in the 10 vignettes used in this study were developed from actual incidents reported by women in the Army who had experienced unwanted sexual attention, as well as from training protocols and past research.[52] The *Sexual Experiences Questionnaire* ("SEQ") was also used as a guideline in creating the narratives.[53] Internal consistency reliability of the rating of the vignettes exceeded 0.8.

AND WOMEN OF THE CORPORATION (1977); CATHERINE A. MACKINNON, SEXUAL HARASSMENT OF WORKING WOMEN: A CASE OF SEX DISCRIMINATION (1979).

49. *See* Reilly et al., *supra* note 40.

50. *See* Kenig & Ryan, *supra* note 26.

51. *See* Mazer & Percival, *supra* note 17.

52. *See* John B. Pryor & Jeanne D. Day, *Interpretations of Sexual Harassment: An Attributional Analysis*, 18 SEX ROLES 405 (1988); Thomann & Wiener, *supra* note 35; A.L. Thomas & F.V. Malmstrom, Military Men and Women Define Sexual Harassment Differently, Paper presented at the annual APA convention (Aug. 1985) (on file with authors).

53. *See* Louise F. Fitzgerald et al., *The Incidence and Dimensions of Sexual Harassment in Academia and the Workplace*, 32 J. VOCATIONAL BEHAV. 153 (1988).

2. *Participants*

The 410 participants in this study—308 male and 102 female—were all members of the United States Army assigned to various units throughout an Army installation in Northwestern USA. They were all active duty soldiers attending required sexual harassment training. Table 1 provides data about the sample.

Table 1.
Number of Participants per Cell Group

	Rank[54] Group A (E1-E4)	Rank Group B (E5-E6)	Rank Group C&D (E7-O3)	Rank Group E (O4-O6)	Total
Men					
White	50	48	68	15	181
Non-white	27	57	38	5	127
Women					
White	14	13	20	5	52
Non-white	22	16	7	5	50
Total:	113	134	133	30	410

3. *Variables*

The four independent variables for this study were (a) gender, (b) rank (grade), (c) race of the perceiver, and (d) the perceiver's score on the SHAS Scale. As shown in Table 1, rank was divided into four levels, representing junior enlisted (E1-E4), middle level enlisted (E5-E6), senior enlisted (E7-E8) combined with junior officers (O1-O3), and senior officers (O4-O6). Race was divided into two levels, white and non-white. Non-white participants included those who categorized themselves as Black/African-American, Asian, Hispanic or Other. There were five dependent variables in this study.

Seriousness Score: Participants were asked to rate the seriousness of the behavior in each vignette on a 16-point scale (0 = not harassment and 15 = serious harassment), and values were totaled to obtain a "Seriousness" score for each participant.

Action Score: Participants were given a list of nine alternative levels of action based on consequences listed in military regulations. The list included: (a) no action; (b) transfer the individual making the complaint; (c)

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54. In the U.S. Army enlisted ranks range from E-1, Private, the first or entry rank, to E-9, Sargeant Major, the most senior enlisted rank. Officer ranks range from O-1, Second Lieutenant, through O-6, Colonel.

transfer the offender; (d) verbal reprimand for the offender; (e) written counseling statement for the offender; (f) written letter of reprimand for the offender; (g) field grade letter of reprimand for the offender; (h) Article 15 (non-judicial punishment) for the offender; or, (i) court martial for the offender. Each action was rated from 0-8 based on severity of that action, with no action = 0 and court martial = 8. A total score for all vignettes was tabulated and used in data analysis as an "Action" score.

Command Score and Discrepancy Score: For each vignette, participants were asked to select the disciplinary action (from above list) they expected their command would take ("Command" score). A total "Discrepancy" score for each participant was calculated by summing the difference scores between "Action" scores and "Command" scores.

SHAS Score: The SHAS contains 19 items (e.g., "An attractive woman has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them"). Participants were asked to rate them on a 5-point Likert scale, indicating the degree to which the rater agrees with an item (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Scores can range from 19 to 95, with higher scores indicating a higher tolerance for sexual harassment and less agreement with contemporary feminist beliefs about its causes.

The SHAS has a significant internal consistency (coef. alpha = .84).[55] It was modified for this study in that terms related to an academic environment, such as "professor," "in class," etc., were deleted. One question that pertained only to an academic environment was also deleted ("Considering what professors do in class is taking the idea of sexual harassment too far"). Therefore, scores for this study could range from 18-90.

C. Results

We now present the results of the statistical analyses by type of analysis and the dependent variable used.

1. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

a. Seriousness Score

The total "Seriousness" scores over all incidents were analyzed using a 2 (gender) X 2 (race) X 4 (rank) ANOVA. As shown in Table 2, this analysis yielded significant results for gender, rank, and the interaction of gender and race. These findings are discussed below.

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55. *See* Mazer & Percival, *supra* note 17.

Table 2.
ANOVA for Total "Seriousness" Scores

Source	df	SS	MSS	F
Gender	1	3909.04	3909.04	13.35**
Rank	3	14124.47	4708.16	16.08***
Race	1	25.13	25.13	——
Gender X Rank	3	1497.25	499.08	1.71
Gender X Race	1	1947.12	1947.12	6.65*
Rank X Race	3	162.35	54.12	——
Gender X Rank X Race	3	342.78	114.26	——
Residual	394	115355.15	292.78	

* $p < .01$
** $p < .0003$
*** $p < .0001$

Gender: "Seriousness" scores for men ($M = 96.37$) were significantly lower than those for women ($M = 103.64$).

Rank: A significant difference was found between rank levels; senior-ranking individuals gave higher "Seriousness" scores than did junior-ranking individuals. Post hoc comparisons indicated no significant difference between rank groups in the management level (Rank B, Rank C&D, Rank E); however, the most junior-grade individuals (Rank A) rated seriousness significantly lower than did any of the other higher-ranking groups. This result could be due to the emphasis placed on training military personnel in management levels regarding prevention of sexual harassment, increasing their general awareness and sensitivity to what behaviors would constitute sexual harassment.

Figure 1.
Mean total "seriousness" scores by race and gender.
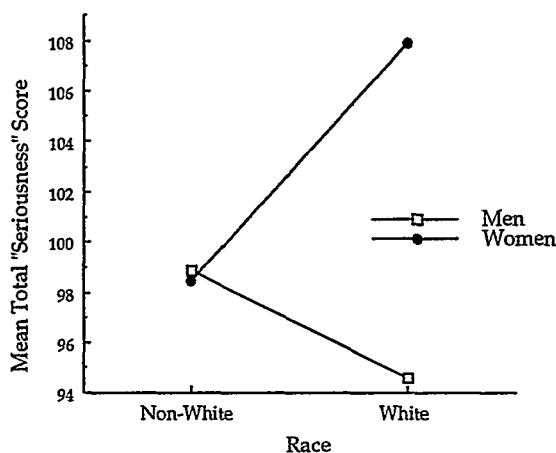
Gender X Race: The main effect for race on "Seriousness" scores was not significant; however, a significant interaction of race and gender was found. This finding indicated that the difference in "Seriousness" scores between non-white men and women was less than that between white men and women. White women gave the highest "Seriousness" scores; and white men, the lowest scores. Non-white women and men perceived approximately the same degree of seriousness (Figure 1).

b. Action Score (Participant recommended actions)

This variable was designed to measure any differences in disciplinary action that the perceiver would recommend for sexual harassment incidents based on perceiver gender, rank, and race.[56] Total "Action" scores were analyzed using a 2 X 2 X 4 ANOVA. ANOVA results yielded significance for rank, the interaction of rank and gender, and the interaction of gender and race (Table 3). These findings are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Rank: A significant difference between rank groups was found: Senior-ranking individuals recommended more severe actions (higher "Action" scores) than did junior-ranking individuals. Scheffé analyses yielded significant differences between the most junior-ranking individuals (Rank A) and all other rank groups, in that junior-ranking individuals tended to recommend less severe action. No other significant differences were found.

