

BYSTANDERS' REACTIONS TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT

A Dissertation

by

CLAUDIA BENAVIDES ESPINOZA

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2009

Major Subject: Kinesiology

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ABSTRACT

Bystanders' Reactions to Sexual Harassment. (May 2009)

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Sexual harassment is associated with negative consequences for victims and bystanders. Because 9 in 10 victims do not report harassment, understanding bystanders' reactions to sexual harassment is important. Thus, my dissertation's purpose was to advance the literature by analyzing bystanders' responses to sexual harassment by means of three studies.

In Study 1, I examined bystanders' preferred punishment as a function of the harassment type and organizational culture. Participants were undergraduates ($N=107$) enrolled in physical activity classes at a Southwestern United States university (males $n=53$, 50%, females $n=53$, 50%; largely Caucasian $n=79$, 74.5%; age $M=21.61$, $SD=2.70$). The results indicate that harassment type affected bystanders' punishment preferences ($\beta=.55$, $p<0.01$). While the workplace culture did not directly affect punishment preferences ($\beta=-.06$, $p=0.49$), it moderated the relationship between harassment type and preferred punishment ($\Delta R^2=.03$, $\beta=.31$, $p<0.05$) such that quid-pro-quo harassment in proactive organizations resulted in the harshest punishment recommendations.

In Study 2, I analyzed bystanders' reactions to different punishment levels delivered to the harasser. Participants were undergraduates ($N=122$) enrolled in activity classes at a Southwestern United States university (males $n=68$, 56.2%, females $n=53$, 43.8%; largely Caucasian $n=94$, 77.7%; age $M=20.00$, $SD=2.00$). The results revealed that congruity, or lack thereof, between their preferred punishment and the actual punishment affected their negative emotions ($\Delta R^2=0.04$, $\beta=-0.30$, $p<0.01$), organizational justice perceptions ($\Delta R^2=0.11$, $\beta=0.47$, $p<0.01$), and cultural consistency beliefs ($\Delta R^2=0.02$, $\beta=0.19$, $p<0.05$).

In Study 3, I investigated bystanders' responses to different harassment levels as influenced by the organizational culture. Participants were undergraduates ($N=183$) enrolled in activity classes at a Southwestern United States university (males $n=113$, 61.7%, females $n=66$, 36.1%; largely Caucasian $n=132$, 72.1%; age $M=19.84$, $SD=1.37$). The results indicated that the harassment severity was positively associated with bystanders' intentions to intervene ($\beta=.32$, $p<0.001$). The type of organizational culture did not affect willingness to act ($\beta=-.07$, $p=0.32$), possibly given the personal investment required by taking action. Alternatively, personal characteristics (i.e., political views) may supersede environmental influences. Collectively, these findings reiterate literature documenting harassment types' differential severity. Also, they outline additional advantages to promoting a proactive organizational culture. Finally, the influence of individual and environmental factors in decision making is highlighted.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Francisco J. Benavides Gonzales and Silvia Espinoza Ortega, and my brother, Gerardo Benavides Espinoza. They are the reason for everything I do.

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First, I thank God, my father and creator, for all the opportunities He provided for me to develop into the person I am. Also, I would like to thank my family for their continuous love, support, and encouragement throughout my doctorate program, and my entire life. My mother poured all her energy into making me and my brother dedicated, successful, and loving people, while at the same time leaving time for her own passion for teaching. My father taught us the value and joy in hard work; his dedication for his work is a life lesson I will never forget. I am grateful for my brother, whose intelligence and aspirations I admire. Additionally, I thank the rest of my family for their prayers and encouragement throughout my time far away from home.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Sexual harassment is societal problem across a variety of social spheres, including work organizations and educational institutions (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Masteralexis, 1995). The most recent statistics from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) report over 12,500 sexual harassment cases filed in 2007. Sexual harassment instances in organizations are harmful to direct victims (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008) and other organizational members (Richman-Hirsch & Glomb, 2002) because it negatively impacts a number of work outcomes, including job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and physical health (Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). Furthermore, organizations have spent close to \$50 millions on settlements in the year 2007 (EEOC, 2008a). The frequency with which this societal problem occurs, as well as the negative consequences for individual employees and organizations, have drawn academicians' attention towards the understanding of this phenomenon.

The existing sexual harassment literature includes a wide array of research areas that has helped build society's and academicians' knowledge of this social phenomenon. First, early researchers aimed to develop a common definition of sexual harassment and to differentiate among its different dimensions (Till, 1980; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). Three dimensions of sexual harassment have been generally adopted: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual

This dissertation follows the style of *Journal of Sport Management*.

coercion (Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Gelfand et al., 1995). The behaviors encompassed in *gender harassment* include sex-based discriminatory experiences, and the use of embarrassing sexual-jokes, -remarks, or -body language (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Stark, Chernshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2002; Till, 1980). *Unwanted sexual attention* consists of repeated unwelcomed date requests, attempts to force a relationship with the target, and even sexual imposition (Gelfand et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a). Finally, *sexual coercion* is the combination of the formerly separate bribery and coercion categories (Till, 1980), including job-related bribes and threats in exchange for sexual favors (Fitzgerald et al, 1999a).

These three dimensions of sexual harassment are subsumed under the legal definitions used by the EEOC. Specifically, the type of harassment labeled *hostile environment* on legal documents mirrors the academic dimension of sexual harassment labeled gender harassment. Moreover, the unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion dimensions are labeled *quid pro quo harassment* by the EEOC (EEOC, 2008b). It is these two interpretations of sexual harassment—hostile environment and quid pro quo harassment—that I use throughout the dissertation. In drawing from these various definitions, for the purpose of this study, sexual harassment is defined as *unwelcome verbal or physical conduct sexual in nature that brings about negative consequences for the victim, as well as bystanders* (Fitzgerald, et al., 1999a; Gelfand, et al., 1995; Stark et al., 2002; Powell & Graves 2003).

In addition to defining sexual harassment, other researchers sought to understand its prevalence in the workplace (Fitzgerald, Magley, Drasgow, & Waldo, 1999b; Ilies, Hauserman, Schowochau, & Stibal, 2003) and the impact sexual harassment has on

victims. With respect to the latter stream of research, more recent efforts have been guided by conceptual models that delineate the antecedent conditions, moderators, and various outcomes of sexual harassment (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Indeed, most of the contemporary research on sexual harassment focuses on the victims of that act.

Despite these studies' contribution to the research on sexual harassment, there is a vast array of options to continue the field's development. For example, researchers have demonstrated that sexual harassment not only affects the victim but also other organizational member who witness or learn about the harassment (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Specifically, Glomb and colleagues have used the term *ambient sexual harassment* to refer to the effects of sexual harassment on vicarious victims or bystanders (Glomb et al., 1997; Richman-Hirsch & Glomb, 2002). The literature indicates that witnessing harassment and violence in the workplace can negatively impact others in the workplace and lessen their view of the organization (Bennett & Lehman, 1999). Thus, bystanders' reactions to sexual harassment and how the organization responds to such incidents can meaningfully impact workplace dynamics.

In this dissertation, I attempt to stretch the field's boundaries in this direction by carrying out three studies. In Study 1, I analyze factors that influence bystanders' preferred punishment for sexual harassment offenders. Such an examination is meaningful because of the impact of the punishment on subsequent behaviors in the organization (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986) and on bystanders'

impressions of the organization. In drawing from the sexual harassment (EEOC, 2008b) and organizational culture (Fink & Pastore, 1999) literatures, I predict that bystanders prefer harsher punishments (a) for quid pro quo harassment versus hostile environment harassment and (b) when in workplaces that valued diversity (i.e., proactive culture of diversity) relative to those that did not (i.e., compliant culture of diversity). I further argue that the type of harassment interacts with the culture of diversity to predict preferred punishment, such that the strongest punishment is preferred for quid pro quo harassment taking place in proactive organizations.

In Study 2, I further extend this ambient sexual harassment literature by considering bystanders' reactions to sexual harassment. In line with Study 1, I suspect that people form expectations concerning the appropriate punishment for sexual harassment offenses in the workplace. I then draw from Adams' (1965) equity theory to argue that a match, or lack thereof, between the preferred punishment and that actually handed down by the organization substantially impacts employees' emotional reactions and their perceptions of the workplace. Three outcomes are examined: emotional responses, their beliefs in how just the organization is, and their expectations about how the decision fit in with a culture of diversity.

Studies 1 and 2 analyze the importance of delivering appropriate punishment for sexual harassment offenders. However, for organizations to take action, they should first learn about the harassment (Knapp et al., 1997; Riger, 1991; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). Unfortunately, most victims fail to take the necessary steps for organizational awareness to take place (Knapp et al., 1997). In such cases, bystanders' actions may prove effective in alerting the organization or helping stop the harassment by some other

means, such as intervening or confronting the harasser (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). Thus, the purpose of Study 3 is to analyze bystanders’ behavioral responses for various forms of sexual harassment. Consistent with Study 1, I predict that the type of harassment, the organizational culture of diversity, and the interaction between these two variables all predict the extent to which bystanders would engage in any of the four following activities: (a) not responding to the sexual harassment, (b) reporting the harassment, (c) intervening during an incident, or (d) confronting the harasser (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005).

In short, the purpose of this dissertation is to extend the sexual harassment literature by examining the effects of the type of harassment and the organizational culture of diversity on a variety of outcomes for organizational bystanders. The remainder of the dissertation is organized in the following manner. In Chapters II, III, and IV, I report the findings from Studies 1, 2, and 3, respectively. In Chapter V, I provide a general discussion of the three studies, provide implications of the findings, discuss limitations of the research, and present various conclusions. Finally, Appendix 1 provides an overview of the sexual harassment literature, including the research focusing on both victims and bystanders.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE'S INFLUENCE ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT PUNISHMENT

Sexual harassment, defined as unwelcome verbal or physical conduct sexual in nature that brings about negative consequences for the victim, has been a major societal and organizational issue since the inclusion of women to the workforce (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Masteralexis, 1995; Powell & Graves 2003; Stark, Chernshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2002). The numbers continue to indicate as much: in 2007, over 12,500 cases were reported to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and Fair Employment Practices Agencies (EEOC, 2008a). Furthermore, research suggests around half the women in the workforce have experienced sexual harassment (Bridge, 1997; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Pierce, Rosen, & Hiller, 1997). This has drawn scholars' attention towards the issue, and resulted in a vast body of literature on sexual harassment.

Most of the research on this topic focuses on the sexual harassment victims and the perpetrators. For instance, initial efforts focused on defining and measuring the incidence of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b; Stark, Chernshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2002). Later work concentrated on victim's reactions to sexual harassment (Adams-Roy, & Barling, 1998; Gruber & Smith, 1995, Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1997; Welsh & Gruber, 1999) and the impact harassment had on people's work experiences. In the latter

strand of research, sexual harassment has been shown to negatively impact a number of work outcomes, including job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and physical health (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997, Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994, Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). Regarding the perpetrators, research suggests disciplinary actions may reduce unethical behavior when preventive measures fail (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986).

Of course, sexual harassment consequences do not only affect the direct victim, but the rest of the organization's employees as well (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Bennett and Lehman (1999) found, for example, that witnessing harassment and violence in the workplace led to negative perceptions of the organization. Such dynamics can have a meaningful influence on the overall culture of the workplace. That is, given that people collectively contribute to the culture of the workplace (Schneider, 1987), their reactions to sexual harassment and how the organization responds to such incidents can meaningfully impact workplace dynamics. Thus, it is important to consider the bystander's reactions to harassment and their preferred punishments for such behaviors.

This research aims to contribute to the sexual harassment and punishment literature by focusing on the punishment bystanders preferred for various forms of sexual harassment. I drew from the sexual harassment literature and that related to organizational culture to develop the hypotheses. Specifically, I expected that the type of punishment preferred would be influenced by the type of harassment (i.e., quid pro quo versus hostile workplace environment) and the type of culture (i.e., proactive versus compliance culture of diversity). I also expected that the type of harassment and

workplace culture would interact to predict the type of punishment preferred. Below, I present the theoretical framework and specific hypotheses.

Theoretical Framework

Sexual Harassment Defined

Sexual harassment is defined in the literature as unwelcome verbal or physical conduct sexual in nature that brings about negative consequences for the victim, as well as bystanders (Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Gelfand et al., 1995; Powell & Graves 2003; Stark et al., 2002). There are three identified types of harassment in the literature: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion. Gender harassment encompasses discriminatory experiences or offensive sexual remarks made on the basis of sex. Also within the description of gender harassment are comments or actions sexual in nature, such as the use of embarrassing jokes, remarks, or offensive body language (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Unwanted sexual attention comprises repeated unwelcomed date requests, attempts to compel an unwanted relationship, and sexual imposition (Gelfand et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a). Lastly, sexual coercion includes promises of job-related rewards, or threats in exchange for sexual advances (Fitzgerald et al, 1999a). Unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion are labeled by the EEOC as quid pro quo harassment while gender harassment can contribute to the presence of a hostile work environment (EEOC, 2008b). I examined both of these harassment forms in the current study.

Punishment

Though preventative measures are the preferred means to reducing sexual harassment (EEOC, 2008b), sometimes such steps are insufficient, at which time

punishment becomes necessary. Punishment is associated with weakening the recurrence of unwanted behavior because it involves undesirable outcomes as consequences of unacceptable actions (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986)—in this case, sexual harassment.

The effects of punishment, however, reach beyond the victim and harasser; specifically, as it does not occur in a vacuum, sexual harassment consequences extend further than the victim to other members of the organization (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Hence, the disciplinary measures the harasser is subjected to not only aid in stopping the harassment, but also contribute to the bystanders' perceptions of fairness in the organization (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Thus, it is important to understand how bystanders react to different types of sexual harassment, as well as their preferred punishment for the harassment.

Researchers and enforcement agencies have identified two types of harassment: quid pro quo and hostile work environment (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Generally, quid pro quo harassment is considered more severe than behaviors that create a hostile work environment (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980), and legal ramifications correspond accordingly (EEOC, 2008b). As such, it is possible that bystanders might also consider the different forms of sexual harassment to vary in severity—perceptions that would impact their preferred consequences for the behaviors. More specifically, reactions to quid pro quo harassment might engender harsher reactions than does harassment that creates a hostile workplace environment. This reasoning led to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Harsher punishment will be suggested by bystanders for quid pro quo harassment, as compared to hostile environment type of harassment.

Organizational Culture

In addition to the severity of the harassment, the organizational culture might also influence the preferred punishment. Organizational culture is defined as assumptions developed by organizational members, and it influences the way employees behave, as well as the ways they perceive organizational problems (Frank, 1987). The culture is based on the values shared by managerial employees as well as other employees in the organization (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Also, organizational culture sheds light into what is considered important by the organization, such as whether the organization is employee-oriented or performance-oriented (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000), how valuable women's contributions are to the organization (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004), and the acceptability of sexual harassment in the workplace (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Fink and Pastore's (1999) diversity management framework is particularly germane to this discussion, as they specified three organizational cultures of diversity: compliance, reactive, and proactive. A compliant organization's efforts to attract and maintain diverse employees are scarce. The characteristics of compliant organizations include disregard for pro-diversity federal legislation and centralized decision making (see also Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). Further along in the continuum are reactive organizations. These type of organizations address diversity problems because they consider differences an asset. However, they generally focus on gender and race and wait for problems to arise before acting upon them. Finally, at the top of the continuum are proactive organizations, which are those most supportive of diversity. These

organizations obtain the most benefits of diversity as they (a) are able to attract and maintain the best employees; (b) proactively anticipate problems; (c) consider differences in sex, race, age, marital status, values, and background as benefits; and (d) show their commitment to diversity through allocation of resources (Fink & Pastore, 1999).

In this study, I drew from Fink and Pastore's (1999) model to examine the influence of the culture of diversity on reactions to sexual harassment. Research suggests organizations with proactive cultures feature different practices than organizations with compliant approaches to diversity management (Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2001; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2003). For example, an organization with a culture that values cultural and demographic differences as assets would provide an environment where women and employees of color will be more accepted and respected, as will their contributions to the workplace. Furthermore, in organizations that value diversity (proactive), as opposed to organizations that value similarities (compliant), all employees are considered deserving of equal opportunities, regardless of gender or other different demographical characteristics (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). These findings inform the current study, as it is likely that in proactive organizations, sexual harassment is perceived as contrary to the underlying norms and values of the organizational culture. Such breeches of the organizational culture are likely to be met with resistance from other organizational members. These dynamics are likely to be less pronounced in compliant organizations. Thus, I expect less tolerance to sexual harassment in proactive organizations (Fink & Pastore, 1999; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000), and similarly, harsher punishment being considered appropriate by bystanders in order to correct the undesired behavior and prevent future occurrences. More formally, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2: Organizational culture influences the punishment preference for sexual harassment, such that harsher punishments will be preferred among persons in organizations with a proactive culture.

Finally, it is possible that the organizational culture interacts with the type of harassment to influence bystanders' preferred punishments. Research suggests that violations of an individual's values and beliefs create a feeling of discomfort (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). Such dissonance between an organizational member's expectations of appropriate behavior and the actions of coworkers who are behaving unethically should result on attempts to restore consistency (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbett, 2005). For example, because there is a betrayal of trust, people suggest harsher punishment when a crime is committed intentionally, as doing so reduces the discomfort created by the dissonance between their expectations of organizational behavior and the transgression (Kumar, 2001; Sinha & Kumar, 2001).

