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**Identifying the attitudes and beliefs that accompany sexual  
harassment**

**Sundt, Melora Ann, Ph.D.**

**University of California, Los Angeles, 1994**

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Identifying the Attitudes and Beliefs  
that Accompany Sexual Harassment

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Education

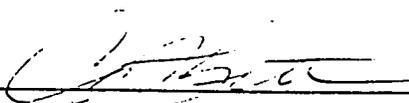
by

Melora Ann Sundt

1994

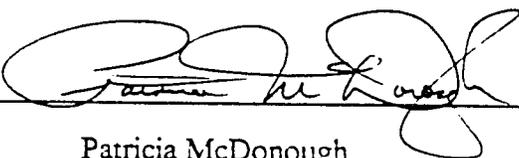
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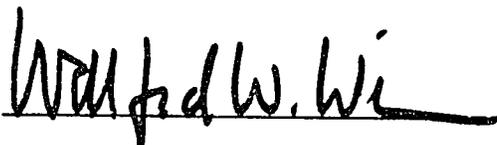
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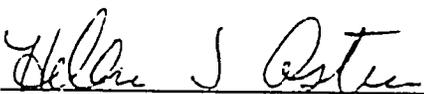
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This dissertation is dedicated to Kamryn Anne Kadota with the hope that she will never face sexual harassment, but that if she does, she will deal with it directly and without fear. It is also dedicated to Robert Kadota with thanks for providing the time for me to finish.

Many thanks are due to many people, in particular the Sundt and Kadota families for their encouragement; Lena Astin for all of her help; Les Koltai for his support; and the UCLA Dean of Students' Office staff for their understanding and encouragement.

Melora Ann Sundt

March 15, 1994

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## PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- Sundt, M. (1993). Effective sexual harassment policies: Focus on the harasser and the campus culture. Synthesis: Law and Policy in Higher Education, Winter, 333-334.
- Sundt, M. (1993). Post secondary education financing: International comparative models. Background Papers and Reports. Washington, DC: National Commission on Responsibilities for Financing Post secondary Education, 63-83.
- Sundt, M. (March, 1993). How well do you understand the sexual harasser. Presentation at the annual conference of the American College Personnel Association, Kansas City, MO.
- Sundt, M. (May, 1993). Understanding gender-related violence. Presentation at the Third Annual Southern California Women Studies Conference, Irvine, CA.

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Identifying the Attitudes and Beliefs  
that Accompany Sexual Harassment

by

Melora Ann Sundt

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 1994

Professor Helen S. Astin, Chair

Despite the research focused on sexual harassment on campus, little is known about the person who engages in sexually harassing behavior. While preliminary studies suggest that harassers are predominantly male and support traditional gender role attitudes, knowing more about the sexual harasser will enable educators to develop more effective prevention programs and response strategies.

In the fall of 1992, 1871 faculty from a variety of higher education institutions in southern California were asked to respond to a four page questionnaire designed to assess respondents' agreement with statements about gender roles, relationships with colleagues and students, and sexual harassment. The 669 respondents to the

survey were also asked to indicate their participation in various behaviors ranging from mentoring to sexual harassment.

Results indicate that faculty who engage in sexually harassing behavior are predominantly, but not exclusively, tenured men. More importantly, the study demonstrates that those who engage in sexual harassment are more like one another in attitudes about relationships and perceptions of sexual harassment than they are like other faculty, regardless of gender or type of sexual harassment in which they engage.

Important differences between male and female harassers emerged. The factors which contribute to predicting whether a woman will harass are not the same as those for a man. The most outstanding of these is occupational status, which appears to have little effect on women's behavior. Further, male harassers recognized their behavior as sexually harassing; female harassers did not. Finally, male harassers identified as being heterosexual; female harassers did not identify strongly with any sexual orientation.

An age difference appeared among harassers, related to the type of sexually harassing behaviors one initiates. Older faculty engaged in more behaviors than did younger faculty. This difference may be a research artifact or an effect of a generational cohort on behavior. Campus size, type of institution, academic specialty and sexual orientation of faculty had no effect on behavior.

These findings have significant implications for faculty adjudication processes and campus prevention programs. They also demonstrate the danger of generalizing findings based on one group (men) to another (women). More research to understand the beliefs and motivations of female harassers is indicated.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Statement of the Problem**

Researchers estimate 1.9 million women, or thirty percent of all college women experience sexual harassment annually on college campuses (McCormick et al, 1988; Maihoff & Forrest, 1983; Sullivan & Bybee, 1987; Brewer, 1982; Rubin & Borgers, 1990; Dziech & Weiner, 1984).<sup>1</sup> In addition, approximately 9 - 12 percent of male college students surveyed report having been sexually harassed (McKinney, 1990; Roscoe et al, 1987). A conservative estimate of the total population of student victims on college campuses may surpass 2.5 million people annually. As Dziech & Weiner (1984) conclude, "higher education faces a problem of epidemic proportion," (p. 15).

Despite the recent attention researchers have focused on issues of sexual harassment on campus, little is known about the person who engages in sexually harassing behavior, other than in the vast majority of cases that person is male. Knowing more about this person's beliefs about and understanding of the behavior,

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<sup>1</sup>While defining sexual harassment continues to be a problem, the term generally refers to either of two categories of unwanted behavior: (a) behaviors which create a hostile environment (sexual looks, jokes, teasing, comments that put down women, gay, lesbian or bisexual people, and unwanted touching, social pressure, assault or rape); or (b) quid pro quo – the exchange of sexual behavior for a reward or the avoidance of punishment.

may enable policy makers and educators to develop more effective institutional prevention programs and response strategies.

### **Background**

Sexual harassment has occurred on college campuses since Oberlin first admitted women in 1837 (Dziech & Weiner, 1984). However, until 1975, researchers and society paid little attention to it, rendering sexual harassment "historically invisible," (p. 12). Prior to 1980, when the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs conducted the first investigation of sexual harassment of college women, higher education assumed that sexual harassment was a work-related, not instruction-related, occurrence.

On campus however, sexual harassment is a problem because of its effect both on its victims and on the academic environment. Meek & Lynch (1983) note that in addition to experiencing psychological and physiological reactions such as insomnia, headaches, and depression, people who have been sexually harassed may dramatically alter their life style to avoid the harasser. According to Tangri et al (1982), avoidance in the academic setting can result in the student victim changing a route she takes across campus, his or her major or career plans. Faculty and staff victims may withdraw from departmental activities and/or leave their positions. Institutional efforts to increase the participation of women in teaching and research are thwarted by the harasser when a harassed woman withdraws from such activities in order to avoid the harasser.

Further, Baker (1992) posits that it is not only the gross examples of sexual harassment that drive women away, but also the "micro-inequities" a woman experiences daily: a sexist joke, an inappropriate comment, ogling, or unwanted touching. As these micro-inequities accumulate they create trauma, frequently labeled as "stress." She believes that many of the women who leave work, change majors, or transfer institutions for "good" reasons (e.g., going back to school, needing more relevant course work, wanting to be closer to home), may actually have left because of the stress and fatigue involved in battling daily micro inequities, including sexual harassment.

In addition, the fear of sexual harassment distorts the general academic environment. According to Neville (1990), many men fear being misinterpreted and finding themselves accused of sexually harassing a student or colleague; many women fear being harassed. As a result, people who could be engaged in collaborative partnerships are instead cautious and protective.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to identify the attitudes and beliefs that accompany sexually harassing behavior. In particular, this study examines how attitudes about gender roles, beliefs about faculty-student relationships, gender and sexual orientation influence sexually harassing behavior. Further, this study explores the relationship between these variables and the two primary types of sexually harassing behavior -- behavior that creates a hostile environment and behavior that offers a reward for compliance with sexual demands. It examines whether people who

acknowledge harassing others engage in both types of behavior. Finally, the study addresses whether the above attitudes and characteristics vary with the type of sexually harassing behavior being exhibited.

### **Significance of the Study**

Many campus protocols for responding to sexual harassment are based on standard grievance procedures which lack the flexibility and sensitivity needed to adequately address the needs of either the person victimized or the alleged harasser. Like early campus responses to allegations of sexual assault, these protocols assume, in contrast to empirical evidence, that sexual harassment is either a fabrication of many overly sensitive people (usually women), or is a rare and extreme type of behavior perpetrated by "sick" individuals. As a result, educational programs usually focus on the self-protection of women against harassment rather than on challenging current beliefs about appropriate behavior.

Instead, if we knew that people who sexually harass do so in part because they believe there is little wrong with their behavior, or because they have no fear of recrimination, our intervention strategies might look very different.

The more we know about people who engage in harassing behavior, the better equipped we will be to structure educational intervention programs to reduce the likelihood that harassment will occur, and to revise campus response strategies to minimize damage to the campus community in the wake of an incident of harassment.

## CHAPTER TWO

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Because some faculty and administrators have been skeptical about the prevalence of sexual harassment, much of the early research set out to establish its pervasiveness. The literature is almost entirely composed of counts about the frequency of harassment as well as victim demographics, with only indirect discussion of the harasser's profile. Thus far one of the problems with the research on harassment is the issue of definition; not adhering to a common definition leads to varying estimates of the frequency with which sexual harassment occurs.

#### Defining Sexual Harassment

Despite the problem of definition, faculty and students, male and female agree on which non-subtle<sup>2</sup> behaviors constitute sexual harassment (McKinney, 1990; Carroll & Ellis, 1988; McCormick et al, 1988; Maihoff & Forrest, 1983; Padgitt & Padgitt, 1986; Brewer, 1982). While the campus community recognizes grave sexual harassment when it sees it, men and women disagree on the seriousness of the problem. Men are significantly more tolerant of sexually harassing behavior than women are (McKinney, 1990; Carroll & Ellis, 1988). This disagreement extends into

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<sup>2</sup>While most researchers distinguish types of sexual harassment by degree of "seriousness" or "egregiousness", this study will distinguish behaviors by the type of sexual harassment they represent, either hostile environment or quid pro quo, to avoid implying that one form of sexual harassment is less serious or harmful than another.

research definitions of sexual harassment making cross-study comparisons of the more subtle forms of sexual harassment, particularly those behaviors which create a hostile environment, difficult.

Further, there is a difference between the way researchers define sexual harassment and the way institutions define it. Most campuses have adopted or modified the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC's) definition issued as part of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. For example, the University of California states:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when:

- a) Submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of instruction, employment, or participation in other University activity;
- b) Submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as a basis for evaluation in making academic or personnel decisions affecting an individual; or
- c) Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive University environment," (University of California Policies Applying to Campus Activities, Organizations, and Students, Part B, p. 53).