Table 3.
ANOVA for Total "Action" Scores

Source	df	SS	MSS	F
Gender	1	125.76	125.76	1.53
Rank	3	1096.06	365.35	4.44***
Race	1	41.84	41.84	——
Gender X Rank	3	651.45	217.15	2.64*
Gender X Race	1	380.38	380.38	4.62**
Rank X Race	3	426.05	142.02	1.73
Gender X Rank X Race	3	621.84	207.28	2.52
Residual	394	31750.46	80.59	

$*p < .05$
$**p < .03$
$***p < .004$

Gender X Rank: Although there was a significant interaction effect for gender and rank, the results were not clear cut. A greater difference between men and women was found for Rank Group B (Mean diff = 5.4), than be-

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56. Action Score and Command Score data were of ordinal quality, but were treated as though they were equal interval data. The results appear to be psychologically meaningful.

tween men and women in Rank Group A (Mean diff = 4.2), and the higher-ranking groups Rank C&D and Rank E (Mean diff = 1.3 and 2.5, respectively). These results indicate that there was less difference between the severity of actions recommended by men and women in the senior levels than for junior-level individuals. (Figure 2).

Figure 2.
Mean total "recommended action" scores by rank and gender.
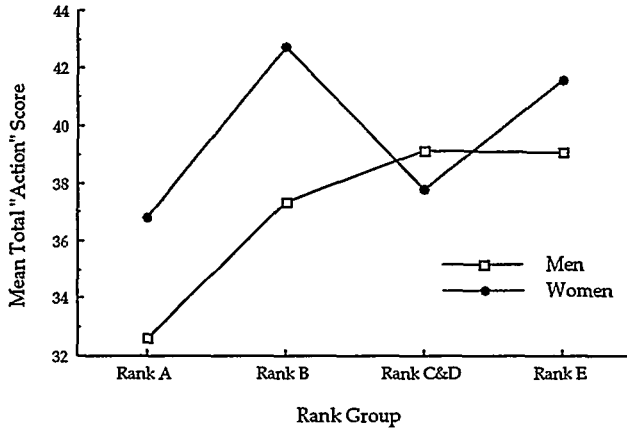
Gender X Race: A significant interaction of gender and race was found. There was less difference in severity of actions recommended between non-white men and women than for white men and women, with white women recommending the most severe actions and white men recommending the least severe actions (Figure 3).

Figure 3.
Mean total "recommended action" scores by race and gender.
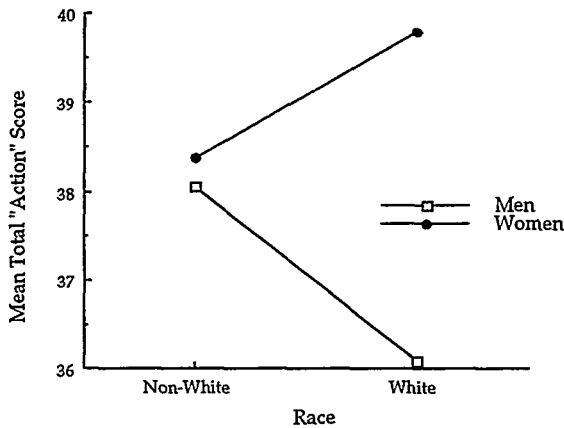
c. Command Score (Action participant expected command to take)

In addition to using the "Command" score to determine "Discrepancy" scores, the total "Command" scores were analyzed using a 2 X 2 X 4 ANOVA. The results of the ANOVA offer some interesting additional information. ANOVA results were significant for rank and the interaction of rank and gender (Table 4). Results are discussed below.

Table 4.
*ANOVA for Total "Command" Scores*

Source	df	SS	MSS	F
Gender	1	539.86	539.86	3.24
Rank	3	4972.87	1657.62	9.95**
Race	1	269.49	269.49	1.62
Gender X Rank	3	1859.69	619.99	3.72*
Gender X Race	1	10.30	10.30	—
Rank X Race	3	533.54	177.85	1.07
Gender X Rank X Race	3	620.98	206.99	1.24
Residual	394	65632.15	166.58	

* $p < .01$
** $p < .0001$

Rank: Differences in rank were significant, in that senior-ranking individuals expected command actions to be more severe than did junior-ranking individuals.

Figure 4.
Mean total "expected command action" scores by rank and gender.
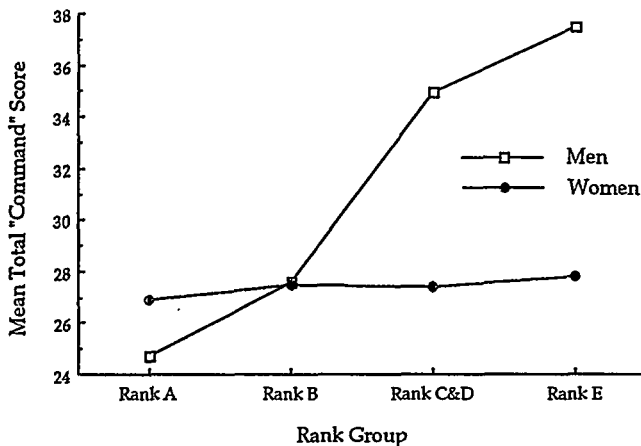
Gender X Rank: Results showed a greater difference between men and women at the most senior ranks than between men and women at the most junior. For men, the action expected from command increased with each higher rank group; however, for women, there was very little difference between rank groups. The most senior-ranking men expected command to take the most action, while the most junior-ranking men expected command to take the least action of all rank groups, male and female (Figure 4).

d. Discrepancy Score

This variable was designed to measure the differences between the raters' own recommended actions and those they expected their command would take for each vignette. Total "Discrepancy" scores were analyzed using a 2 X 2 X 4 ANOVA. ANOVA results yielded significant differences for the independent variables gender and rank (Table 5). Results are described below.