These findings might have a bearing on preferred punishments for sexual harassment. In the case of a proactive organization, the assumption is valuing every member and their accomplishments (Fink & Pastore, 1999), and as such, violations against those norms—in this case, sexual harassment—might be viewed more harshly in these organizations than they would in others. Put another way, the relationship between the severity of the harassment and the preferred punishment might be stronger in proactive organizations than in compliant organizations because there is a violation of the values and beliefs shared by the proactive organization's members. Based on this argument, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between type of harassment and preferred punishment will be moderated by organizational culture such that quid pro quo harassment taking place in an organization with a proactive culture will result in the harshest preferred punishment.

Method

Participants

Undergraduate students ($N = 107$) enrolled in physical activity classes at a university in the Southwest United States participated in the study. Participation was anonymous and voluntary. The sample consisted of an equal number of males ($n = 53$, 50%) and females ($n = 53$, 50%) and one missing value, and was largely Caucasian ($n = 79$, 74.5%), with the next more frequent reported race being Hispanic ($n = 16$, 15.1%). The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 34, with a mean of 21.61 ($SD = 2.70$).

Procedure and Materials

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of four conditions. Specifically, the type of organization (either compliant or proactive; Fink & Pastore, 1999) and level of sexual harassment (hostile environment or quid pro quo) were manipulated, thereby creating four experimental treatments: compliant, hostile environment; compliant, quid pro quo; proactive, hostile environment; and proactive, quid pro quo. Participants were first presented with the overview of the organizational culture. They then read a description of the sexual harassment that occurred, though the term "sexual harassment" was never included in the study. They were then asked to complete a questionnaire in which they provided their demographics and responded to items concerning their

reactions to the harassment. Before the questionnaires were distributed, three independent persons reviewed the scenarios to sure their face validity.

Organizational culture. The compliant department was depicted as one with unclear promotion standards and clear signs of discrimination (Fink & Pastore, 1999). The full description reads as follows: “You are an employee in the athletic department at a State University. During the time you have been working there, you perceive the department’s standards for promotions are not very clear, resulting in many minorities and women not earning many promotions. Furthermore, they rely on word of mouth recruiting initiatives to find job applicants. Also, the department exhibits signs of racial-, gender-, sexual-, age-discrimination, and homophobia. Finally, they fail to comply with Title IX.”

The proactive department was described as one displaying great commitment to diversity and open communication lines (Fink & Pastore, 1999). In the questionnaire, the proactive department illustration read: “You are an employee in the athletic department at a State University. During the time you have been working there, you perceive the department’s definition of diversity is not limited to race and gender, but inclusive of characteristics such as religion, culture, sexual orientation, marital status, and so on. Also, the department shows their commitment to diversity by allocating financial and personal resources to women-sports, beyond those stipulated by Title IX. Furthermore, the work environment promotes different approaches to work, and makes everyone feel like a contributing member of the department. Finally, the flexible lines of communication and decision-making offer all employees equally the opportunity for input.”

Sexual harassment. The hostile environment incident description, as consistent with Fitzgerald and colleagues (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002), was explained as: “One of the male head coaches was reported by his female assistant coach for inappropriate conduct towards her. The complaints included the head coach making sexist comments and jokes. Also, he has attempted to engage the assistant coach in conversations regarding her sex life.”

Finally, the quid pro quo description was consistent with the EEOC’s (2008b) definition of this type of harassment: “One of the male head coaches was reported by his female assistant coach for inappropriate conduct towards her. The complaints included the coach has told her that she can get special treatment if she enters in a romantic/sexual relationship with him. Also, the coach has subtly threatened her with job related consequences if she refuses his requests.”

Punishment. After reading the scenario, participants suggested the punishment for sexual harassment they considered more appropriate. Consistent with previous literature on sexual harassment punishment, the students were offered five punitive action choices: verbal warning, verbal warning noted on record, written reprimand, suspension, and termination (Gilbert, 2005).

Data Analysis

Moderated linear regression was used to test the hypotheses, with the preferred punishment serving as the dependent variable. Because of differential perceptions regarding sexual harassment punishment among men and women (Nelson et al, 2007), sex was used as a control variable. The first order effects, the type of harassment and type

of organizational culture, were entered in Step 2, and the product of these two variables was entered in Step 3.

Results

Manipulation Check

Two manipulation checks were conducted to ensure that the experimental treatments had their intended effects. To verify the cultures were being perceived differently by those with the compliant scenario than by those with the proactive scenario I asked the participants to rank the athletic department's culture of diversity on a Likert scale from 1 (*not supportive of diversity*) to 7 (*very supportive of diversity*). An analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing the mean scores of the compliant department ($M = 2.83, SD = 1.66$) to those of the proactive department ($M = 5.46, SD = 1.24$) on this single item scale verified the two descriptions yielded significantly different interpretations of the culture of the organization, $F(1,106) = 84.80, p < 0.05$. Similarly, different interpretations of the types of harassment were verified by asking the participants to rate the seriousness of the offense on a Likert scale from 1 (*not at all serious*) to 7 (*very serious*). The ANOVA results indicate there was a statistically significant difference in the mean scores in the seriousness of harassment item when hostile environment ($M = 5.04, SD = 1.19$) and quid pro quo harassment ($M = 6.17, SD = 0.86$) were compared, $F(1,106) = 31.99, p < 0.05$. Thus, I concluded the manipulation of both variables was successful.

Hypothesis Testing

Results from the moderated regression are presented in Table 1. The control variable (sex) accounted for 4.6% of the variance ($p < .05$), and the first order effects

accounted for an additional 30.5% of the explained variance ($p < .001$). Results indicate that harassment type was significantly associated with preferred punishment ($\beta = .55, p < 0.01$), such that participants preferred stronger punishment for quid pro quo harassment relative to hostile work environment; thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported. However, the effect of culture did not significantly influence the punishment preferred by bystanders ($\beta = -.06, p = 0.49$), and therefore, Hypothesis 2 did not receive support.

Finally, Hypothesis 3 predicted a moderating effect of culture on the type of harassment-level of punishment relationship. After accounting for the effects of the control variable and the first order effects, the product term was still significant ($\Delta R^2 = .03, \beta = .31, p < 0.05$). Thus, the moderating effect of culture predicted in hypothesis 3 was supported. Graphic representations of the interaction effects for each of the dependent variables are shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3, and a summary of the results can be found in Table 1. As expected, the relationship between the type of harassment and severity of the preferred punishment was stronger for participants in the proactive organizations than it was for participants in the compliant organizations.

Discussion

Because sexual harassment affects not only the direct victim, but the rest of the organization's employees as well (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), it is important to consider the bystander's reactions to harassment and their preferred punishments for such behaviors. This research aimed to contribute to the sexual harassment and punishment literature by focusing on the punishment bystanders suggested for various levels of harassment as a function of the organizational culture. Findings from the experimental study suggest that harsher

punishments are suggested by bystanders for quid pro quo harassment, as compared to hostile environment type of harassment. This relationship is qualified by the culture of the workplace, however, such that quid pro quo harassment taking place in an organization with a proactive culture resulted in the harshest preferred punishment. The culture of the workplace did not have a direct effect on the preferred punishment. In the following sections, I highlight the contributions this research makes, as well as the implications, limitations, and future directions.

Contributions and Implications

This study makes several contributions to the literature. From a theoretical perspective, this study extends the sexual harassment literature by examining the type of punishment considered appropriate by bystander employees depends on the severity of the harassment. This is consistent with previous suggestions regarding actions that create a hostile environment as less severe than quid pro quo harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980). Thus, if harassment types vary in their perceived severity by bystanders, it is logical that punishment considered appropriate would vary in its severity as well.

More importantly, however, there was support for the influence of organizational culture on punishment severity for quid pro quo harassment. The suggested punishment for unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion in pro diversity organizations was more severe than that in compliant organizations. Given that in proactive organizations the values are of equity and respect (Fink & Pastore, 1999; Fink et al., 2001; Fink et al., 2003; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000); this finding is consistent with people's tendency to attempt to restore consistency between their expectations and the situation when their

values and assumptions are violated (Gilovich et al., 2005; Kumar, 2001; Sinha & Kumar, 2001). Thus, it is important to consider variables that moderate the harassment-punishment relationship, in this case, the organizational culture. Furthermore, the findings suggest multi-level influences in decision-making because the harassment occurs at an individual level, and the culture occurs at the organizational level. Thus, the participants' trend to rely on both individual and organizational factors to decide on the preferred punishment speaks of the high influence situations have on internal processes (Gilovich et al., 2005) such as decision making.

Findings for the study have practical implications as well. Awareness of culture's moderating effects on the preferred punishment of sexually harassing behaviors is beneficial to both organizations and individuals. Findings from this study highlight yet another advantage of proactive diversity management versus compliant diversity management. Compliant organizations are characterized by rigidity, seeing diversity as a problem, and intolerance to ambiguity (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999; Fink et al., 2001; Fien et al., 2003). Proactive organizations and athletic departments, on the other hand, are characterized by respect for differences, tolerance to ambiguity, and anticipation to problems (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999; Fink et al., 2001; Fink et al., 2003). Among the benefits of proactive diversity management are increased productivity, creativity, satisfaction, and decentralized decision making (Fink et al., 2001; Fink et al., 2003). In addition, as inferred from the current study's findings, intolerance to sexual harassment can be seen as one more advantage of proactive organizations.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the influence of organizational culture on bystander preferences for sexual harassment punishment. The findings indicate the type of harassment had a direct effect on punishment, while the type of culture played a moderator role in the harassment-punishment relationship. This emphasizes the importance of moderating variables in this type of analysis. Moreover, the influence of individual and organizational level factors in decision making was brought up. The generalization of these findings should be done warily given the narrow sample used. Finally, it would be worth to analyze employees' reactions to inappropriate punishment, preferred punishment in cases where the harasser and victim's demographic characteristics are manipulated, and replicate this study on the field.

CHAPTER III

BYSTANDERS' REACTIONS TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT PUNISHMENT

Sexual harassment is a pervasive societal problem with privative consequences for those who experience it (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Masteralexis, 1995; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). The most commonly studied outcomes in the sexual harassment literature are those affecting the organization, as well as those affecting the victim's physical and mental health (Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). Work-related outcomes for the individual include decreased job satisfaction, performance decrements, and organizational withdrawal (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). Physical health-related outcomes generally include nausea, headaches, and exhaustion (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007; Wislar, Richman, Fendrich, & Faherty, 2002). Finally, negative mental health consequences related to sexual harassment include psychological distress (Richman et al., 1999) and low psychological well-being (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

While researchers have generally focused on sexual harassment's effects on the victim, there is evidence that such acts influence other employees as well (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). For example, Glomb et al. (1997) found indirect exposure to sexual harassment has similar consequences as direct exposure. Specifically women who work in an organization where sexual harassment occurred engaged in withdrawal patterns similar to those of direct

victims, even when they were never direct victims of sexual harassment themselves. Furthermore, other studies present evidence of the detrimental effects of working in misogynic environments on indirect victims, such as reduced health satisfaction (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), as well as decays in well being (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004). Thus, it is important to consider bystander's reactions to harassment as well as their considerations of appropriate punishments for such behaviors. The latter beliefs are particularly important when one considers that disciplinary actions not only aid in stopping the harassment (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986), but they contribute to bystanders' perceptions of fairness in the organization as well (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007).

As evidenced in Study 1, the culture of the workplace influences how people perceive sexual harassment. Participants' suggestions of punishment to more severe types of harassment (i.e., quid pro quo) were harsher than they were for less severe forms of harassment. More importantly, the results suggested that if the organization had a proactive culture, the type of punishment for quid pro quo harassment was significantly higher. I posited that this was due to the value and norm violation that took place. That is, quid pro quo harassment represents an action (or sets of actions) that are contrary to the proactive culture of diversity; thus, such harassment is met with swift and direct opposition, as evidenced by the harsher punishment preferences. Given these effects, the current study's purpose is to analyze bystander's reactions to punishment they consider unjust. In doing so, I draw from Adam's equity theory (1965). Below, I present the theoretical framework and research hypotheses.

Theoretical Framework

Sexual Harassment

There are two types of sexual harassment: hostile environment and quid pro quo (EEOC, 2008b). Offensive sexual remarks and comments or actions sexual in nature contribute to hostile environment harassment (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Stark, Chernshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2002). Examples of comments or actions sexual in nature include embarrassing jokes, remarks, or offensive body language (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Quid pro quo harassment includes what researchers have classified as unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (EEOC, 2008b). This more severe harassment type includes repeated unwelcomed date requests, attempts to force a relationship, and promises of job-related rewards/threats in exchange for sexual advances (Gelfand et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b). Given its severity, the later is the type of harassment examined in this study.

Punishment

Given the pervasiveness of sexual harassment, preventive measures (e.g., federal regulations outlawing sexual harassment, organizational efforts aimed at communicating intolerance of sexually harassing behaviors) have been instituted to deter that occurrence. Such steps, however, do not always deter sexual harassment, and consequently, reactive punishments are needed. Appropriate punishment weakens the recurrence of unwanted behavior (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986) through the presence of undesirable outcomes as consequences of sexual harassment (Greenberg, 2005).

However, the effectiveness of punishment depends on its proportionality to the harm caused (Nelson, Halpert, & Cellar, 2007; Trevino & Ball, 1992).

Proactive Culture

Organizational culture is defined as assumptions developed by organizational members, such as employees and managers (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000), and it influences the way employees behave, as well as the ways they perceive organizational problems (Frank, 1987). Furthermore, the culture highlights what the organization considers important, such as value placed on women's contributions (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

According to Fink and Pastore (1999), sport organizations are likely to adhere to one of three cultures of diversity: compliant, reactive, and proactive (Fink & Pastore, 1999). Compliant organizations see diversity as a deficit but seek to comply with diversity-related legal mandates (Cox, 1991; Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). Reactive cultures value differences, but generally limit their view of diversity to race and gender, and are not proactive in their problem-solving strategies to issues arising by the coexistence of different people in their organization. Finally, a proactive culture is characterized by placing great value on diversity, as shown by their anticipation to problems, consideration of differences in sex, race, age, marital status, values, background, and the like as benefits, and resources allocation (Fink & Pastore, 1999).

As evidenced in Study 1, the culture of the workplace influences how people perceive sexual harassment. Participants' suggestions of punishment to more severe types of harassment (i.e., quid pro quo) were harsher than they were for less severe forms of harassment. More importantly, the results suggested that if the organization had a

proactive culture, the type of punishment for quid pro quo harassment was significantly higher. I posited that this was due to the value and norm violation that took place. That is, quid pro quo harassment represents an action (or sets of actions) that are contrary to the proactive culture of diversity; thus, such harassment is met with swift and direct opposition, as evidenced by the harsher punishment preferences. Given these effects, I focused solely on the proactive organizations in the current study.

Reactions to Punishments

Punishment's purposes are two-fold: it reduces the incidence of the inappropriate behavior and it creates an impression on observers (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). When it comes to the harasser, research suggests inappropriately low punishment is ineffective in deterring the undesired behavior (Ormord, 1999). But, what effect does this decision have on observers? That is, how does a punishment that is viewed as overly lenient impact organizational members? In drawing from Adam's (1965) equity theory, I argue that it negatively influences their perceptions of justice, emotional responses, and perceptions of the organizational culture.

Oftentimes examined in the context of work motivation (Chelladurai, 2006), Adams' (1965) equity theory is based on two primary elements: inputs, or what workers contribute to the organization, and outputs, or what the workers get from the organization in return for their contributions, such as pay or benefits. He argued that people perceive inequity when there is a mismatch in the ratio of their inputs and outputs compared to another person's ratio of inputs and outputs. For example, employees will perceive inequity if they put in extra hours for a particular assignment, but receives less

acknowledgment or fewer rewards for that effort than do their counterparts who exerted less effort (Evan & Simmons, 1969).

The underlying tenets of Adams' (1965) theory have particular relevance to the current study. Conceptually, one can substitute inputs for the sexual harassment act and outputs for the actual punishment the harasser received from the organization. Bystanders are likely to develop beliefs about what is a fair or appropriate punishment for given cases of sexual harassment. Congruence between the perceived appropriate punishment and the actual punishment handed down should result in perceived fairness or justice. On the other hand, a mismatch between the perceived appropriate punishment and the actual punishment can possibly result in perceptions of injustice or bias—reactions that can potentially have a deleterious effect on subsequent attitudes toward the organization as a whole. In the current study, I examined three potential outcomes: the bystander's emotional response to the decision, her or his perception that the organization is just, and the bystander's subsequent perceptions of the organizational culture.

Emotions. Emotions are defined as psychological reactions to cognitive processes of events or thoughts (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbet, 2005; Kim & Smith, 2005). Lazarus (1991) described the interpretation of stimulus influence on emotions, in this case the qualification of sexual harassment punishment, as the appraisal process. Specifically, people are likely to first evaluate the perceived congruency between ongoing events and a person's goals or expectations. This initial evaluation is immediate and may yield to positive or negative emotions towards the phenomenon being evaluated (Lazarus, 1991). For example, goal congruency would produce positive emotions and goal incongruence would produce negative emotions. Such initial appraisals and emotions are important

because they are thought to give rise to subsequent behaviors and behavioral intentions (Lazarus, 1991).

