THE IMPACT OF DIFFERENT VS. SAME SEX SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON BYSTANDER INTERVENTION

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

While sexual harassment is prevalent in the workplace, same-sex sexual harassment research is noticeably absent in the psychological literature. Specifically, there is a dearth of literature regarding the impact of same-sex compared to different-sex harassment on bystander intervention. Over the course of two vignette-based studies, I examined differences in bystander intervention behaviors between same-sex versus different-sex harassment situations. In Study 1, I examined how bystander heterosexism interacts with the sex makeup of the scenario to affect bystander intervention behaviors. In Study 2, I examined how bystander heterosexism interacts with the sex makeup of the scenario to affect bystanders' perceptions of the scenario, which ultimately influences bystander intervention behaviors.

Results from Study 1 indicated that those who were lower in heterosexism had lower intentions to label, intervene in, and report same-sex harassment versus different-sex harassment. There were no detectable differences in labeling, intervention, and reporting between same and different-sex harassment for those higher in heterosexism. Study 2 provided additional context, indicating that bystanders who were lower in heterosexism 1) held lower perceptions of the situation as severe, 2) noted more difference in attraction between the perpetrator and target, and 3) expressed less disgust in same-sex conditions. This ultimately led to lower intentions to label, intervene, or report in same-sex harassment as opposed to different-sex harassment. This study adds to the scant literature on same-sex harassment, and suggests the need to frame bystander

intervention in same-sex harassment as a necessary ally behavior for those lower in heterosexism in order to encourage equal involvement in same- and different-sex harassment.

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Contributors

This work was supervised by a thesis committee consisting of thesis advisor and Assistant Professor Isaac E. Sabat of the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, Professor Mindy E. Bergman of the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences, and Professor Ramona L. Paetzold of the Department of Management.

The data in Study 1 were collected and provided by Dr. Larry R. Martinez of Portland State University and Dr. Kayla B. Follmer of Salisbury University.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 1991 testimony of Anita Hill before the Senate Judiciary Committee, the phenomenon of workplace sexual harassment has been brought into the mainstream. Today, many targets of workplace sexual harassment have publicly acknowledged their harassment and named their perpetrators as part of the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements, both of which encourage people to stand in solidarity with those who have been targeted for harassment and work towards lasting societal change regarding the pervasiveness of workplace harassment. Even as people work to prevent sexual harassment, it remains a prevalent issue in organizations, and is linked to several negative outcomes including stress, decreased job satisfaction, increased turnover intentions, and absenteeism (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997; O'Connell & Korabik, 2000; Ilies, Hauserman, Schwochau, & Stibal, 2003; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Penalties for the organization associated with sexual harassment are also substantial, and have the potential to lead to court cases and legal settlements that can cost an organization many thousands of dollars as well as a damaged reputation (EEOC, n.d.).

Therefore, in order to help prevent sexual harassment and mitigate negative outcomes, organizations have implemented bystander intervention training programs. Bystander intervention programs like Green Dot or Bringing in the Bystander train people who may witness harassment or assault behaviors to actively intervene in or report such situations. Overall, these programs are effective at increasing behaviors geared towards the prevention of sexual harassment or assault within organizations

(Coker et al., 2011). Unfortunately, these training programs also rely on the idea that people perceive sexual harassment similarly, regardless of the demographic and personal characteristics of the individuals involved. In reality, prior research suggests that the perpetrator sex (Archer, 2000; Brown & Groscup, 2009; Smuts, 1992) and target sex (Davies, 2002; Davies, Pollard, & Archer, 2006; Herek, 1986; Katz, Hannon, & Whitten 1996) influence how bystanders perceive sexual harassment scenarios. Indeed, the biases held by a bystander regarding the demographic characteristics of the target and perpetrator also influence whether or not a bystander accurately assesses a situation as sexual harassment and engages in strategies to intervene (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Giuffre & Williams, 1994; Woods, Buchanan, & Settles, 2009).

Importantly, research has largely ignored how same-sex versus different-sex harassment differentially influences bystander intervention decisions. In the following sections, I attempt to ascertain if there are differences in bystander intervention behaviors toward same-sex harassment versus different-sex harassment situations and how these differences are impacted by the bystander's level of heterosexism.

Different Sex Versus Same Sex Sexual Harassment

While there is a dearth of literature specifically examining bystander perceptions of same-sex harassment, parallel lines of research in the sexual violence literature suggest that same-sex violence between men often leads to victim blaming because bystanders believe that men (who are stereotyped as strong and aggressive) should be able to physically stop their attackers (Davies, Pollard, & Archer, 2006; Herek, 1986; Potter, Fountain, & Stapleton, 2012). As a result, men victimized by other men are less

likely to experience intervention from bystanders, help from medical providers, or support from friends and family (Brown & Groscup, 2009; Burczyk & Standing, 1989; Davies, 2002). Same-sex violence between two women is dismissed for the opposite reason. Women are portrayed as nurturing, weak (both physically and mentally), and intrinsically nonviolent (Gilbert, 2002; Girshick, 2002; Perilla, Frndak, Lillard, & East, 2003). As such, bystanders have been found to believe that women are unable or unwilling to harass or abuse others (Hassouneh & Glass, 2008; Katz, Hannon, & Whitten 1996). Similar to male same-sex violence, women who are victimized by other women are less likely to experience intervention and support (Balsam, 2001; Dworkin & Yi, 2003; Hassouneh & Glass, 2008; Poorman, 2001). Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1a: Bystanders witnessing a same-sex versus a different-sex interaction will have lower levels of labeling the interaction as sexual harassment.

Hypothesis 1b: Bystanders witnessing a same-sex versus a different-sex interaction will have lower intentions to intervene in the interaction.

Hypothesis 1c: Bystanders witnessing a same-sex versus a different-sex interaction will have lower intentions to report the interaction.

Bystander Heterosexism

According to Fineran (2002, p. 66), "...homophobia and heterosexism, like sexual harassment, can be instruments that maintain male dominance and reinforce a heterosexual society." Heterosexism is discrimination or prejudice against sexual

orientation minorities based on the idea that heterosexuality is the "normal" sexual orientation. It is an overarching term used to describe the systemic centering of heterosexuality to the detriment of sexual orientation minorities. At the individual-level, heterosexist beliefs may impact a bystander's willingness to intervene in same-sex harassment for many reasons, including the ideas that anything outside of heterosexual relationships either does not exist, or if it does exist, is inappropriate and immoral (Giuffre & Williams, 1994). In many instances, high levels of heterosexism lead people to view same-sex behaviors as "neither intimate nor legitimate" (Bograd, 1999, p. 280; Letellier, 1994).

Research on bystanders of same-sex intimate partner violence indicates that people are less likely to perceive sexually aggressive behaviors between two same-sex individuals (McClennen, 2005). As society continues to center heterosexuality and heterosexual behavior as the norm, people might assume that sexual attraction between two individuals of the same-sex does not exist, even though it does. And if sexual attraction between same-sex individuals does not exist, then, by extension, neither does same-sex sexual harassment. Especially in cases of ambiguous sexual harassment, people might assume that individuals are just "playing around" or "joking" in the absence of explicit threats (Axam & Zalesne, 1999).

When bystanders perceive sexual attraction that is one-sided or clearly unwanted by the target, they perceive the situation as more sexually harassing (even though sexual harassment is rooted in power, not sexual attraction; Jones & Remland, 1992). Because research indicates that the average person attributes sexual harassment at least in part to

sexual attraction, a perceived lack of attraction or sexual intent between the two individuals in the scenario may cause the bystander to overlook a low-level, non-overtly threatening instance of sexual harassment (Burgess & Borgida, 1997; del Carmen Herrera, Herrera, & Expósito, 2018; Jones & Remland, 1992). As a result, heterosexist bystanders would perceive same-sex interactions as sexual harassment less often, as they may not perceive the potential for sexual attraction between two individuals of the same sex. Ryan and Wessel (2012) also found that if a perpetrator's intention to harm the target of sexual orientation-related harassment was ambiguous, then bystanders were less likely to view the behaviors as harmful and subsequently intervene.

Sometimes, even if a person does identify negative behaviors, they will still fail to engage in bystander intervention tactics. This could be a byproduct of blatant LGB discrimination if they believe that one or more of the people in the same-sex interaction is gay or lesbian. In one study on heterosexist prejudice, 50 percent of men and women surveyed stated "indifference" as an excuse as to why they failed to intervene in a real-life instance of bullying that occurred as a result of the target being gay or lesbian (Richman, Kenton, Helfst, & Gaggar, 2004). Previous researchers have suggested that anti-LGBT stigma and hostility lead to both an inability to identify same-sex violence and fears of association with the LGBT community (like the fear of being labeled gay or lesbian; Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray & Wimsatt, 2010; Potter, Fountain, & Stapleton, 2012), which inhibits bystanders from engaging in bystander intervention tactics such as directly intervening in a situation as it occurs or reporting the behaviors to authorities or others who will take action. Additionally, bystander intentions to intervene in LGBT

discrimination on a college campus were significantly associated with favorable attitudes towards LGBT individuals, as measured by an ambient heterosexism scale. Clearly, the negative views towards the LGB community that often inhibit prosocial bystander intervention tactics in heterosexist bullying may prevent bystander intervention in same-sex sexual harassment as well (Dessel, Goodman, & Woodford, 2017; Gini, Albiero, Benelli, & Altoè, 2007; Nickerson, Aloe, Livingston, & Feeley, 2014).

Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2a: Bystander heterosexism moderates the relationship between the sex makeup of an interaction and sexual harassment labeling such that bystanders with higher levels of sexual harassment who witness same-sex interactions as opposed to different-sex interactions will have lower levels of sexual harassment labeling.