This definition, because it provides few behavioral cues, is difficult to operationalize for research purposes. As a result, some higher education administrators and faculty disregard research on sexual harassment on the grounds that the definition employed in research studies is broader than the institutional definition.

However, sexual harassment involves, at a minimum, a dyad. French & Raven (1959) state that to understand dyadic power relationships, one must examine, "(a) what determines the behavior of the agent who exerts power? [and] (b) what determines the reactions of the recipient of this behavior?" (p. 150). While we know a good deal about (b), we know very little about (a). Focusing attention on the harasser will move research closer to understanding why people harass, and how an institution can prevent this behavior.

The following four models contribute to our understanding of why sexual harassment occurs and who is creating the harassment. Although none of these models adequately explains the phenomenon of harassment, each has contributed to the portrait of the person who harasses.

### **Theories about Sexual Harassment**

#### *The Role of Aggression*

Most theories explaining sexual harassment are derived from the literature on violence. The **Natural Model** asserts that the human sex drive is stronger in men than in women, and that men therefore have a "biological propensity to aggress

sexually without discriminatory intent," (Tangri et al, 1982, p. 34). Just as there may be something about a victim that attracts violence, there may be something about the victim that attracts sexually harassing behavior. Because sexual harassment, like rape, invokes deeply acculturated beliefs about gender roles, some researchers subscribe to a "natural model" of male/female interaction, and are drawn to the victim for the cause of the harassment (the "it must be something (s)he wore/did/said" explanation). The confusion of sexual behavior with violence through a "boys will be boys" rationalization permits the conclusions that (a) victims contribute to their harassment and that (b) men can not help themselves around people to whom they are sexually attracted. Russell (1984) notes that, "Men and women have accepted the idea that men are entitled to take sexual initiative, especially when they are 'paying' whether it is at work, on a date, or in marriage," (p. 278).

Research has never substantiated this model. If the model were accurate, men in the prime of their sexual drives would be the most likely harassers, and they would harass only potential sex partners. However, harassers are all ages and are reported to harass both men and women (Fitzgerald et al, 1988; Fitzgerald & Weitzman, 1990). This model provides no explanation for men's harassment of other men or the positive correlation reported between the frequency of harassment and the occupational status of the harasser (Littler-Bishop et al, 1982).<sup>3</sup>

In fact, some researchers believe that this model perpetuates harassment. Olson & McKinney (1988) observe, "As long as men continue to engage in behaviors

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<sup>3</sup>This study will be discussed in greater detail later in this section.

they allegedly perceive to be congruent with normal interaction mores, women will continue to be victims of both their own and of men's prior socialization," (p. 9).

### *The Role of Alienation*

The **Social Anarchy** model argues that violence against women is more likely to occur when a society experiences periods of disorganization and alienation. Baron & Straus (1989) analyzed environments in which rape had occurred more often noting that, "Studies show that rape rates are higher in areas where a disproportionate number of divorced and separated persons reside...Other research shows that geographical mobility is associated with rape," (p. 10). Because sexual harassment is part of a continuum of violent behavior,<sup>4</sup> one might hypothesize that sexual harassment occurs when traditional social boundaries begin to blur. However, it is more likely that both the blurring of boundaries and the advent of sexual harassment are the result of a third factor: attempts to balance perceived social inequalities between men and women. As women and men become dissatisfied with traditional gender roles, social protocol becomes ambiguous, creating alienation; and perhaps as women attempt to assert themselves, some men feel threatened and engage in violent behaviors towards women,<sup>5</sup> a "backlash" phenomenon. Some believe that as women continue to become integrated into traditionally male fields, sexual harassment and violence against women will decrease because men will get "more used to" women;

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<sup>4</sup>Behavior on this continuum ranges from verbal assault, threats and intimidation, through harassment including sexual harassment, to physical assault, rape and murder.

<sup>5</sup>The failing economy may also be influencing behavior to the extent that poverty influences self esteem, and self esteem influences behavior (Baron & Straus, p. 194).

however, if the backlash concept is accurate, as the integration increases, the violence and harassment should increase because the perception of a threat is increasing. The next two theories will elaborate on this concept of women as a threat.

### *The Role of Gender and Power*

Some researchers suggest that sexual harassment "is one manifestation of the larger patriarchal system in which men rule and social beliefs legitimize their rule," (Tangri et al, p. 40). This "**socio-cultural model**" described (and refuted) by Tangri et al (1982) suggests "that gender is a better predictor of who is victimized than organizational position and that women are more often victims than men," (p. 40). This model is endorsed by many feminist researchers as an explanation of violence against women. "According to women's experiences, much of male sexual and physical aggression toward them is not prohibited; it is regulated...even men unknown to us act as if they have the right to comment or abuse any woman's body. The fact that all men do not exercise this right is irrelevant to the power afforded to men *as a gender* over women *as a gender*," (Farley, p. 71).

The model incorporates the belief that traditional gender roles socialize men to harass/rape/batter and socialize women to be victims. "Burt (1980) interviewed a representative sample of 598 Minnesota adults and found that the belief in sex-role stereotypes is positively correlated with the endorsement of rape myths, attitudinal support for violence against women, and the belief that sexual relationships are necessarily deceptive, manipulative, and exploitative," (Baron & Straus, p. 6).

Research does indicate that women are far more likely than men to be the victim of sexual harassment. For example, respondents to Roscoe et al's survey (1987) indicated that in 54 percent of the incidents the harasser was an instructor or a faculty member, and that in 93 percent of the instances the harasser was male. In a survey of 1,060 employees of a large, midwestern university, Goodwin et al (1983) examined the frequency of sexual harassment in the work setting. While the researchers failed to include the full list of potential perpetrators in their article, the 42 percent who responded to the survey indicated that male co-workers, male administrators/managers, and male maintenance/custodial employees were the primary perpetrators.<sup>6</sup>

However, men can be targets of other men, and women can harass both men and women, although these forms of sexual harassment are rarely reported. Ignoring the rare phenomenon may over simplify our understanding of people who harass. Rather than reject these less common instances as aberrations, we need to look for a model to incorporate all the permutations. It may be that the power ascribed to men, in addition to their socialization, is critical to understanding harassment. One reason few women emerge as harassers could be that they lack ascribed social power; a woman would have to achieve a very powerful position before she could upset the social imbalance created by her being female.

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<sup>6</sup>"Faculty" was not a choice for respondents as the investigators assumed faculty could be included in the other categories (p. 28).

### *The Role of Occupational Status*

The "**organizational model**" hypothesizes that institutional reward and power structures permit and facilitate sexual harassment. Evans (1978), as cited in Tangri et al (p. 37), observes, "Since work organizations are characterized by vertical stratification, individuals can use their power and position to extort sexual gratification from their subordinates. Although typically males harass females, in principle it is possible for females to sexually harass males. It is less likely only because women tend to be employed in occupations subordinate to men." Indeed, Littler-Bishop et al (1982) surveyed workers in the airline industry and found that intensity of harassing behavior directly correlated with the harasser's status within the organization. "Pilots are more likely to engage in more serious (sic) forms of sexual harassment. In the mildest (sic) form of harassment in this study, airplane cleaners were the most frequent initiators," (p. 143). Schneider (1982) concurs. Her survey of approximately 400 women indicates that "in marked contrast to the other incidents, it is men in positions of power who are the most prevalent initiators of serious (sic) attacks," (p. 88). McCormick et al's (1983) telephone interviews of students at a small college and survey of full-time faculty and staff revealed that of the 15 percent of the students who had been harassed, 72 percent reported that it was an instructor who had harassed them. Conversely, 18 percent of the faculty and staff surveyed acknowledged that they had engaged in behaviors that were sexually harassing although the behaviors were not labeled as such in the questionnaire. Of these respondents, "men (n = 28) were more than twice as likely as women (n = 11) to be perpetrators of sexual harassment," (p. 19). Male faculty respondents in particular indicated that they "initiated more social-sexual behavior with students

than did their female colleagues. Specifically, they initiated significantly more positive sexual comments, sexual jokes, and expected socializing or dates," (pp. 18-19). These behaviors are among those considered the foundation of the "hostile environment," one of the two dominant forms of sexual harassment. Other studies reveal similar reports by male faculty (Gutek, 1985; Fitzgerald et al, 1988).

### *The Role of Ascribed Power*

While this model could explain the sexual harassment of a student by a faculty member, it does not explain the harassment of a student by another student or co-worker. As McKinney (1990) notes, "most researchers in the area of sexual harassment have assumed that harassment occurs only when the offender has more formal or position power than the harasser. Recently, it has been recognized that other types of power can be used by the offender including ascribed power (e.g., gender) and informal power (engaging in anonymous forms of harassment)," (p. 435). Goodwin et al's (1983) data suggest that "although co-workers may not be able to directly affect hiring, pay raises or evaluation, they are in a position to create a hostile and/or abusive environment which, if allowed to persist, would constitute sexual harassment," (p. 31).

The socio-cultural model and the organizational model describe imbalanced environments: one in which power rests with gender and the other in which power rests with status. Most researchers agree that a power imbalance is the necessary condition for sexual harassment. McKinnon (1979) concurs that "central to the concept is the use of power derived from one social sphere to lever benefits or impose deprivations in another," (p. 1). Women do not appear often in the

"harasser" statistics because they are rarely on the dominant side of a power imbalance. "In every major culture of the world there has been and is legal and cultural support for words and actions that keep women physically, emotional and economically subordinate to men," (White, p. 12). In fact, power is a dominant theme in research on rape, battering and other forms of violence (Stanko, 1985; Gelles & Straus, 1988; Pagelow, 1981; Brownmiller, 1985):

"Cross-cultural evidence for this view has been offered by Sanday (1981), who hypothesized that the incidence of rape would vary according to the degree of power and status attributed to women in tribal societies. She found a high incidence of rape in societies where women are excluded from positions of power and their contributions to the functioning of society are assigned little significance. By contrast, in societies based on the relatively equal distribution of power, mutual respect, and appreciation for the contribution that women make to society, rape is infrequent or almost nonexistent," (Baron & Straus, p. 6).

### *The Role of Exploitation*

Not only must the power imbalance be present, but the harasser must also be willing to exploit it. The harasser may be different from other people in that she or he is willing to exploit the imbalance through sexual behavior. Therefore,

understanding the attitudes and beliefs which permit the person to exploit the imbalance is critical. As noted above, Jensen & Gutek's work (1982) on rape suggests that these attitudes may include support for traditional gender roles, as well as a belief that relationships between men and women are to be exploited. Further, Pryor's work (1989), which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, suggests that the harasser may be a situational exploiter, one who takes advantage of a power imbalance when the behavior can be camouflaged by the situation.