This literature, coupled with the tenets from equity theory (Adams, 1965), informs the predictions concerning sexual harassment and punishment. Specifically, I expect a mismatch between the bystander's expectations of punishment and actual punishment will elicit negative emotions. On the other hand, when the expectations and the punishment match, more positive emotions are expected. Accordingly, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: Congruence, or lack thereof, between the preferred punishment for sexual harassment and the actual punishment handed down will influence the bystander's emotional responses.

Organizational justice. Justice represents another outcome that could be affected by sexual harassment punishments. According to the justice literature, people judge whether something is fair or just by cognitively assessing the presence of signs of regard, respect, social inclusion, and dignity (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001; Tyler & Lind, 1992). For example, if employees' salaries inappropriately reflect their job accomplishments, they will perceive the organization as unjust (Greenberg, 1993). Similarly, a supervisor's treatment that is disrespectful and wrong elicits perceptions of injustice in the organization (Greenberg, 2005).

These principles have direct bearing on the current investigation. According to equity theory, perceptions of fairness and justice are likely to be determined by the equitable distribution of resources relative to contributions (Adams, 1965). Thus, in the context of the current study, bystanders might perceive injustice if their expectations of punishment to sexual harassment do not match (i.e., are greater or more harsh than) the

actual punishment. Such perceptions might be exacerbated by perceptions that (a) the damage caused was greater than the punishment, (b) the insufficiency of the punishment represents a lack of respect for the victim, and (c) there is a bias favoring the person in a higher hierarchical position (see also Kim & Smith, 2005). Thus, incongruence is likely to negatively influence perceptions by the bystander that the organization is just and fair. On the other hand, if the punishment handed down by the organization matches that preferred by the bystander, then she or he might take that to signal fairness and justness on the part of the organization. This reasoning led to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: Congruence, or lack thereof, between the preferred punishment for sexual harassment and the actual punishment handed down will influence the bystander's belief that the organization is just and fair.

Culture violation. Organizational culture is the shared assumptions, values and beliefs shared by organizational members (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). These shared understandings dictate the way individuals behave and perceive others' behavior in the organization (Frank, 1987). In a similar fashion, those shared assumptions contribute to organizational members' common understanding of the organizational norms. This thinking is consistent with Schneider's (1987) contention that the employees, and their collective values, beliefs, and attitudes, set the culture of the organization.

Furthermore, organizational culture may have an effect on the members' perceptions of norms violations. For example, in organizations with an ethical culture, employees may not be frequently exposed to norms' violations (Verschoor, 2005). According to the literature, those who perceive certain behaviors, such as sexual harassment or discrimination more objectionable, are more likely to perceive them as

violations of the norms (Montgomery, Kane, & Vance, 2004). Thus, in organizations with ethical cultures, unethical behaviors should constitute violations of the ethical organizational norms.

In this study, I am analyzing bystanders' reactions to sexual harassment punishment in proactive organizations. In these types of organizations women and their contributions to the workplace are valued, as are other persons from underrepresented groups (Fink & Pastore, 1999). According to the reasoning presented above, it is likely to expect that punishment that does not meet bystanders' expectations is seen as a violation of the value in diversity norms. However, when bystanders' expectations are met, the actual punishment should be perceived as consistent with the organizational culture. Thus, the following hypothesis was advanced.

Hypothesis 3: Congruence, or lack thereof, between the preferred punishment for sexual harassment and the actual punishment handed down will influence the bystander's perceptions of consistency between the organizational culture and the punitive actions.

Method

Participants

The sample was comprised by undergraduate students ($N = 122$) enrolled in physical activity classes at a university in the Southwest United States. Their participation was anonymous and voluntary. The sample consisted of a relatively equal number of males ($n = 68$, 56.2%) and females ($n = 53$, 43.8%) and one missing value, and was largely Caucasian ($n = 94$, 77.7%), with the next most frequently reported race

being Hispanic ($n = 17, 14\%$). The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 27, with a mean of 20.00 ($SD = 2.00$).

Procedure and Materials

As previously noted, the focus of the study was on persons in organizations with a proactive culture who observed quid pro quo sexual harassment. Thus, in following the methods from Study 1, all participants read a description of an athletic department with a proactive organization who observed quid pro quo harassment. After reading the organizational culture and sexual harassment sections of the scenario, participants were asked which of the following punishments was most appropriate for the harassment: verbal warning, verbal warning noted on record, written reprimand, suspension, and termination (Gilbert, 2005).

Experimental manipulation. After noting their preferred punishment, the participants were then informed of the actual punishment handed down by the athletic director. This served as the study's primary experimental manipulation, and participants received one of two options: low and harsh punishment. The low punishment condition read: "The athletic director investigated the matter and qualified it as mildly inappropriate. The disciplinary action deemed suitable by the athletic director was to verbally warn the head coach concerning actions. The incident was not recorded in writing". The harsh punishment experimental condition read: "The athletic director investigated the matter and qualified it as a severe sexual harassment. The disciplinary action deemed appropriate by the athletic director was termination of the head coach."

Reactions to punishment. After reading the type of punishment handed down, the participant's demographics (as previously outlined), reactions to the punishment in terms

of their perceptions of justice, emotions, and the culture were measured. The mean was used as the final score for each measure.

Three items were used to measure perceptions of justice (Molm, Quist, & Wiseley, 1993). Participants indicated the degree to which they believed the punishment handed down to the head coach was fair (1 = *very unfair*, 7 = *very fair*), just (1 = *very unjust*, 7 = *very just*), or equitable (1 = *very inequitable*, 7 = *very equitable*). The measure demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .97$).

Also, in drawing from Kim and Smith (2005), a six item scale was used to measure their emotional reactions to the punishment. The students were instructed to rate from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) their emotional reactions after learning about the punishment: “angry”, “happy”, “frustrated”, “pleased”, “irritated”, and “satisfied”. The positively-worded items were reverse scored so the scale would be reflective of the participants’ negative emotions. The reliability for the measure was high ($\alpha = 0.95$).

Finally, three items were developed to measure participants’ perceptions of the punitive actions consistency with the organizational culture. The students were instructed to rate from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) three statements measuring such consistency: “the punishment is consistent with the values of the department”, “the athletics director’s decision is against the culture of diversity” (reverse coded), and “the department’s diversity-related norms and beliefs systems are congruent with the punishment handed down”. The three-item scale was reliable ($\alpha = 0.87$).

Data Analysis

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to examine the validity evidence of the methods used. The root mean square error approximation (RMSEA) and comparative fit index (CFI) were used to assess model fit. Three moderated linear regressions were used to test the hypotheses advanced in this study, with emotions, justice perceptions, and culture consistency serving as the dependent variables, respectively. In each analysis, the participant's sex served as the control variable and was entered in Step 1. Following Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003) the standardized preferred punishment score and the actual punishment (0 = lenient, 1 = harsh) were both entered in the second step, and the preferred punishment \times actual punishment product term was entered in Step 3.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Results of the CFA suggest that the model was a close fit to the data: $\chi^2 (n = 123, df = 24) = 42.81, p < .01; \chi^2 / df = 1.78; RMSEA = .06$ (90% C.I.: .04, .12); CFI = .99. This model was also a significantly better fit than an alternative model in which all items loaded on a single factor: $\Delta\chi^2 (\Delta df = 3) = 229.96, p < .001$.

Hypothesis Testing

Results of the regression analyses are presented in Table 2. Hypothesis 1 predicted that congruence between the preferred and actual punishment would impact subsequent negative emotions. Consistent with this prediction, after taking into account the effects of the controls and first order effects, the preferred punishment \times actual punishment interaction had a significant effect on participants' negative emotions ($\Delta R^2 =$

0.04, $\beta = -0.30$, $p < 0.01$). Negative emotions were highest when the bystander preferred a harsh punishment but a lenient one was handed down (see Figure 2).

Hypotheses 2 and 3 were also both supported, as preferred-actual punishment congruence had a significant effect on the participants' perceptions of justice, $\Delta R^2 = 0.11$, $\beta = 0.47$, $p < 0.01$, and perceptions of the decision being consistent with the culture of diversity, $\Delta R^2 = 0.02$, $\beta = 0.19$, $p < 0.05$ (see Figures 3 and 4 for a graphic interpretation and Table 2 for a summary of the results). In both cases, subsequent reactions were highest when the preference for a strong punishment was met, while reactions were lowest when preferences for a harsh punishment went unfulfilled.

Discussion

Because sexual harassment is a problem for the organization as a whole and not only for the direct victim (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), it is important to consider the bystander's preferences for punishment of sexual harassment and their reactions to punitive actions that do not meet their expectations. This research project attempted to contribute to the sexual harassment literature by focusing on the reactions of sexual harassment bystanders to different levels of punishment enforced on harassers by the organization. Findings from the experimental study offered support for the three anticipated hypothesis. Specifically, congruity, or lack thereof, between the expected punishment and that handed down to the sexual harasser impacted people's negative emotions, their beliefs in how just the organization was, and their expectations about how the decision fit in with a culture of diversity. In the space below, I discuss the contributions of the study, limitations, and future directions.

Contributions and Implications

This study makes several contributions to the literature. From a theoretical perspective, this study extends the sexual harassment and punishment literature by examining bystanders' reactions to expected and unexpected levels of punishment to sexual harassment actions. The results are in line with the existing literature regarding reactions to similar events, as well as with Adams' equity theory (1965).

Specifically individuals' evaluation of consistency between actual and expected events results in positive or negative emotions (Lazarus, 1991). Furthermore, Adams' equity theory (1965) predicts a mismatch between the expected and actual outcomes—punishment to sexually harassing behaviors in this case—would result in perceptions of injustice or unfairness in the organization. Also, cultural norms violations by the occurrence of sexual harassment are more likely to be perceived in organizations with proactive culture because when people considers certain behaviors offensive, they are likely to judge them as norms violations (Montgomery et al., 2004).

Findings for the study have practical implications as well. Awareness that the type of punishment inflicted on a harasser have subsequent effects on bystanders is beneficial to both organizations and individuals. Findings from this study highlight the importance of organization's actions consistency with their proactive diversity management strategies and culture. Intolerance to sexual harassment in proactive organizations could represent a cultural norm inferred by organizational members from the value placed on diversity (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2001; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2003). Thus, bystanders of sexual harassment incidents in these type of organizations may expect disciplinary actions to not

only be proportional to the harm caused (Nelson et al., 2007; Trevino & Ball, 1992), but to be consistent with the organizations' norms as well. If management fails to deliver a type of punishment that is considered adequate by the rest of the organizational members, this may result in those members experiencing negative emotions, perceptions of injustice, and perceptions of inconsistency between the culture and organizational actions.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the reactions of bystanders to different types of sexual harassment punishment imposed by proactive organizations. The findings indicate the in/consistency between the actual punishment and the bystanders expectations had a direct effect on their emotions, perceptions of justice, and perceptions of culture-behavior consistency in the organization. The generalization of these findings should be done with caution given the narrow sample used. Finally, it would be worth to analyze employees' reactions to inappropriate in other types of organizations, manipulate harasser and victim's demographics, and replicate this study on the field.

CHAPTER IV
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE'S INFLUENCE ON BYSTANDER
INTERVENTION ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is a problem widespread among societal entities, such as organizations and educational institutions (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Masteralexis, 1995). Its occurrence presents negative consequences for those who experience it, either directly or indirectly (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Glomb, Richman, Hulin, Drasgow, Schneider, & Fitzgerald, 1997; Masteralexis, 1995). The most commonly studied consequences of sexual harassment include the job, physical, and mental effects on the victims (Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Work-related outcomes include decreased job satisfaction, performance decrements, and organizational withdrawal (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). Negative physical consequences include nausea, headaches, and exhaustion (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007; Wislar, Richman, Fendrich, & Faherty, 2002). Finally, negative mental effects related to sexual harassment include low psychological well-being (Fitzgerald et al., 1997) and psychological distress (Chan et al., 2008; Richman, Rospenda, Nawyn, Flaherty, Fendrich, Drum, & Johnson, 1999).

While the majority of the literature concerns the effects of sexual harassment on direct victims, there is evidence that such negative consequences may affect other individuals of the organization indirectly as well (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). For example, Glomb et al. (1997) found indirect exposure to sexual harassment has similar consequences as direct exposure. Specifically women who work in an organization where instances of sexual harassment are experienced by coworkers tend to engage in withdrawal patterns similar to those of direct victims, even when they were never direct victims of sexual harassment themselves. Furthermore, other research endeavors provide evidence of the detrimental effects of working in misogynic environments on vicarious or indirect victims, such as reduced health satisfaction (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007) and well being (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

Research also indicates victims cope with and react to sexual harassment in different ways (Knapp, Faley, Ekeberg, & DuBois, 1997). Generally, victims respond to sexual harassment in a passive manner, as only 13% of direct victims report incidents. Similarly, vicarious sexual harassment victims have been found to use different strategies for coping with and responding to sexual harassment (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Such differential responses affect the effectiveness with which an organization can eradicate this behavioral problem because more active responses (i.e., reporting the incident) alert the organization's leaders of the existence of the problem (Brooks & Perot, 1991; Fitzgerald & Shullman, 1993; Gruber, 1989; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Hotelling, 1991; Knapp et al., 1997). Hence, it is important to consider the determinants of bystander's

reactions to harassment and the factors that shape their behavioral reactions to observing sexual harassment.

The previous two studies focused on the punishment bystanders suggested for various levels of harassment as a function of the organizational culture and their reactions to different levels of actual punishment handed down to the harasser. The first study focused on the influence of organizational culture on bystanders' preferred punishment. Findings suggested that harsher punishments are preferred by bystanders for quid pro quo harassment, as compared to hostile environment type of harassment. This relationship is moderated by the culture of the organization, in that a more severe harassment type taking place in an organization with a proactive culture resulted in the harshest preferred punishment. The second study's purpose was to analyze bystander's reactions to punishment they consider unjust. Results indicated congruity, or lack thereof, between the expected and actual punishment impacted participants' emotional responses, their beliefs in how just the organization was, and their expectations about how the decision fit in with a culture of diversity.

The current research aims to contribute to the sexual harassment and organizational culture literature by focusing on bystanders' behavioral reactions or intervention strategies for various forms of sexual harassment. I drew from the sexual harassment and organizational culture literature to develop the hypotheses to be tested. Specifically, I expect bystanders' reactions would be influenced by the type of harassment (i.e., quid pro quo versus hostile workplace environment) and the type of culture (i.e., proactive versus compliance culture of diversity). I also expect that the type of harassment and workplace culture would interact to predict the type of intervention

strategy chosen by the sexual harassment bystander. Below, I present the theoretical framework and specific hypotheses.

Theoretical Framework

Sexual Harassment

There are two legally recognized types of sexual harassment: hostile environment and quid pro quo (EEOC, 2008b). Hostile environment type of harassment is considered the less severe one, and it includes behaviors such as offensive sexual remarks and comments or actions sexual in nature (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Specifically, comments or actions sexual in nature comprise embarrassing jokes and remarks, or offensive body language (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Quid pro quo harassment includes what has been classified in the academic literature as unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion (EEOC, 2008b). This is considered a more severe type of harassment, and it includes job-related rewards and threats to obtain sexual favors, repeated and unwelcomed date requests, and attempts to oblige the victim into a relationship (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b).

Behavioral Responses

Although organizations are urged to reduce sexual harassment incidents through the use of preventive measures (EEOC, 2008b), disciplinary actions are necessary to stop harassment once it has happened. When this is the case, organization's leaders need to be informed of the existence of sexual harassment in the workplace before they can take action (Knapp et al., 1997; Riger, 1991; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). This is a downside to organizational efforts to stop sexual harassment because most of the victims

respond passively and do not report incidents (Knapp et al., 1997). In fact, Knapp et al. (1997) that just over 1 in 10 persons who are harassed report that incident. In these situations, bystanders' behavioral responses to the sexual harassment of coworkers could be of great help in deterring this unethical behavior (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005).

Sexual harassment victims' behavioral responses to transgressions have been classified into passive and assertive actions (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Knapp et al., 1997; Miceli & Near, 1992; Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1997). Passive or nonassertive responses include not taking action (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Miceli & Neal, 1992), ignoring the behavior (Gruber & Smith, 1995; McKinney, 1990), avoiding the harasser, and deferring attention by making a joke of harassment (Knapp et al., 1997). Among the active or more assertive responses to unethical behavior are confronting the harasser and reporting the behavior (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Knapp et al., 1997; Miceli & Near, 1992).

Similarly, bystanders' behavioral responses to sexual harassment can also be passive or active. A passive response would be deciding not to intervene (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005), while assertive responses include three types of interventions: reporting the harassment, intervening during an incident, or confronting the harasser (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005). Bystanders' response alternatives are more limited than those of direct victims, but if the sexual harassment of coworkers elicits assertive behavioral responses by bystanders, the organization's chances to eradicate this unethical behavior may be as good as when direct victims respond assertively (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner,

2005). Thus, it is important to distinguish antecedents to these types of behavioral responses by bystanders.

The literature on bystander responses to sexual harassment indicates that bystander intervention is more likely when there is low ambiguity in the situation and the harm caused to the victim is eminent (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005).