Hypothesis 2b: Bystander heterosexism moderates the relationship between the sex makeup of an interaction and intentions to intervene in the interactions such that intentions to intervene will be lower for bystanders with higher levels of heterosexism who witness same-sex interactions as opposed to different-sex interactions.

Hypothesis 2c: Bystander heterosexism moderates the relationship between the sex-makeup of an interaction and intentions to report the interactions such that intentions to report will be lower for bystanders with higher levels of heterosexism who witness same-sex interactions as opposed to different-sex interactions.

STUDY 1 - METHOD

To test Hypotheses 1 and 2, I examined a pre-existing dataset from an experimental study on a nationwide sample of restaurant workers (n = 497) recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Restaurant workers were chosen due to the fact that they are frequently subject to especially high rates of sexual harassment from both coworkers and customers (Poulston, 2008). Participants read a scenario in which they were a bystander and coworker witnessing an instance of ambiguous sexual harassment (consisting of a touch and comment that are not explicitly sexual and could be interpreted in various ways) in a restaurant setting, in which the employee 'Sam' harassed another coworker, 'Alex'. Depending on the experimental condition, 'Sam' and/or 'Alex' were described as being male or female, thereby manipulating whether the interaction involved same-sex versus different-sex harassment. Each participant was randomly assigned to read one of the experimental conditions, after which they completed a questionnaire assessing whether they would label the scenario as sexual harassment, and whether they would intervene and report the conduct.

Measures

Labeling of Sexual Harassment. To assess whether the interaction was labeled as sexual harassment, participants were asked to rate the overall interaction presented in the scenario with one item on a 7-point Likert scale, where (1) is Strongly Disagree and (7) is Strongly Agree. The specific question was: "The interaction between Sam and Alex could be considered sexual harassment."

Intervention Intentions. Four items were created to assess participants' likelihood to intervene (α = .82). These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale where (1) Does not describe my actions at all, and (7) Describes my actions very much. The four questions were: "I would attempt to interrupt this interaction," "I would ignore this interaction," "I would confront Sam about this interaction," and "I would confront Alex about this interaction."

Reporting Intentions. Three items were created to assess participants' likelihood to report the interaction described in the scenario (α = .81). These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale where (1) Does not describe my actions at all, and (7) Describes my actions very much. The items are, "I would formally report this interaction to my supervisor immediately," "I would informally tell my supervisor about this interaction," and "I would not tell my supervisor about this interaction."

Heterosexism. The 10-item Revised Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gays (ATLG-R #1; Herek, 1997) scale was administered, using a 7-point Likert scale where (1) is Strongly Disagree and (7) is Strongly Agree (α = .97). Five of the items assess attitudes towards gay men, while the remaining five focus on attitudes towards lesbian women. Sample items include: "I think male homosexuals are disgusting," and "Sex between two women is just plain wrong."

STUDY 1 - RESULTS

In order to test my first hypothesis regarding differences in sexual harassment labeling, intervention intentions, and reporting intentions based on the sex makeup of scenario (same vs. different-sex), I conducted four multiple regressions, controlling for the age and gender of the participant[1]. I controlled for age and gender because research indicates that older individuals and women tend to report greater intentions to engage in bystander intervention effort (Ryan & Wessel, 2012). The means, standard deviations, and correlations for this study are located in Table 1. There were statistically significant differences between sexual harassment labeling ($F(3, 492) = 4.77$, $p = .003$, $R^2 = .028$) and intentions to intervene ($F(3, 491) = 3.104$, $p = .026$, $R^2 = .019$), such that participants witnessing same-sex harassment exhibited lower intentions to label the event as sexual harassment ($b = -.257$, $t = -2.414$, $p = .016$) and expressed fewer intentions to intervene ($b = -.325$, $t = -2.389$, $p = .017$) than those involved in different-sex harassment scenarios. However, there were no statistically significant differences on intentions to report ($F(3, 492) = 2.320$, $p = .075$, $R^2 = .014$) between same-sex and different-sex scenarios. Therefore, Hypotheses 1a and 1b were supported, while Hypothesis 1c was not supported.

[1] The individuals who originally collected the data for this study (which were presented at the 2014 Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology conference, but were not published elsewhere) examined questions similar to my Hypotheses 1a-c regarding the sex makeup of the condition on labeling, reporting, and intervention intentions using four sex conditions (male-female, female-male, male-male, and female-female). Although the questions are similar, I am reanalyzing this data using different-sex and same-sex conditions, and including the addition of the heterosexism variable for Hypothesis 2. The owners of this data collected the heterosexism variable, but did not present or publish it.

I conducted moderation analyses (Model 1) using Hayes' (2018) PROCESS macro for SPSS to assess the interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario and bystander heterosexism on perceptions of harassment and intentions to intervene and report. Again, I controlled for both the age and gender of the participant. This analysis found that there was an interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario and the bystander's level of heterosexism on sexual harassment labeling, $F(5, 490) = 4.60$, $p = .0004$, $R^2 = .045$. Specifically, when participants had low (1.00, $b = -.57$, $t = -3.78$, $p = .0002$, 95% CI [-.86, -.27]) or medium (2.05, $b = -.38$, $t = -3.32$, $p = .001$, 95% CI [-.60, -.15]) levels of heterosexism, they were less likely to label an event as sexual harassment when it occurred in same-sex versus different-sex contexts than those with high levels of heterosexism, (4.40, $b = .05$, $t = .31$, $p = .7570$, 95% CI [-.25, .34]). Further evidence for this was provided by the Johnson-Neyman approach, which revealed one area of significance for the moderator - all values of heterosexism less than 2.979. This area of significance represented 61.90 percent of the range of values and was therefore interpretable.

This interaction was also significant for intentions to intervene, $F(5, 489) = 3.22$, $p = .0072$, $R^2 = .0318$, such that when participants had low (1.00, $b = -.68$, $t = -3.52$, $p = .0005$, 95% CI [-1.05, -.30]) or medium (2.10, $b = -.45$, $t = -3.14$, $p = .0018$, 95% CI [-.73, -.17]) levels of heterosexism, they were less likely to intervene in same-sex versus different-sex sexual harassment scenarios than those with high levels of heterosexism, (4.40, $b = .02$, $t = .09$, $p = .9249$, 95% CI [-.35, .39]). Again, the Johnson-Neyman

approach revealed one area of significance for the moderator - all values of heterosexism less than 2.994 (representing 61.81 percent of the range of values).

Lastly, the overall interaction on reporting intentions was significant, $F(5, 490) = 2.52$, $p = .0288$, $R^2 = .0251$, such that participants with low levels of heterosexism were significantly less likely to report sexual harassment in a same-sex versus different-sex sexual harassment scenario, (1.00, $b = -.46$, $t = -2.24$, $p = .0197$, 95% CI [-.85, -.07]), than those with than those with medium (2.05, $b = -.27$, $t = -1.84$, $p = .0668$, 95% CI [-.57, .02]) or high levels of heterosexism, (4.40, $b = .14$, $t = 0.74$, $p = .4612$, 95% CI [-.24, .53]). The Johnson-Neyman approach yielded one area of significance for the moderator - all values of heterosexism less than 1.882 (representing 41.95 percent of the range of values). Therefore, Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c were not supported as the pattern of the interaction was contrary to my expectations.

STUDY 1 - DISCUSSION

A few key findings emerge from this study. Results showed that bystanders were most likely to label an event as sexual harassment and intervene in different-sex versus same-sex harassment scenarios. This aligns with parallel studies from the intimate partner violence literature (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009) indicating that participants were more likely to identify and take seriously harassing behaviors that occurred in different-sex contexts. While this may happen because the preponderance of sexual harassment occurs in different-sex dynamics (specifically, against females by males) and is therefore more readily identifiable, the inability of bystanders to label same-sex harassment at the same rate as different-sex harassment can be dangerous. Sexual harassment can happen to anyone, and researchers and practitioners must work to enable bystanders to recognize and take action against sexual harassment in all contexts.

As shown by the results, sexual harassment labeling and bystander intervention and reporting were lower for bystanders who witnessed same-sex interactions as opposed to different-sex interactions, and these differences in acknowledging harassment against same-sex versus different-sex individuals were more pronounced for individuals with lower levels of heterosexism. Initially, I expected those with higher levels of heterosexism would be less likely to intervene in and report same-sex harassment, because they were less likely to be aware of and/or have a desire to respond to sexualized interactions between two people of the same-sex. Interestingly, I found no differences in reporting behaviors for those higher in heterosexism.

It may be the case that those who scored lower on personal heterosexism were more willing to give same-sex interactions the benefit of the doubt, or that these individuals merely had stronger desires to appear non-prejudicial when indicating their perceptions of same-sex situations (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Alternatively, these findings may be explained by the difficulties associated with self-report measures of heterosexism. Specifically, many people understand that heterosexist views are less popular and tolerated than they were in the past, and will therefore try to respond in a socially desirable way (Jewell, 2007). Either way, my findings indicate that targets of same-sex harassment are less likely to be recipients of bystander intervention. This is important because bystander intervention is crucial to reducing and preventing instances of workplace sexual harassment, all forms of which are incredibly harmful to targets.

STUDY 2

The information in Study 1 indicated that the interaction of the sex composition of the scenario with heterosexism affected overall bystander intervention intentions. I found that those lower in heterosexism were less likely to engage in bystander intervention tactics during instances of same-sex harassment. To that effect, I conducted a second study examining possible mediating mechanisms that may transmit these interactive effects. As such, I incorporated perceptions of severity, attraction, morality, and disgust as potential mediating mechanisms.

Mediators

Severity. Research on bystanders' perceptions of the severity of a potential sexual harassment or assault scenario has shown that bystanders are more likely to label the situation as problematic and indicate an intent to intervene if they perceive the interaction as severe (Bennett, Banyard & Edwards, 2017). The severity of a situation is often thought of as a combination of person- and situation-based factors, including the target's perception of and reaction to the harassment as well as the threat brought forth by the action (e.g., is the action a lewd comment versus groping; Langhout et al., 2005).