### **What is Known about Harassers**

Most of the information we have comes from reports by the victims of sexual harassment, who most frequently cite instructors (if the victims are students) and co-workers (if they are employees) as the initiators. From these studies, we can conclude the following:

#### *Demographics*

First, specific demographics are difficult to discern. Zalk (1990) notes, "[People] who sexually harass [others] are understandably reticent to volunteer as participants...They do not, as a rule, declare themselves publicly. There are no lists from which to solicit participants or clinics or self-help groups for harassers. In short, these [people] do not judge their behavior to be in any way symptomatic of a personal problem. They do not apply the label 'sexual harasser' to themselves," (p. 142-3). Demographic information is particularly difficult to isolate.

Fitzgerald et al (1988) focused their survey on faculty and asked about the frequency with which faculty initiated sexual behavior with students. No difference in age, marital status or academic discipline was found between "harassers" and the rest of the sample, suggesting that "it may be difficult to make predictions concerning which men are likely to harass...on the basis of easily available demographic variables," (p. 133). The researchers note that their questionnaire neglected to ask when these incidents occurred and so there may have been an age factor that was not detected (p. 130). Further, this study did not explore the relationship between gender role attitudes and initiation of sexual behavior, which may be one way of distinguishing harassers from the general public. The proposed study will attempt to make this distinction.

McCormick et al (1983), Gutek (1985) and Fitzgerald et al (1988) found that men are more than twice as likely to engage in sexually harassing behavior than are women. In support of the above research on demographics, Gutek (1985) indicates that while being male is the dominant characteristic of the sexual harasser, no other distinguishing characteristics were uncovered; "the characteristics of harassers in her sample were similar to those of the average male worker (at least with respect to her sample)," (Fitzgerald & Weitzman, p. 133).

### *Recidivism*

Not only are men more likely than women to sexually harass others, but men who harass have usually done so more than once to more than one victim -- suggesting that these individuals have normalized an aberrant behavior, similar to the behavior pattern of the person who rapes. On the basis of case studies of women

who have been sexually harassed, Farley (1978) observes, "most important, much of sexual harassment is a result of men's typical, not aberrant, behaviour (sic)," (p. 69).

### *Gender roles*

There also appears to be a relationship between one's attitudes about gender roles and one's willingness to hypothetically engage in harassing behavior (Pryor, 1989). Pryor (1989) found that people who observe more traditional gender role attitudes are more likely than those supporting non-traditional gender role attitudes to report that they would engage in quid pro quo behavior if they believed that there would be no retribution.

### *Belief that exploiting relationships is appropriate*

Pryor (1989) gave 10 hypothetical scenarios depicting different sexually harassing behaviors and asked the men to rate how likely they would be to engage in each of the behaviors described. He then correlated those scores with attitudes about women. To correlate attitude with behavior, Pryor wanted to simulate the opportunity for sexual harassment in a controlled setting and compare the frequency of the subject's inappropriate behavior with the subject's score on the attitude scale.

How to consistently reproduce an environment in which sexual harassment could occur posed a significant design challenge. Pryor's review of the literature suggested that "unconsented to touching," a behavior within the definition of sexual harassment (and sexual assault), was a behavior which earlier research suggested that men would engage in if the situation were ambiguous enough and that the man could use the ambiguity as an excuse should the woman voice an objection. "For example,

Bernstein, Stephenson, Snyder, and Wicklund (1983) found that males were more likely to act on a motive to sit next to a physically attractive woman when their behavior could be attributed to a situational factor," (Pryor, p. 280). After giving them a battery of attitude inventories, Pryor divided his subjects into two groups, those who scored high on his "Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH)" attitude scale and those who scored low. He then gave half of each group the task of teaching an attractive woman how to putt and the other half the task of teaching her how to play poker, hypothesizing that the high LSH men "would exploit the excuse to touch the female in a sexual way more than low LSH in the golf condition. Neither the high nor the low LSH men were expected to touch the female sexually in the poker conditions," in which the subject was seated across the table from the confederate and would have had to make an obvious gesture to initiate contact with her (Pryor, p. 281). Pryor tried to establish the male subject's dominance and set the stage for quid pro quo sexual harassment at the beginning of each experimental condition by making a speech to the female confederate in the subject's presence about how his (the subject's) perceptions of her improvement would permit her to get more experimental credits. In addition to measuring touching through an unseen observer, Pryor asked the confederate to rate each subject on measures of attractiveness, touching, and sexual context of the touching after each encounter. Following the experiment, the confederate and subject were reunited in a debriefing session.

Pryor found that a) "LSH high men tend to describe themselves in a stereotypically masculine manner, particularly when masculinity implies something socially undesirable or a contrast to stereotypical femininity," (p. 283); b) high LSH men engaged in more touching than did low LSH men, and the confederate perceived

the touching of the LSH men to be in a more sexual manner than the low LSH men; c) high LSH men engaged in sexually oriented touching more often during the golf scenario than during the poker scenario (in fact there was no touching by anyone during the poker scenario); and d) there was no difference in the amount or nature of touching of the low LSH men across scenarios. Pryor was concerned that the physical attractiveness of each subject might interfere with the confederate's perceptions and ratings and so conducted a LSH by task multivariate analysis of covariance which found no effect.

On the basis of his three studies, Pryor concluded, "we find that high LSH men are likely to hold adversarial sexual beliefs,<sup>7</sup> to find it difficult to assume other's perspectives, and to have higher rape proclivities...(they) are more likely to be high in authoritarianism...and have negative feelings about sexuality...(and they) are more likely to describe themselves in socially undesirable terms or masculine terms that strongly differentiate them from stereotypical femininity. Also, high LSH men have a tendency to behave in sexually exploitive way when their motives can be disguised by situational excuses," (p. 288).

While Pryor's study offers the most insight into the motivation of the sexual harasser, there are two problems with the study. First, Pryor's LSH scale focuses on only one type of sexual harassment, "quid pro quo" behavior, which does not help us understand the "hostile environment" type of harassment. Second, the exclusion of

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<sup>7</sup>Burt (1980), from whose work Pryor takes the phrase, "adversarial sexual beliefs," states that these beliefs expect people to be "manipulative, sly, cheating, opaque to the other's understanding and not to be trusted," (p. 281).

women as perpetrators limits his ability to adequately test whether his hypotheses apply to female as well as male sexual harassers.

Pryor's results are interesting when combined with studies examining the profile of the victim. Tangri et al (1982) report, "younger workers report more harassment than older workers, and dependence on the job dramatically increases the incidence of harassment," (p. 44). Based on these two studies, we would expect that sexual harassment would most likely be initiated by men who have a strong need to disassociate themselves with any feminine characteristics, against usually younger women who are dependent upon these men for academic success or job security.

### **The Case for Situational Harassment**

These data support the notion of selective, situational harassment. If men harass women simply because they are female, differences in victim demographics such as age or dependence on a particular job would not appear. Research on the victim paints a portrait of a younger, naive, academically or occupationally dependent woman. However, Tangri et al (1982) found that level of education is positively related to reports of harassment. "Persons [victims] with less than a high school diploma report the least harassment while those with some graduate education report the most. This may reflect differences in awareness, differences in work situation (sex-ratio of one's work group, nontraditionality of one's job), or other factors," (p. 44). Indeed, Tangri et al may have uncovered an effect of social class differences in women's interpretations of others' behavior, stemming from differing expectations for being treated equally. Young women, or women with less education

or social advantage may have less of an expectation that they will be treated with respect by peers, and thus report sexual harassment less often. Further, these women may believe themselves to be in "dispensable" occupations, easily vulnerable to layoffs or firings, and while they may identify when they are being harassed, they may not report it for fear of economic or social retaliation.

In the academic setting, it is also true that those with more education are more likely to report sexual harassment. According to Maihoff & Forrest (1983), graduate students are the most likely group to report having been sexually harassed than any other group on a campus. As with the young women in low paying jobs described in the Tangri et al study above, we cannot determine from this study whether graduate students are the most common victim or are simply the most frequent reporters of sexual harassment.

However, these findings do suggest that the sexual harasser selects a victim on the basis of specific criteria -- the most important being the victim's vulnerability and the situation's ambiguity. That is, how likely it is that the victim will recognize and report the harassment; how dependent the victim is on the harasser; and how easily the harassment can be "explained."

Finally, the literature suggests that sexual harassment is closely related to an imbalance of power in social relationships, where power rests with either gender or occupational status. Not only must a power imbalance be present but the harasser must also be willing to exploit it. Understanding the attitudes and beliefs which permit the person to exploit the imbalance is critical to understanding why sexual harassment occurs. Jensen & Gutek's (1982) work on rape suggests that these

attitudes may include support for traditional gender roles as well as a belief that relationships between men and women are to be exploited.

### **Questions Not Yet Answered**

Sexually harassing behavior is usually conceptualized as falling into either of two categories: (a) behaviors which create a hostile environment (sexual looks, jokes, teasing, comments that put down women, gay, lesbian or bisexual people, and unwanted touching, social pressure, assault or rape); or (b) quid pro quo -- the exchange of sexual behavior for a reward or the avoidance of a punishment. Because the area is still so new, there are numerous gaps in the research. For example, we do not know if the profile of the harasser changes as the type of behavior, quid pro quo versus hostile environment, changes. Mazer & Percival (1989) found that the most commonly reported behaviors committed by faculty are sexual looks, sexual jokes and teasing, or unwanted touching or social pressure -- behaviors which create a hostile environment. However, the only study of the attitudes of harassers (Pryor) looks only at the "quid pro quo" style of harassment. We do not know what attitudes are held by those who engage in the more common behaviors, nor if those attitudes are similar to those held by the people who engage in the quid pro quo behavior.

Further, while it appears that there always is a power differential between the harasser and the person being harassed, there may not be a predictable relationship between one's status and one's behavior. The harasser's ability to camouflage his or her behavior within the situation may be more compelling than the harasser's

occupational status for predicting whether harassment will occur. The dominant research on sexual harassment assumes a relationship between power and harassing behavior, yet we have not established how that relationship works.

Similarly, we know nothing about the few female sexual harassers, nor do we know how or if sexual harassment varies by academic discipline or by type of educational institution. Status may be defined differently at community colleges than at traditional, large public research universities where most research on sexual harassment has been conducted. Roscoe et al (1987) suggest that faculty at research institutions are more influential within their respective disciplines and professional associations than their colleagues at other types of institutions. As a result, they hypothesize that students at research institutions may be more vulnerable to sexual harassment (p. 255). Similarly, the characteristics of the academic community may influence the harasser's decision to harass. The size of the department, the degree of faculty and student turn-over and the perception of administrative tolerance for sexual harassment could also influence the harasser's assessment of risk and his or her behavior. Therefore, the decision to harass may be related not only to personally held attitudes but also to the faculty member's status within his/her discipline, status within the institution in which he/she works, and the institution's characteristics.