Table 5.
ANOVA for Total "Discrepancy" Scores

Source	df	SS	MSS	F
Gender	1	2002.24	2002.24	14.15**
Rank	3	1480.99	493.66	3.49*
Race	1	225.98	225.98	1.60
Gender X Rank	3	587.06	195.69	1.38
Gender X Race	1	300.77	300.77	——
Rank X Race	3	236.86	78.95	——
Gender X Rank X Race	3	89.66	29.89	——
Residual	394	55758.47	141.52	

* $p < .02$
** $p < .0002$

Note. Discrepancy scores were calculated by subtracting total "Action" score (personal recommended action) from the total "Command" score (expected command action). Therefore, a negative result indicated that respondents expected command to take less severe action than what they would personally recommend. Significant results in this data indicated that certain groups perceived a greater discrepancy between command actions and their own recommendation, with command taking less severe action.

Gender: Men showed significantly less discrepancy between their own actions and those they expected their commands would take ($M = -6.83$) than did women ($M = -11.93$).

Rank: Senior-ranking individuals had significantly smaller "Discrepancy" scores than did junior-ranking individuals. Scheffé's analysis, however, found the only significant difference between rank groups to be between Rank B and Rank C&D (lower and middle management), with Rank B individuals viewing the largest discrepancy.

e. SHAS Score

As indicated previously, this variable was used as a dependent variable to assess any difference in tolerance of sexual harassment based on gender, rank, and race. As the SHAS score increases, the tolerance for sexual harassment increases, indicating less sensitivity to the issue. A 2 X 2 X 4 ANOVA was conducted, which yielded significance for rank and gender (Table 6). Results are described in the following paragraphs.

Table 6.
ANOVA for Sexual Harassment Attitude Scale

Source	df	SS	MSS	F
Gender	1	3711.49	3711.49	49.13**
Rank	3	3109.26	1036.42	13.72*
Race	1	216.55	216.55	2.87
Gender X Rank	3	206.76	68.91	——
Gender X Race	1	88.62	88.62	1.17
Rank X Race	3	51.24	17.08	——
Gender X Rank X Race	3	193.79	64.60	——
Residual	394	29761.84	75.53	

$*p < .0001$

Gender: Men scored significantly higher on the SHAS ($M = 52.21$) than did women ($M = 44.27$).

Rank: Significance for rank of the participant was found; SHAS scores for senior-ranking individuals were significantly lower than were those for junior-ranking individuals. Scheffé's analysis yielded significant differences between the most junior individuals (E1-E4) and all other rank groups. No other significant differences between rank groups were exhibited. These results indicate that the senior-ranking individuals in this study were more sensitive to sexual harassment than were junior-ranking individuals.

2. Regression Analyses

To assess the significance of SHAS as a continuous independent variable, Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated between SHAS and "Seriousness" scores and SHAS and "Action" scores. Scores on the SHAS were significantly and negatively correlated with perceived seriousness ($r = -.50$, $p < .0001$) and with the severity of recommended actions ($r = -.45$, $p <.0001$). In addition, forced regression analyses and subsequent hierarchical multiple regressions were performed using "Seriousness" and "Action" scores as dependent variables and SHAS, gender, Rank A (E1-E4), Rank B (E5-E6), Rank C&D (E7-03), Rank E (04-06), and race as predictor variables. Interaction effects of SHAS, gender, rank, and race were also de-

termined.   These analyses were conducted to determine total variance accounted for by all predictors and to determine which of the predictor variables contributed the most to perceptions of seriousness of sexual harassment and recommended actions.

Forced regression results showed the total variance accounted for by all predictors for seriousness was 33% and for recommended actions was 23%. Results of the hierarchical multiple regression showed SHAS as the most important predictor variable in determining perceived seriousness ($R^2 = .247$, $F = 133.23$; $p < .0001$), as well as recommended actions ($R^2 = .201$, $F = 102.06$; $p < .0001$).   Rank was the next most significant predictor variable for seriousness and the interaction of rank with SHAS was for recommended actions.   The interaction of SHAS and rank was also significant for seriousness.   Once variance associated with SHAS and rank and their interactions was removed, gender and race did not account for a significant amount of the variance.

These results indicate that the relationships between SHAS and perceived seriousness and recommended actions were moderated by rank.   That is, the higher the rank, the less effect SHAS had on perceived seriousness and the severity of actions recommended.

3.   *Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA)*

An ANCOVA was conducted in order to assess whether the effects of the perceiver variables of gender, rank, and race on perceived seriousness and recommended actions are mediated by attitudes towards sexual harassment.   The results indicate that, once the effects of SHAS are removed ($F = 146.14$, $p < .0001$), only the main effect of rank ($F = 13.90$, $p < .0001$) and gender X race interaction ($F = 7.78$, $p < .006$) remain significant in determining seriousness.   Once the effects of SHAS were removed for actions ($F = 103.27$, $p < .0001$), none of the other variables were significant.   Thus it appears that attitudes toward sexual harassment mediate the relationship of gender and the gender X rank interaction with seriousness, and the relationship of rank, gender X rank interaction, and gender X race interaction with recommended action.

III.   EXPERIMENT II

The purpose of our second experiment was to determine the extent to which the harmful effects of sexual harassment described in vignettes extend to "bystander" observers as well as to direct victims.

A. Background

Sexual harassment may be a very traumatic experience for the victims, affecting psychological well-being as well as work performance and productivity. This experiment examines these reactions as well as coping strategies used in dealing with sexual harassment.

1. Psychological Reactions to Sexual Harassment

Published articles on sexual harassment commonly address the negative psychological impact suffered by victims, but a thorough search of this literature uncovered very little research. Most discussions regarding emotional consequences cite case material or surveys of victims. Only a few studies were found that include emotional consequences as a variable to be measured.

The first, an extensive survey of federal employees conducted by the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, revealed that 29% of the respondents who had been sexually harassed believed that the harassment had negatively affected their psychological well-being.[57] In the second, Crull compiled survey materials regarding 262 women who sought crisis intervention due to being sexually harassed at work. As a result of the harassment, 90% of these women reported feeling psychological stress, often accompanied by physiological symptoms.[58] In the third study Culbertson, Rosenfeld and Newell found that 93% of female naval officers and 88% of female naval enlisted personnel who had been victims of sexual harassment experienced negative psychological effects.[59]

In an attempt to understand the dimension of the psychological impact of sexual harassment, Jensen and Gutek conducted telephone interviews with 135 Los Angeles County women workers who had admitted to being sexual harassment victims in an earlier survey. They assessed six different affective responses: hurt, sadness, depression, anger, disgust, and anxiety. They found that 20% felt depressed, 80% felt disgusted, and 68% felt anger. A factor analysis of the responses yielded three factors: (a) inward directed affect consisting of hurt, sadness, and depression; (b) outward directed affect consisting of anger and disgust; and (c) anxiety.[60]

To better understand the psychology of harassment, Malovich and Stake presented 224 undergraduate students with written vignettes designed to reflect clear-cut incidents of sexual harassment of students by professors.

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57. *See* SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROBLEM, *supra* note 4.

58. *See* Peggy Crull, *Stress Effects of Sexual Harassment on the Job: Implications for Counseling*, 52 AM. J. ORTHOPSYCHIATRY 539 (1982).

59. *See* AMY L. CULBERTSON ET AL., SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN THE ACTIVE-DUTY NAVY: FINDINGS FROM THE 1991 NAVY-WIDE SURVEY (Navy Personnel Research and Dev. Ctr. Technical Report 94-2, 1993).