Jones and Remland (1992) found that participants acting as bystanders perceived more severe behaviors (in this instance, a professor touching the inner thigh of a female student and engaging in quid pro quo harassment) as sexual harassment than less severe behaviors (a professor hugging or touching a female student on the shoulder). While there is a dearth of literature specifically examining the severity of same-sex harassment, there are parallel lines of research on sexual violence suggesting that sexual or sex-based

interactions involving different-sex dyads are perceived to be more serious or harmful than interactions involving same-sex dyads. Research on intimate partner violence shows that respondents are significantly more likely to believe that police should be called and any guns should be removed from the house in instances of different-sex intimate partner violence, indicating that respondents found different-sex intimate partner violence to be more severe than same-sex intimate partner violence (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009). As such, I believe that those in the different-sex harassment scenarios should perceive the interaction as more severe than those in same-sex harassment scenarios, which should lead to higher levels of labeling, intervention, and reporting.

Attraction. Bystanders' perceptions of attraction between a potential perpetrator and target influence how they view a possible situation of sexual harassment. Previous research shows that bystanders' lay perceptions of sexual harassment include the notion that romantic or sexual attraction is the impetus for harassing behaviors (Burgess & Borgida, 1997; del Carmen Herrera, Herrera, & Expósito, 2018). As such, if a bystander witnessing these potentially harassing behaviors perceives attraction from the perpetrator towards the target, they are more likely to assess that behavior as sexual harassment. Additionally, the difference in perceived attraction between the perpetrator and target also influences assessments of sexual harassment. For instance, if a man is making small talk with a woman at the bar and touches the small of her back, and the woman leans in to his touch, it is likely that she is enjoying his company. However, if that man touches the woman who then pushes his arm away and leaves, that is a strong indicator that she does not want to interact in that way with him. A bystander is unlikely to perceive

harassment in the first instance (regardless of whether or not the target perceives harassment), but is more likely to perceive that the behavior is harassment in the second instance.

Overall, I assert that bystanders should perceive less of an attraction difference in same-sex versus different-sex scenarios. That is, bystanders will indicate a more equal amount of attraction between the perpetrator and target in the same-sex condition, while those in the different-sex condition will indicate a greater difference in the perceptions of attraction between the perpetrator and target such that the perpetrator will be viewed as much more attracted to the target than the target is to the perpetrator. This is in line with a recent study showing that participants were significantly more likely to view sexual harassment as motivated by attraction when a woman was harassed by a man than when a man was harassed by a man (Brassel, Settles, & Buchanan, 2019). As bystanders should be more likely to percieve greater differences in attraction in different-sex interactions versus same-sex interactions, bystanders in the different-sex condition should be more likely to label the interaction as sexual harassment and intervene or report the incident.

Disgust. Similarly, the level of disgust a bystander has with an incident is likely to impact the labeling of sexual harassment. Disgust is considered to be an emotion based on a moral appraisal, which is "elicited by purity violations of body or soul" (Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2013, p. 2070). Sociomoral disgust specifically occurs when people are repulsed at those who commit "vulgar violations against others," such as harassment or abuse (Horberg, Oveis, Keltner, & Cohen, 2009, p. 964). When a person

experiences disgust towards an individual or action, they tend to inflict harsher moral judgements against that person or action and reject those who are no longer considered good or civilized (Horberg et al., 2009; Schnall, Benton, & Harvey, 2008). Moral outrage (often described as the combination of anger and disgust) elicited in bystanders by interpersonal incivility has been shown to lead to an increased intent to take action in uncivil situations (Moisuc et al., 2018).

In the intimate partner violence literature, researchers note that there are certain expectations or myths about what is considered the threshold for violation and who can be violated (Balsam, 2001; Brown, 2008; Burke & Follingstand, 1999). Specifically, gender role socialization and societal heterosexism contribute to the stereotypes that men are physically violent with women and women emotionally manipulate men, but that those of the same sex are either not violent with each other or are equally matched and should be able to protect themselves from harm (Balsam, 2001; Brown, 2008; Burke & Follingstand, 1999; McLaughlin & Rozee, 2001). Such stereotypes create narratives surrounding who can or cannot be a victim of abuse or harassment, and impacts who is likely to receive help (Brown, 2008). If a person cannot be victimized by another person of the same sex, then a violation cannot occur, and disgust will not be elicited as a result of the interaction. As such, I expect that the myths surrounding sexual harassment victimization will be impacted by the sex makeup of the scenario, such that bystanders will indicate more disgust in the different-sex scenario than in the same-sex scenario, resulting in higher labeling, intervention, and reporting intentions.

Morality. Prior research indicates that people often decide how they will react to others based on perceptions of morality (Studzinska & Hilton, 2017; Wojciszke, 2005; Wojciszke, Abele, & Baryla, 2009). If a person is perceived to be a moral, their actions are more likely to be supported and approved of by others than if they are perceived as immoral (Goodwin, 2015). For instance, Studzinska and Hilton (2017) note individuals often base perceptions of whether others have good or bad intentions based on their prior judgments of their morality. For instance, a qualitative interview of migrant farmers highlighted one female farmworker who was offered money by her boss in exchange for sex. This woman indicated that she thought the proposition was made in jest, "...only because I thought he was a trustworthy person" (Waugh, 2010, p. 252). After this experience she realized that she had not taken the sexually offensive jokes he made to others seriously because she perceived him to be a moral person (Waugh, 2010). Even though he engaged in bad behavior, he was given the benefit of the doubt.

Initial judgements of others' morality are often reflective of biases and various societal norms and expectations. For instance, as men are most often the perpetrators of sexual harassment and assault, they are often characterized as "morally bankrupt" in their pursuit of sexual pleasure, especially against women (Glick et al., 2004). A study evaluating perceptions of sexual harassment perpetrators showed that bystanders perceived male perpetrators as significantly less moral than female perpetrators in instances of different-sex harassment (Studzinska & Hilton, 2017). These findings reflect narratives of societal power and the centering of heterosexuals, in which harassment is traditionally conceptualized as straight, cisgender men (who are thought to

hold more physical and societal power than women) overpowering straight, cisgender women. Scenarios outside of the one just described are not as readily acknowledged by bystanders. Because different-sex sexual harassment (especially in the male-to-female context) is more often portrayed as a betrayal of a societal moral code, bystanders should be more likely to view the perpetrators in different-sex harassment scenarios as less moral than those in same-sex scenarios, and should be more likely to label, intervene, and report.

Therefore, with regard to the aforementioned mediators, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3a: Perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality combine to mediate the relationship between bystanders witnessing sex-related interactions and their sexual harassment labeling, such that bystanders witnessing same-sex interactions versus different-sex interactions will have lower levels of sexual harassment labeling as a result of the mediation.

Hypothesis 3b: Perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality combine to mediate the relationship between bystanders witnessing sex-related interactions and their intentions to intervene, such that lower levels of intervention intentions would be expected for bystanders witnessing same-sex interactions versus different-sex interactions as a result of the mediation.

Hypothesis 3c: Perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality combine to mediate the relationship between bystanders witnessing sex-related interactions and their intentions to report, such that lower levels of reporting

intentions would be expected for bystanders witnessing same-sex interactions versus different-sex interactions as a result of the mediation.

Moderator

***Heterosexism*.** Similar to Hypotheses 2a-c in Study 1, I also believe that the bystanders' heterosexism should impact their overall likelihood of labeling sexual harassment, intervening, and reporting the incident. Because those with higher levels of heterosexism often view same-sex sexually-related behaviors as "neither intimate nor legitimate," they might not assume that the low-level behavior described in the scenario is sexual harassment when it occurs between same-sex individuals, or they might be indifferent to the behavior (Bograd, 1999, p. 280; Axam & Zalesne, 1999; Richman, Kenton, Helfst, & Gaggar, 2004). As such, they will be less often view same-sex behaviors as being severe, as involving attraction, as being disgusting, or as being immoral, which will subsequently cause them to avoid labeling, intervening, and reporting the incident. Specifically, I argue:

Hypothesis 4a: The indirect effects of perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality will be moderated by bystander heterosexism, such that bystanders with higher levels of heterosexism will have lower levels of sexual harassment labeling in interactions involving same-sex interactions than different-sex interactions.

Hypothesis 4b: The indirect effects of perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality will be moderated by bystander heterosexism, such that bystanders with higher levels of heterosexism will be associated with lower levels of

intentions to intervene in interactions involving same-sex interactions than different-sex interactions.

Hypothesis 4c: The indirect effects of perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality will be moderated by bystander heterosexism, such that bystanders with higher levels of heterosexism will be associated with lower levels of intentions to report in interactions involving same-sex interactions than different-sex interactions.

STUDY 2 - METHOD

Participants

Sample size estimation is difficult for a moderated serial mediation model. It is not very straightforward and cannot simply be plugged into a statistical calculator. Therefore, I consulted a variety of statistical literature indicating that a "rule of thumb" minimum sample size per condition should equal at least 50 participants (Simmons, Nelson, & Simonsohn, 2013; VanVoorhis & Morgan, 2007). As I have four scenarios (Male-Male, Male-Female, Female-Male, Female-Female) that are collapsed into same- and different-sex conditions, I solicited 350 participants with a goal of reaching approximately 75 participants per condition (or 300 participants total). Participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), and were paid $0.50 for participating (a common rate for a 10 minute survey).