Finally, support for homophobic attitudes may influence sexually harassing behavior. Pharr (1988) suggests that sexist attitudes are intrinsically connected to homophobic attitudes because both are based on a fear of a loss of male dominance. "Heterosexism creates the climate for homophobia with its assumption that the world is and must be heterosexual and its display of power and privilege as the norm," (Pharr, 1988, p. 16). While Pryor's work indicates that adherence to traditional

gender roles and adversarial beliefs about the other sex are correlated with the likelihood that one has or will engage in sexually harassing behaviors, no one has explored how homophobic attitudes influence behavior, or even how the interaction of one's sexual orientation and one's attitudes influence harassing behavior.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to identify attitudes and beliefs that accompany sexually harassing behavior, in particular how attitudes, beliefs, gender, sexual orientation and status influence harassing behavior. The following questions are addressed:

- (a) What is the relationship between gender role attitudes, attitudes about homosexuality, occupational status and engaging in sexually harassing behavior?
- (b) Are there gender differences or sexual orientation differences between those who sexually harass and those who do not?
- (c) Do any institutional characteristics such as department size, academic field or the institutional type (e.g. two year, research institutions, etc.) increase the likelihood that one will engage in sexual harassment?

## Hypotheses

- I. Those who self-report having engaged in sexually harassing behavior will differ from other faculty in the following ways:**
- a) they will report adhering to more traditional gender role attitudes than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior;**
  - b) they will espouse more homophobic attitudes than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior;**
  - c) they will be more likely to believe that it is appropriate to exploit relationships than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior.**

### *Rationale*

Earlier research (Pryor, 1987) found a relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and a willingness to engage in hypothetical, quid pro quo sexual harassment. Additionally, a belief that relationships are antagonistic has been linked to the likelihood that one will rape (Pharr, 1988)-- a behavior similar to sexual harassment in that it is based on power imbalances. Finally, Pharr (1988) argues on a theoretical level that traditional gender role attitudes have a common root with homophobic beliefs -- both perspectives involve the subjugation of "female" qualities to "male" qualities.

- II. Occupational status will be less important in predicting whether one will sexually harass than will gender role attitudes or homophobic attitudes.**

### *Rationale*

In my pilot study conducted in May, 1992, I found a negative relationship between high occupational status and one's participation in sexually harassing behavior (See Appendix A for a description of the pilot study). At least two explanations are possible. First, non-tenure track faculty may be able to use their more ambiguous occupational positions to disguise sexually harassing behavior than tenured faculty. Non-tenure track faculty -- teaching assistants, generally -- are often (but not always) closer in age to their students and may use either age or their graduate student status (i.e., by suggesting that they are peers of the students they teach) to disguise their behavior as acceptable male-female or student-student interaction.

Second, tenured faculty may have more to lose than non-tenure track faculty, should they be accused of sexually harassing someone. While both tenured and non-tenure track faculty may be dismissed if the adjudicating body finds that person to have committed a serious infraction, the stigma of dismissal may be greater for the tenured faculty member than for others.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>However, because of the tenure process, it is easier to dismiss a non-tenure track instructor than a tenured faculty member, so the likelihood that a tenured faculty member's fear of dismissal for sexually harassing someone may actually be realized is minimal. Therefore, while tenured faculty may be perceived as having more to lose, the non-tenured faculty may be more at risk for dismissal.

**III: Gender differences in self-reported behavior will emerge:**

- a) Women will self-report having engaged in fewer incidents of sexually harassing behavior than men;**
- b) These differences will appear regardless of occupational status.**

*Rationale*

The literature suggests that regardless of their access to power, women are less likely to aggress against others (i.e., sexually harass others) than are men, probably due to their gender role socialization.

**IV. Sexual orientation differences will not emerge. Instead, attitudes about homophobia will correlate more positively with harassing behavior than will sexual orientation.**

*Rationale*

While we expect to find a relationship between support for traditional gender roles, a belief in adversarial gender roles and harassing behavior, we also expect to find support for homophobic attitudes involved in harassing behavior since homophobia and sexism are linked through their devaluation of anyone or any characteristic that is female or traditionally considered feminine. We would also expect to see gay or lesbian identified people engaging in sexually harassing behavior if they also adhere to traditional gender roles and adversarial beliefs.

- V. People who report having engaged in harassing behavior will not recognize that their behavior is a problem. Specifically:**
- a) they will not identify themselves as harassers;**
  - b) they will not perceive their behavior as socially aberrant;**
  - c) they will report that their behavior was invited by the person they harassed.**

*Rationale*

First, Scully's work (1990) on people who rape suggests that most deny that their behavior constitutes a crime, nor are they able to take the perspective of their victim accurately. Instead, they state that their behavior was welcomed or triggered by the victim and that they, themselves, are not responsible. A parallel rationalization may occur with those who sexually harass others. For example, although 20 percent of the respondents to the pilot study I conducted indicated that they had offered a reward in return for sexual behavior, none of them believed that they had sexually harassed anyone and all of them minimized the occurrence and impact of sexual harassment on their campus.

- VI. Instructors who believe that sexual harassment is tolerated by their campus community will be more likely to report having engaged in sexually harassing behaviors than those who believe that sexual harassment is not tolerated by their community.**

### *Rationale*

Pryor's work suggests that those whose attitudes indicate a willingness to sexually harass others will be more likely to do so if they believe there will be no adverse consequences to them for doing so. A belief that the community is tolerant of sexual harassment indicates that the person believes that there will be a minimal, if any, adverse effect on those who harass others.

### **Data Source**

A sample of 1871 participants were randomly selected from the population of teaching faculty at six randomly selected community colleges, private universities and state universities in California. One community college was suburban, the other rural. One private institution was a small, liberal arts college; the other was a large private research institution. One state institution was a large research institution; the other was not.

Where possible, an equal number of male and female faculty (defined as professors, associate professors, assistant professors, lecturers, instructors, teaching associates and teaching assistants) were randomly selected from the telephone directories of the selected institutions. Several of the institutions did not have enough female faculty to match the male sample so all female faculty were selected from those institutions. In a few cases, the number of male faculty in the sample still outnumbered the females. This imbalance was permitted in order to create a large

enough sample size. See Table 1 for the distribution of questionnaires by gender and institutional type.

### **Instrument**

The primary difficulty with this study was the creation of a questionnaire that could adequately measure attitudes about power and relationships, adherence to traditional gender roles, and self-reported (sexually harassing) behavior. After reviewing all of the instruments used in the studies mentioned earlier, it was clear that none of them were appropriate as written because they either asked for information as if the respondent were the victim rather than the initiator of the harassment, or they addressed harassment in non-academic settings.

This study used a newly developed questionnaire which was derived in part from those used in earlier studies and from the one used in the pilot study of 360 faculty at a local university (see Appendix A for a description of the pilot study). Three questionnaires were utilized in structuring the pilot study questionnaire: One involved the measurement of attitudes about power and the roles of men and women (Burt, 1980); a second measured knowledge about and experience with sexual harassment (including nine of the sixteen items on McKinney's Attitudes Towards Sexual Harassment Scale, 1990); and the third measured frequency of self-reported sexually harassing behavior (Fitzgerald et al, 1988). The questionnaire, based to a large extent on the one constructed for the pilot study, included five separate sections (See Appendix B for the questionnaire, itself):

*Demographic information*

Section 1 included questions on demographic characteristics about the respondent: Respondent's sex; sexual orientation; employment status; years at the institution; and age.

*Familiarity with incidents of harassment*

Section 2 asked the respondent to (a) indicate if she or he has observed the sexually harassing behaviors listed; (b) the extent to which each behavior should be confronted; and (c) whether each behavior is confronted at their institution. An example of this type of question is presented below:

Sample Question

*A. Faculty make jokes or remarks that put down women as a group.*

	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>
<i>34. Frequency with which you believe this occurs</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>35. How often should it be confronted?</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>36. How often do you believe it is confronted?</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

This section was designed both to ease respondents into the questionnaire by presenting fact-seeking questions first and to measure the environment in which this person works -- that is, is the environment one in which she or he perceives a great deal of harassing behavior, or one in which harassment is not an issue?

The literature demonstrates that some people do not see sexually harassing behavior as such when there is a pre-existing social relationship between the harasser and the victim; when the social context in which the two interact "permits" sexually oriented behavior (the stereotype is the predominantly male construction site office with pin-up calendars and sexist jokes); and when the behavior of the victim is flirtatious or suggestive (Baker et al, 1990). Therefore we need to know to what extent the respondent recognizes the need to confront sexually harassing behavior and whether they recognize their behavior as sexual harassment. This section also included some items from McKinney's (1990) questionnaire to assess the respondent's opinions about sexual harassment, itself.

#### *Attitudes about power, relationships and gender roles*

Section 3 asked the participant to respond to opinion statements regarding the roles of men and women using a 5 point Likert scale ranging from disagree strongly to agree strongly. In addition to using items selected from Baker's questionnaire (1987), several opinion statements about gay and lesbian relationships were added from D'Augelli & Rose's (1990) questionnaire to assess homophobic attitudes. Furthermore, Henley & Freeman (1989) suggest that one's use of language, particularly methods of addressing another person, reveals one's recognition of status (power) inequalities. For example, they indicate that bosses usually refer to their subordinates by their first names but subordinates usually refer to bosses as "Mr." or "Ms." or "Dr." Similarly, the person in the superordinate position may initiate certain behaviors, like touching or joke telling in which a subordinate will participate only after the "boss" initiates it. As power inequalities appear to be a critical element of

sexual harassment, we may be able to identify those who are conscious of their "superior" status through their attitudes about language. For example, people who view themselves in a superior power position to others may be uncomfortable with subordinates referring to them by their first name without permission. Therefore the attitude section of the questionnaire contained some statements to assess this.

A section of Burt's survey (1980) on attitudes towards rape, specifically the section on gender role stereotyping and adversarial gender role attitudes, was included in the "attitude section." Burt found that beliefs supporting rape correlated with strong beliefs about traditional gender roles and adversarial gender roles. Because feminist theory conceptualizes rape and sexual harassment on the same behavioral and attitudinal continuum (McKinnon, 1987), this study examined whether these attitudes correlated in the same way with behaviors related to sexual harassment. Further, Burt found that these relationships were replicated when she examined them separately for men and for women. This finding suggests that women who report having sexually harassed someone will indicate attitudes about adversarial gender roles that are similar to men's.