60. *See* Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17.

Emotional reactions to harassment were determined by students' responses on a 7-point scale indicating the extent to which the women in the vignettes would feel insulted or flattered, pleased or angry, comfortable or uncomfortable, relaxed or nervous, intimidated or powerful, and embarrassed or proud. Malovich and Stake found that sexual harassment often results in negative emotional endorsements, and that the strength of these endorsements is related to gender, self-esteem, and sex-role attitudes of students.[61]

In an additional study, female flight attendants rated their affective responses to hypothetical vignettes involving sexual harassment by personnel of higher, equal, or lower status. They were asked to indicate whether they were intimidated, embarrassed, nervous, insulted, friendly, guilty, disgusted, angry, or pleased, and the degree to which they felt likable, desirable, and flattered. Respondents perceived the women in the vignettes as being more embarrassed and nervous when accosted by lower status personnel. Also, they attributed more negative feelings to the recipients when the harassing behavior was more severe or imposing. The researchers concluded that, while the level of negative affective reaction was affected by rank and severity, there was no positive emotional reaction.[62]

2. Sexual Harassment and Work Performance

Sexual harassment is not only detrimental to work motivation, it also poses complex and damaging discriminatory barriers to women's career success and satisfaction.[63] Crull found that 75% of sexually harassed women who participated in a survey conducted by Working Women's Institute experienced consequent impairment in their job performance. They reported an inability to concentrate, inefficiency due to attempts to avoid the harassing situation, and reduced confidence in their skills and accomplishments. For many of the women, the problem extended beyond the immediate job and reduced motivation for all of their work.[64] In addition researchers have found sexual harassment to be significantly related to illness such as headaches, respiratory infections, nausea, and other somatic complaints which affect work behavior.[65]

The victims of sexual harassment surveyed by Jenson and Gutek reported that their ability to work had been impacted. In particular, those who

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61. *See* Natalie J. Malovich & Jayne E. Stake, *Sexual Harassment on Campus, Individual Differences in Attitudes and Beliefs*, 14 PSYCHOL. WOMEN Q. 63 (1990).

62. *See* Susan Littler-Bishop et al., *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace as a Function of Initiator's Status: The Case of Airline Personnel*, 38 J. SOC. ISSUES 137 (1982).

63. *See* NANCY E. BETZ & LOUISE F. FITZGERALD, THE CAREER PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN (1987).

64. *See* Crull, *supra* note 58.

65. *See* Linda M. Goldenhar et al., *Stressors and Adverse Outcomes for Female Construction Workers*, 3 J. OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH PSYCHOL. 19 (1998); Piotrkowski, *supra* note 4; Julian Barling et al., *Prediction and Replication of the Organizational and Personal Consequences of Workplace Sexual Harassment*, 11 J. MANAGERIAL PSYCHOL. 4 (1996).

were more negatively affected were likely to have very negative attitudes toward their jobs. They reported loss of motivation, feeling distracted, and dreading to go to work.[66] Culbertson, Rosenfeld, and Newell estimated that in a year's period over 450,000 hours of time away from work resulted from sexual harassment of Navy women.[67] It has been argued that all of these effects culminate in a substantial reduction in life-time earnings for a woman due to an attenuation in "labor-force attachment" and increase in ". . . both the likelihood that she will exit the labor force and the length of time she chooses to stay out of the labor force."[68] This position is supported by recent empirical work by Murrell, Olson, and Frieze indicating that "[h]arassment can derail an individual's career and force women, either because of pressure to quit or fear of being fired, to take jobs that pay less or offer fewer opportunities for advancement."[69]

3.   Work-Related Coping Strategies

Coping refers to the behaviors that protect people from psychological harm when they encounter problematic social experience.[70] Coping responses represent the things that people *do*; that is, their concrete efforts to negotiate the strains of life encountered in their various roles. This important behavior mediates the impact that societies have on their members.

Folkman, Schaefer, and Lazarus identified four coping strategies individuals may use when stressed: direct action, inhibition of actions, intrapsychic modes, and information search.[71] These strategies are presumed to work by mediating person-environment relationships through problem-solving, or controlling the stress by sheltering the individual.

Terpstra and Baker have suggested that the ultimate outcomes experienced by victims of sexual harassment are likely to depend upon the specific strategies they use to deal with the harassment. While individuals may choose from a wide variety of strategies to cope with victimization, women commonly select the more passive ones.[72] One reason for this is that women have been "socialized" to put the needs of others above their own.[73] If a

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66. *See* Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17.

67. *See* CULBERTSON ET AL., *supra* note 59.

68. Gillian K. Hadfield, *Rational Women: A Test for Sex-Based Harassment*, 83 CAL. L. REV. 1151, 1174 (1995).

69. Audrey J. Murrell et al., *Sexual Harassment and Gender Discrimination: A Longitudinal Study of Women Managers*, 51 J. SOC. ISSUES 139, 146 (1995).

70. *See* Leonard I. Pearlin & Carmi Schooler, *The Structure of Coping*, 19 J. HEALTH & SOC. BEHAV. 2 (1978).

71. *See* Susan Folkman et al., *Cognitive Processes as Mediators of Stress and Coping*, in HUMAN STRESS AND COGNITION: AN INFORMATION PROCESSING APPROACH 265 (Vernon Hamilton & David M. Warburton eds., 1979).

72. *See* David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *The Identification and Classification of Reactions to Sexual Harassment*, 10 J. ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAV. 1 (1989).

73. *See* JEAN BAKER MILLER, TOWARD A NEW PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN (1984).

woman speaks up, it could threaten how she relates to others as it makes them uncomfortable. Thus, because her sense of self as a caring person is at stake, she may often choose less confrontive strategies.

Crull reported that many of the victims she interviewed had tried to avoid the harasser, and 42% had resigned because of sexual harassment.[74] According to Gruber and Bjorn, over 36% of women who worked in a final assembly auto plant revealed being victims of sexual harassment. In reaction to the harassment, approximately 29% gave passive responses, almost 45% used deflective responses, and less than 26% gave assertive responses.[75] Gutek's survey revealed that 9% of the women had chosen to quit a job because they did not wish to comply with sexual requests, 5% had transferred, and 23% had talked about the problem with co-workers.[76]

The U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board asked its large sample of federal employees to indicate how they had responded to sexual harassment. Many of the employees endorsed more than one reaction, and a large percentage endorsed more than one passive reaction: 61% ignored or did nothing, 48% avoided the person, 31% made a joke of the behavior, and 6% went along with the behavior. Fewer assertive informal actions were endorsed: 48% asked or told the person to stop, 14% reported the behavior to a supervisor, and 11% threatened to tell or told other workers. When asked if their reactions "made things better," the women indicated that asking or telling the person to stop, avoiding the person, and reporting the behavior to a supervisor were generally the most effective informal actions. Only 3% of the women selected the four formal reactions, which included requesting an investigation by the company, filing a grievance, filing a discrimination complaint or lawsuit, or requesting investigation by an outside agency. Of these, 59% felt that those actions "made things better."[77]

In the Navy survey, it was found that less than 10% of women who had experienced sexual harassment during a recent year actually filed a formal grievance.[78] Further, Booth-Kewley and Bloom found that "respondents were much more likely to file a grievance if they expected that doing so would lead to a positive outcome" but that "less than half of the respondents overall expected that filing a grievance would lead to a positive outcome."[79]

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74. *See* Crull, *supra* note 58.
75. *See* Gruber & Bjorn, *supra* note 4.
76. *See* BARBARA A. GUTEK, SEX AND THE WORKPLACE (1985).
77. *See* SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROBLEM, *supra* note 4.
78. *See* Culbertson & Rosenfeld, *supra* note 3.
79. BOOTH-KEWLEY & BLOOM, *supra* note 44, at 9.