The final sample includes 285 participants (157 in the different-sex condition and 128 in the same-sex condition) with valid data. Participants from the original group of 350 who did not complete the survey or pass the necessary manipulation checks were dropped. All individuals identified as U.S. citizens, currently employed in a traditional office setting for 40 or more hours a week. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 77 with an average age of 36.45 (*SD* = 11.28). They identified as men (*n* = 167, 58.6%), women (*n* = 114, 40.0%), genderqueer (*n* = 1, 0.4%), and three (1.1%) chose not to report their gender. Regarding race, 53 identified as Black (18.6%), 18 as Asian (6.3%), 17 as Latino/Latina/Hispanic (6.0%), 2 as Native American/Alaska Native (0.7%), 2 as Middle Eastern or North African (0.7%), and 201 (70.5%) as White. Participants were allowed

to select as many races as applied to them. The majority of the sample (*n* = 265, 89.8%) identified as straight, while four (1.4%) identified as lesbian, five (1.8%) identified as gay, 18 (6.3%) identified as bisexual, and two (0.7%) self-described as asexual and questioning.

Measures

Scenario. Similar to Study 2, participants read an experimental vignette that depicted ambiguous sexual harassment. This time, however, the vignette took place in an office setting. Again, one character touched the other character inappropriately on the waist, making a suggestive comment. The target is touched on the waist because prior research has indicated the a touch on the waist is moderately harassing, but depends quite a bit on the context in which the touch is administered and therefore leaves room for bystander interpretation (Lee & Guerrero, 2001). In an office setting, there is typically no need to touch another individual on or around the waist, which may signal that this touch is non-normal. Additionally, I substituted the gender-neutral names of Alex and Sam for more gender-conforming names: Sean, Rob, Pam, and Lucy. The switch to more gender conforming names was to ensure participants were more aware of the sex of the perpetrator and the target. The same measures were used for perceptions of sexual harassment, perceptions of harassment severity, and intentions to intervene or report as were used in Study 2, and all items are listed in Appendix B.

Perception of Severity. Participants answered three questions regarding their perceptions of the severity of the situation. These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and asked the participants

to rate the degree to which the interaction was inappropriate, offensive, and unimportant. Upon examination, Item 3 ("The interaction...was unimportant.") was dropped to improve scale reliability ($\alpha = .50$ to $\alpha = .74$).

***Perceptions of Attraction*.** Participants were asked to measure their level of agreement with 10 statements assessing perceived attraction between the target and perpetrator ($\alpha = .52$ for perpetrator subscale; $\alpha = .80$ for target subscale). These questions were adapted from Burgoon and Hale's (1987) scale on attraction, and were rated on a 5-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (5) Strongly Agree. Sample items include: "[Name 1] was attracted to [Name 2]," and "[Name 2] wanted [Name 1] to trust (him/her)." From these subscales, the perceptions of attraction score was created by dividing the score on the perpetrator subscale by the total amount of attraction perceived in the situation. For example, if a bystander indicated an average of 3.5 on the questions assessing the amount of attraction a perpetrator felt towards the victim, and a 1.5 on the questions assessing the amount of attraction the victim felt towards the perpetrator, the overall score would be 0.7. Higher numbers indicates the perpetrator is more attracted to the victim than the victim is to the perpetrator.

Perceptions of Disgust. Participants responded to a four-item scale (Harman-Jones, Bastian, & Harmon-Jones, 2016) regarding their feelings of disgust as elicited by the interaction between the perpetrator and target ($\alpha = .95$). These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and asked the participants to rate the degree to which the interaction made them feel grossed out, revulsed, sick, and nauseous.

***Perceptions of Morality*.** Participants answered a three-item scale (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007) regarding their perceptions of the morality of the perpetrator ($\alpha = .92$). These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and asked the participants to rate the degree to which they found the perpetrator honest, sincere, and trustworthy.

***Bystander Intervention Intentions - Intervention*.** Participants answered four questions regarding their intentions to intervene ($\alpha = .77$). These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and asked whether they would take the following actions: break up the interaction; ignore the interaction; talk to the perpetrator; or talk to the target.

***Bystander Intervention Intentions - Reporting*.** Participants answered three questions regarding their intentions to report. These questions were rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and asked whether they would take the following actions: formally report the interaction to a supervisor; not tell a supervisor; and tell a coworker about the interaction. Upon examination of the scale reliability ($\alpha = .52$), items 2 and 3 were dropped, and reporting was assessed using the item: "I would report this item to my supervisor."

***Labeling Sexual Harassment*.** Participants answered one question regarding their perception of sexual harassment towards the target. This question was rated on a 7-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) Strongly Agree, and assessed the degree to which the participant agreed or disagreed that the interaction between the two individuals was sexual harassment.

Manipulation Check. The manipulation check asked participants to recall the sex of the perpetrator, the sex of the target, as well as who was standing on the step stool. Participants who failed any of these manipulation checks were excluded from analyses.

Heterosexism. Participants answered 16 questions ($\alpha = .94$) regarding heterosexist beliefs (Goodrich, Selig, & Crofts, 2014; Park, 2001). This measure used a 5-point Likert scale from (1) Strongly Disagree to (5) Strongly Agree, and consisted of 16 questions focusing on modern-day perceptions of gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals. Sample items from the measure include, "An anti-discrimination law is incomplete without the inclusion of sexual orientation," and "I think lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals are unfit as teachers."

Demographics. Finally, I asked participants a series of demographic questions to include age, gender, race, and sexual orientation. Additionally, participants responded to the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ-DoD-s; $\alpha = .97$; Stark, Chernyshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2001), which assesses experiences of workplace sexual harassment. I used this variable to control for previous experiences with workplace sexual harassment, as these experiences have been shown to influence sexual harassment awareness (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1996).

STUDY 2 - RESULTS

Hypotheses 1a-c

In order to test my first set of hypotheses regarding differences in sexual harassment labeling, intervention intentions, and reporting intentions based on the sex makeup of the scenario (same vs. different-sex), I conducted three multiple regressions, controlling for the age, gender, and previous negative sexual experiences of the participant. Table 2 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations between all independent and outcome variables in Study 2.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that participants would have lower levels of labeling the interaction as sexual harassment in the same-sex condition versus the different-sex condition. The multiple regression model for Hypothesis 1a showed that there were no significant differences in sexual harassment labeling as a result of the sex makeup of the scenario (b = -.028, $t(274)$ = -.147, p = .884). Contrary to predictions, the sex makeup of the scenario did not make a difference on sexual harassment labeling outcomes. Thus, Hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that participants in the same-sex condition would have lower levels of intervention intentions in the situation. The multiple regression model indicated that the sex makeup of the scenario had a significant negative regression weight (b = -.501, $t(274)$ = -2.199, p = .029). This shows that those in the same-sex scenario had lower intentions to intervene than those in the different-sex scenario. Therefore, Hypothesis 1b was supported.

Finally, Hypothesis 1c predicted that participants in the same-sex condition would have lower levels of reporting intentions in the situation. The multiple regression model indicated that the sex makeup of the scenario had a significant negative regression weight (b = -.508, $t(272)$ = -2.152, p = .032). This indicates that those in the same-sex condition had lower intentions to report than those in the different-sex condition, supporting Hypothesis 1c.

Overall, sexual harassment labeling was not affected by the sex makeup of the scenario. However, the sex makeup of the scenario impacted intentions to intervene and report such that bystanders indicated lower intentions to intervene and report when in the same-sex sexual harassment condition than in the different-sex harassment condition.

Hypotheses 2a-c

To test my second set of hypotheses, I conducted three moderation analyses (PROCESS Macro [Hayes, 2018] Model 1) to assess the interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario and bystander heterosexism on sexual harassment labeling and intentions to intervene and report. Again, I controlled for the age, gender, and previous sexual harassment experiences of the participant.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that bystander heterosexism would moderate the relationship between bystanders' observations of sex-related interactions and their sexual harassment labeling, such that observing same-sex interactions would predict decreased sexual harassment labeling compared to different-sex interactions, especially for those with higher levels of heterosexism. Contrary to what was predicted in Hypothesis 2a, this analysis found that there was no interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario

and bystander heterosexism on sexual harassment labeling, $b = .3268$, $t(272) = 1.67$, $p = .0965$. This indicates that bystander heterosexism did not have a significant impact on the relationship between the sex makeup of the scenario and sexual harassment labeling outcomes. Hypothesis 2a was not supported.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that bystander heterosexism would moderate the relationship between bystanders' observations of sex-related interactions and their intentions to intervene in the interactions, such that observing same-sex interactions would predict lower intentions to intervene compared to different-sex interactions, especially for those with higher levels of heterosexism. A moderation analysis for Hypothesis 2b found that there was no interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario and bystander heterosexism on intentions to intervene, $b = .4205$, $t(272) = 1.76$, $p = .0792$. This indicates that bystander heterosexism did not significantly impact the relationship between the sex makeup of the scenario and bystanders' intentions to intervene in the scenario. Hypothesis 2b was not supported.

Finally, Hypothesis 2c predicted that bystander heterosexism would moderate the relationship between bystanders' observations of sex-related interactions and their intentions to report the interactions, such that observing same-sex interactions would predict lower intentions to report compared to different-sex interactions, especially for those with higher levels of heterosexism. A moderation analysis for Hypothesis 2c found that there was no interaction between the sex makeup of the scenario and bystander heterosexism on intentions to report, $b = .3976$, $t(270) = 1.61$, $p = .1089$. The bystanders' heterosexism did not significantly impact the relationship between the sex makeup of the

scenario and bystanders' intentions to report the scenario, and Hypothesis 2c was not supported.

Therefore, contrary to Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c, bystander heterosexism does not moderate the direct relationship between the sex makeup of the scenario and a bystander's intention to label the situation as sexual harassment, intervene in, or report the situation.