Specifically, bystanders are likely to intervene when there is no doubt in their mind that a coworker is being badly victimized by her or his harasser. As previously discussed, there are two types of sexual harassment: quid pro quo and hostile work environment (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). Quid pro quo harassment is considered more harmful than hostile work environment (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980). Furthermore, the continuous refusal of victims in instances of unwanted sexual attention, which is comprised in quid pro quo harassment (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b), could reduce some of the ambiguity from the bystander's perspective. As such, it is possible that bystanders' perceptions of the severity of each type of sexual harassment would impact their behavioral response. More specifically, quid pro quo harassment might engender more assertive reactions than does harassment that creates a hostile workplace environment. This reasoning led to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Bystanders' behavioral responses will be more assertive in instances of quid pro quo harassment, as compared to hostile environment type of harassment.

Organizational Culture

Organizational culture is defined as the shared assumptions developed by individuals in an organization, and it influences the way employees behave and their perception of organizational problems (Frank, 1987). The culture is based on the shared values of people at all levels in the hierarchy, including managerial employees as well as lower organizational level employees (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Also, organizational culture highlights what is valued in each organization (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). For example, employees are likely to distinguish whether their organization is employee-oriented or performance-oriented (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000), or how valuable women and their contributions are to the organization based on the organizational culture (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

The influence of organizational culture on sexual harassment incidence has been extensively studied; for example, Timmerman and Bajema (2000) found a culture of gender equality greatly reduces sexual harassment in organizations. Also, in strong anti-harassment cultures, it is clear to all employees that sexual harassment is inconceivable (Dougherty & Smythe, 2004). Furthermore, organizations with cultures of tolerance to sexually harassing behaviors have been found to be positively correlated to greater incidence of sexual harassment in those organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). However, an organization's culture has the potential to not only influence the pervasiveness of sexual harassment, but it could also play a role in how harassment is interpreted and responded to (Keyton, Ferguson, & Rhodes, 2001).

Given that I am analyzing the employees' responses to sexual harassment, an important assumption is that the organizational culture influences whether sexual

harassment bystanders intervene to stop the harassment or do not get involved. The current organizational culture literature suggests different norms, values, and attitudes lead to differences in the perceived acceptability of sexual behaviors (Terpastra, 1997). Furthermore, the level of tolerance for sexually harassing behaviors is a function of the culture in that organization (Gee & Norton, 1999), and so may be the organizational members' reactions to it (Dogherty & Smythe, 2004). Consequently, the culture may affect the type of response deemed appropriate by sexual harassment bystanders. For example, organizations that mistreat or ignore those who react assertively to sexual harassment do not provide a safe environment to report or confront harassers (Miceli & Near, 1988; Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993).

In this study, I again drew from Fink and Pastore's (1999) model of diversity management. In brief, the authors outlined three strategies organizations could employ: compliance, reactive, and proactive. The implementation of one of these three approaches shares light into the culture of a particular organization by means of the values, norms, and beliefs that are reflected in the way diversity is managed. Compliant organizations do not exert much effort into attracting and maintaining diverse employees into their workforce. The characteristics of compliant organizations include disregard for pro-diversity federal legislation (Cox, 1991) and centralized decision making (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). Employees in these organizations may assume that similarities are valued in the organization given the organization's diversity management strategy. Reactive organizations address problems that may arise by having a diverse workforce because they consider differences an asset. However, they generally focus on gender and race and wait for problems to arise before acting upon them. Finally proactive

organizations are the most supportive of diversity. They are the more likely to benefit from diversity as they attract and maintain the best employees regardless of their personal differences. These organizations are characterized by their anticipation of problems, showing their commitment to diversity through allocation of resources, and their definition of diversity, which is comprehensive of differences in sex, race, age, marital status, values, background, etc. (Fink & Pastore, 1999). In this types of organizations, it is likely employees infer the value of differences from the way the organization manages them.

Fink and Pastore's (1999) model can be integrated with the literature related to organizational culture and sexual harassment. Organizations with proactive cultures feature different practices than organizations with compliant approaches to diversity management (Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2001; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2003). For example, an organization with a culture that values cultural and considers demographic differences as assets would provide an environment where minorities and their contributions to the organization will be accepted, respected, and valued. Furthermore, in these proactive organizations, all employees are considered deserving of equal opportunities regardless of their demographical characteristics (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). This is less likely to be the case in compliant organizations because they do not value diversity (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Thus, it is reasonable to think that women, who are the most common sexual harassment victims (Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Stockdale et al., 2004; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995), are more valued in proactive organizations than they are in compliant ones. Moreover, in proactive organizations, harmful actions will be considered a greater violation to the underlying

values of the workplace. This reduced tolerance to sexual harassment in proactive organizations (Fink & Pastore, 1999; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000) may result in bystanders behaving in more assertive ways than they would if they worked in a compliant organization. Based on this argument, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: Bystanders' behavioral responses will be more assertive in proactive organizations, as compared to compliant organizations.

Furthermore, the cognitive dissonance literature indicates that actions that violate a person's values and belief's systems tend to create discomfort about the situation (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959; Bandura, 1999). Generally, individuals who find themselves in these types of situations attempt to restore consistency (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbett, 2005). According to Fink and Pastore's (1999) framework, in organizations with proactive cultures the assumption is that every employee is valuable to the organization. This is not the case for compliant organizations. Thus, the relationship between the type of the harassment and the bystanders' behavioral response might be strengthened by the violation of the equality values and beliefs shared by members of proactive organizations. This might be the case because sexual harassment might be perceived as a greater violation of the norms in a proactive department than it would in a compliant department, thus creating greater dissonance. Hence, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between severity of the harassment and bystanders' behavioral responses will be moderated by organizational culture such that quid pro quo harassment taking place in an organization with a proactive culture will result in more assertive responses.

Method

Participants

The sample was comprised by undergraduate students ($N = 183$) enrolled in physical activity classes at a university in the Southwest United States. Their participation was anonymous and voluntary. The sample consisted of a larger number of males ($n = 113$, 61.7%) than females ($n = 66$, 36.1%) and four persons who did not provide their sex. The sample was largely Caucasian ($n = 132$, 72.1%), with the next most frequently reported race being Hispanic ($n = 1.37$). The mean age was 19.84 ($SD = 1.37$).

Procedure and Materials

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. Specifically, the manipulations consisted of the type of organization (either compliant or proactive; Fink & Pastore, 1999) and level of sexual harassment (hostile environment or quid pro quo), creating four experimental treatments: compliant, hostile environment; compliant, quid pro quo; proactive, hostile environment; and proactive, quid pro quo. Participants were first presented with information concerning an overview of the organizational culture. Second, they read the sexual harassment description, though the term “sexual harassment” was not presented in the instrument to avoid priming the respondents. Third, participants completed a questionnaire inquiring their demographics and items concerning their behavioral reactions to the harassment. Prior to data collection, the manipulations were reviewed by two independent persons for face validity purposes.

Organizational culture. The compliant department was portrayed as having ambiguous promotion standards and clear discrimination signs (Fink & Pastore, 1999).

The full description read: “You are an employee in the athletic department at a State University. During the time you have been working there, you perceive the department’s standards for promotions are not very clear, resulting in many minorities and women not earning many promotions. Furthermore, they rely on word of mouth recruiting initiatives to find job applicants. Also, the department exhibits signs of racial-, gender-, sexual-, age-discrimination, and homophobia. Finally, they fail to comply with Title IX.”

The proactive department was depicted as having open communication lines and great commitment to diversity (Fink & Pastore, 1999). The description of the proactive department in the questionnaire read: “You are an employee in the athletic department at a State University. During the time you have been working there, you perceive the department’s definition of diversity is not limited to race and gender, but inclusive of characteristics such as religion, culture, sexual orientation, marital status, and so on. Also, the department shows their commitment to diversity by allocating financial and personal resources to women-sports, beyond those stipulated by Title IX. Furthermore, the work environment promotes different approaches to work, and makes everyone feel like a contributing member of the department. Finally, the flexible lines of communication and decision-making offer all employees equally the opportunity for input.”

Sexual harassment. The sexual harassment descriptions were consistent with the literature as well as the EEOC (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002). The hostile environment incident description was explained as: “You observe one of the male head coaches making sexist comments and jokes toward his female assistant coach. Also, you observe him attempting to engage the assistant coach in conversations regarding her sex life.”

Finally, the quid pro quo description read: “You observe one of the male head coaches telling one of his female assistant coaches that she can get special treatment if she enters in a romantic/sexual relationship with him. Also, you observe the coach threaten her with job related consequences if she refuses his requests.”

Behavioral reactions. After reading their assigned scenario, participants indicated their willingness to perform certain behavioral responses on a scale from 1 (*not at all willing*) to 7 (*very willing*). I used adaptations of scales previously used in the literature for the measurement of variables such as bystanders’ predictions of victims behavioral reactions (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1997). In accordance with such literature, the participants were offered the following responses: ask the harasser to stop, ignore the harassment (reverse scored), report the harasser, threaten the harasser with telling other people what he has done, fill a formal complaint with the organization, consult with officials outside the organization, and testify as a witness during the harassment investigation. The reliability estimate ($\alpha = .82$) was acceptable.

Data Analysis

A moderated linear regression was used to test the hypotheses, with the willingness to act scale serving as the dependent variable. Because of differential perceptions regarding sexual harassment punishment among men and women (Nelson et al, 2007), sex was used as a control variable. The first order effects, the type of harassment and type of organizational culture, were entered in Step 2, and the product of these two variables was entered in Step 3.

Results

Manipulation Check

Two manipulation checks were conducted to ensure that the effects of the experimental treatments were as intended. To verify the perceptions of the departmental cultures were different for those participants randomized to the compliant scenario than for those randomized to the proactive scenario, I asked them to rank the athletic department's culture of diversity on a Likert scale from 1 (*not supportive of diversity*) to 7 (*very supportive of diversity*). The results of an analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing the mean scores of the compliant department ($M = 3.51, SD = 1.87$) to those of the proactive department ($M = 5.37, SD = 1.44$) on this single item scale verified the two descriptions had significantly different interpretations of the culture of the organization, $F(1,176) = 55.99, p < 0.05$. Similarly, the interpretations of the types of harassment were verified by asking the participants to rate the seriousness of the offense on a Likert scale from 1 (*not at all serious*) to 7 (*very serious*). The ANOVA results revealed a statistically significant difference in the mean scores in the seriousness of harassment item when hostile environment ($M = 5.17, SD = 1.38$) and quid pro quo harassment ($M = 6.23, SD = 0.93$) were compared, $F(1,179) = 36.88, p < 0.05$. Thus, I concluded the manipulations were successful.

Hypothesis Testing

Results from the moderated regression are presented in Table 3. The control variable (sex) did not account for any significant percentage of the variance ($p = .16$). The first order effects accounted for 10.6% of the explained variance ($p < .001$). Specifically, the results indicate that harassment type was significantly associated with

the behavioral response ($\beta = .32, p < 0.001$), such that participants were more likely to respond assertively for quid pro quo harassment relative to hostile work environment; thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported. However, the effect of culture did not significantly influence bystanders' behavioral response ($\beta = -.07, p = 0.32$), and therefore, Hypothesis 2 did not receive support.

Finally, Hypothesis 3 predicted a moderating effect of culture on the type of harassment-behavioral response relationship. After accounting for the effects of the control variable and the first order effects, the product term was not significant ($\beta = .01, p = 0.96$). Thus, the moderating effect of culture predicted in hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Supplemental Analysis

In addition to examining the specific hypotheses, I was interested in exploring the possible influences of political orientation on bystanders' willingness to help. According to the political psychology literature, the perception of society and societal issues of individuals who self-identify as liberals or conservatives are different (Conover & Feldman, 2004). Specifically, liberals are concerned with social change and the eradication of social issues, while conservatives are concerned with the permanence of the status quo (Conover & Feldman, 2004). Under this basis, it is reasonable to believe that participants who self-identify as liberal may be more willing to speak up in harassing situations than their more conservative counterparts. This may be the case because of the different levels of commitment towards social change displayed by liberal and conservative people.

To examine this possibility, an exploratory moderated regression analysis was conducted to examine the main and interactive effects of participants' political views (1 = *very liberal*, 7 = *very conservative*) on participants' willingness to act. Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, sex remained as a control variable. The first order effects (the type of harassment, type of organizational culture, and the standardized score for participants' political views) were entered in Step 2. The three two-way product terms were entered in Step 3, and the three-way product term was entered in Step 4. Given the difficulty in identifying moderators through linear regression (McClelland & Judd, 1993), the significance level was raised to .10 (see also Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002).

The results for this supplementary analysis are presented in Table 4. Sex did not account for any significant percentage of the variance ($p = 0.22$). The first order effects accounted for 10.6% of the explained variance ($p < .001$). Specifically, harassment type was significantly associated with preferred punishment ($\beta = .30, p < 0.001$), so participants were more likely to respond assertively for quid pro quo harassment relative to hostile work environment. However, the effects of culture and political view did not significantly influence the assertiveness of the bystanders' response to sexual harassment ($\beta = -.09, p = 0.21$ and $\beta = -.07, p = 0.35$ respectively).

As for Step 3 of the moderated regression analysis, after accounting for the effects of the control variable and the first order effects, the political views \times culture ($\beta = .19, p < 0.10$) and the political views \times harassment ($\beta = .18, p < 0.10$) product terms were significant. However, the culture \times harassment product term remained statistically insignificant ($\beta = .8, p = 0.53$), as did the three-way interaction in the final step of the model ($\beta = -.09, p < 0.53$).

Graphic representations of the significant interactions are shown in Figures 5 and 6 respectively. The effects of the participants' political views were such that in a compliant culture the more liberal participants are more likely to respond assertively to sexual harassment than their more conservative counterparts. In the second interaction, the moderating effect of political view was such that for less severe types of harassment (i.e. hostile environment), the more liberal participants are more likely to respond assertively than the more conservative ones.

Discussion

Because sexual harassment is a problem for the organization as a whole and not only for the direct victim (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007), it is important to consider bystanders' behavioral responses to sexual harassment (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). These responses are particularly important in light of the passive ways victims respond to harassment (Knapp et al., 1997), which ultimately affect the organizations opportunities to intervene and try to stop the harassment (Knapp et al., 1997; Riger, 1991; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). With this research project, I attempted to contribute to the sexual harassment literature by focusing on the behavioral responses of bystanders of sexual harassment. Findings from the experimental study offered support for one of the three anticipated hypothesis. Specifically, Hypothesis 1, which predicted bystanders' intervention strategies would be more assertive for quid pro quo harassment than for hostile environment type of harassment, was supported. Hypothesis 2 and 3 did not receive support. These hypotheses predicted a direct effect of

culture on bystanders' response and a moderating effect of culture on the relationship between harassment type and behavioral response.

It is interesting to note that the organizational culture did not have either a direct or a moderating effect in participants' behavioral responses. This was not the case on Study 1, where the organizational culture had both a direct and a moderating effect on bystanders' preferred punishment for sexual harassers. A possible explanation for these confounding findings could be that preferences have the potential to be private, such that other people may only find out what the bystanders are thinking if they share their thoughts. On the contrary, behavioral responses constitute more public actions, which put bystanders on the spot. In this case, the decision to act would likely be elicited due to very strong, direct effects—in this case, observing quid pro quo harassment. More subtle factors, such as underlying values and norms of the organization, while obviously important in shaping attitudes and preferences (see Studies 1 and 2), may not elicit such assertive behaviors from bystanders.

Alternatively, the predisposition to act may be more a personal characteristic than one affected by the environment. For example, in their mega-analysis of the influence of personality traits on performance Barrick, Mount, and Judge (2001) found that people who are emotionally stable and conscientious are more likely to perform well regardless of their type of job. In this case environmental factors did not have an effect on the outcome. Similarly, sexual harassment bystanders' personal characteristics could play a greater role than organizational culture in their decisions to intervene; whereas the culture may play a greater role than personal traits on their private reactions to the harassment (i.e. wishing the harasser is punished).

If it is the case that personal characteristics have a greater weight on behavioral responses than environmental factors, why did the type of harassment had an effect on the type of response? Experienced distress may provide an explanation for the influence of the type of harassment on the behavioral response. Experienced distress is defined as the anguish bystanders' experience from witnessing someone being victimized (Cialdini & Fultz, 1990). If the bystander's experience enough personal distress in the situation, they may feel compelled to act (Gilovich et al., 2005) regardless of their personal characteristics. Thus, quid pro quo type of harassment would incite more assertive responses from bystanders experiencing distress than would violations of the organizational culture.

Along these lines, the supplemental analysis indicated that participants' political views also influenced the behavioral responses through their interactions with the culture and harassment type. Specifically, the moderating effects of the participants' political views were found for two of the relationships: a) the relationship between culture and behavioral response, and b) the relationship between the type of harassment and the behavioral response. These effects were such that in a compliant culture the more liberal participants are more likely to respond assertively to sexual harassment than the more conservative participants. Also, for less severe types of harassment (i.e. hostile environment), the more liberal participants are more likely to respond assertively than their more conservative counterparts. These findings support the notion that liberals are more concerned with social change and the eradication of social issues than are conservatives (Conover & Feldman, 2004).