#### *Experiences with sexual harassment (self-reported behavior)*

The fourth section of the questionnaire asked about one's past behavior as the initiator of sexually harassing incidents. Fitzgerald et al (1988) developed a questionnaire which asked victims to indicate the frequency with which they had received specific, potentially sexually harassing, physical and verbal behaviors. A similar set of questions was used in this study's instrument, but the questions were modified to extract only the respondent's experience as the initiator of such

behaviors. Burt (1980) suggested that with respect to attitudes about rape, one's knowledge of rape victims may influence one's attitudes about rape. Similarly with sexual harassment, one's actual experience with a victim or harasser may influence one's attitudes about sexual harassment. For example, if one is ambivalent about sexual harassment but knows of a colleague who engages in this behavior routinely without penalty, one may be more inclined to engage in such behaviors than someone who has a friend who has been victimized and one who has witnessed the impact of sexual harassment on the victim. This questionnaire included several items to assess one's experience with other victims or initiators (items 34, 37, 40, 43, 46, 49, 52, 55 and 58).

The fifth section asked the respondent to indicate whether their campus has a policy on sexual harassment and if it does, to indicate their familiarity with it.

### **Procedure**

An initial 1,717 copies of the questionnaire were mailed between January 7 and 14, 1993.<sup>9</sup> This mailing included the questionnaire, a pre-paid return envelope and a pre-paid return postcard. The postcard instructed the participant to mail it separately from the questionnaire to prevent a reminder mailing from being initiated, and to indicate if the respondent was interested in receiving a summary of the results of the study. The questionnaire was printed with an introductory statement on the front

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<sup>9</sup>At the final count, 1871 questionnaires were mailed, once the sixth institution was added in May, 1993.

which explained in general terms the purpose of the study and assured confidentiality and anonymity. The final reply date was February 28, 1993.

The original mailing included only five institutions and did not include any small private colleges because I had been unable to get access to the telephone directories of the few I had randomly selected. When I began to review the responses I received from the original mailing, I decided that to add depth to the analysis involving the large private institution, it was important to have representation from a small private college.

I called various institutions until I found one willing to release a telephone directory to me for the purposes of this study. I excluded from my search any school with a religious affiliation as that affiliation had the potential of confounding any discussion of campus climate and sexual harassment. I selected the sample of teaching faculty from this institution using the same random procedure that I had used earlier with the other institutions. The questionnaires were sent in April to this sixth institution with a return date of May 5, 1993.

As each questionnaire was returned, it was assigned a case number, date stamped and entered into the computer. As each postcard was returned, the respondent's name was checked and, where requested, the respondent's name was added to the mailing list of those wishing a copy of the results.

The anticipated return rate, based on the single mailing of the pilot study and an earlier UCLA survey<sup>10</sup>, was 35 percent -- approximately 600 questionnaires.

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<sup>10</sup>This survey was conducted in 1987 to determine the prevalence of sexual harassment on the UCLA campus.

A second mailing was not generated as the return rate from the first mailing met this target figure.

**Table 1**  
**Questionnaire Distribution by Gender**  
**and Institutional Type**

Institutional Type	Male (n)	Female (n)	Total (n)
Community College (Urban)	90	90	180
Community College (Rural)	90	60	150
Private (Liberal Arts)	100	55	155
Private (Research)	240	241	480
State I (Research)	266	179	445
State II (Non-research)	251	210	461
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1037</b>	<b>835</b>	<b>1871</b>

Note: The number of male faculty and female faculty for each institution are not always equal because even when all female faculty in one institution were selected, there were not enough female faculty to match the male sample.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

By May 15, 1993, 754 questionnaires had been returned, of which 669 were usable, yielding a return rate of 35 percent. The remaining 75 questionnaires were unusable because they were incomplete. As with the pilot study, some respondents omitted responses to particular sections but chose to return the questionnaire anyway. Of the incomplete forms, the majority omitted the section on self-reported behavior. While omitting another section such as sexual orientation might not have interfered with the primary inquiry of this study, the omission of the self-reported behavior section (the dependent variable) rendered those questionnaires unusable.

Table 2 provides the return rate by gender and type of institution.

**Table 2**  
**Response Rate by Gender and Institutional Type**

<b>Institutional Type</b>	<b>Total represented in final sample</b>	<b>Men</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>Rate per Institution</b>
		(in percentages)		
<b>Community</b>				
Colleges	18	30	45	37
Private (Liberal Arts)	8	27	45	34
Private (Research)	27	35	36	36
State I (Research)	20	27	30	28
State II (Non-research)	27	36	43	39
<b>Overall Percent who responded</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>

Women were more likely than men to respond to the questionnaire, a pattern that is not unusual in social science research. The return rate by institution averaged 35 percent, with the large, state, research institution providing the lowest return rate, 28 percent. The other large, state four-year institution provided the highest return rate, 39 percent, so it is unlikely that teaching at a state institution influenced respondents' motivation to return the questionnaire.

### *Description of Respondents*

Table 3 presents the demographic characteristics of the respondents with usable questionnaire returns. The sample was evenly split between men and women (49 percent of the sample were men and 48 percent were women). The original sample was 60 percent men and 40 percent women. The ratio of men to women was the only significant difference between respondents and the original sample. There was a higher proportion of women among the respondents. Although the literature is replete with data indicating that women are more likely than men to respond to a questionnaire, the difference still needed to be compensated for in the analysis. Consequently, women's scores were weighted by a factor of .91 to balance their over representation in this sample.

Most respondents (84 percent) were either full, associate or assistant professors; 1 percent was teaching associates; eight percent were lecturers and five percent identified their rank as "other." There was no difference between this distribution and that of the original sample.

The majority of the respondents were tenured faculty (59 percent); 19 percent were in tenure track positions but were not yet tenured; and 21 percent were in non-tenure track positions. Because I do not know the tenure status distribution of the original sample, I cannot say whether this distribution is representative of all faculty at the sample institutions.

**Table 3**  
**Gender and Tenure Status of Sample (N = 651)**

	(in percentages)			
	Tenured	Un-Tenured	Non-Tenure Track	Total
Male (n = 330)	69	17	14	49
Female (n = 321)	50	22	28	48

Note: The total N is less than 669 because some respondents did not indicate either their gender or tenure status and were not included in this table.

As Table 3 suggests, there was a significant difference within the sample between tenure status and gender. Men were more likely than women to have been tenured faculty ( $X^2 = 28.57$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .0000$ ). This finding parallels other studies on academic rank and sex.<sup>11</sup> As in most other professions, the majority of the high status positions in academia are occupied by men. The relevance of this finding to the other questions being examined by this study will be discussed in a later section.

Table 4 describes the distribution of academic fields for respondents from all six institutions.. The largest group, 30 percent, taught in professional schools

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<sup>11</sup>See the Almanac edition of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (8/25/93). In California, tenured men outnumber tenured women by 4:1 (p. 52).

(medicine and engineering, for example); 19 percent taught in social science departments; 16 percent taught in natural science departments; 16 percent taught in humanities departments; 8 percent taught in the arts; and 9 percent identified "other" as their department.

**Table 4**  
**Distribution of all Respondents**  
**by Academic Field (N = 654)**

	Social Sciences	Natural	Profess. Schools	Arts	Humanities
Total N	125	109	197	53	110
Percent of Total	19	16	29	8	16
Percent of Men	20	22	25	8	14
Percent of Women	17	12	35	8	19

Note: Not all respondents indicated their gender

The distribution of respondents by size of department is presented in Table 5. 14 percent indicated that they worked in small departments, with no more than 25 graduate and undergraduates; 11 percent worked in departments with 26 - 50 students; 15 percent worked in departments with 51 - 100 students; the largest group of respondents, 30 percent, worked in departments with 101 - 400 students; and 24

percent worked in departments with 401 or more students. As I did not know the size of the departments I was including in the original mailing, I cannot determine if a particular size is overrepresented in this sample of respondents.

**Table 5**  
**Distribution of all Respondents**  
**by Department Size (N = 659)**

	1 - 25	26 - 50	51 - 100	101 - 400	401+
Percent of Total	14	11	15	30	24
Percent of Men	13	10	16	32	28
Percent of Women	14	13	17	29	21

Note: Not all rows total 100% because of missing data.

Although it appears that men tended to work in larger departments, the difference between men and women was not significant.

With respect to sexual orientation, 90 percent of the respondents indicated that they strongly identified as heterosexual; 5 percent strongly identified as gay, lesbian or bisexual; and 5 percent did not strongly identify with any category. Approximately 10% - 33% of the general population has been estimated to be gay,

lesbian or bisexual (Kinsey, 1948 & 1953), so the distribution of these respondents is not unusual.

*Comparison with non-respondents*

For the 306 non-respondents for whom I could determine faculty rank, sex and academic discipline, 41 percent were female, 59 percent male. Respondents were predominantly ladder-track faculty (90 percent); 7 percent were lecturers; and 3 percent were "other." The largest group, 25 percent, was in the humanities; 17 percent were in the social sciences; 17 percent were in the physical sciences; 10 percent were in the arts; 24 percent were in professional schools; and 6 percent were in "other" disciplines (see Tables 6 and 7).

**Table 6**  
**Comparison of Respondents**  
**and Non-Respondents by Gender**

	Male	Female
	(in percentages)	
Respondents N = 669	49	48
Non-respondents N = 306	59	41

Note: Not all rows total 100% because not all respondents indicated their gender on the questionnaire.

**Table 7**  
**Comparison of Respondents and Non-Respondents**  
**by Type of Appointment**

	Tenure Track	Non-Tenure Track
	(in percentages)	
Respondents N = 669	84	9
Non-respondents N = 306	90	10

Note: Not all rows total 100% because not all respondents indicated their type of appointment on the questionnaire.

### Creation of Independent and Dependent Variables

Using factor analysis (varimax rotation), the items from Section 2 in the questionnaire were factor analyzed for the total sample, and separately for men and women. Based on the items that were common to each sub-group, I created four independent variables about attitudes toward gender roles, sexual harassment and relationships: (1) sex role ideology; (2) belief that sexual harassment is invited by the victim's behavior; (3) the belief that sexual harassment is normal; and (4) a belief that people use sex with others for personal gain, which I have generalized to indicate a belief that it is appropriate to exploit relationships. Table 8 presents the factors, the individual items in each and their factor loadings.