Hypotheses 3a-c

Twelve separate mediation analyses (PROCESS Macro [Hayes, 2018] Model 4) using 10,000 bootstrap estimates for the construction of 95% confidence intervals (CIs) were conducted to determine whether the sex makeup of the scenario indirectly influenced a) sexual harassment labeling, b) intentions to intervene, and c) intentions to report through bystander perceptions of severity, attraction, disgust, and morality. While the original set of hypotheses called for parallel mediation, a partial correlation analysis of the mediators partialling out the sex makeup variable indicated that the mediators (perceptions of severity, disgust, attraction, and morality) were moderately to highly correlated. In multiple mediation, the specific indirect effect of a mediator indicates the part of the total indirect effect that is unique to the mediator in question. If the mediators are highly correlated (as is the case here), one mediator can cancel out the potential effects of another mediator (Hayes, 2018; Hayes & Preacher, 2012). As such, the mediators were not considered in parallel and were instead run independently in the mediation analyses. I found that there was no mediation for the indirect effects of

severity, attraction, and morality (see Table 3). Therefore, I focus on the indirect effects of disgust below.

Sexual Harassment Labeling. A mediation analysis demonstrated that there was a mediating effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on sexual harassment labeling through perceptions of disgust (indirect effect: b = -.1617, SE = .0708, 95% CI [-.31,-.03]) such that same-sex versus different-sex scenarios predicted lower sexual harassment labeling through decreases in perceptions of disgust (see Figure 2a).

Intention to Intervene. A mediation analysis also demonstrated that there was a mediating effect of the sex makeup of a scenario on bystander intentions to intervene through perceptions of disgust (indirect effect: b = -.2525, SE = .1085, 95% CI [-.48,-.05]), such that same-sex versus different-sex scenarios predicted lower intentions to intervene through decreases in perceptions of disgust (see Figure 2b).

Intention to Report. Finally, a mediation analysis demonstrated that there was a mediating effect of the sex makeup of a scenario on bystander intentions to report through perceptions of disgust (indirect effect: b = -.2607, SE = .1148, 95% CI [-.49,-.04]), such that same-sex versus different-sex scenarios predicted lower intentions to report through decreases in perceptions of disgust (see Figure 2c).

Overall, results demonstrated that bystander perceptions of disgust at the situation mediated the relationship between the sex makeup of the scenario and a) sexual harassment labeling, b) intentions to intervene, and c) intentions to report, such that those in the same-sex sexual harassment scenarios indicated lower levels of disgust and

subsequently lower intentions to label, intervene in, and report harassment. These results provide partial support for Hypotheses 3a, 3b, and 3c.

Hypotheses 4a-c

To assess the conditional indirect effects of the sex makeup of the scenario on the outcome variables of interest through the four mediators, moderated by bystander heterosexism, I conducted twelve moderated mediation analyses (PROCESS Macro [Hayes, 2018] Model 8) using 10,000 bootstrap estimates for the construction of 95% CIs. I used the 16th, 50th, and 84th percentile values of bystander heterosexism to represent low, moderate, and high levels of bystander heterosexism, respectively. Additionally, the age, sex, and previous sexual harassment of the participant were again controlled for in each model. The conditional indirect effects and 95% CIs can be found in Table 4.

Sexual Harassment Labeling. As shown in Table 4, bystander heterosexism moderates the indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on sexual harassment labeling through perceptions of severity (index of moderated mediation = .3644, 95% CI[.10, .65]), attraction (index of moderated mediation = .1275, 95% CI[02, .25]), and disgust (index of moderated mediation = .3117, 95% CI[.15, .49]), but not through perceptions of morality.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on sexual harassment labeling through severity was negative among those lower in heterosexism (heterosexism = 1.250), but not significant for those moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) or higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). This indicates that for bystanders lower

in heterosexism, those assigned to the same-sex condition perceived the scenario as less severe than those in the different-sex condition did, which was subsequently associated with lower levels of sexual harassment labeling.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on sexual harassment labeling through perceptions of attraction was negative among those lower in heterosexism (heterosexism = 1.250), but not significant for those moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) or higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). This means that individuals lower in heterosexism who were in the same-sex condition perceived less of a difference in attraction between the perpetrator and the target than those in the different-sex condition, which was subsequently associated with lower levels of labeling the incident as sexual harassment.

Finally, the conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on sexual harassment labeling through perceptions of disgust was negative among those lower (heterosexism = 1.250) and moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) in heterosexism. This effect was not significant for those higher in heterosexism. For individuals lower in heterosexism, being in the same-sex condition was associated with lower disgust at the scenario, which in turn was associated with lower levels of labeling the incident as sexual harassment.

Intentions to Intervene. Bystander heterosexism also moderates the indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intentions to intervene through perceptions of severity (index of moderated mediation = .2142, 95% CI[.05, .41]) and disgust (index

of moderated mediation = .4718, 95% CI[.23, .73]), but not through perceptions of attraction or morality.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intention to intervene through severity was negative among those lower in heterosexism (heterosexism = 1.250), but not significant for those moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) or higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). For those lower in heterosexism, being in the same-sex condition was associated with perceiving the situation as less severe, which in turn was associated with lower intervention intentions.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intentions to intervene through disgust was negative among those lower (heterosexism = 1.250) and moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) in heterosexism. The effect was not significant for those higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). For those low in heterosexism, bystanders assigned to the same-sex versus different-sex condition indicated less disgust at the scenario, which in turn was associated with lower intervention intentions.

Intentions to Report. Similar to the results of intention to intervene, bystander heterosexism moderates the indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intentions to report perceptions of severity (index of moderated mediation = .3276, 95% CI[.09, .58]) and disgust (index of moderated mediation = .5340, 95% CI[.28, .81]), but not through perceptions of attraction or morality.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intention to report through severity was significant and negative among those lower in heterosexism (heterosexism = 1.250), but not significant for those moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) or

higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). For those lower in heterosexism, assignment to the same-sex condition was associated with perceiving the situation as less severe, which in turn was associated with lower reporting intentions.

The conditional indirect effect of the sex makeup of the scenario on intentions to report through disgust was significant and negative among those lower (heterosexism = 1.250) and moderate (heterosexism = 2.375) in heterosexism. The effect was not significant for those higher in heterosexism (heterosexism = 3.125). Among those lower in heterosexism, bystanders in the same-sex condition indicated less disgust toward the scenario than those in the different-sex condition, which in turn was associated with lower reporting intentions.

Overall, results from the moderated mediation models indicate that bystander heterosexism impacts bystander perceptions of severity, attraction, and disgust in response to same-sex versus different-sex harassment. Among those lower in heterosexism, same-sex harassment predicted lower perceptions of severity, followed by lower intentions to label, intervene in, and report the harassment. Similarly, among those lower in heterosexism, same-sex harassment predicted lower perceptions of difference in attraction, followed by lower intentions to label the scenario as sexual harassment. Finally, among those lower to moderate in heterosexism, same-sex harassment predicted lower disgust, followed by lower intentions to label, intervene in, and report the harassment. As none of the conditional indirect effects were statistically significant for those with higher values of heterosexism, Hypotheses 4a, 4b, and 4c were not supported.

STUDY 2 - DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine various potential explanations for why bystanders observing same-sex sexual harassment were less likely to engage in bystander intervention techniques than those observing different-sex sexual harassment. First, results from Study 2 indicated that bystanders in the same-sex condition were less likely to label, intervene, and report sexual harassment than those in the different-sex conditions. This mirrors results from the intimate partner violence literature, which show that individuals are more likely to identify harassing behaviors in different-sex contexts (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009).

Second, this study reaffirms the importance of bystander perceptions of severity (Jones & Remland, 1992), attraction differences (Burgess & Borgida, 1997), and disgust (Balsam, 2001; Brown, 2008) on bystander intervention outcomes. Contrary to expectations, however, bystanders who were lower in heterosexism perceived less severity, less difference in attraction, and less disgust in same-sex situations, which led to lower overall bystander intervention outcomes. Conversely, there were no detectable differences on 1) perceiving the situation as severe, 2) noting a difference in attraction between the perpetrator and target, and 3) expressing disgust in same-sex situations versus different-sex situations for those higher in heterosexism. As a result, there were fewer differences in labeling, intervention, and reporting based on the sex makeup of the interaction for those higher in heterosexism.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Contrary to predictions, results from Study 1 indicated that those who were lower in heterosexism had lower intentions to label, intervene in, and report same-sex harassment, while there were no differences in labelling, intervention, and reporting in same- versus different-sex harassment scenarios for those higher in heterosexism. Study 2 provided additional context and explanation to these findings, indicating that those who were lower in heterosexism had lower perceptions of severity, lower perceptions of differences in attraction between the perpetrator and target, and lower disgust in same-sex conditions, which led to lower intentions to label, intervene, or report in same-sex harassment as opposed to different-sex harassment. The theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed below.

Theoretical & Practical Implications

This paper advances the understanding of how bystanders react differently to same and different-sex sexual harassment. Extending the existing research on same-sex sexual harassment (Giuffre & Williams, 1994; Jones & Remland, 1992; Smirles, 2004; Wayne et al., 2001), results from both Study 1 and Study 2 mirrored results from the intimate partner violence literature and showed that individuals are more likely to intervene in harassing behaviors in different-sex contexts (Sorenson & Thomas, 2009). This paper also highlights the important role of bystander perceptions of the situation and individuals involved, confirming that bystanders indicate greater intentions to intervene if: 1) they perceive the interaction as severe (Bennett, Banyard & Edwards, 2017); 2) the perpetrator appears to be more attracted to the target than the target is to

the perpetrator (Burgess & Borgida, 1997); and 3) the bystander views the situation as disgusting (Horberg et al., 2009; Schnall, Benton, & Harvey, 2008).