B.   Procedures

1.   Participants

The participant population of this study was female students enrolled in college or university classes in Southern California. In addition to attending classes, all participants were either working in paid employment at the time of participation in the study or had worked previously.

2.   Vignette Development

The vignettes of sexually harassing incidents used in this study were based upon those constructed by Terpstra and Baker. The researchers noticed that the severity continuum of the vignettes clustered into four levels, based upon the percentages of participants considering each vignette to be sexual harassment.[80] A total of seven vignettes were developed; participants were to read all of them. Then, four were presented a second time, this time requiring responses. Of these, one vignette from each of the top three levels of severity was selected. The fourth vignette described behavior considered to be not sexual harassment.

First Level: This vignette describes an incident where a woman is touched on the breast by a man. This incident was ranked most severe by Terpstra and Baker, after 100% of working women and 99% of female students agreed that it constituted sexual harassment.[81] The rating of this vignette as most severe is consistent with findings that suggest that physical contact is one of the strongest elements contributing to perceptions of harassment severity.[82]

Second Level: This vignette describes an incident where a man repeatedly requests a woman to have an affair with him. It was ranked sixth by Terpstra and Baker. While 91% of working women and 76% of female students believed that the incident was sexually harassing, the difference was not found to be statistically significant.[83]

Third Level: In this vignette, the plot consists of repeated requests for a date instead of an explicit sexual relationship; thus, the situation is considered to be less harassing. It was ranked eleventh in severity by Terpstra and Baker. Fewer working women (38%) than students (46%) perceived this as sexual harassment, but there was no statistically significant difference.[84]

Fourth Level: A fourth vignette was presented, which is similar in for-

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80. *See* David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *A Hierarchy of Sexual Harassment,* 121 J. PSYCHOL. 599 (1987) [hereinafter *Hierarchy*].

81. *See id.*

82. *See* James E. Gruber, *A Typology of Personal and Environmental Sexual Harassment: Research and Policy Implications for the 1990s,* 26 SEX ROLES 447 (1992).

83. *See* Terpstra & Baker, *Hierarchy, supra* note 80.

84. *See id.*

mat to those of Terpstra and Baker. It contains a greeting but no sexually harassing behavior.[85]

All of the vignettes were slightly modified for this study. First, a sentence was added to the end of each vignette stating that another woman observed the incident. Second, the names of the characters in the vignettes were changed from Mr. Y and Ms. X to Bill and Carolyn. Susan is the observer. With three characters instead of two in each vignette, it was believed that participants would be less likely to confuse characters if letters of the alphabet were not used for names. Also, it was expected to be easier for participants to take the perspective of a less formally named character.

3.   Measurement Instruments

Two independent variables were selected for this study. The first was the directness of the sexually harassing behavior and consisted of two levels: (a) women who were randomly assigned to the perspective of the direct victim of harassment, and (b) women who were randomly assigned as bystanders. The second was the severity of harassment, with four levels: (a) a situation involving unwanted sexualized touch; (b) a situation involving unwanted repeated request for an affair; (c) a situation involving unwanted repeated requests for a date; and, (d) a non-harassing situation involving a greeting.

Besides judgments of the offensiveness of the behavior described in the vignette, there were three dependent variables, all measures of reactions that may result from harassment: negative mental affect and depression, motivation for work, and level of assertiveness of work-related coping strategies.

Sex-role attitudes and performance self-esteem were examined as correlates of reactions to sexual harassment, the dependent variables.

Demographic and Background Questionnaire: A self-report demographic and background questionnaire gathered the following demographic information from all participants: sex, age, marital status, ethnicity, education, economic support, income, and number of dependent children. Also, the questionnaire sought information about the number of years employed, current employment status, and most significant work history.

Perceived Offensiveness Scale ("POS"): POS, a self-report bipolar, graphic rating scale, was used to measure participants' perceptions of harassment offensiveness for each vignette. Participants were asked to rate the offensiveness of the interaction in each vignette from their assigned point of view by placing a vertical mark on a 10 cm. line. Anchors worded *"extremely offensive"* on the left and *"extremely inoffensive"* on the right indicated the bipolar direction of the measure. This measure provided a manipulation check to ensure that participants' perceptions of the levels of harassment severity represented in the vignettes were similar to those reported

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85. *See id.*

by Terpstra and Baker.[86]

Multiple Affect Adjective Check List, Revised ("MAACL-R"): One dependent measure of psychological affect was obtained by the State Form of the MAACL-R.[87] This self-report instrument consists of 132 adjectives describing emotional affect or mood state.

Coefficient alpha for state Dysphoria for college students ranged from .83 to .90, and from .92 to .95 for clinical and hospital populations. Coefficient alpha for individual negative factors ranged from .74 to .83, while overall Positive Affect ranged from .90 to .93. Social desirability, as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne, did not correlate significantly with the scales.

The MAACL-R State Form was considered to be appropriate for this study, since the three factors constituting the Dysphoria Factor are the same affective reactions—depression, anger, and anxiety—reported by victims of sexual harassment.[88] Additional information was obtained based on the anxiety, hostility, and depression factors. The instrument was administered twice, at the beginning and at the end after the participants "experienced" (by reading the vignettes) the sexually harassing conditions.

Quick Mood Assessment Scale (QMA): The QMA, a bipolar, graphic rating scale that measures depression and elation, was constructed to assess the magnitude of the effect of mood induction. Participants are asked to rate their mood by placing a vertical mark on a 10 cm. line to indicate how they are feeling at that moment. Anchors worded *"extremely depressed"* on the left and *"extremely elated"* on the right indicate the bipolar direction of the measure.

Woelfel[89] reported that the QMA has high convergent validity $(r = .82)$ with the Differential Emotions Scale, a measure with demonstrated validity and reliability. Additionally, the QMA reflected the bipolar relationship between depression and elation $(r = -.62)$. Test-retest reliability was $r = .87$. The QMA in this study assessed depression induced by each of four vignettes representing different levels of sexual harassment severity. Because the measure can assess mood state quickly, it was expected to reduce the effect of mood deterioration.