**Table 8**  
***Factor Analysis of Respondents' Attitudes and Beliefs about Sex Roles***

	<b>Factor 1</b> Sex role Ideology	<b>Factor 2</b> Sexual Harassment is provoked
<b><u>Traditional Behavioral Expectations</u></b>		
It is perfectly normal for a woman to not want to have children	.45	
It is normal for a man to not want to have children	.38	
A competitive woman is harder to get along with than a competitive man	.57	
There are some jobs that a man simply shouldn't have	.63	
There are some jobs that a woman simply shouldn't have	.55	
I would be more comfortable with a male boss than with a female boss	.51	
It is all right for a woman to work, but the primary responsibility for a (heterosexual) couple's income is the man's	.64	
In general, it is more important for a man to be successful in his career than it is for a woman	.57	
A man must learn to understand that a woman's "no" to his sexual advances really means "no"		.42
Most female students who are sexually insulted by a man provoke his behavior by the way they talk, act or dress		.67
Students who wear provocative clothing are inviting a sexual response		.63
Many charges of sexual harassment are frivolous and vindictive		.60
Students who complain about "sexist" treatment need to learn to cope with the real world.		.69

**Table 8 (continued)**  
***Factor Analysis of Respondents' Attitudes and Beliefs about Sex Roles***

<u>Traditional Behavioral Expectations</u>	<u>Factor 3</u> Sexual harassment normal	<u>Factor 4</u> Exploiting relationships is appropriate
An attractive female student has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them	.32	
It is only natural for a professor to make sexual advances to a student whom s/he finds attractive	.38	
An attractive male student has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them	.38	
A lot of what people call sexual harassment is just normal flirtation between men and women	.30	
The notion that what a professor does in class may be sexual harassment is taking the idea of sexual harassment too far	.57	
It is only natural for a student to use sexuality as a way of getting ahead in class or at work		.39
Encouraging a professor's or supervisor's sexual interest is frequently used by men to get better grades or improve their work situation		.45

Using factor analysis, I repeated the same process for the items in Section 3 of the questionnaire and created two independent variables about perceptions of sexual harassment on campus: (1) one's personal tolerance for sexually harassing behaviors (from items 35, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 53 and 56, each scored 1 - 3 with 1 = "rarely," 2 = "sometimes" and 3 = "often") and (2) one's perception of the campus response to and tolerance for sexually harassing behavior (items 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54 and 57, each scored 1 - 3 with 1 = "rarely," 2 = "sometimes" and 3 = "often"). Table 9 lists those variables, the individual items under each and their factor loadings.

Other independent variables include gender (item 1); tenure status (item 3); decade in which one was born (item 4); size of department (item 5); type of institution (state, two-year, private -- an unnumbered item determined by the coded style of the signature of the researcher on the returned questionnaire); academic discipline (item 6); the extent to which the respondent supports sexually libertarian beliefs (item 22); the respondent's familiarity with campus policy on sexual harassment (item 76); the respondent's opinion regarding the appropriateness of campus response to sexual harassment (item 77); whether the respondent believes that with respect to complaints about sexual harassment we are either "seeing the tip of the iceberg" or "making a mountain out of a molehill" (item 78); whether the respondent believes that she or he has ever sexually harassed anyone (item 79); and the respondent's sexual orientation (items 80 - 83).

**Table 9**  
***Factor Analysis of Respondents' Perceptions of Campus Environment***

<u>Perception of Environment</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Personal Tolerance</u>
How often should a faculty member's ...		
• jokes or remarks that put down women be confronted?	.55	
• suggestive comments to students in the classroom be confronted?	.65	
• sexually explicit jokes or personal sexual anecdotes that are unrelated to the content or objectives of a course be confronted?	.67	
• jokes that put down homosexuals as a group be confronted?	.69	
How often should the following be confronted....		
• student receive unwanted pressure for social contact from faculty?	.66	
• faculty receive unwanted attempts to kiss or fondle them by colleagues?	.67	
• faculty are approached by colleagues who imply that there would be negative consequences if they do not participate in sexual activities?	.70	
• students are approached by faculty who imply that participating in sexual activities would bring a reward?	.66	

**Table 9 (continued)**  
***Factor Analysis of Respondents' Perceptions of Campus Environment***

<u>Perception of Environment</u>	<u>Factor 2</u> Campus Tolerance
How often are a faculty member's ...	
• jokes or remarks that put down women confronted?	.49
• suggestive comments to students in the classroom confronted?	.61
• sexually explicit jokes or personal sexual anecdotes that are unrelated to the content or objectives of a course confronted?	.65
• jokes that put down homosexuals as a group confronted?	.63
How often are the following confronted....	
• student receive unwanted pressure for social contact from faculty?	.67
• faculty receive unwanted attempts to kiss or fondle them by colleagues?	.68
• faculty are approached by colleagues who imply that there would be negative consequences if they do not participate in sexual activities?	.69
• students are approached by faculty who imply that participating in sexual activities would bring a reward?	.59

To create the dependent variables, I used the same factor analysis process and examined the self-reported behaviors listed in items 69-75. From that analysis, I created two different dependent variables: participation in sexually harassing behavior, and participation in a particular type of sexually harassing behavior. For the second variable, the factor analysis produced 2 "sub-categories" from the self-reported behaviors: items relating to having a sexual relationship with a student or employee; and the items related to sharing sexually explicit materials with a student, employee or class. These variables are listed in Table 10 with their individual items and factor loadings. The item regarding making sexual comments about a student or employee did not enter high enough to be included in the other two factors. It appeared in a third factor with some of the behaviors listed above. Rather than duplicate items within a third factor, I removed this item and called it a variable.

**Table 10**  
**Factor Analysis of Respondents' Self-Reported Behavior**

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
	<b>Sexual Relationship</b>	<b>Sharing Materials</b>
Dating a student or employee	.84	.80
Having sex with a student or employee	.80	.82
Persuading a reluctant student/employee to date you	.53	
Offering a reward for sexual behavior	.84	
Sharing sexually explicit materials with a class		.80
Sharing sexually explicit materials with a student/employee		.82

### *Perceptions of campus climate*

The majority of respondents, sixty percent, reported that their colleagues sometimes or often told jokes which demean women. Further, 11 percent indicated that faculty "sometimes" to "often" receive "quid pro quo" offers from their colleagues. 43 percent stated that students "sometimes" to "often" proposition faculty, while 22 percent indicated that they were aware of faculty making quid pro quo offers to students ("sometimes" to "often"). These reports indicate both that sexual harassment is occurring and that faculty are aware of it.

Only 25 percent of the respondents were satisfied with their institution's response to sexual harassment complaints. The majority had mixed feelings and reported that their institution handled "some" complaints appropriately. Unfortunately, I do not know what action would be satisfactory to these respondents. Some would prefer that sexual harassment not be confronted at all, as indicated by the small but steady cluster of respondents who reported that the individual behaviors should not be confronted. These may be dissatisfied with an institution which vigorously pursued sexual harassment complaints. Others believed that the individual behaviors should always be confronted, and were dissatisfied most likely because they believe that their institution does not respond appropriately.

Interestingly, respondents' satisfaction was significantly related to the type of institution in which they worked. Those working at private institutions were most satisfied; those at state institutions were the least satisfied ( $F = 3.85$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .004$ ).

I also compared respondents' perception of the likelihood that sexually harassing behavior would be confronted at their institution. This perception was not

related to their satisfaction with their institution's response to sexual harassment. Although those who worked at the small private institution were the most likely to believe that sexual harassment is confronted at their institution, those at the large private institution were "tied" for being the least likely with respondents from the community colleges ( $F = 4.04$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .003$ ). It could be the policies and programs at the small private institution that are contributing to respondents' satisfaction, or perhaps it is its small size and possible sense of community that contribute.

#### *Amount of contact with students and employees*

The majority of respondents had engaged in relationship-building behaviors with students and employees, from mentoring (83 percent), sharing their library (83 percent), establishing a friendly relationship (83 percent), and giving advice (81 percent). Reported amount of contact declined as the interaction became more personal, with 58 percent having drawn students or employees into personal discussion, 59 percent having invited students or employees to dinner, and 21 percent having initiated a "personal relationship" with a student or employee.

#### *Identifying the "Harassers"*

Respondents were placed into one of two groups on the basis of their responses to items 69 - 75, questions which asked if the respondent had engaged in a particular sexually harassing behavior, and if so, with whom. Those who indicated that they had successfully persuaded a student or employee who had initially refused to date them, dated a student or employee, had sex with a student or employee,

shared sexually explicit material unrelated to a course with a student or employee, shared sexually explicit material unrelated to a course with a class, made sexually related comments about a student or employee, or offered a reward to a student or employee for sexual behavior were identified as "harassers." A student was defined as someone "while enrolled in my class or while my advisee." An employee was defined as someone "who works for me." Those who indicated that they had never initiated any of the above behaviors were classified as "non-harassers."

The majority of respondents, 71 percent, had not participated in any of the behaviors labelled as sexually harassing behaviors; however, 26 percent had. The individual behavior most frequently engaged in by "harassers" was making comments of a sexual nature either to or about a student or employee (see Table 11). The behavior least likely to be reported and/or engaged in was offering a reward for sexual behavior. The social outcry against this particular form of sexual harassment may account for the low reporting. Respondents may have refrained from this behavior genuinely, or they may have been reluctant to admit their involvement because this particular behavior is generally considered unacceptable. Other sexually harassing behaviors, such as making off-hand comments of a sexual nature, may have been cited more often because perhaps social prohibitions have not yet caught up with them. Indeed, the ethics of dating a student who is enrolled in one's class is the subject of current debate, suggesting that academia has not reached a consensus on its evaluation of some of these behaviors.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>For example, see the discussion in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, "Positive Instances of Sex Between Students and Faculty," (9/22/93, p. B3) and "Dissent from Professor's Views on Sex with Students," (10/13/93, p. B4).

**Table 11**  
**Distribution of Sexually Harassing Behavior Among Harassers**

<b>Type of Sexually Harassing Behavior</b>	<b>Harassers</b>	
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
	<b>N = 113 (34%)</b>	<b>N = 57 (18%)</b>
	<b>(in percentages)</b>	
Persuaded them to date	9	12
Dated them	40	19
Made sexual comments	50	67
Shared sexual materials with class	7	19
Shared sexual materials with them	47	42
Had sex with them	34	22
Offered reward for sex	.02	.01

Note: "Them" refers to a student while enrolled in the instructor's class, or to an employee under the instructor's supervision, or to both.