Even more specifically, however, this study highlights the role that bystander heterosexism plays in shaping the perceptions of severity, attraction, and disgust. The findings from this study contradict previous theories that suggest heterosexist prejudice would reduce reporting behaviors for those witnessing same-sex harassment, give that increased anti-LGBT stigma has been conceptualized as a factor that prevents bystander intervention in same-sex scenarios (Potter, Fountain, & Stapleton, 2012). Prior research has typically shown that those who are higher in heterosexism are also often higher in sexism and rape myth acceptance (Black, Oles, & Moore, 1998; Kassing et al., 2005), which often predicts lower intentions to intervention (Banyard, 2008; Stein, 2007). Generally speaking, this means that those who are low in heterosexism (and therefore low in rape myth acceptance and sexism) are more likely to label sexual harassment and engage in bystander intervention behaviors. So why do people who are low in heterosexism fail to label, intervene in, and report same-sex harassment when they are generally more likely to engage in bystander intervention behaviors overall?

One possible explanation is that those who scored lower on heterosexism were more willing to give same-sex interactions the benefit of the doubt when it came to harassing a target of the same sex, or that these individuals merely had stronger desires to appear non-prejudicial within all types of same-sex situations (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). Prior research has indicated that heterosexual allies may be anxious in new situations with perceived sexual minorities because they fear accidentally behaving

in offensive ways (Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2000). Herek (2009) believes that these affective reactions mediate the relationship between personal levels of prejudice and acting in stigmatizing or harmful ways. Thus, these individuals who indicate low levels of heterosexism might resist bystander intervention in same-sex harassment situations rather than misread an ambiguous sexual harassment scenario and appear biased or homophobic.

The desire to appear non-biased also has implications for instances of bystander intervention outside of the same-sex/different-sex scenarios. For instance, transgender and non-binary individuals are frequently targeted for sexual harassment (James et al., 2016). The harassment itself is also likely to be unique, as most transgender and non-binary individuals report that the harassment they experience is both trans/non-binary-phobic as well sexual in nature. In instances like these, transgender and non-binary individuals rely on allies to intervene, sometimes as a matter of life and death. If allies hesitate because they are afraid of how their actions may be perceived as biased, then the target of harassment is unlikely to receive the needed help. Even as society has become less accepting of prejudice towards various stigmatized groups, we need to be cautious that these generally positive attitudes do not negatively influence bystander intervention behaviors overall. As such, researchers should seek to determine both *which* perceptions and biases shape bystander intervention and *how* perceptions and biases shape bystander intervention in harassment encounters.

Assuming that bystanders who do not help in same-sex situations would do so if they felt more empowered, I recommend that creators and/or administers of bystander

intervention training programs make concerted efforts to highlight the discrepancy in bystander intervention behaviors between different and same-sex scenarios. Specifically, it could be helpful to reframe interventions as a form of allyship that ultimately supports LGBT individuals who are harassed by individuals of the same sex. Increasing the intervention self-efficacy of a bystander has been a proven way to increase a person's confidence in their bystander intervention skills and willingness to engage in intervention behaviors (Banyard, Moynihan, & Plante, 2007). Reframing bystander intervention as a necessary ally behavior might encourage those who are low in heterosexism to move beyond any fears or hesitation they may have.

Additionally, bystander training programs should do more to highlight same-sex sexual harassment overall. Many current training programs do not explicitly address same-sex harassment (although some briefly address same-sex rape and intimate partner violence; Potter et al., 2012). As such, training programs should do more than briefly acknowledge that sexual harassment can occur regardless of the sex of the individuals involved. Specific examples of same-sex harassment should be used to highlight the impact of harassment and the assumptions people make that prevent bystander intervention. Because as people who are low in heterosexism may be more likely to engage in bystander intervention behaviors overall (Black, Oles, & Moore, 1998; Banyard, 2008; Kassing et al., 2005; Stein, 2007), providing concrete examples of same-sex harassment may increase same-sex harassment intervention to the point where intervention occurs at least as often as intervention in different-sex harassment. Ignorance is the enemy of bystander intervention. Awareness of sexual harassment is

critical to both prevention and mitigation (Stockdale, Vaux, Cashin, 1995), and the inability to label, report, and intervene in same-sex harassment with the same frequency as different-sex sexual harassment negatively affects targets of same-sex harassment.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

One of the primary limitations of these studies was the limited number of participants exhibiting high levels of heterosexism. Given this, I was unable to clearly assess any differences that may exist between people who are truly lower and those who are truly higher in heterosexism. Future studies on heterosexism's impact on bystander intervention should take this into account, as researchers may wish to purposefully oversample heterosexist individuals or develop measures to assess true, implicit biases towards non-heterosexuality to determine if any differences do occur.

Additionally, while vignette studies have been important in the sexual harassment field, they do not provide the participant/bystander with the same type of information that they would encounter in real life. The vast body of sexual harassment research identifies many different variables (e.g., the attractiveness of the perpetrator and target, the ethnicities of the individuals involved, their gender-role congruence) that impact bystander intervention. My bystanders were limited by what little information I gave them. Future research could include images or video vignettes to enhance the realism and generalizability of this design.

Same-sex harassment is an understudied phenomenon -- as such, there are many future avenues of study. Because perceptions of disgust was the only significant standalone mediator, I believe an examination of *what*, exactly, impacts perceptions of

disgust is crucial. It would be important to know whether or not the scale used for disgust was interpreted similarly by those high and low in heterosexism (e.g., is the action of the perpetrator driving disgust? Or the breaking of gender norms?). Similarly, a better understanding of what drives differences in perceptions of attraction and severity at different levels of heterosexism could provide additional insight into why there were differences in labeling, intervention, and reporting between same- and different-sex scenarios.

Finally, this study did not manipulate the sexual orientation or disclosure decisions of the perpetrator or target, and did not capture individuals outside of the false dichotomy of male and female. This is important to note, because many in the LGBT community experience sexual harassment that forms at the intersection of sexist and heterosexist prejudices (Brassel, Settles, & Buchanan, 2018; Konik & Cortina, 2008; Rabelo & Cortina, 2014). Expanding sexual harassment research to be more inclusive of various stigmatized identities is crucial to the creation and implementation of more equitable sexual harassment training programs.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the present study sought to expand the understanding of same-sex sexual harassment. The primary objective was to examine the differences in bystander intervention behaviors between same and different-sex sexual harassment scenarios, as well as the role that bystander heterosexism plays in these relationships. The results indicated that those who were relatively low in heterosexism were less likely to label sexual harassment, intervene, and report in the same-sex condition as opposed to the different-sex condition. Because of the relatively few participants with high levels of heterosexism, future research efforts should be made to examine differences at the upper end of the heterosexist spectrum.

The present findings have implications for both academics and practitioners who study and implement sexual harassment training programs. Bystander intervention programs are designed to expose future bystanders to a range of behaviors they may encounter, and teach them specific intervention techniques that can prevent or stop sexually harassing behaviors. As same-sex harassment is less common than different-sex harassment overall, it is important to purposefully include examples of common same-sex sexual harassment scenarios. Knowledge of the issues surrounding same-sex harassment may enhance bystander awareness of same-sex harassment incidences and stimulate bystander intervention behaviors. In a post-#MeToo world, more people recognize the urgency of effective bystander intervention training programs. Future studies in this area should intentionally look beyond the typical "male perpetrator-female target" narrative to better reflect the realities of workplace sexual harassment. In doing

so, we enable the creation of policies and practices that reduce harassing behaviors towards all employees.

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APPENDIX A:

TABLES AND FIGURES

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Table 1. Correlations of the Independent and Dependent Variables in Study 1

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Sex Composition[a]	0.49	0.50	--	-.098*	-.098*	-.042	-.005	-.022	.073
2. Sexual Harassment Labeling	5.23	1.19		--	.488**	.520**	-.014	.020	.123**
3. Intention to Intervene	4.11	1.52			--	.688**	-.018	-.055	.077
4. Intention to Report	3.96	1.56				--	.020	-.105	.035
5. Bystander Heterosexism	2.72	1.71					--	.148**	-.069
(6) Participant Age	32.5	10.5						--	.029
(7) Participant Gender[b]	0.54	0.50							--

[a]Coded 0 = Different Sex and 1 = Same Sex; [b]Coded 0 = Male and 1 = Female
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$

Table 2. Correlations between All Study 2 Independent Variables and Outcome Variables

	M	*SD*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. DSvSS	0.45	0.50	-.029	-.104	-.042	.051	-.118*	-.103	-.173**	.081	-.007	-.151*	-.139*
2. Age	36.22	11.11	--	.007	-.162**	-.023	.073	.141*	-.052	-.072	.035	-.041	-.108
3. Gender	0.41	0.49		--	.057	-.140*	.148*	.129*	.237**	-.079	.110	.157**	.142*
4. SEQ	26.00	13.80			--	.204**	-.126*	-.416**	.058	.406**	-.182**	.135*	.104
5. Heterosexism	2.30	0.94				--	-.207**	-.220**	.038	.206**	-.284**	-.048	-.070
6. Severity	5.33	1.49					--	.343**	.498**	-.540**	.589**	.280**	.382**
7. Attraction	0.65	0.11						--	.203**	-.477**	.349**	.096	.066
8. Disgust	4.03	1.78							--	-.314**	.324**	.480**	.503**
9. Morality	2.12	1.16								--	-.495**	-.126*	-.194**
10. SH Labeling	5.29	1.61									--	.269**	.420**
11. Intervention	4.00	1.44										--	.629**
12. Reporting	3.83	1.36											--

Note. DSvSS = Different Sex vs. Same Sex condition; SEQ = Sexual Experiences Questionnaire; SH Labeling = Sexual Harassment Labeling.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 3: Indirect Effects of the Sex Makeup of the Scenario on Labeling, Intervention, and Reporting Through Mediators