Work Motivation Item: Possible instruments appropriate for the measurement of work motivation in this study were examined. Most of the surveyed measures of job satisfaction and motivation dealt with specific job features not relevant to this study. From surveys of sexual harassment consequences, it is clear that the element of motivation affected by sexual har-

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86. *See id.*

87. *See* MARVIN ZUCKERMAN & BERNARD LUBIN, MANUAL FOR THE MULTIPLE AFFECT ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST (Educ. and Indus. Testing Serv., San Diego, Calif. 1985).

88. *See* Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17.

89. *See* Cynthia A. Woelfel, The Effect of Mood on Time Perception (1986) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, California School of Professional Psychology (San Diego)) (on file with the California School of Professional Psychology, San Diego Library).

assment relates to one's ability to concentrate,[90] to feelings of distraction, and to dreading being in the workplace.[91]

Because of poor psychometric data of existing tests or a poor conceptual fit between other existing tests and this study, one item measuring motivation and based on face validity was employed. A bipolar graphic line was provided and participants placed a vertical mark indicating the impact of the harassing event upon their motivation and ability to concentrate. Anchor words included *"extremely less motivated"* written on the left and *"extremely more motivated"* on the right.

Work-Related Coping Strategies: Terpstra and Baker attempted to identify distinct forms of coping reactions to sexual harassment and to develop a classification scheme based upon those reactions. They observed that previous studies had employed closed-ended response categories when investigating the work-related coping strategies chosen by sexual harassment victims.[92] For example, as indicated previously, the U. S. Merit Systems Protection Board asked its sample which of seven types of informal and four types of formal reactions they had after being sexually harassed.[93] Since categories used were based on the researchers' speculations as to possible reactions, Terpstra and Baker felt that important reaction categories may have been overlooked. They asserted that the formulation of distinct and exhaustive categories would benefit future research by allowing for the systematic study of the effects of various responses to sexual harassment.[94] Both immediate and long-term consequences for victims could be better understood.

Terpstra and Baker sorted 5,148 open-ended responses into categories ordered in descending order of assertiveness to passiveness. Further, they determined the differences in employment of the categories of responses as a function of the seriousness of the incident.[95] In the present study, the hierarchical categories for more severe incidents of sexual harassment were used to assess the level of assertiveness of work-related coping strategies: (1) quit job, transfer; (2) report the sexual harassment incident either internally or externally; (3) physically or verbally react; (4) change self or environment, avoid or ignore protagonist, or do nothing. After reading each vignette, participants were presented the categories of coping strategies and informed of the order of assertiveness. Participants were asked to place a vertical mark on a graphic bipolar 10 cm. line indicating the level of assertiveness of their chosen response based on their assigned perspectives. Direction for the line

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90. *See* Crull, *supra* note 58.

91. *See* Jensen & Gutek, *supra* note 17.

92. *See* David E. Terpstra & Douglas D. Baker, *The Identification and Classification of Reactions to Sexual Harassment*, 10 J. ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAV. 1 (1989) [hereinafter *Identification*].

93. *See* SEXUAL HARASSMENT PROBLEM, *supra* note 4.

94. *See* Terpstra & Baker, *Identification*, *supra* note 92.

95. *See id.*

was indicated by anchor words of *"most passive"* on the left and *"most as-sertive"* on the right.

Attitudes Toward Women Scale, Short Form ("AWS-Short form"): The AWS-Short Form[96] measures traditional versus liberal sex-role attitudes by assessing an individual's attitudes toward the rights and roles of women in contemporary society. It consists of a series of 25 statements and respon-dents must indicate how much they agree or disagree with each statement.

The AWS-Short Form was normed on 241 female and 286 male college students. Using their total scores from the original AWS, the students were divided into quartiles, and a separate item analysis was conducted for each sex. The 25 items of the AWS Short-Form were selected, because they best discriminated among the quartiles of each sex and had the highest item-total correlations.

The internal-consistency reliability of the AWS-Short Form was esti-mated by Stanley, Boots, and Johnson. Coefficient alpha was .81 for 99 girls aged 12 to 16, .82 for 72 women, and .89 for 62 female and 88 male students.[97] Spence et al. assessed the validity of the measure. Correlations between the Short Form and the original measure were: .97 for 286 college men, .97 for 241 college women, .97 for 282 mothers of college students, and .96 for fathers of college students. Item-total correlations ranged from .31 to .73 for college students and from .14 to .70 for parents of college stu-dents. Additionally, college women scored significantly higher, meaning less traditional, than college men. Mothers of college students scored sig-nificantly higher than fathers of college students. College students scored significantly higher than their parents.[98]

Performance Self-Esteem (PSE) Scale: Because the focus of the present study is sexual harassment in the workplace, performance self-esteem in achievement settings was considered to be the most relevant self-esteem di-mension and was measured by the PSE Scale, a 40-item self-report scale de-veloped by Stake. The discriminant validity of the measure was tested in three ways. Social self-esteem and performance self-esteem were expected to be correlated positively but weakly, because they are both aspects of self-evaluation, even though they represent separate dimensions. Pearson corre-lation was found to be +.27 ($p<.01$), supporting the PSE Scale as a meas-urement of a separate and distinct factor of self-esteem. As predicted, com-mitment and motivation toward a career were found to correlate more strongly with the PSE Scale for women than for men. Finally, PSE Scale scores were found to be related to perceptions of past compliments or state-ments of others that were specific to aspects of a woman's ability or per-

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96. *See* Janet T. Spence et al., *A Short Version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS)*, 2 BULL. PSYCHONOMIC SOC'Y 219 (1973).

97. *See* Gordon Stanley et al., *Some Australian Data on the Short Version of the Atti-tudes To Women Scale (AWS)*, 10 AUSTRALIAN PSYCHOLOGIST 319 (1975).

98. *See* Spence et al., *supra* note 96.

formance but not to past compliments regarding her physical appearance.[99]

4.   Method

At times prearranged with the classroom instructor, a researcher invited a classroom of college students to participate in this study. They were given a packet containing the following materials in the order listed below (all of these materials are described in the above paragraphs): (1) Demographic and background questionnaire; (2) Multiple Affect Adjective Check List-Revised (MAACL-R); (3) Quick Mood Assessment (QMA) Scale; (4) Attitude Toward Women Scale-Short Form (ASW-Short Form); (5) Performance Self-Esteem (PSE) Scale; (6) Seven written vignettes with instructions; and (7) Four written vignettes with instructions (all of which had been presented previously), each now accompanied by the QMA Scale, the Perceived Offensiveness Scale, the question on work-motivation, the list of work-related coping strategies, and the MAACL-R.

Participants were asked to read the vignettes, which portrayed three characters who are peers in the workplace. In each vignette, an interaction between a man and a woman was described while a second woman observed. Half of the participants were asked to imagine themselves as the woman engaged in interaction with the man and to take her perspective when answering subsequent questions. The remaining half of the participants were asked to imagine themselves as the female observer and to take her perspective when answering subsequent questions. Participants who responded from the point of view of the woman interacting were considered "direct victims" of sexual harassment, while participants responding from the point of view of the observer woman were considered "bystanders."