A little over one quarter (26 percent) of the sample who had engaged in sexually harassing behavior often engaged in more than one type (see Table 12). For example, of those harassers who had persuaded a student or employee to go out on a

date with them, 63 percent had also dated a student or employee; 67 percent had made sexual comments about a student or employee; 58 percent had shared sexually explicit materials unrelated to a course with a class; 58 percent had also shared sexually explicit materials with an individual student or employee; 58 percent had had sex with a student or employee; and 50 percent had offered a reward for sexual behavior.

The most common overlap of behaviors occurred among those harassers who had offered a reward for sexual conduct. All of these respondents had also had sex with either a student or employee.

**Table 12**  
**Distribution of Sexually Harassing Behavior:**  
**Respondents who engaged in multiple behaviors**

Type of Sexually Harassing Behavior	Percent which also engaged in the behaviors below:						
	Persuaded them to date	Dated them	Made sexual comments	Shared sexual materials w/class	Shared sexual materials with them	Had sex with them	Offered reward for sex
Persuaded them to date		63%	67%	58%	58%	58%	50%
Dated them	23%		44%	20%	32%	76%	18%
Made sexual comments	14%	26%		14%	28%	25%	11%
Shared sexual materials with class	56%	52%	64%		72%	56%	52%
Shared sexual materials with them	22%	33%	50%	20%		56%	52%
Had sex with them	23%	82%	46%	23%	36%		21%
Offered reward for sex	92%	92%	92%	100%	100%	100%	

**Note:**

Them refers to a student while enrolled in the instructor's class, or to an employee under the instructor's supervision, or both.

While few of the harassers reported having engaged in either sharing sexually explicit material with their class, or in offering a reward for sexual behavior, 100 percent of the respondents who had offered a reward for sexual behavior had also shared sexually explicit materials with their class or with either a student or employee. One could hypothesize that the ethics, or lack thereof, which permitted an instructor to introduce irrelevant and offensive material into the classroom also permitted the instructor to offer a reward for sexual conduct.

Unanticipated was the finding that those who reported engaging in the most frequently reported behavior, "making sexual comments," also had the lowest percentage of participation in the other harassing behaviors. The average percentage

of these respondents who had also engaged in a second behavior was 20 percent compared to the next lowest average of 30 percent, among those who had shared sexually explicit materials with a student or employee. Perhaps those who initiated this behavior do not share the same motivation or attitudes as the rest of the harassers and thus rarely initiate other types of sexual harassment. Later analyses will explore this possibility.

### *Chapter Summary*

A surprising number of respondents, more than one in four, indicated that they had engaged in behavior we would consider sexually harassing. Not surprisingly, few indicated that they had engaged in the most notorious form of sexual harassment, the quid pro quo proposition. This section of the analysis lays to rest any concerns about the inhibiting effect of the behavioral questions on the questionnaire. In fact, if some non-harassers did not accurately report their behavior, then higher education has a larger problem than it imagines.

This analysis also uncovers the fact that harassers engage in more than one form of sexually harassing behavior. The next chapter extends information about harassers by exploring how they compare to "non-harassers" with respect to attitudes and beliefs.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CHARACTERISTICS OF HARASSERS

This chapter discusses the characteristics of those who engaged in sexually harassing behavior. The first section reviews the demographic and attitudinal differences between those who engaged in sexually harassing behavior and those who did not, while the second section examines differences within the harasser population.

#### *Gender and Tenure Status of Harassers compared to Non-Harassers*

Table 13 compares the gender and tenure status of those who reported having engaged in sexually harassing behavior with those who did not. Men were more likely to engage in sexually harassing behavior than were women ( $X^2 = 7.91$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0049$ ). This finding confirms earlier studies regarding the overrepresentation of men among those identified by victims as the harasser.

Those who engaged in sexually harassing behavior were also more likely to be tenured faculty than those who did not ( $X^2 = 9.25$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .0098$ ). Similarly, there was a significant difference between one's academic status and the likelihood that one would engage in sexually harassing behavior ( $X^2 = 8.92$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < .03$ ). Harassers were more likely to be tenure-track faculty as opposed to lecturers or teaching assistants than were non-harassers. Both of these findings support the hypothesis that positional power is related to engaging in sexually harassing behavior.

**Table 13**  
**Gender and Tenure Distribution of**  
**Harassers vs. Non-Harassers**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Harassers</b>	<b>Non-Harassers</b>
	<b>(in percentages)</b>	
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	67	49
Female	48	29
<b>Tenure Status</b>		
Tenured	64	59
Un-tenured	12	19
Non-tenure track	10	24

*Age*

Because age correlated with tenure status ( $r = .3622$ ,  $p < .001$ ), I looked at the relationship between behavior and age. Perhaps the relationship between behavior and tenure status was really a reflection of the relationship between behavior and generational cohort. Table 14 provides the mean decade of birth for harassers and non-harassers. Overall, there was no significant difference in age for harassers compared to non-harassers, however the pattern presented in Table 14 suggests that harassers are much more likely to be born between 1941-50 (making them in their forties and early fifties) than other decades. Of the female harassers, forty percent were born in this decade, as were forty-eight percent of male harassers.

When I controlled for tenure status I failed to find a difference in age between harassers and non-harassers. Therefore, the relationship between positional power and behavior does seem to be just that, and not a relationship between age and behavior.

**Table 14**  
**Age Distribution of Harassers and Non-Harassers**  
**by Gender**

Sample Grouping	Percent Born in this Decade				
	1920-30	1931-40*	1941-50*	1951-60	1961+
<b>NON-HARASSERS**</b>					
Men	9	29	29	28	4
Women	5	20	34	38	3
<b>HARASSERS**</b>					
Men	11	22	48	19	1
Women	8	13	40	28	9

\* p < .05

\*\* p < .01

When I controlled for gender and compared the mean ages of harassers and non-harassers, there was no significant difference for either men or women. There

was a sex difference in behavior for those respondents born between 1941 - 50 (42 - 51 years old) ( $X^2 = 13.72$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0002$ ). Women born during these decades were significantly less likely than men to have engaged in sexually harassing behavior. Thus the sex difference reported earlier, that women are less likely than men to engage in sexually harassing behavior, is applicable only to a specific generation of faculty.

A similar relationship appeared between behavior and tenure status. I first found a relationship between behavior and age ( $X^2 = 15.78$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .0033$ ). Those born between 1941- 50 were most likely to have engaged in sexually harassing behavior and those born between 1951 - 60 the least likely. When I controlled for tenure status, this relationship remained significant only for tenured faculty born between 1941- 50 ( $X^2 = 13.52$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0002$ ). In two categories, faculty born between 1920 - 30 and between 1931 - 40, there were too few respondents to calculate the chi-square, but for the later two decades there really was not a significant difference between the behavior of men and women.

What these results do not tell us is why this particular generation of faculty behaves differently from other generations. If the reason for the difference was related only to age, we would expect the oldest group of respondents to exhibit a gender difference in behavior similar to difference found in the middle age group of faculty. Because the oldest group of faculty does not exhibit this gender difference, I suspect the explanation involves an interaction between one's generational expectations for behavior between men and women and one's response to aging. For example, the older generations of faculty support more traditional sex role attitudes than the younger generations ( $F = 2.66$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Perhaps some in

this middle generation of male faculty are beginning to confront the effects of aging on their sense of themselves as viril and powerful. Their traditional gender role attitudes may permit them to use sexually harassing behavior as a means of retaining a feeling of power. In addition, many of these male faculty have been tenured, and so have acquired a form of positional power. Neither traditional gender role attitudes nor positional power may be enough individually to prompt a person to engage in sexual harassment; however, when they coincide within one generation, as they seem to do for those born between 1941 - 50, they may compound the effect of aging and produce circumstances conducive to creating sexual harassers.

In conclusion, age does appear to be associated with sexually harassing behavior, with harassers more likely to be middle-aged than non-harassers. Analyzing behavior by age groups also helped clarify the gender difference in behavior by isolating the difference to two decades of faculty, those born between 1931 - 1950. For the rest of the faculty who harass, there was no sex difference in behavior.

#### *Distribution Across Academic Departments*

Tables 15 and 16 demonstrate that there were no significant differences between harassers and non-harassers with respect to academic discipline or size of department. I had thought that perhaps those in larger departments would be more likely to engage in sexually harassing behavior because it may be easier for one's behavior to remain unnoticed by one's colleagues. I had also thought that some academic disciplines would be more prone to attract persons prone to engaging in

sexually harassing behavior because of their traditional dominance by males. However, these findings fail to support those speculations.

**Table 15**  
**Distribution across Academic Disciplines:**  
**Harassers and Non-Harassers**

<b>Academic Discipline</b>	<b>Harassers (in percentages)</b>	<b>Non-Harassers</b>
<b>Humanities</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>Social Sciences</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Natural Sciences</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Arts</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Professional Schools</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Other</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>

**Table 16**  
**Distribution across Department Size:**  
**Harassers and Non-Harassers**

Department Size	Harassers (in percentages)	Non-Harassers
1 - 25	13	14
26 - 50	11	11
51 - 100	12	17
100 - 400	31	30
400+	27	23

**Note: Department size refers to the number of graduate and undergraduate students in the department.**

*Sexual Orientation*

Like the non-harassers, 85 percent of harassers identified as strongly heterosexual; 5 percent identified strongly with being gay, lesbian or bisexual; 5 percent did not strongly identify with any category; and 5 percent did not respond to the question. Thus, sexual orientation does not appear to differentiate harassers from non-harassers.

### *Gender Role Attitudes*

Table 17 provides the distribution of mean scores between harassers and non-harassers on the attitudinal factors. There was no difference between the overall scores of harassers compared to non-harassers. Male and female harassers did not differ significantly on sex role attitudes. In fact, the only relationship that was significant was the difference in sex role attitude scores between male and female non-harassers ( $t = -2.58$ ,  $df = 450$ ,  $p < .010$ ). This difference was expected because numerous studies have demonstrated that women usually support more non-traditional sex role attitudes than men.

Finding no difference overall was surprising. I explored the possibility that some other variables may account for the relationship between sex role attitudes and behavior. I controlled for gender, decade of birth and tenure status, but failed to produce an overall significant relationship between sex role attitudes and behavior. However, the failure to find a significant relationship may be explained if my factor representing gender role attitudes is too limited. The original factor analysis produced a "first factor" that contained all the gender role statements on the questionnaire. I did not use this "mega" factor, however, as it would have prevented me from exploring the issue of exploitation, the belief that sexual harassment is normal, and beliefs about sexual harassment being provoked by women -- all gender role statements.