	Consequent		
Mediator	*Sexual Harassment Labeling*	*Intention to Intervene*	*Intention to Report*
Severity	R^2 = 0.3853 $F(5, 273) = 34.2230$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.1960 95%CI[-.4277, 0.0354]	R^2 = 0.1393 $F(5, 273) = 8.840$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.1150 95%CI[-.2267, .0221]	R^2 = 0.2143 $F(5, 271) = 14.785$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.1465 95%CI[-.3420, .0503]
Attraction	R^2 = 0.1285 $F(5, 273) = 8.050$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.1031 95%CI[-.2406, .0088]	R^2 = 0.0768 $F(5, 273) = 4.545$, $p = .0005$ *Indirect effects* = -.0603 95%CI[-.0806, .0080]	R^2 = 0.0657 $F(5, 271) = 3.811$, $p = .0024$ *Indirect effects* = -.0423 95%CI[-.1406, .0157]
Disgust	R^2 = 0.1523 $F(5, 273) = 9.809$, $p < .0001$ ***Indirect effects* = -.1617** **95%CI[-.3117, -.0317]**	R^2 = 0.2374 $F(5, 273) = 17.001$, $p < .0001$ ***Indirect effects* = -.2525** **95%CI[-.4769, -.0535]**	R^2 = 0.2590 $F(5, 271) = 18.916$, $p < .0001$ ***Indirect effects* = -.2607** **95%CI[-.4913, -.0417]**
Morality	R^2 = 0.0805 $F(5, 273) = 18.371$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.1386 95%CI[-.3252, .0381]	R^2 = 0.0851 $F(5, 273) = 5.078$, $p = .0002$ *Indirect effects* = -.0608 95%CI[-.0887, .0170]	R^2 = 0.1095 $F(5, 271) = 6.666$, $p < .0001$ *Indirect effects* = -.0768 95%CI[-.2013, .0367]

Note. Table displays bootstrapped coefficients for regression model parameters. DS v SS indicates Different Sex versus Same Sex conditions.

Table 4: Conditional Indirect Effects of the Sex Makeup on Labeling, Intervention, and Reporting Through Mediators at Levels of Bystander Heterosexism.

	Sexual Harassment Labeling		Intention to Intervene		Intention to Report	
Heterosexism	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Severity						
Low (1.250; 16th %)	-.5545	[-.9141, -.2336]	-.3260	[-.5792, -.1179]	-.4785	[-.7922, -.1950]
Moderate (2.375; 50th %)	-.1445	[-.3742, .0710]	-.0850	[-.2290, .0413]	-.1099	[-.3031, .0836]
High (3.125; 84th %)	.1288	[-.2004, .4645]	.0757	[-.1188, .2872]	.1358	[-.1437, .4403]
IMM:	**.3644**	**[.0971, .6488]**	**.2142**	**[.0509, .4090]**	**.3276**	**[.0930, .5841]**
	Sexual Harassment Labeling		Intention to Intervene		Intention to Report	
Heterosexism	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Attraction						
Low (1.250; 16th %)	-.2187	[-.4119, -.0654]	-.1276	[-.3116, -.0011]	-.0863	[-.2674, .0489]
Moderate (2.375; 50th%)	-.0753	[-.1975, .0189]	-.0439	[-.1281, .0152]	-.0288	[-.1144, .0235]
High (3.125; 84th%)	.0204	[-.1281, .1519]	.0119	[-.0649, .1201]	.0095	[-.0616, .0975]
IMM:	**.1275**	**[.0205, .2530]**	.0744	[-.0015, .2004]	.0511	[-.0296, .1664]
	Sexual Harassment Labeling		Intention to Intervene		Intention to Report	
Heterosexism	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Disgust						
Low (1.250; 16th %)	-.5064	[-.7931, -.2555]	-.7665	[-1.722, -.4088]	-.8465	[-1.262, -.4674]
Moderate (2.375; 50th%)	-.1557	[-.3075, -.0210]	-.2356	[-.4520, -.0379]	-.2457	[-.4706, -.0277]
High (3.125; 84th%)	.0781	[-.0842, .2440]	.1182	[-.1247, .3662]	.1548	[-.1183, .4290]
IMM:	**.3117**	**[.1497, .4939]**	**.4718**	**[.2323, .7342]**	**.5340**	**[.2771, .8090]**
	Sexual Harassment Labeling		Intention to Intervene		Intention to Report	
Heterosexism	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI	Effect	95% CI
Morality						
Low (1.250; 16th %)	-.2671	[.1125, -.0663]	-.1152	[-.2711, -.0021]	-.1642	[-.3519, -.0049]
Moderate (2.375; 50th%)	-.1111	[.1875, -.1106]	-.0479	[-.1462, .0241]	-.0619	[-.1794, .0472]
High (3.125; 84th%)	-.0071	[.0750, -.0442]	-.0031	[-.1217, .1139]	.0063	[-.1563, .1730]
IMM:	.1387	[-.0590, .3322]	.0598	[-.0243, .1709]	.0910	[-.0325, .2334]

Note. IMM = Index of Moderated Mediation. 10,000 bootstrap samples.