Evidence for the efficacy of assigning participants differing points of view in a social-sexual encounter was demonstrated by Pryor and Day. They found that assigned point of view could alter interpretation of an event so that it seemed more or less sexually harassing.[100] Similarly, Bower reported that participants who were asked to read a story and empathize with a specific character tended to interpret the character's actions sympathetically and attributed his problems to external forces.[101]

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two stimulus conditions: vignettes instructing them to take the perspective of the direct victim or vignettes instructing them to take the perspective of the bystander. Because participants were expected to respond based on the order of the presentation of materials, two precautions were taken to minimize the arousal effects. First, participants were familiar with the vignettes because they had

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99.   *See* Jayne E. Stake, *The Ability/Performance Dimension of Self-Esteem: Implications for Women's Achievement Behavior*, 3 PSYCHOL. WOMEN Q. 365 (1979).

100.   *See* Pryor & Day, *supra* note 52.

101.   *See* Gordon H. Bower, *Experiments on Story Comprehension and Recall*, 1 DISCOURSE PROCESSES 211 (1978).

read seven of them, before four of them were presented a second time but this time requiring responses. Second, the order of presentation for both sets of vignettes was random.

While all students in the classroom were invited to participate, results were drawn from the data of women who reported work experience.

C. *Results*

1. *Perceived Offensiveness*

As a manipulation check to determine if participants perceived the vignettes as representing four increasingly serious levels of sexual harassment, perceived offensiveness was compared for each vignette. Means for Levels 1 through 4 were 2.39, 7.59, 8.63, and 9.19, respectively. Thus, participants perceived the order of severity of vignettes to be consistent with the design of the present study.

Analyses indicate that participants viewed each successive level of harassment severity as being significantly more offensive than the previous level. Means for perceived offensiveness of "direct victims" and "bystanders" were also compared at each level of severity. No significant differences were found by role.

2   *Effects of Sexual Harassment*

Negative Affect: On the MAACL-R Dysphoria Scale, participants reported significantly greater negative affect at posttest after experiencing the harassment conditions ($M = 99.83$) than at pretest prior to the experience ($M = 58.18$), $F_{(1, 160)} = 364.59$, $p<.001$. The rise in negative affect was significant for both roles: the negative affect for direct victims rose from the mean of 58.63 to 105.40, $F_{(1, 74)} = 229.48$, $p<.001$, while that for "bystanders" rose from the mean of 57.79 to 95.03, $F_{(1, 87)} = 144.40$, $p<.001$. No statistically significant differences in negative affect were found for "direct victims" and "bystanders" before or after the harassment experiences.

Depression: Depression was measured by the Quick Mood Assessment (QMA) Scale at the beginning of the study (pretest), after administration of each of the four vignettes representing differing levels of harassment severity, and at the end of the study (posttest). Statistical analysis consisted of a 2 X 6 ANOVA. The results are shown in Figure 5. Participants reported overall increases in depression, $F_{(5, 800)} = 162.72$, $p<.001$. The means for each measurement indicate that participants' depression increased as harassment severity increased, and then decreased at posttest.

Figure 5.

Average QMA depression at pretest, after harassment, and posttest for "Bystanders" and "Direct Victims."
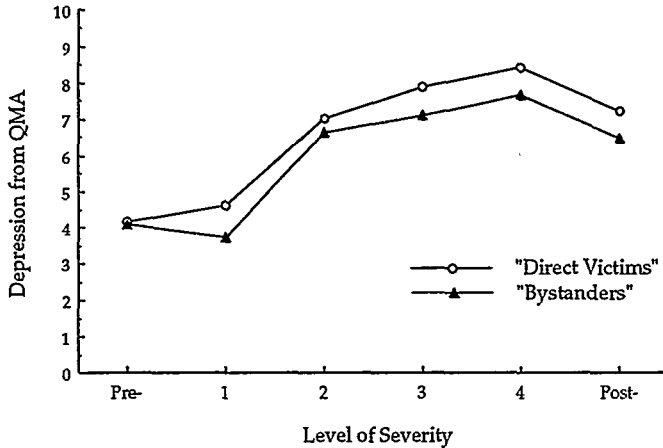
"Direct victims" reported an overall significant increase in depression, $F_{(5, 370)} = 89.09$, $p<.001$. An overall increase in depression was also significant for "bystanders," $F_{(5, 430)} = 76.90$, $p<.001$. There were no significant differences in depression between "direct victims" and "bystanders" at pretest before sexually harassing materials were introduced [$F_{(1, 160)} = 0.09$, $p<.76$], or at Level 2 [$F_{(1, 160)} = 1.73$, $p<.19$]; "direct victims'" depression was greater than "bystanders'" after experiencing Level 1[$F_{(1,160)} = 7.51$, $p<.007$], Level 3 [$F_{(1,160)} = 7.68$, $p<.006$], Level 4[$F_{(1,160)} = 5.58$, $p<.02$], and at posttest [$F_{(1,160)} = 7.47$, $p<.007$].

Motivation Loss: Motivation loss was measured using a graphic bipolar scale, and results were analyzed via a 2 X 4 ANOVA.

Overall, participants reported significant loss of motivation after exposure to the harassment conditions, $F_{(3, 480)} = 179.14$, $p<.001$. The means suggest that participants'' motivational loss increased with severity level. As expected, the additional loss of motivation with each successive level of harassment severity was statistically significant: Level 1 to 2 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 72.42$, $p<.001$; Level 2 to 3 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 9.02$, $p<.001$; Level 3 to 4 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 15.95$, $p<.001$.

Overall, "direct victims" reported a significant increase in motivational loss, $F_{(3, 222)} = 84.02$, $p<.001$, as did "bystanders," $F_{(3, 258)} = 95.75$, $p<.001$.

No significant differences in loss of motivation were found between "direct victims" and "bystanders" at Level 2 of harassment severity. "Direct

victims," however, reported significantly greater loss of motivation than did "bystanders" at Level 1, $F_{(1, 160)} = 4.42$, $p<.04$, Level 3, $F_{(1, 160)} = 8.87$, $p<.001$, and at Level 4, $F_{(1, 160)} = 7.12$, $p<.008$. The results are displayed in Figure 6.

Figure 6.
Average motivational loss and harassment severity for "Bystanders" and "Direct Victims."
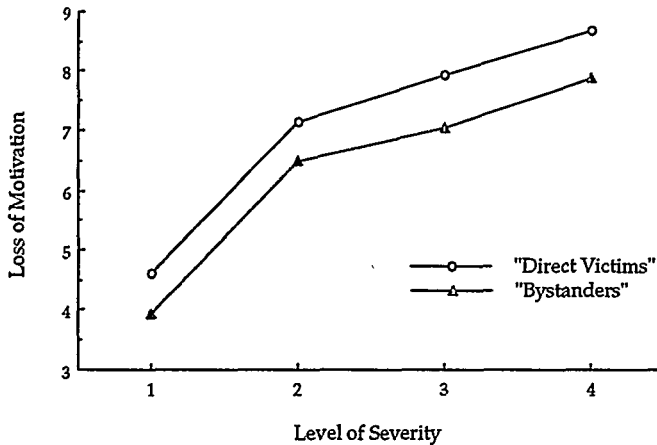
Work-Related Coping Strategies: Measurements of assertiveness of work-related coping strategies were taken from a bipolar graphic line, and analyzed using a 2 (role) X 4 (level of harassment) ANOVA. The results are shown in Figure 7. The coping strategies endorsed by all participants were found to be more assertive at each successive level of harassment severity.