Contributions and Implications

This study makes several contributions to the literature. From a theoretical perspective, this study extends the sexual harassment literature by examining bystanders' behavioral responses to the sexual harassment of coworkers. The results are in line with the existing literature regarding the perceived severity of the different types of harassment (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980).

More importantly, a moderating effect of political views was found. Although this variable was not of primary concern in the theoretical framework, it was included in the questionnaire given the documented influence political climate has on victims of sexual harassment reporting behaviors (Cunningham & Benavides-Espinoza, 2008; Saguy, 2000; Marshall, 2005). Studies analyzing sexual harassment claims trends suggest that reports of sexual harassment rise when there is a more liberal political climate, and they decrease with more conservative ones. Specifically, it was suggested that the political environment set by the United States president was related to women's acting more assertively towards harassing situations (Cunningham & Benavides-Espinoza, 2008). Similarly, ones' political views could influence personal responses to the sexual harassment of others. This may be due to the differential underlying assumptions that liberals and conservatives ascribe to. For example, according to the political psychology literature, liberals are concerned with social change and recent social issues, while conservatives are concerned with the intransience of the status quo (Conover & Feldman, 2004). Thus, a liberal employee may be more willing to speak up in a harassing situation because of the greater commitment she or he has to social change. On the contrary, a more conservative employee may be less active in their responses to the sexual

harassment of coworkers, possibly because of their comfort with traditionally patriarchic organizational operations.

Also, the findings in this study have practical implications. Awareness of the moderating effects that the beliefs underlining employees' political views on the behaviors during and following sexually harassing situations is beneficial to organizations and society at large. Specifically, organizations could benefit from integrating commitment to societal change into their definition of diversity. Employees who believe social change is necessary are more likely to respond assertively to sexual harassment instances in their attempt to eradicate this social issue, which in turn, is beneficial for society.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to analyze the influence of organizational culture on bystander behavioral responses to sexual harassment. The findings indicate the type of harassment had a direct effect on their behavior related to the incident. The type of culture did not have a direct effect or a moderating effect on bystanders' behavior. However, there was a moderating effect of the bystanders' political views on the relationship between the culture and the behavior, as well as the relationship between the harassment type and the behavior. This emphasizes the importance of moderating variables in this type of analysis. Moreover, the influence of individual level factors, such as a participants' political view, in decision making was brought up.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Sexual harassment detrimentally affects work-related outcomes such as job satisfaction and work withdrawal and is also associated with a number of negative consequences for employees' physical and mental health (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997, Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994, Sims, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2005). These harmful effects permeate throughout the organization and affect other employees (i.e., bystanders) as well, thereby making it an organization-wide problem (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Consequently, the reactions of indirect victims of sexual harassment, such as people who witness or hear about the harassment, are also critical to understand, as they can directly impact the organization as a whole and others' reactions to sexual harassment incidents. What's more, knowing the consequences of meeting or failing to meet employees' expectations would be advantageous to organizations because disciplinary actions should stop the harassment (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986) and communicate intolerance to wrongdoing to the rest of the organization (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007).

Moreover, even though sexual harassment is a prevalent issue (EEOC, 2008b), harassed employees are unlikely to take the necessary action to stop their own victimization (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997), with just over 1 in 10 persons who are harassed formally reporting the offense. Thus, it is important to consider the reactions that harassment elicits on bystanders. If bystanders are

passive in their reactions as are the direct victims, the prevalence of this unethical behavior is not likely to diminish. However, bystanders can contribute to the eradication of sexual harassment by confronting the harasser or alerting the organization about the incident (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005).

As such, the purpose of my dissertation was to advance the sexual harassment literature by analyzing bystanders' responses to this unethical behavior. I did this by means of three studies. In Study 1, I examined bystanders' preferred punishment for different types of harassment as a function of the organizational culture. The results indicate that the type of harassment had a direct effect on the type of punishment suggested by bystanders. The organizational culture did not have a direct bearing on the bystanders' preferred punishment. However, the culture of the athletic department moderated the relationship between the type of harassment and the preferred punishment. The interactive effects were such that quid pro quo harassment in proactive organizations resulted in the more severe recommendations for punishment.

In Study 2, I analyzed bystanders' reactions to different levels of punishment handed down to the harasser. Results from this study revealed that the level of congruity between the punishment preferred by sexual harassment bystanders and that handed down by the organizations affected three outcomes: bystanders' negative emotions, their perceptions of organizational justice, and their belief in the consistency between the organizational culture and decision making.

Finally in Study 3, I investigated bystanders' behavioral responses to different harassment levels as a function of the organizational culture. The results from this study

indicated the type of harassment had an effect on the assertiveness of the bystanders' response. Specifically, the more severe the type of harassment the more willing the participants were to take action to stop its incidence. The type of organizational culture did not affect bystanders' behavioral responses, nor did it moderate the relationship between the type of harassment and the participants' willingness to act. This is possibly due to the personal investment required by taking action. An additional explanation for these findings may be that for certain outcomes personal characteristics supersede environmental influences (Barrick et al., 2001).

Also, the findings from the supplementary analysis in Study 3 revealed a moderating effect of the participants' political views in the relationship between the type of harassment and the behavioral response. The effects were such that the highest willingness to act was reported by liberal participants in compliant organizations. Another moderating effect of political views was found on the relationship between the organizational culture and the behavioral responses. These effects attest of the importance of considering employees' personal characteristics in addition to environmental influences on employees' behavior in the organization.

Contributions

This body of research makes several contributions to sexual harassment as a field of study. First, it extends the literature by analyzing bystander reactions to sexual harassment and its punishment. Consistent across all three studies was the influence of harassment type on different bystanders' outcomes (i.e. preferred punishment, reactions to punishment, and behavioral responses), which is in line with the literature indicating that quid pro quo harassment is more severe than hostile environment harassment (Nelson

et al., 2007). These findings are also in line with literature regarding the differential influence of psychologically strong or weak situations on human behavior. For example, psychologically strong situations constrain behavior by means of clear cues regarding appropriate actions. On the contrary, the behavioral cues provided by psychologically weak situations are inconsistent, resulting on personal characteristics dictating behavior at a greater degree than when the situation is strong (Snyder & Ickes, 1985). In the context of this dissertation, quid pro quo harassment potentially represents a psychologically strong situation more so than hostile environment type of harassment and thus provides clear cues—even more so than the effects of organizational norms and values—as to the appropriate actions, preferences, and psychological responses. This may be the case because in quid pro quo more so than in hostile environment harassment it is clearer to the bystander that the behavior is unwanted on the victims' part and the person being harassed is being harmed and needs help. Thus, the clues provided by quid pro quo harassment mirror those of strong situations in that they are clear enough to influence behavior. On the contrary, the ambiguous clues provided by a hostile environment incident, in which it may be difficult to tell if the person being harassed is being victimized, make it a weak situation.

Second, the effects of culture and cultural consistency found in Studies 1 and 2 speak of the importance of promoting a culture supportive of diversity in organizations. According to the literature, individuals in proactive departments have great respect for individual differences and tolerance to ambiguous situations (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999; Fink et al., 2001; 2003). Also, in line with the findings presented here the clues provided by the organizational culture influence employees'

reactions to organizational events. When such events are instances of wrong doing, such as sexual harassment, employees of proactive departments will draw from clues characteristic of that culture, such as respect for all coworkers to react to the situation, as well as to evaluate the actions taken by the organization to stop the harassment.

Finally, from a theoretical perspective, the findings from all three studies suggest multi-level influences in decision-making. Specifically, in Study 1 the harassment occurs at an individual level, and the culture occurs at the organizational level. Thus, the participants rely on both factor levels to decide on the preferred punishment. This is also the case on Study 2, with the harassment of the victim and the punishment of the perpetrator being individual level factors and the culture being a department-wide factor. Interestingly, in Study 3 the organizational factors did not influence participants' behavioral responses, while the participants' personal characteristics (i.e. political views) did. As previously noted, this could be due to the high investment in behaviorally reacting to sexual harassment of others. Collectively, the three studies included in my dissertation provide evidence of the importance of accounting for multi-level influences when analyzing human behavior in organizations.

Implications

These studies have practical implications which can benefit organizations and individuals alike. For instance, managers and athletic directors need to keep the benefits of building a proactive culture in their organization. The results presented here highlight intolerance to sexual harassment as a benefit of these types of organizations, beyond the increased productivity, creativity, and satisfaction previously outlined in the literature (Fink et al., 2001; 2003). Furthermore, in proactive organizations, individuals will expect

departmental actions to be consistent with their diversity management strategies and culture. Thus, managers should keep in mind that failing to fulfill employees' diversity-related expectations will have consequences such as negative emotions, perceptions of injustice, and perceptions of inconsistency between the culture of the organization and decision making.

Finally, the studies presented here could inform organizations future hiring decisions. The findings pertaining to the influence of political views are particularly important to this matter. Specifically, athletic departments can benefit from hiring individuals who embrace an ideology similar to individuals who are liberal in their political views, as they are concerned with societal issues and can contribute to sexual harassments' eradication. Along these lines, the big five dimensions of personality – conscientiousness, extraversion and introversion, agreeableness, emotional stability, and openness to experience– are widely used by organizations because of personality's influence on organizational behavior (Barrick et al., 2001; Hertz & Donovan, 2000). The big five constitute a viable option for firms striving to have a diverse workforce to identify individuals committed to social change. Openness to experience can be particularly helpful for this purpose, as people who are “open” tend to challenge socially imposed boundaries because they are broad-minded (Barrick, et al., 2001; Hartmann, 1991). This is in line with the commitment to social change, which according to the findings in this dissertation influences bystanders' willingness to act in a sexually harassing situation.

Limitations

Despite the strengths of this body of research, it has some limitations. Primarily the sample and setting could be a reason of concern. There are criticisms in regards to the use of college students in laboratory experiments in social science research, as they may constitute a narrow data base (Gilovich et al., 2005; Sears, 1986). The major hazard listed from using such a limited available population concerns to the external validity of the findings (Sears, 1986). This is primarily due to the homogeneity of ages and educational backgrounds of college students (Sears, 1986). Furthermore, artificial settings, such as the scenarios manipulated for this research study, have also been of concern for external invalidity (Sears, 1986).

While not minimizing these concerns, there are alternative interpretations that could be considered. The primary purpose of the research project when making judgments about general validity needs to be taken into consideration (Mook, 1983). In this particular case, manipulations of harassment levels and organizational cultures were specifically designed to test theoretical propositions. The intent was not to produce findings generalizable to all athletic departments or other settings. Furthermore, college students will join the workforce in a short period of time, if they have not already done so. Thus, sample and setting concerns are mitigated by the use of a more diverse type of student, the necessary manipulation of variables for the study purposes, and the generalization of theory and not the findings as the purpose of the study.

However, the inconsistency among the effect of culture among Study 1 and Study 3 could be a function of the sample and settings. For instance, according to the manipulation check participants perceived the organizational culture as described in the

scenario, but that does not guarantee that the “real” culture of the situation where the data collection took place (i.e. physical activity classroom) was not a confounding variable.

Thus, a field study is warranted.

Also, the organizational justice literature distinguishes among four types of justice. Distributive justice emerges from employees’ evaluation of the outcomes they receive in exchange from their input to the organization. Procedural justice refers to employees’ perceptions regarding the procedures leading to their received outcomes. Interpersonal justice is employees’ evaluation of their treatment by supervisors. Finally, informational justice refers to perceptions regarding the information with which decisions were made in organizations (Coloquitt, 2001). I did not differentiate between the types of organizational justice outlined in the literature. Addressing a specific type of justice in the future could prove more conducive. In the following section I discuss more recommendations for future research.

Future Directions

Three clear future research endeavors are suggested by the findings in these series of studies. First, I investigated bystanders’ reactions to sexual harassment and its punishment as a function of the organizational culture. However, only proactive and compliant organizational cultures were included in the analysis; thus, a possible research venue would be to analyze reactions under other types of cultures.

Second, the victims and harassers’ characteristics were held constant in this study. Thus, another interesting extension could be the manipulation of hierarchical levels and demographics such as race and gender of the harassers as well as the victims. Research indicates victimized women respond differently to sexual harassment from employers and

supervisors than they do to the harassment from peers. Generally, they use a greater variety of responses when the power differential between them and their harasser is minimal (Gruber & Smith, 1995). Similarly, bystanders' may respond differently when witnessing a coworker harassing a peer than when a supervisor is harassing a lower rank employee. Also, demographic characteristics may impact the way bystanders behave. Consider gender roles as an example. Women are deemed submissive while men are typically considered aggressive (Tannen, 1990). Thus, bystanders' reactions may differ if the roles of the harasser and the victim are inverted from the male-harasser female-victim scenarios depicted in the studies conducted here.

Finally, given the concerns with the student sample, replication of this study in the field would be warranted. Viable options in the sports industry to sample from include coaches and athletic directors of all levels, athletic trainers, personal trainers and instructors, or gym personnel in general. In effect, a study of this type would offer the possibility of measuring organizational culture and bystander sexual harassment rather than manipulate them as I did here.

Conclusions

The purpose of my dissertation was to analyze bystanders' responses to sexual harassment. The findings indicate that harassment type has an influence on bystanders preferred punishment as well as their willingness to take action to stop the harassment. The type of culture influenced the preferred punishment for quid pro quo harassment. Congruence between actual punishment and that preferred by bystanders influenced their negative emotions, perceptions of justice, and perceptions of cultural consistency in the organization. Finally, the participants' political views affected the relationship among the

harassment type and the assertiveness of their response. The generalization of these findings should be done with caution given the narrow sample used. Finally, it would be worth to analyze employees' reactions to inappropriate behavior in other types of organizations, manipulate harasser and victim's demographics and hierarchical status, and replicate this study on the field.

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APPENDIX 1

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Sexual harassment is a pervasive problem across societal entities, such as work organizations and educational institutions (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Masteralexis, 1995). The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) website reports over 12,500 sexual harassment cases filed to the EEOC and fair employment practices agencies (FEPAS) in the 2007 fiscal year alone (EEOC, 2008a). The overwhelmingly large occurrence of this societal problem has drawn academicians to devote research efforts to understand this phenomenon.

Sexual harassment as a theoretical construct has evolved considerably since its formal beginning in the 1980s (see Till, 1980). The sexual harassment literature includes a wide array of research areas that, combined, help our understanding of this social phenomenon. For example, initial research was devoted to establish a common definition of the construct and understand its dimensions (Till, 1980; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995). Other research efforts have focused on the incidence of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1999b; Ilies, Hauserman, Schowochau, & Stibal, 2003). Lately, as sexual harassment has been established as a more solid field of study, the emergence of a model of antecedents and consequences has guided research endeavors (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Fitzgerald, Draswog, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994; Willness, Steel, & Lee, 2007). Furthermore, the antecedents and consequences of the sexual harassment model were

expanded to explain the effects of sexual harassment on vicarious victims (Glomb et al., 1997; Richman-Hirsch & Glomb, 2002).

Despite these studies' contribution to the sexual harassment literature, there are plenty of avenues to continue the field's development. To address this issue, this paper presents a review of literature on the previously mentioned areas (dimensions and definitions, incidence, and antecedents and consequences for direct and vicarious victims). This will allow for identification of gaps in the literature and recommendations for further research. Furthermore, recommendations will be made regarding new directions sexual harassment research can take.

Research Evolution

Dimensions and Definition

As pertinently pointed out by scholars in the 1980's, the study of sexual harassment was inconsistent in its definition of this construct (Dziech & Weiner, 1984; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). This led to efforts to develop a concept of harassment that could (possibly) be widely used across settings and cultures. Till's (1980) initial classification of unethical sexually-related behaviors into five categories of harassment was the foundation used to unify the concept (Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Till's (1980) five categories of sexual harassment, in order of severity, are gender harassment, seduction, bribery, treat, and imposition. Gender harassment concerns sexist remarks and behaviors, such as actions derived from the target's sex, but not intended to lead to sexual activity (Till, 1980). Seduction includes inappropriate and offensive sexual advances and occurs upon request of social or sexual encounters (Till, 1980). Bribery refers to the promise of rewards in exchange for sex-related behavior. Generally, in

bribery instances authority is used to offer subtle or direct job related rewards in exchange for sexual favors (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Till, 1980). The basis of coercion is similar to that of bribery, except under this category work related threats (not rewards) are the condition for requesting sexual favors (Till, 1980). Finally, Till (1980) labeled the fifth category of sexually-related behavior: sexual imposition. This category included behaviors such as indecent exposure, fondling, and unwanted attempts to have sex (Till, 1980).

Borrowing from Till's (1980) sexual harassment dimensions, Fitzgerald and colleagues used quantitative data to refine the concept of sexual harassment into only three categories: gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion (Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Gelfand et al., 1995). The behaviors encompassed in gender harassment are consistent with previous conceptualizations, and they include sex-based discriminatory experiences, and the use of embarrassing sexual-jokes, -remarks, or -body language (Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Stark, Chernshenko, Lancaster, Drasgow, & Fitzgerald, 2002; Till, 1980). Unwanted sexual attention comprised repeated unwelcomed date requests, attempts to force a relationship with the target, and even sexual imposition (Gelfand et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a). Thus, it appears this new dimension of sexual harassment partially derivates from the combination of the dimensions previously labeled seduction and sexual imposition (Till, 1980). Finally, sexual coercion is the combination of the formerly separate bribery and coercion categories (Till, 1980), including job-related bribes and threats in exchange for sexual favors (Fitzgerald et al, 1999a).