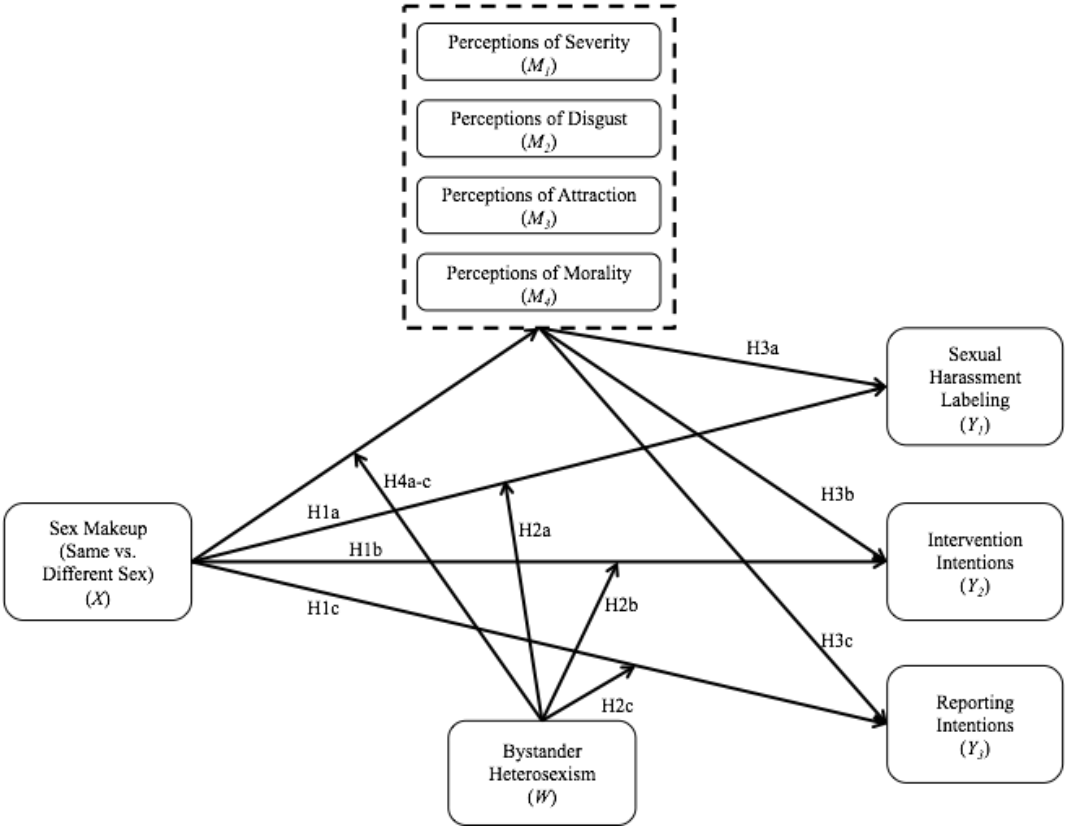

Figure 1: Combined Study 1 and Study 2 Hypotheses

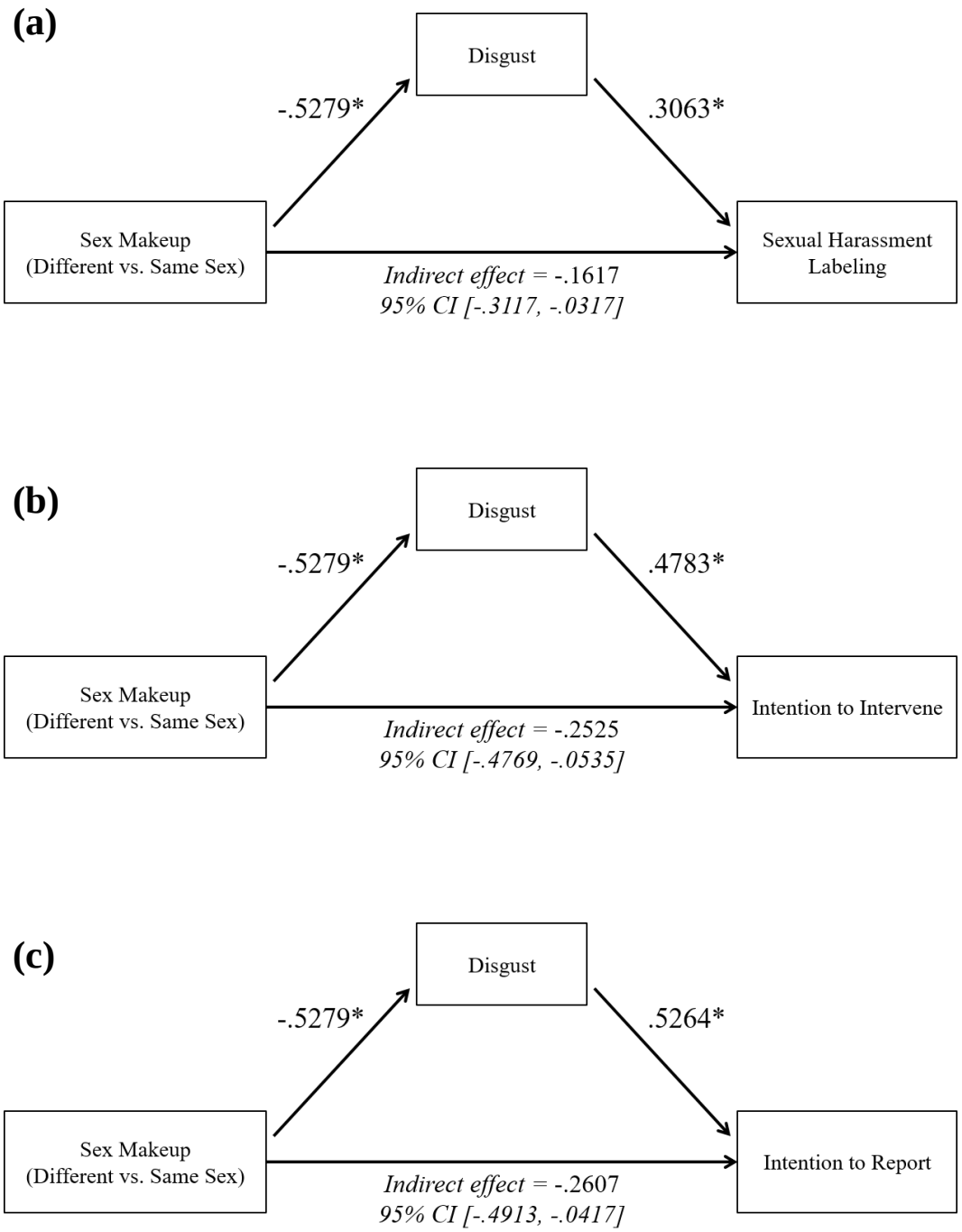

Figure 2: Path coefficients for simple mediation analyses on sexual harassment labeling (top), intentions to intervene (middle), and intentions to report (bottom). Figure displays bootstrapped coefficients for regression model parameter, 10,000 bootstraps.

APPENDIX B:

STUDY 2 QUALTRICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Prescreening Questions
Are you age 18 or older?
Are you a United States citizen?
Are you currently employed full time (40+ hours per week)?
Are you currently employed in a traditional office setting?

Pre-Survey Demographics
How many years of experience do you have working in a traditional office setting?
(Open Response)

Vignette

Participants will be presented with one of the following combinations:

- Perpetrator Male
  - Male Target
  - Female Target
- Perpetrator Female
  - Male Target
  - Female Target

(Names switch between Pam, Sean, Rob or Lucy)

Pre-Vignette: You see the following interaction between two of your coworkers, [Name 1] and [Name 2]. We will ask you a few questions about [Name 2] and [Name 1] later, so please TRY TO REMEMBER WHO [Name 2] IS AND WHO [Name 1] IS.

Vignette: After clocking-in at work for the day, you stop at the breakroom to place your lunch in the refrigerator. The refrigerator is just outside of the office supply storage closet. In the storage closet your coworker [Name 2] is standing on a step stool trying to get down a box of printer paper. [Name 1] follows [Name 2] into the closet. You hear (him/her) ask, "[Name 2], do you need help getting that down?" (He/She) replies, "No, I can get it down myself." As you look up, you see [Name 1] walk over to [Name 2], reach up, and put (his/her) hand on (his/her) hip. [Name 1] repeats, "Are you sure you don't need help?" [Name 2] brushes (his/her) hand away and replies, "No, I can get it," to which [Name 1] says, "Well that's too bad. I thought we could have made working a little more fun today."

Questionnaire

Perceptions of Attraction

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)

[Name 1] didn't care if [Name 2] liked (him/her).
[Name 1] was attracted to [Name 2].
[Name 1] wanted the discussion to be close and private.
[Name 1] wanted [Name 2] to trust (him/her).
[Name 1] was interested in talking to [Name 2].

[Name 2] didn't care if [Name 1] liked (him/her).
[Name 2] was attracted to [Name 1].
[Name 2] wanted the discussion to be close and private.
[Name 2] wanted [Name 1] to trust (him/her).
[Name 2] was interested in talking to [Name 1].

Adapted from: Burgoon, J. K., & Hale, J. L. (1987). Validation and measurement of the fundamental themes of relational communication. *Communications Monographs, 54*(1), 19-41.

Perceptions of Morality

Please rate the degree to which you find [Name 1]: (1 = Not at all, 7 = Completely)

- Honest
- Sincere
- Trustworthy

Leach, C. W., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: the importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluation of in-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 234-249.

Perceptions of Disgust

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There are no right or wrong answers. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

The interaction between [Name 1] and [Name 2] made me feel:

- Grossed out
- Revulsed
- Sick
- Nauseous

Harmon-Jones, C., Bastian, B., & Harmon-Jones, E. (2016). The discrete emotions questionnaire: A new tool for measuring state self-reported emotions. *PloS one, 11*(8), e0159915.

Perceptions of Severity:

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There are no right or wrong answers. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

The interaction between [Name 1] and [Name 2] was inappropriate.
The interaction between [Name 1] and [Name 2] was offensive.
The interaction between [Name 1] and [Name 2] was unimportant.

Bystander Intervention Intentions - Intervention:

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There are no right or wrong answers. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

I would step in to break up this interaction.
I would ignore this interaction.
I would talk to [Name 1] about this interaction.
I would talk to [Name 2] about this interaction.

Bystander Intervention Intentions - Reporting:

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There are no right or wrong answers. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

I would report this interaction to my supervisor.
I would not tell my supervisor about this interaction.
I would tell a coworker about this interaction.

Perceptions of Sexual Harassment:

Based on the scenario, please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. There are no right or wrong answers. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree)

The interaction between [Name 1] and [Name 2] was sexual harassment.

Manipulation Check

According to the scenario that you read, who was standing on the step stool?

[Name 1] [Name 2]

What was [Name 1]'s sex?

Male Female

What was [Name 2]'s sex?

Male Female

Heterosexism Scale

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree)

1. All sexual orientations are natural expressions of human sexuality.
2. Positive aspects of various sexual orientations should be included in public education.
3. I believe that the lives of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals could not be as fulfilling as those of heterosexual individuals.
4. Only heterosexual individuals are appropriate religious leaders.
5. I think society will benefit from fostering equal opportunity employment for lesbian gay and bisexual individuals.
6. Heterosexual couples make better candidates for parents than do same-sex couples for adoption.
7. I would accept my sibling's partner regardless of his or her sex.
8. No one sexual orientation is better than any other sexual orientation.
9. An anti-discrimination law is incomplete without the inclusion of sexual orientation.
10. There is no reason to restrict lesbian, gay, or bisexual individuals from working in the military
11. I think lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals are unfit as teachers.
12. I would not think less of my coworker if I found out he or she was a lesbian, gay, or bisexual individual.
13. My relationship with my friend would change if I found out that he or she was not heterosexual.
14. I make sure to invite the partner of my lesbian or gay friend to social functions.
15. In general, heterosexual people are more psychologically adjusted than lesbian, gay, and bisexual people.
16. Legalization of same-sex marriage is dismantling the fundamental foundations for society.

Originally from: Park, J. (2001). Heterosexism Scale. Unpublished dissertation.

Cited in: Goodrich, K. M., Selig, J. P., & Crofts, G. (2014). An examination of the Heterosexism Scale. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *61*, 1378-1392.

Demographic Questions

What is your age?

18-100+ in dropdown

What is your gender?

Man

Woman

I prefer to self-describe, (*please specify*):

What describes your race/ethnicity (*check all that apply)*?

Black
Asian
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
Latina/Latino/Hispanic
Native American/American Indian
Middle Eastern or North African
White/European American
I prefer to self-describe, (*please specify*):

How would you describe your sexual orientation?

Heterosexual (Straight)
Lesbian
Gay
Bisexual
I prefer to self-describe, (*please specify*):

Sexual Harassment Experiences:

Read each of the situations listed and then indicate how often, on average, you have had this experience in the workplace. Some questions may appear repetitive, but please answer them despite this. (Never, Once, Sometimes, Often, Very Often).

Have you ever been in a situation where a supervisor or coworker:

1. repeatedly told sexual stories or jokes that were offensive to you?
2. made unwanted attempts to draw you into a discussion of sexual matters?
3. made crude and offensive sexual remarks about your appearance, body, or sexual activities?
4. made gestures or used body language of a sexual nature which embarrassed or offended you?
5. treated you "differently" because of your sex?
6. displayed, used, or distributed sexist or suggestive materials?
7. made offensive sexist remarks?
8. "put you down" or was condescending to you because of your sex?
9. made unwanted attempts to establish a romantic sexual relationship with you despite your efforts to discourage it?
10. continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you said "no"?
11. touched you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable?
12. made unwanted attempts to stroke, fondle, or kiss you?
13. made you feel like you were being bribed with a reward to engage in sexual behavior?
14. made you feel threatened with some sort of retaliation for not being sexually cooperative?
15. treated you badly for refusing to have sex?
16. implied faster promotions or better treatment if you were sexually cooperative?

Stark, S., Chernyshenko, O. S., Lancaster, A. R., Drasgow, F., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2002). Toward standardized measurement of sexual harassment: Shortening the SEQ-DoD using item response theory. *Military Psychology, 14*(1), 49-72.

Please indicate the frequency with which you have experienced the following: (1 = Never, 5 = Very Often)

On average, how often have you personally observed sexual harassment in the workplace over the course of your career?

On average, how often have you personally experienced sexual harassment in the workplace over the course of your career?