The differences in assertiveness of strategies chosen increased significantly at subsequently more severe levels of harassing behavior: Level 1-2 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 180.13$, $p<.001$; Level 2-3 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 8.83$, $p<.001$; Level 3-4 was $F_{(2, 160)} = 39.50$, $p<.001$.

No differences were found between "bystanders" and "direct victims" regarding assertiveness of selected coping strategies at Levels 1 and 2: Level 1 was $F_{(1, 160)} = 1.92$, $p<.17$; Level 2 was $F_{(1, 160)} = 0.71$, $p<.40$. However at Levels 3 and 4 there were differences: Level 3 was $F_{(1, 160)} = 4.1156$, $p<.04$; and Level 4 was $F_{(1,160)} = 6.65$, $p<.01$. (See Figure 7).

Figure 7.

Average assertiveness of work-related coping strategies and harassment severity for "Bystanders" and "Direct Victims."
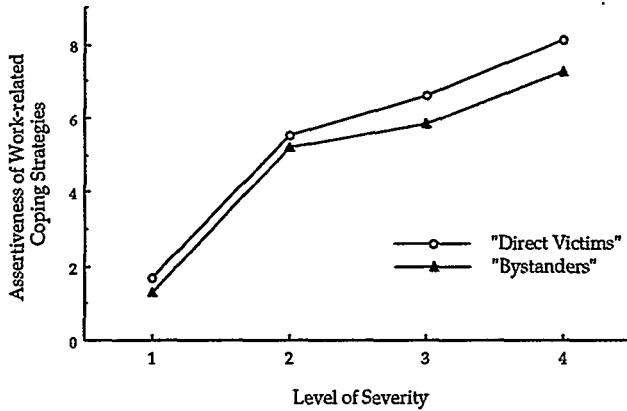
Sex-Role Attitudes: The relationship between participants' sex-role attitudes and the strength of sexual harassment consequences is shown in Table 7. The relationship is significant for "bystanders" but not for "direct victims."

Table 7.

Correlation Coefficients—Relationship of Sex-Role Attitudes to Reactions

	Overall	Direct Victims	Bystanders
Dysphoria			
Posttest	.02	-.04	.06
Depression			
Level 2	.16*	.15	.17
Level 3	.22	.10	.29*
Level 4	.13	.00	.20
Posttest	.16*	.19	.13
Motivation Loss			
Level 2	.06	.03	.08
Level 3	.13	.01	.22*
Level 4	.17*	.04	.25*
Strategy Assertiveness			
Level 2	.25**	.12	.32**
Level 3	.20**	.01	.32**
Level 4	.29***	.06	.44***

$* p<.05$
$** p<.01$
$*** p<.001$

Self-esteem: A weak negative relationship was found between the consequences of sexual harassment and performance self-esteem for "direct victims," $r = -.22$, $p = .05$. That is, "direct victims" whose performance self-esteem was lower tended to experience greater dysphoria after the sexually harassing condition than did "direct victims" whose self-esteem was higher. No relationships for "bystanders" were significant.

Loss of motivation was weakly and negatively related to performance self-esteem for "direct victims" at Level 3; $r = -.23$, $p = .05$. That is, overall participants higher in performance self-esteem lost less motivation than did those lower in performance self-esteem. No relationships were found for participants overall or for "bystanders."

IV. CONCLUSION

These results indicate that perceptions of sexual harassment vary based on the attitudes, gender, rank, and race of the perceiver. In turn, these differing perceptions influence what actions are recommended for sexual harassment incidents.

These issues become important in developing effective policy and grievance procedures as well as effective training programs. We found that junior-ranking individuals, regardless of gender and race, hold more tolerant attitudes towards sexual harassment, view it as less serious, and recommend lesser punishments than do senior-ranking groups. These results indicate that senior individuals seem to be aware of the issue of sexual harassment and purport a need to deal with the issue through action. This difference may be due to increased training and emphasis placed on sexual harassment for the management level, but not necessarily for employees or junior-level individuals. The lack of awareness of sexual harassment at the junior level, in conjunction with past incidence research that identifies peer harassment as the most prevalent and controversial, indicates a need to develop training for junior-ranking individuals that is focused on identifying and understanding sexual harassment. This seems to be an important step in dealing with the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace.

Another finding that has important implications for training is that attitudes towards sexual harassment are the best predictor of perceived seriousness and recommended actions in sexual harassment incidents. Attitudes are difficult to change; however, if we can change beliefs about the acceptance and appropriateness of sexual behavior in the workplace, we may be able to reduce the occurrence of sexual harassment. Changing attitudes towards less tolerance of sexual harassment in general may also reduce some of the ambiguity regarding what does and does not constitute sexual harassment, beyond extreme cases.

Factors affecting attitudes toward sexual harassment also deserve further attention. The findings of this study indicate that tolerance of sexual

harassment varies based on gender and rank characteristics. If we accept theory related to sex-roles and women in organizations, we would expect sexual harassment attitudes to be linked to sex-role attitudes and acceptance of women in the workforce. Understanding these attitudes, and the factors related to them, may offer more information for understanding how to prevent, identify, and deal with sexual harassment.

Perceptions of the organization's willingness to take action regarding sexual harassment were affected by the gender and rank of the participant. These findings are consistent with findings in organizational climate studies. The reasons for these differences in perceptions warrant further study.

Although reasons for victims not reporting sexual harassment were not directly assessed, different attitudes towards harassment, level of performance self-esteem, perceptions of what constitutes harassment, recommendations for what actions should be taken, and perceptions of organizations' willingness to deal with harassment may affect reporting behavior. If an incident is not perceived as serious harassment or requiring action, then there would be no need to report the incident. Also, tolerant attitudes towards harassment would imply that it is "normal" behavior and should be dealt with by the victim. On the other hand, if victims perceive an incident as serious and requiring action, but lack faith in organizations' willingness to deal with the issue through action, they may be hesitant to report the incident, feeling that nothing will be done, or that they will be blamed.

Finally, the current findings suggest that the consequences of sexual harassment extend far beyond the individuals directly involved. Sexual harassment, whether experienced directly or as a bystander, is an emotionally devastating event. Not only are victims and bystanders sometimes unable to respond effectively to the harassment, but their abilities to perform work may also be jeopardized. Thus, the cost of sexual harassment to organizations can be sizeable. If not addressed, the problems may lead to a loss of productivity, decreased worker satisfaction, increased turnover, and legal penalties. In short, organizations must monitor themselves, not just regarding the incidents of sexual harassment, but also regarding those variables which are antecedents of harassment behavior and perceptions of a hostile workplace. Training should be especially directed to junior personnel and address male/female differences in views as to what is acceptable behavior; attitudes regarding women in the workplace, sex roles, and sexual harassment; and the consequences of sexual harassment and of the continuation of a hostile workplace in terms of physical and mental health, motivation, and productivity.

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