More recent research has shown the possible bifurcation of gender harassment into two distinct dimensions: sexist hostility and sexual hostility (Fitzgerald et al., 1999b). Sexist hostility includes those subtle insulting comments or actions based on gender (Fitzgerald et al, 1999b). Examples of sexist hostility include sexist remarks that are offensive to the target (Raver & Gelfand, 2005). Sexual hostility comprises explicit insulting comments or actions sexual in nature (Fitzgerald et al, 1999b). An example of sexual hostility is coworkers of the target telling sexual stories in a frequent basis (Raver & Gelfand, 2005).

Although this level of construct refinement may be of great use for the academic world, its practical differentiation may be difficult. Take the legal dimensions of sexual harassment for example. Irrespective of the academic differentiation of sexual harassment into separate dimensions as previously outlined in this paper, there are only two dimensions of sexual harassment in its legal definition: hostile environment harassment and sexual coercion harassment (EEOC, 2008b). The academically-developed dimensions of this construct do inform its legal definition, in that all of the dimensions are represented. Specifically, the type of harassment labeled hostile environment on legal documents, such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mirrors the academic dimension of sexual harassment labeled gender harassment. Moreover, the unwanted sexual attention and sexual coercion dimensions are labeled quid pro quo harassment by the EEOC (EEOC, 2008b).

The identification of the categories that comprise the sexual harassment construct has contributed to the development of its definition. In fact, research on the matter has helped in the development of sexual harassment's academic and legal definition. In

drawing from these various definitions, for the purpose of this study, sexual harassment is defined as *unwelcome verbal or physical conduct sexual in nature that brings about negative consequences for the victim, as well as bystanders* (Fitzgerald, et al., 1999a; Gelfand, et al., 1995; Stark et al., 2002; Powell & Graves 2003).

Variable Measurement

Besides a clear and consistent definition of sexual harassment, a measuring inventory was needed for the field's development. Instruments provide a solid foundation that would allow for the research to be consistent methods-wise (Dzeich & Weiner, 1984; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). According to sexual harassment pioneer researchers, this would allow one to assess the base rates of sexual harassment and to clarify the aforementioned dimensions of the construct (Dzeich & Weiner, 1984; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). Thus, Fitzgerald and colleagues took upon the challenge to develop and refine such instrument (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988).

Sexual Experience Questionnaire

The sexual experiences questionnaire (SEQ), consisting of 26 items, was developed initially in the late 1980's. In this first draft, Fitzgerald et al. (1988) used Till's (1980) five dimensions of sexual harassment. Later, the instrument was further refined into a more succinct measurement with only 18 items (Fitzgerald et al., 1995). This more parsimonious instrument included items measuring gender harassment, unwanted sexual attention, and sexual coercion, as well as a single item measure of perception of overall sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Gelfand et al., 1995).

The suggested method for scoring the items is a 3-point scale (1 = *never*, 2 = *once*, 3 = *more than once*; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). However, the

measurement of the items on the questionnaire has also been done by asking the participants to rank the occurrence of each behavior in their organization on a 5 point scale, ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*most of the time*) (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). The items are expressed as behavioral clues to avoid priming the participants. The standard stem “have you ever been in a situation where a male coworker” (Fitzgerald et al., 1988, p.165) preceded the items in the instrument. The complete questionnaire includes five items measuring gender harassment, seven items measuring unwanted sexual attention, five items measuring sexual coercion, and a single item measuring overall sexual harassment.

The gender harassment items read: “told suggestive stories”, “made crude sexual remarks”, “made offensive remarks”, “displayed offensive materials”, and “made sexist comments” (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p.435). The unwanted sexual attention items are: “attempted to discuss sex”, “unwanted sexual attention”, “staring or leering at you”, “attempts to establish a sexual relationship”, “repeated requests for drinks or dinner despite rejection”, “touching you in a way that made you feel uncomfortable”, and “attempts to stroke and fondle” (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p.435). The five sexual coercion items read: “subtly bribed you”, “subtly threatened you”, “made it necessary to cooperate to be well treated”, “made you afraid of poor treatment if you did not cooperate”, “experienced consequences for refusing” (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p.435). Finally, the item measuring overall sexual harassment perceptions reads: “have been sexually harassed” (Fitzgerald et al., 1988, p. 167).

Measuring the Sexual Harassment of Men

Research comparing the sexual harassment of women employees to that of male employees indicates there may be gender differences between the behaviors considered as sexual harassment (Berdahl, Magley, & Waldo, 1996). For example, men may consider favoritism towards women as sexually harassing (Berdahl et al., 1996). Furthermore, men are more likely to be harassed by other men, thus, experiencing same sex sexual harassment (SSSH) (Stockdale, Berry, Schneider, & Cao, 2004; Waldo, Berdahl, & Fitzgerald, 1998).

Traditional instruments of sexual harassment measurement do not account for the possibility of SSSH types of harassing behaviors (Stockdale et al., 2004). This is possibly because of the common perception that men generally harass women (Vance, Ensher, Hendricks, & Harris, 2004) and women generally harass men. In other words, opposite sex sexual harassment (OSSH) is assumed to be the norm (Waldo et al., 1998). However, SSSH is likely to occur, especially in the case of male victims (Berdahl et al., 1996; DuBois, Knapp, Faley, & Kurtis, 1998; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995; Waldo et al., 1998).

To address this disparity, Waldo and his colleagues (Waldo et al., 1998) modified the previously developed sexual harassment measure to make it more encompassing of men's sexually harassing experiences (SEQ, Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Fitzgerald et al., 1988). The sexual harassment of men (SHOM) questionnaire gave participants the opportunity to indicate the harassers' sex to register whether the incident was SSSH or OSSH (Waldo et al., 1998). The questionnaire kept the common stem "have any of your supervisors or coworkers:" (Waldo et al., 1998,

p. 76). However, items measuring behaviors that men would consider harassing were included (Waldo et al., 1998). The items added fall into the gender harassment category and are: “said things to put men down”, “made you feel that you were not a man if you do things women usually do”, “insulted you by saying you were a fag or gay”, “say you weren’t man enough”, “often made negative comments about men”, “made you treat women badly when you did not want to”, and “pressured you into doing things you did not want to by accusing you of not being a real man” (Waldo et al., 1998, p. 76-77). The results indicated men experience SSSH as often as they experience OSSH (Waldo et al., 1998).

In conclusion, Fitzgerald et al. (1988) created and refined the SEQ. This instrument items which were later refined (Fitzgerald et al., 1995), measured the occurrence of behaviors identified as sexual harassment. However, the questionnaire did not account for behaviors that male employees may identify as sexual harassment (Stockdale et al., 2004). Thus, the SHOM inventory was developed to include such experiences (Waldo et al., 1998).

Prevalence

The number of sexual harassment reports to the EEOC and FEPAS is alarming. Although the cases reported by the EEOC statistics have dropped by 21.26% over the past ten years, the incidence of this unethical behavior is still over 12, 500 cases (EEOC, 2008a). Furthermore, according to the research literature, only about 13 % of sexual harassment victims come forward (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). As a result, the number of reports grossly underestimates the

prevalence of sexual harassment in the work environment. In this section I discuss the research literature reporting sexual harassment prevalence and incidence.

The Sexual Harassment of Women

A great amount of the literature has documented that women in academia and the workplace are more likely than their male counterparts to be the targets of sexual harassment (Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale, Visio, & Batra, 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995). Over 40% of working women report experiences of sexual harassment at work (Pierce, Rosen, & Hiller, 1997). Moreover, these findings are consistently similar across cultures (Bridge, 1997; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004).

Recently, Cunningham and Benavides-Espinoza (2008) analyzed the trend of sexual harassment claims reported by women employees to the EEOC over a 15-year span. They found that the number of reports reached its peak by 1997, and decreased thereafter (Cunningham & Benavides-Espinoza, 2008). This trend was attributed to the political climate in the country, such that the reporting and enforcement of sexual harassment decreases as the political climate becomes more conservative. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that up until 10 years before this trend analysis was conducted, only 13% of sexual harassment victims reported being victims of sexual harassment (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997). If this statistic is still generalizable to sexual harassment victims today, that would suggest that in American organizations, over 96,000 women were the targets of sexual harassment in 2007.

In summary, women are generally sexual harassment targets at a greater rate than males in the workplace across cultures (Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Kenig

& Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995). In America, the number of complaints has decreased significantly since 1997, when it reached its highest point in the past 15 years (Cunningham & Benavides-Espinoza, 2008). However, if only 13% of the victims report harassment (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Schneider et al., 1997), the incidence of this unethical behavior is still startling.

The Sexual Harassment of Men

The number of men sexually harassed in the workplace is considerably less than the number of women who are harassed (Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995). Thus, little attention has been paid to male employees who are targets of sexual harassment in organizations (Stockdale et al., 2004). However, as sexual harassment is a power struggle and rarely is exclusively about sex (Cleveland & Kerst, 1993; DeSouza & Sloberg, 2004; Powell, 1993; Tangri, Burt, & Johnson, 1982), the sexual harassment of men is not unfeasible.

Although it has a lower incidence than the sexual harassment of women, the sexual harassment of male employees certainly happens (Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995), and it has been documented in the courts (e.g. *Oncala v. Sundowner Offshore Services Inc., 1998*). Furthermore, the prevalence of sexual harassment has also been documented on the field's literature (Berdahl et al., 1996; DeSouza & Sloberg, 2004; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Stockdale et al., 1999; Waldo et al., 1998). The academicians that have endeavored in

this research have found, however, that there may be differences between men and women sexual harassment (Berdahl et al., 1996).

Such differences may explain the differential in the report rates (see EEOC, 2008a). For example, research has found that women are more sensitive to behaviors commonly classified as sexual harassment than men are (Rotundo, Nguyen, & Sackett, 2001). Moreover, there are additional behaviors that men would classify as sexual harassment beyond those established by research conducted on women samples (Berdahl et al., 1996). Specifically, women perceive behaviors that imply women have lower status as sexual harassment (Berdahl et al., 1996). Men, on the other hand, perceive behaviors that threaten their implied high status as sexually harassing (Berdahl et al., 1996). Thus, male employees who perceive their organization to be unfairly favorable to women may be more likely to feel sexually harassed (Berdahl et al., 1996).

Furthermore, there is one type of harassment that is experienced by men more frequently than it is by women: SSSH (Berdahl et al., 1996; DuBois et al., 1998; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995; Waldo et al., 1998). For example, men harassers will single out, humiliate, and ridicule a male coworker that does not comply with traditional masculine roles (Stockdale et al., 2004). Results of research conducted on this realm indicate men experienced SSSH as often as they experience OSSH (Waldo et al., 1998).

In summary, even though the harassment of women employees is more prevalent, male employees also experience sexual harassment in the workplace (Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995). The

findings registered in the available literature also revealed men and women may experience different types of harassment (Berdahl et al., 1996). For example, men are more likely to experience SSSH than are their women counterparts (Berdahl et al., 1996; DuBois et al., 1998; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995; Waldo et al., 1998). This type of harassment generally includes enforcement of masculine role fulfillment by male coworkers (Waldo et al., 1998). Researchers indicate men experience SSSH and OSSH in a similar basis (Waldo et al., 1998).

Antecedents and Consequences of Sexual Harassment

Thus far, the dimensions and definition, measurement, and prevalence of sexual harassment have been discussed. Now, I direct my attention to antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment. The research on the sexual harassment field made an enormous leap forward when the determinants and outcomes of this unethical behavior were established. The measurement of antecedents appoints proactive options by which organizations can attempt to eradicate this pervasive societal problem. The identification of negative consequences on the other hand, provides evidence of the problems sexual harassment behaviors present for individuals and organizations. In the remainder of this section I discuss the nature of the antecedents and consequences

Fitzgerald and colleagues' (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994) developed an integrated model of antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment. Research based on this model focuses on organizational variables believed to be critical antecedents of sexual harassment, such as organizational culture, organizational climate, and job gender context, as well as negative outcomes associated with sexual harassment, such as health and psychological

conditions, decreased job satisfaction, commitment, increased work withdrawal, and decreased productivity (Chan, Lam, Chow, & Cheung, 2008; Fitzgerald et al, 1997; Stark et al., 2002; Willness et al., 2007). In this section of the paper I discuss the underpinnings of the model as it pertains to direct victims in more detail. The model applicability to bystanders or vicarious victims of sexual harassment will be discussed in an upcoming section.

Antecedents of Sexual Harassment

Fitzgerald et al. (1997; 1994) established antecedents or precursors to sexual harassment. Such theory advancement allows for identification of organizational characteristics that can be manipulated for the organization to prevent, or at least reduce, the incidence of this unethical behavior. The antecedents of sexual harassment identified as significant by the empirical test of the integrated model of antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment are organizational climate and job gender context (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994).

Organizational Culture. Organizational culture influences employees' behaviors, as well as the ways organizational members perceive organizational problems by means of the assumptions they share (Frank, 1987). Also, organizational culture offers insight into what is valued by the organization. For instance, the culture of an organization reveals how valuable women's contributions are (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004), or whether the organization places more emphasis on the employees well being or the bottom line (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000).

The influence of organizational culture—or how this culture is perceived by organizational members—on the incidence of sexual harassment has been extensively

documented (e.g. Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham; 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). For example, research on organizational culture suggests the norms, values, and attitudes embedded in the culture of the organization result in differences in acceptability of certain behaviors (Terpastra, 1997). Specifically, a culture of tolerance to sexual harassment leads to increases on the number of incidents (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Moreover, organizational cultures that promote equal treatment of women and men employees have been found to reduce the incidence of sexual harassment (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000).

Organizational climate. Organizational climate is defined as the way individuals perceive their work environment (Glisson & James, 2002). Because organizational climate concerns thoughts, feelings, and perceptions (Denison, 1996); this construct is considered the subjective world of the organization (Denison, 1996; Schneider, Bowen, Ehrhart, & Holcombe, 2000). Given that the perceptions of the work environment can influence our behavior in the workplace (Glisson & James, 2002), organizational climate is considered a determinant of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al, 1997; Fitzgerald et al, 1994; Willness et al., 2007).

For instance, Glisson and James (2002) found that positive organizational climates, such as those with less role conflict, yielded more positive individual work attitudes. Similarly, according to the integrated model of antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment, sexual harassment is expected to be determined by the organizational climate (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al, 1999a; Willness et al., 2007). For example, if employees perceive the organizational climate to be tolerant to sexual harassment, they have reason to think sexually harassing behaviors are acceptable

and the incidences of such behaviors will be higher (Fitzgerald et al., 1999a). The reverse also applies, such that in organizations where the climate is of low tolerance to these types of behaviors, employees will perceive sexual harassment as unacceptable. This will lead to a decline in its prevalence (Fitzgerald et al., 1994).

Job gender context. A third determinant of employees' behavior in the organization is job gender context (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007). This variable has been defined as the ratio of women employees to male employees in an organization in conjunction with the nature of the tasks performed on the job (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Consistent with the integrated model of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997) women are expected to experience more sexual harassment in a male dominated context, and vice versa. Also, women will experience more sexual harassment in a context where the nature of the tasks displays masculine characteristics, as opposed to a context where the nature of the task displays feminine characteristics (Willness et al., 2007). This is because in masculine job gender contexts, the work environment reinforces male dominance, cultural symbols of masculinity and sexual explicit behaviors are more likely to be present (Stockdale, 1993; Willness et al., 2007). For example, women coaches would be harassed more than nurses, as coaching is considered a male dominated context (Knoppers, 1992; Fink, 2008) while nursing is a profession considered women dominated (Maeder et al., 2007).

Moderating Variables

The model indicates personal vulnerability may mediate the relationship between antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment. The variables identified as making a victim more or less vulnerable were their sex and age (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1994). Generally, younger females are considered as more vulnerable than older females, or males in general.

Sex. As mentioned previously, research indicates women are more susceptible to be victims of sexual harassment than are men (Blumenthal, 1998; Cahn et al., 2003; Cochran, Frazier, & Olson, 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Kenig & Ryan, 1986; Owens, Gomes, & Morgan, 2004; Stockdale et al., 2004; Stockdale et al., 1999; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995). This is more likely due to the different behaviors perceived as harassment by men and women (Berdahl et al., 1996). For example, social sexual behavior a woman would consider offensive may be considered flattering by a man (Cochran et al., 1997; Gutek, 1985).

Age. The age of an employee is also considered a vulnerability factor. Specifically, the older the victim is, the less likely she or he is to be negatively influenced by sexual harassment (Chan et al., 2008). This is because older adults employ better coping mechanisms than do their younger counterparts in dealing with sexual harassment (Carstensen, 1995); thus, the negative effects are mitigated.

Consequences of Sexual Harassment

The model further advanced the field by identifying negative consequences resulting from sexual harassment (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994). The confirmation of such negative outcomes by empirical evidence testifies of

the detrimental effects of sexual harassment in organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). The consequences outlined in the model are: psychological outcomes, health outcomes, and job related outcomes (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994).

Psychological outcomes. Psychological outcomes of sexual harassment include psychological distress (Richman, Rospenda, Nawyn, Flaherty, Fendrich, Drum, & Johnson, 1999) and low psychological well-being (Fitzgerald et al., 1997). Examples of behaviors displayed by the victims associated with negative psychological outcomes consist of: anxiety, depression, sadness, and negative mood (Harned & Fitzgerald, 2002; Willness et al., 2007). Because sexual harassment violates employees' expectations of a safe and nonviolent work environment (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1997), victims undergo strong psychological reactions. Oftentimes, such reactions have been compared to those of victims experiencing psychological symptoms after traumatic events (Chan et al., 2008; Hobfoll, 1991). Thus, sexual harassment has been related with stress-associated responses from the victims (Willness et al., 2007). Research specific to this unethical behavior suggests experiencing and witnessing sexual harassment leads to negative psychological consequences (Munson, Hulin, Drasgow, 2000) because work stress and psychological stress are generated in organizations with high incidence of sexual harassment (Kauppinen-Toropainen & Gruber, 1993; Willness et al., 2007).

Health outcomes. Also, sexual harassment has been shown to have negative effects on victims' physical health (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness et al., 2007; Wislar, Richman, Fendrich, & Faherty, 2002). These health conditions are presumably caused by the physiological responses to the high stress sexual harassment causes on victims (Chan et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2006). By being constantly exposed to such high levels of stress

caused by the offensive conditions generated by sexual harassment in the work place, the victims develop symptoms of poor physical health (Schneider et al., 1997). In general, sexual harassment in organizations is believed to lead to hostile and unhealthy work conditions (Willness et al., 2007). Primarily, health related outcomes associated to these working conditions include symptoms indicative of declines in general physical health, as well as participants' subjective attitudes towards their health (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Job related outcomes. Negative outcomes from sexual harassment that relate to the organization include decreased job satisfaction, organizational commitment, increased work withdrawal, and decreased productivity (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1994; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Willness, et al., 2007). Job satisfaction refers to the extent that an employee is fulfilled performing her or his job. There are numerous benefits of having satisfied employees, such as decreased absenteeism and turnover, as well as having positive effects on individuals' well being and health (Johns & Saks, 2001). As sexual harassment is used to gain power over other organizational members (Cleveland & Kerst, 1993), it is reasonable to believe it affects work relations (DiTomaso, 1989). Thus, it can be inferred that when sexual harassment is a common occurrence in an organization, one's satisfaction will decrease (Chan, Tang, & Chan, 1999; Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Laband & Lentz, 1998; Willness et al., 2007).

Organizational commitment is defined as the employees' attachment to the organization and other organizational members (Meyer, Becker, & Van Dick, 2006). When employees experience high levels of commitment, they display greater citizenship behavior and lower turnover (Gellatly, Meyer, & Luchak, 2006). When sexual harassment is pervasive throughout an organization, employees' affective attachment to

the organization may be effected. For example, Williams, Fitzgerald, and Drasgow (1999) found increases in organizational commitment when organizational anti-harassment policies were implemented, which resulted in less sexual harassment incidence. This suggests that when sexual harassment is not appropriately dealt with in an organization, individuals bonds to the organization weaken, probably because victimized individuals become angry at the organization for failing to protect them (Willness et al., 2007).

Another job related outcome is work withdrawal, or the avoidance of work-related tasks in the workplace, by being absent, late, or disregarding work (Laband & Lentz, 1998). Researchers suggest this detachment from work occurs as sexual harassment victims attempt to distance themselves from the source of the stress (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Gruber & Smith, 1995; Kauppinen-Toropainen & Gruber, 1993; Walsh & Hitlan, 2007; Willness et al., 2007). As a result, sexual harassment is expected to ultimately cause work withdrawal (Fitzgerald et al., 1994).

Decreased productivity is an indirect outcome of sexual harassment (Chan et al., 2008; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Willness et al., 2008). According to the literature, employees' productivity or job performance is affected through decreased satisfaction (Fitzgerald et al., 1999a). Furthermore, it seems natural to infer that the performance will suffer when an employee presents physical symptoms of decreased health, is undergoing continuous stress, and is frequently absent, all of which are outcomes of sexual harassment.

Research based on Fitzgerald's model (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994) has found support for several of the relationships proposed. For example, in a study

analyzing sexual harassment experiences of high school coaches, Benavides-Espinoza and Cunningham (2008) found a support for the structural equation model using diversity culture as an antecedent, and job related outcomes as consequences of sexual harassment. Diversity culture was used as the antecedent on the basis that cultural norms, values and attitudes lead to differences in the perceived acceptability of sexual behaviors (Terpastra, 1997). Furthermore, differential effects for the consequences of sexual harassment on male and women coaches were found. Specifically, their results indicated women were affected more greatly than their men counterparts in terms of decreased job satisfaction. However, the reverse was found for increased work withdrawal, as men were more greatly affected by sexual harassment in terms of this outcome (Benavides-Espinoza & Cunningham, 2008).

In summary, Fitzgerald and colleagues (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994) contributed greatly to the sexual harassment field advancement by developing an integrated model of antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment. The antecedents—organizational climate and job gender context—point toward organizational characteristics that influence the occurrence of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994). The consequences—psychological, health, and job related outcomes—provide evidence as to the harmfulness of sexual harassment in the workplace (Fitzgerald et al., 1997; Fitzgerald et al., 1994). In the following section, I focus on the bystanders of sexual harassment.

Vicarious Victims

Glomb et al., (1997) took Fitzgerald's model (Fitzgerald et al., 1994) one step further. They adapted the theory to account for vicarious exposure to sexual harassment;

that is, the way individuals who are not themselves the targets of harassment are affected by this unethical behavior (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Glomb and his colleagues labeled the vicarious exposure to sexual harassment as ambient sexual harassment and went on to create an integrated model outlining the antecedents and consequences of that harassment form (Glomb et al., 1997).

Research on this realm advanced the study of sexual harassment by extending the previous theory to include the effects of harassment in organizational members other than the direct victims (Glomb et al., 1997). Further, it provided two important practical implications: one for the organization, and one for society in general. Organization wise, research has shown sexual harassment is a pervasive problem attacking all employees in the organization and not only the individual victim (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). As the society as a whole is concerned, the results of this research may influence legislation on the issue to protect victims of vicarious exposure to sexual harassment (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004).

In summary, most research to date has focused on the antecedents and effects of sexual harassment (see Fitzgerald et al., 1997) and ambient sexual harassment (see Glomb et al., 1997). However, organizational efforts regarding deterrence of inappropriate behaviors and their influence on organizational members have been largely overlooked. In an attempt to fill this gap in the literature, I propose a model including aspects of organizational life regarding corrective actions and their influence on organizational members not directly immersed in the harassing situation.

This theoretical enterprise attempts a threefold contribution to the sexual harassment literature. First, I draw theory from the sexual harassment, punishment, organizational culture, and cognitive dissonance literature to focus on the punishment bystanders prefer for various forms of sexual harassment. Second, Adams' (1965) equity theory is used to develop propositions about bystanders' reactions to punishment considered unjust. Third, I draw from the sexual harassment and organizational culture literature to propose differential behavioral responses to sexual harassment by bystanders (see model in Figure 7).

Punishment

Preventive measures that would inhibit the occurrence of sexual harassment would be the ideal way to eradicate this pervasive problem (EEOC, 2008b). However, preventive policies do not always deter sexual harassment, and as a result, reactive disciplinary actions are needed. Appropriate punishment, which involves undesired outcomes as consequences for one's actions, weakens the recurrence of unwanted behavior (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986). The effectiveness of punitive actions depends on its proportionality to the harm caused (Nelson, Halpert, & Cellar, 2007; Trevino & Ball, 1992).

However, as we know, sexual harassment not only affects direct targets (Glomb et al., 1997; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2004; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). The effects of ambient sexual harassment may cause disciplinary action to be of interest to vicarious victims as well as to those directly involved in the harassment situation. As a result, the effects of disciplinary measures may expand beyond stopping the harassment into

contributing to the victim's coworkers' perceptions of the organization (Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007).

Because the types of harassment outlined above differ in their severity (Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980), I propose an effect of the type of harassment on the type of punishment preferred by bystanders. Generally, quid pro quo is considered sterner than hostile environment harassment. Thus, the effect of the type of harassment on the preferred punishment will be such that preferred punishment for quid pro quo harassment would be harsher than that of hostile environment type of harassment.

Diversity Culture

In their framework of diversity initiatives, Fink and Pastore (1999) outlined three different types of organizations based on their strategies to manage diversity: compliant, reactive, and proactive organizations. Compliant organizations are characterized by their rigidity and lack of effort to attract and retain diverse employees (Cox, 1991; Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). Reactive organizations consider differences an asset; nonetheless, their definition of diversity is limited to race and sex (Fink & Pastore, 1999). Finally, proactive organizations, the most supportive of diversity, are characterized by anticipation to problems and reflect their commitment to diversity through resource allocation (Fink & Pastore, 1999). Furthermore, proactive organizations definition of diversity extends beyond sex and race to be comprehensive of diverse values, backgrounds, age, and marital status.

Proactive organizations exhibit different characteristics than compliant organizations regarding diversity management (Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2001; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer, 2003). By valuing cultural and demographic differences, proactive

organizations provide women and minorities with more conducive work environments (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Moreover, in proactive organizations diverse employees are granted with equal opportunities more so than in compliant organizations (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Therefore, women (who are the most common sexual harassment targets, Blumenthal, 1998; Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Stockdale, Berry, Schneider, & Cao, 2004; US Merit System Protection Board, 1995) are considered an organizational asset, and are granted the same opportunities than their men counterparts. Sexual harassment in these types of organizations would constitute a violation of the underlying beliefs and assumptions that guide the organization, and thus, will not be tolerated (Fink & Pastore, 1999; Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). On this basis, I propose organizational culture will directly influence sexual harassment punishment preferences, such that harsher punishment will be preferred in proactive organizations.

In drawing from the cognitive dissonance literature, I propose the organizational culture will interact with the type of harassment to influence the type of punishment. This would be the case because violations of values and beliefs create discomfort (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). According to the cognitive dissonance literature, the discomfort created by a coworker's unethical behavior that violates organizational member's expectations of appropriate behavior should result on attempts to restore consistency (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbett, 2005). For example, when a crime is committed purposefully, harsher punishment is suggested so that the level of discomfort created by the betrayal of trust will be reduced (Kumar, 2001; Sinha & Kumar, 2001). In regards to organizations, members of proactive organizations share the assumption that every individual is valued; whereas, employees of compliant organizations do not (Fink & Pastore, 1999). For these

reasons, the relationship between the severity of the harassment and the preferred punishment might be stronger for proactive organizations because there is a greater violation of the values and beliefs shared by the members. This might be the case because sexual harassment violates the norms of a proactive organization to a greater degree than it would violate the norms of a compliant organization, thus creating greater dissonance.

In summary, so far I have made several theoretical propositions. First, I proposed a theoretical connection between the type of harassment and the assertiveness of bystanders' behavioral response. Second I have proposed a relationship between the type of harassment and the preferred punishment by organizational members who have been indirectly exposed to the harassment. This relationship is expected to be moderated by the organizational culture. Furthermore, a direct influence of organizational culture on preferred punishment has been theoretically established. In doing so, theory from literature in different research areas has been drawn from; specifically, sexual harassment, punishment, organizational culture, and cognitive dissonance. In what follows, the second part of the model will be discussed.

Reactions to Punishment

As previously discussed, punitive actions for unethical behavior have two main purposes. First, punishment aids in the deterrence of unwanted behaviors (Greenberg, 2005; Laczniak & Inderrieden, 1986). Research suggests punishment that is inappropriately low is ineffective for this purpose (Ormord, 1999). Thus, adequate organizational responses to undesired behavior are crucial to its eradication. Second, punishment is of interest to observers, or ambient sexual harassment victims (Minner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). The effects inappropriate harasser punishment has on vicarious

harassment victims have been overlooked in the literature. I argue here that it has the potential to negatively influence bystanders' emotions and perceptions of justice.

Adams' (1965) equity theory provides the theoretical underpinnings for the effects of punishment perceived inappropriate by bystanders on emotions and justice perceptions. This is an inputs-outputs theory. Inputs constitute what workers contribute to the organization, while outputs refer to what they get in return from their contributions. An employee would perceive inequity when there is a mismatch in their input-output ratio, as compared to another employee's input-output ratio (Adams, 1965). For example, employees will perceive inequity if they put in extra hours for a particular assignment, but receive less acknowledgment or fewer rewards for their effort than do their counterparts who exerted less effort (Evan & Simmons, 1969). For purposes of this study, the input can conceptually be represented by the harassers' behavior and the outcome will be the disciplinary action applied by the organization.

Bystanders are likely to develop beliefs about what is a fair punishment for given cases of sexual harassment. Correspondence between the bystanders' preferred punishment and the punishment handed down should result in perceived fairness or justice. On the other hand, a mismatch between bystanders' preferred punishment and the actual punishment can possibly result in perceptions of injustice or bias. Such perceptions can potentially have negative effects on subsequent attitudes toward the organization. In the proposed model, I suggest three potential outcomes: the bystander's emotional response to the decision, her or his perception that the organization is just, and perceptions of a violation of the culture of diversity.

Emotions. Emotions are reactions, physiological and psychological, to cognitive events (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbet, 2005; Kim & Smith, 2005). Individuals are likely to evaluate the perceived congruency between ongoing events and their goals or expectations. This is an immediate process, and leads to positive or negative emotions towards the target of such evaluation (Lazarus, 1991). In this case, the target of the evaluation would be the punishment handed down. The effect of the evaluation is such that congruency between events and expectations produces positive emotions, and a mismatch would produce negative emotions (Lazarus, 1991).

In drawing from this literature and equity theory (Adams, 1965), I propose certain effects of congruency between preferred punishment and actual punishment on bystanders' emotional state. Specifically, a mismatch between the bystander's expectations of punishment and actual punishment will elicit negative emotions. On the other hand, when the expectations and the punishment are congruent, less negative emotions would occur.

Organizational Justice. Justice perceptions could also be affected by the lack of correspondence between the preferred punishment and the actual punishment. Employee's perceptions of justice influence their commitment, satisfaction, and turnover intentions (Fields, 2002). As pointed out in the justice literature, people judge whether something is fair or just by cognitively assessing signs of regard, respect, social inclusion, and dignity (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001; Tyler & Lind, 1992). For example, if employees feel their salary inappropriately reflects their performance, they will perceive the organization as unjust or unfair (Greenberg, 1993). Similarly, a supervisor treating

employees disrespectfully will elicit perceptions of injustice in the organization (Greenberg, 2005).

These principles application to the model is that, according to the theory of inequity (Adams, 1965), perceptions of fairness and justice are likely determined by the distribution of resources relative to contributions (Adams, 1965). In the context of the current model, bystanders might perceive injustice if their expectations of punishment to sexual harassment are not matched by the actual punishment handed down to the harasser. Thus, I propose incongruence is likely to negatively influence perceptions by the bystander that the organization is just and fair. On the other hand, if the punishment handed down by the organization matches that preferred by the bystander, then s/he might deem it fair or just.

Culture violation. As previously discussed, organizational culture is comprised by the assumptions shared by organizational members (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). These shared perspective influences individuals' behavior and the way they perceive other's behavior in the workplace (Frank, 1987). Similarly, those shared assumptions contribute to a common understanding of organizational norms (Schneider, 1987).

Moreover, the culture of the organization may affect norm violation perceptions. According to the existing research, those perceiving certain behaviors—such as harassment or discrimination—as objectionable are more likely to perceive them as violations of the norms than people than does not think the same behaviors are as offensive (Montgomery, Kane, & Vance, 2004). Thus, in organizations with ethical cultures, unethical behaviors should violate the ethical norms at a greater degree than organizations with less ethical cultures. In a similar fashion, in proactive organizations,

where all employees are equally valuable irrespective of their demographics or beliefs (Fink & Pastore, 1999), sexual harassment will constitute a greater violation of the organizational norms than in a compliant organization.

Behavioral Responses

The eradication of sexual harassment through preventive measures would be ideal (EEOC, 2008b); however, once sexual harassment has occurred organizations need to take action. This requires organization's leaders to be informed that sexual harassment has occurred (Knapp et al., 1997; Riger, 1991; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). This could be detrimental to organizational efforts to stop sexual harassment because victims rarely report incidents (Knapp et al., 1997). In such cases, bystanders' actions could be of great help in deterring this unethical behavior (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005).

The literature identifies two types of victims' behavioral responses to transgressions, sexual harassment in this case: passive and assertive actions (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Knapp et al., 1997; Miceli & Near, 1992; Perry, Kulik, & Schmidtke, 1997). Passive responses include doing nothing (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Miceli & Neal, 1992), ignoring the behavior (Gruber & Smith, 1995; McKinney, 1990), avoidance, and deferral (Knapp et al., 1997). The assertive responses include confrontation and filing a report (Gruber & Smith, 1995; Knapp et al., 1997; Miceli & Near, 1992).

Bystanders' behavioral responses to harassment could also be categorized into passive or active. A passive response would be not taking action (Bowes-Sperry & O'Leary-Kelly, 2005); while assertive responses would include reporting the harassment, intervening at the time of an incident, or confronting the harasser (Bowes-Sperry &

O’Leary-Kelly, 2005). In the cases in which the sexual harassment of coworkers causes bystanders to respond assertively, the opportunities for the eradication of this unethical behavior may be as good as when direct victims respond assertively (Bowes-Sperry & Powell, 1999; Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005; Roumeliotis & Kleiner, 2005). As a result, the antecedents to these types of behavioral responses by bystanders are an important area of study.

Type of harassment and behavioral response. The literature on bystander responses to sexual harassment indicates that intervention is more probable when ambiguity is low and there is eminent harm (Bowes-Sperry & O’Leary-Kelly, 2005). In particular, bystanders intervene mostly when it is clear to them that a coworker is being victimized by her or his harasser. As previously discussed, the two types of harassment—quid pro quo and hostile environment—vary in their severity (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1988; Fitzgerald et al., 1999a; Stark et al., 2002), with quid pro quo considered the more harmful offense (EEOC, 2008b; Fitzgerald et al., 1995; Nelson et al., 2007; Till 1980). Furthermore, the continuous refusal of victims in quid pro quo cases (Gelfand, Fitzgerald, & Drasgow, 1995; Fitzgerald et al., 1999b) could reduce the ambiguity of the situation for the bystander, increasing the likelihood that they will intervene. Thus, there is the possibility that perceptions of the sexual harassment severity would impact bystanders’ behavioral response, such that quid pro quo harassment might engender more assertive reactions than do harassment that creates a hostile workplace environment.

Diversity culture and behavioral response. As previously mentioned, the organizational culture influences the way employees react to problems in the workplace (Frank, 1987). As sexual harassment violates the assumptions of providing equal

opportunities and a conducive work environment in proactive organizations, it will be less tolerated than in compliant organizations (Timmerman & Bajema, 1999). Thus, I propose organizational culture will directly influence bystanders' behavioral reactions to sexual harassment, such that more assertive actions will be elicited in proactive organizations when compared to compliant ones. Also, given that sexual harassment violates the norms of proactive organizations at a greater degree than it does in compliant organizations, I propose the relationships between the severity of the harassment and the behavioral response might be stronger for proactive organizations. Thus might be because a greater violation of the norms created greater cognitive dissonance and discomfort (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959), and people tend to try to restore consistency in their attempt to reduce discomfort (Gilovich, Keltner, & Nisbett, 2005).

In conclusion, the purpose of this chapter was to propose avenues to continue the development of sexual harassment as a field of study. In doing so, the available literature concerning sexual harassment dimensions and definition, measurement, prevalence, antecedents and consequences model for direct and indirect victims was reviewed. Alternative research endeavors concerning the consequences of sexual harassment and its punishment on vicarious victims, or bystanders, were proposed. A relationship is proposed among the organizational culture and type of harassment and the bystander's preferred punishment. In doing so, literature from areas such as sexual harassment, punishment, organizational culture, and cognitive dissonance are integrated. Second, it suggests negative effects arising from incongruence between preferred and actual punishment. This proposition is supported by integration of the aforementioned theories and Adams' theory of injustice (Adams, 1965). Finally, a relationship between the

organizational culture and bystanders' behavioral reactions is proposed. Such proposition is theoretically supported drawing from the sexual harassment, organizational culture, and cognitive dissonance literature.

APPENDIX 2

FIGURES AND TABLES

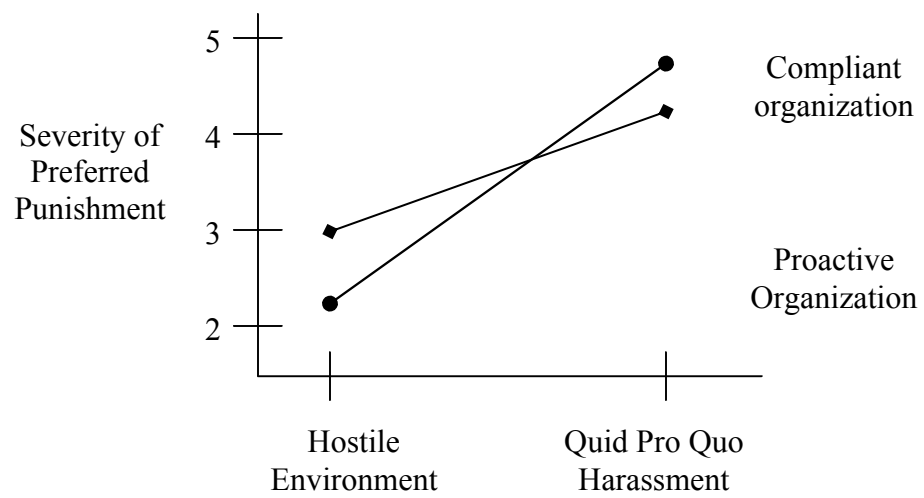


Figure 1.

*Harassment * Culture Effects on Preferred Sexual Harassment Punishment*

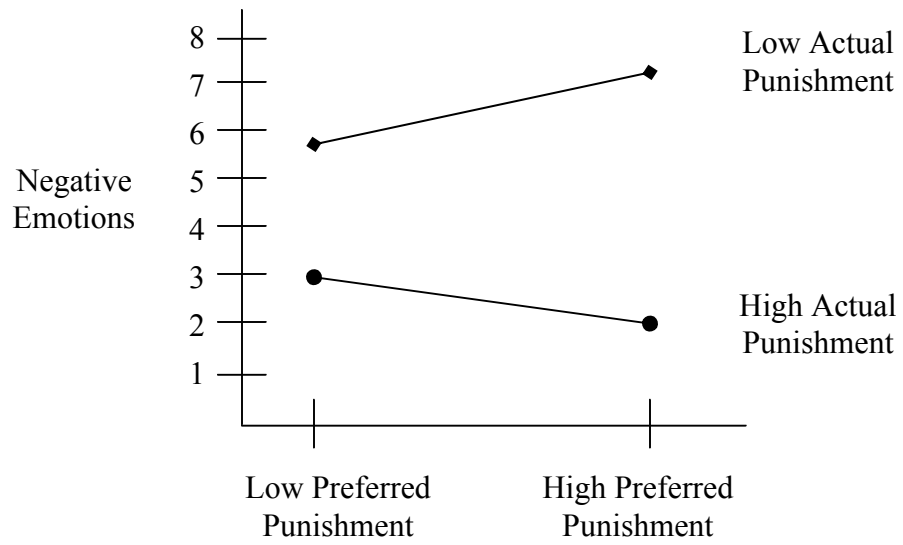


Figure 2.

Congruency, or Lack Thereof, Influence on Bystander Negative Emotions as Reactions to Sexual Harassment Punishment

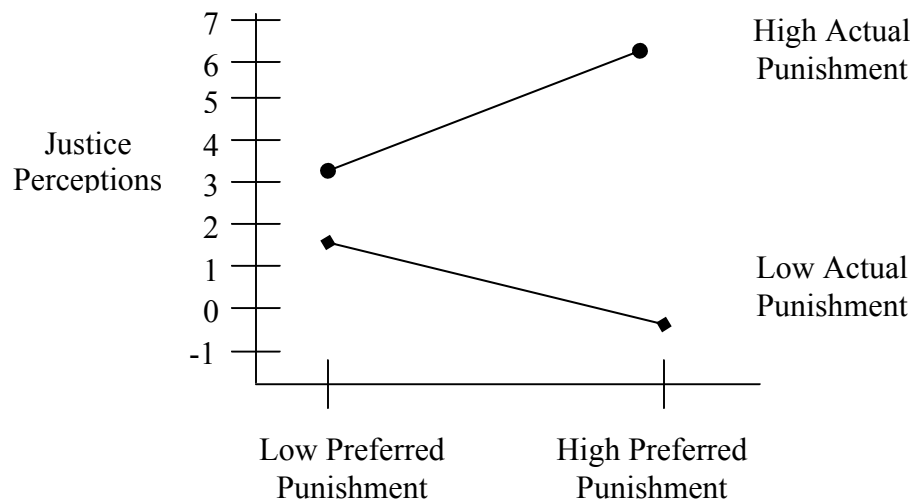


Figure 3.

Congruency, or Lack Thereof, Influence on Bystander Justice Perceptions as Reactions to Sexual Harassment Punishment

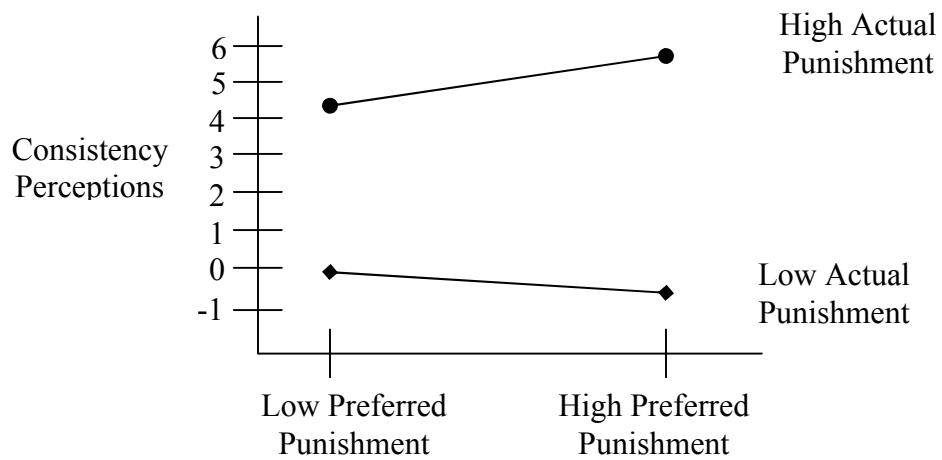


Figure 4.

Congruency, or Lack Thereof, Influence on Bystander Cultural Consistency Perceptions as Reactions to Sexual Harassment Punishment

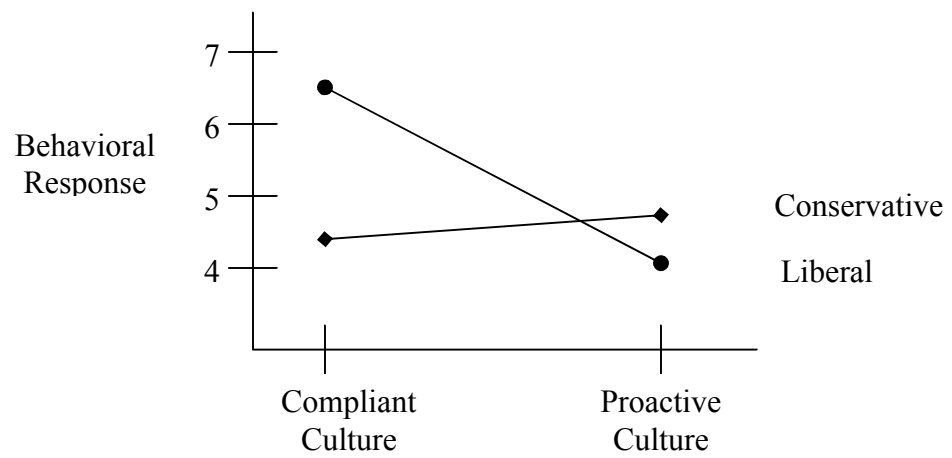


Figure 5.

Mediating Effect of Political Views on the Relationship between Culture and Behavioral Response

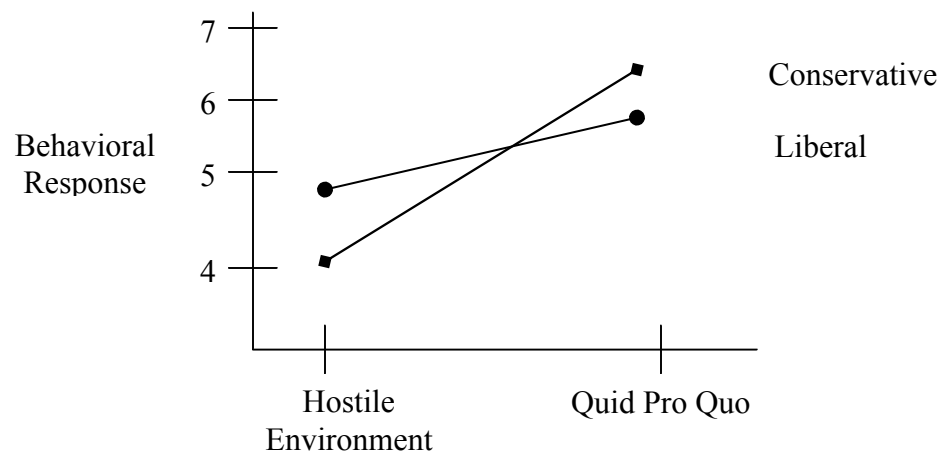


Figure 6.

Mediating Effect of Political Views on the Relationship between Harassment Type and Behavioral Response

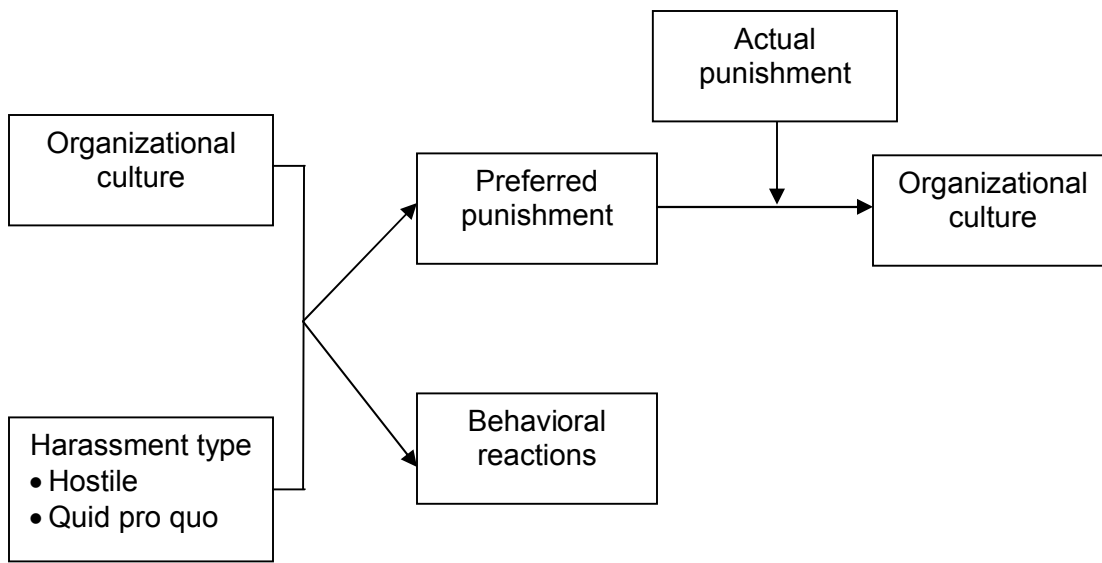


Figure 7.

Sexual Harassment Effects on Bystanders

Table 1.

Moderating Effect of Organizational Culture on the Relationship between Harassment Type and Preferred Punishment

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.05	.05*
Sex	-.53	.24	-.21*		
Step 2				.35	.31***
Harassment type	1.36	.20	.55***		
Organizational Culture	-.137	.20	.06		
Step 3				.38	.03*
Harassment by Culture	.91	.39	.31*		

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

Table 2.

Moderating Effect of Actual Punishment on the Relationship between Preferred Punishment and Reactions

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2
DV: Negative Emotions					
Step 1				.00	.00
Sex	-.23	.25	-.061		
Step 2				.54	.53***
Actual Punishment	-2.81	.24	-.73***		
Preferred Punishment	.08	.13	.04		
Step 3				.58	.04***
Actual by Preferred Punishment	-.81	.24	-.30***		
DV: Justice Perceptions					
Step 1				.00	.00
Sex	.08	.36	.02		
Step 2				.51	.51***
Actual Punishment	2.77	.25	.72***		
Preferred Punishment	.02	.13	.01		
Step 3				.62	.11***
Actual by Preferred Punishment	1.30	.23	.47***		
DV: Consistency Perceptions					
Step 1				-.01	.00
Sex	.16	.34	.04		
Step 2				.62	.63***
Actual Punishment	2.92	.21	.79***		
Preferred Punishment	-.06	.11	-.03		
Step 3				.64	.02***
Actual by Preferred Punishment	.49	.21	.19*		

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

Table 3.

Moderating Effect of Organizational Culture on the Relationship between Harassment Type and Behavioral Response

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.05	.05
Sex	-.26	.18	-.11		
Step 2				.12	.11***
Harassment type	.75	.17	.32***		
Organizational Culture	-.17	.17	-.07		
Step 3				.12	.00
Harassment by Culture	.02	.34	.01		

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

Table 4.

Moderating Effects of Organizational Culture and Political Views on the Relationship between Harassment Type and Behavioral Response

Step	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.01	.01
Sex	-.23	.18	-.09		
Step 2				.11	.11****
Harassment type	.70	.17	.30****		
Organizational Culture	-.21	.17	-.09		
Political views	-.08	.09	-.07		
Step 3				.15	.03*
Harassment by Culture	.22	.34	.08		
Harassment by Views	.29	.17	.18*		
Culture by Views	.32	.17	.19*		
Step 4				.15	.00
Har.* Culture * Views	-.21	.34	-.01		

Notes. * $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

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