**Table 17**  
**Mean Attitude and Perception Scores of**  
**Harassers and Non-Harassers**

<b>ATTITUDE</b>	<b>HARASSERS</b> (mean scores)	<b>NON-HARASSERS</b> (mean scores)
Sexual harassment is normal**	12.56	11.50
Traditional sex role attitudes	16.52	16.38
Exploiting relationships is appropriate**	3.43	3.11
Belief that victims provoke harassment*	1.52	1.40
<b>PERCEPTION</b>		
Personal awareness	18.83	19.28
Campus tolerance	10.29	10.26

Note:

\*p < .05

\*\* p < .01

Instead, in a second factor analysis, I forced the same statements into four factors. These factors can be thought of as pieces of the "mega" factor from the first factor analysis. Of the four "mini" factors, one I also called, "gender roles," but it contained fewer of the statements from the questionnaire than the original "mega" gender roles factor. Therefore, I may have restricted this new gender roles factor to the point that it does not adequately measure gender role attitudes, and thus the relationship to behavior is neither statistically significant nor accurate.

### *Belief that Women Provoke Sexual Harassment*

I compared the degree to which the two behavioral groups believed that women provoke sexual harassment through their behavior, dress or manner. There was a significant difference between the beliefs of harassers and non-harassers ( $t = -4.02$ ,  $df = 628$ ,  $p < .000$ ). As predicted, harassers were more likely than non-harassers to believe that sexual harassment is provoked.

Because the earlier analyses had demonstrated the importance of tenure status with respect to behavior, I examined this belief while controlling for tenure status. The difference between harassers and non-harassers remained significant among the tenured sub-sample ( $t = -2.92$ ,  $df = 376$ ,  $p < .004$ ), and the non-tenure track sub-sample ( $t = -2.68$ ,  $df = 128$ ,  $p = .008$ ), but not for the un-tenured sub-sample. Thinking that both tenured faculty and non-tenure track faculty might be older than un-tenured faculty, and that this might actually be an effect of age, I compared the mean ages of the three tenure status groups. There was no significant difference in age.

If all three groups had shown a difference, then I would conclude that there was a fundamental difference between harassers and non-harassers in this attitude, regardless of occupational status. The lack of a difference among the untenured faculty poses a challenge to explain. It may be that the difference among tenured faculty emerges because of the effect of occupational power on harassers' attitudes and behavior. The difference among non-tenure track faculty may be due to some unrelated factor that I have not yet identified.

### *Belief that Sexually Harassing Behavior is "Normal"*

I found a significant difference in the belief that sexually harassing behavior is normal between harassers and non-harassers ( $t = -3.56$ ,  $df = 603$ ,  $p < .000$ ). As predicted, harassers were more likely than non-harassers to believe that sexually harassing behaviors are normal. I followed up that finding by controlling for gender. The difference remained significant between both male non-harassers and harassers ( $t = -1.98$ ,  $df = 300$ ,  $p < .048$ ) and female non-harassers and harassers ( $t = -2.53$ ,  $df = 287$ ,  $p < .012$ ). As with the variable measuring whether a respondent believes she or he has sexually harassed someone, there is a piece of information missing regarding this factor's relationship to sexually harassing behavior: the temporal sequence. I do not know whether harassers came to the conclusion that sexually harassing behaviors are normal before or after engaging in sexual harassment. If they believed this before they harassed someone, then I could conclude that this belief is a precursor to the decision to harass. If they came to this conclusion after sexually harassing someone, an ex post facto rationalization perhaps, then it does little to help us understand how those who sexually harass are different from everyone else.

### *Perception of campus environment*

I compared perceptions of campus tolerance for sexual harassment across the two behavioral groups and found no significant relationship. This finding fails to support the concept of the situational sexual harasser. After analyzing the data, it became clear that the questions I used to create this factor had limited value. Because the "satisfaction" question asked only about one's level of satisfaction with campus response, it left open the possibility that harassers reported being satisfied

not because their campus does a good job confronting sexual harassment, but because it does not confront it. Were I to redesign the question addressing "getting away with it," I would ask additional questions such as, "Are you aware of any of your colleagues having been disciplined for sexually harassing anyone?" and "Of the campus investigations for sexual harassment with which you are aware, do you think the results were equitable?" Responses to these questions would provide a better measure of a respondent's awareness of campus reaction, and a better gauge of the situational nature of sexual harassment.

#### *Personal awareness of sexual harassment*

I next explored how those who engaged in sexual harassment understood their conduct relative to those who had not harassed. I first examined whether harassers were any more or less aware than their non-harassing colleagues of incidents of sexual harassment by comparing their mean scores on the factor labelled, "awareness." There was no significant difference between the harassers and non-harassers, or overall between men and women in their observations of the frequency with which sexual harassment occurs. This finding indicates that either the entire sample was unaware of these behaviors, or that harassers are as aware as the average faculty member. If this is true, then the harasser's behavior could not be the product of ignorance. My next analysis supports this conclusion.

I used three independent variables to compare whether a respondent defined his or her behavior as sexually harassing with whether that person had actually engaged in sexually harassing behaviors (the self-report). A chi-square analysis revealed a significant relationship ( $X^2 = 8.60$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0034$ ), but not in the direction I had anticipated. Those who had reported engaging in a sexually harassing

behavior were more likely than non-harassers to know that they had sexually harassed someone. This finding was true for the total sample and for the sub-sample of men ( $X^2 = 9.43$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0021$ ). There was no difference between female harassers and non-harassers.

These results suggest that harassers, and in particular male harassers, are aware that their behavior could be considered sexual harassment. Perhaps the recent effort to educate people about the definition of sexual harassment has made an impact on awareness if not on behavior. However, that the education would have an effect on men and not on women is troublesome. Perhaps women do not identify themselves as harassers because they do not identify with other characteristics of harassers, such as occupying positions of power. Indeed, tenured female harassers are no different from non-harassers in their belief about having harassed someone. Alternatively, women harassers are significantly less likely than male harassers to be in a tenure-track position (this finding will be discussed in the next section). Perhaps because they are less likely to be in "mainstream" teaching positions, the educational interventions have not been targeted to them. I think this is unlikely because of the numbers of training programs being done for women. Although these programs generally assume that women are victims rather than initiators, definitional information is still reviewed.

As mentioned above, this finding has limited application because we do not know the temporal relationship between their understanding what sexual harassment is (and recognizing their behavior as such) and their actually having engaged in the behavior. Some respondents may have sexually harassed someone fully aware that

their behavior would be considered harassment, while others may have come to this understanding after having harassed and not engaged in that behavior since then.

An interesting off-shoot of this analysis was the observation that 39 of the respondents whose self-reports indicated that they had not engaged in sexually harassing behavior responded affirmatively to the question which asked if they had ever sexually harassed someone (item 79). These respondents may have harassed someone outside the scope of the questionnaire; they may have inaccurately reported their behavior on this questionnaire; or they may not have understood the definition of sexual harassment.

#### *Amount of student/employee contact*

Engaging in innocuous contact with students and employees was positively associated with engaging in sexually harassing behavior. Non-harassers spent less time with students or employees as a mentor, as a professional resource, or as a friend than did harassers ( $t = -3.88$ ,  $df = 649$ ,  $p < .000$ ). This difference remained significant when I controlled for the sex of the respondent (men:  $t = -3.02$ ,  $df = 321$ ,  $p < .003$ ; women:  $t = -2.25$ ,  $df = 312$ ,  $p < .025$ ). Overall, there was not a significant difference in the amount of contact reported by men and women.

Pryor suggests that those who harass look for opportunities to harass, opportunities which appear in the context of normal social interactions. For example, a harasser might use the act of reaching for a book and passing it to someone as an opportunity to brush up against the person. To find these opportunities, the harasser needs to spend time with likely victims. These findings

support the hypothesis that harassers spend more social time than their colleagues do with students and employees.

These findings also discredit the stereotype of the asocial male harasser. Most likely, harassers invest significant time with students and employees and appear to be helpful and accessible, behaviors we would hope that most faculty would adopt. However, the data suggest that unlike non-harassers, harassers use acceptable professional behavior to gain access to people they can later harass.

#### *Sexually libertarian beliefs*

I did not find a significant difference in behavior between those who believed that homosexual behavior should be a crime and those who did not; nor was there a significant difference in behavior between those who believed that anti-gay jokes should be confronted and those who did not. In fact, although the difference was not significant, the direction of the relationship between sexually harassing behavior and support for homophobic beliefs was not what I expected. At first glance, harassers appeared more gay supportive than non-harassers. The regression analyses that follow provide additional insight into this relationship.

#### *Belief that it is appropriate to exploit relationships*

I conducted a t-test to compare the mean scores on the factor "exploit" between harassers and non-harassers. There was a significant difference between the two groups ( $t = -3.69$ ,  $df = 643$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Harassers were more likely than non-harassers to support statements indicating that relationships are to be exploited. This finding provides support for my hypothesis that it is not only positional power that

contributes to the likelihood that one will engage in sexually harassing behavior but also a belief that it is appropriate to exploit personal relationships.

Of importance is the finding that while there was no statistical difference between male and female harassers on these items, female harassers' scores were frequently also not statistically different from male non-harassers. For example, for the factor regarding whether relationships may be exploited, female harassers scored, on average, higher than male non-harassers in their support of these statements, but not as high as male harassers. Although male harassers' scores were significantly different from male non-harassers, female harassers' scores were not. While being willing to take advantage of another person appears to be a precursor to engaging in sexual harassment, for women that willingness needs to be augmented only to the level of non-harassing males before a woman would be representative of female faculty who harass.

The attitudinal distinctions between harassers and non-harassers appears to be a relative one: relative to members of their same sex, harassers have a significantly different view of the role of exploitation in a relationship than do non-harassers.

Thus far, the data indicate that those who reported having engaged in sexually harassing behavior tend to be male, tenured, believe that sexually harassing behaviors are normal, and believe that sexual harassment is provoked by the victim. However, the appearance of relative differences between harassers and non-harassers suggests another question for exploration: are there fundamental differences between all harassers and non-harassers, or can we make only relative distinctions for example among female harassers and non-harassers or male harassers and non-harassers. The next set of analyses examine the differences between harassers.

### **Characteristics of harassers across gender, age and tenure status**

To determine whether those who engage in sexual harassment are more like one another than they are like their non-harassing colleagues, I compared their mean scores on demographic characteristics, attitudes and perceptions across gender, age, tenure status and participation in individual harassing behaviors.

#### *Gender Differences:*

While there was a significant difference in the tenure status of male and female harassers ( $t = -3.43$ ,  $df = 183$ ,  $p < .001$ ), this difference also appeared among non-harassers. Women have historically been underrepresented in positions of status, and women of academia in this sample are no exception. Among the total sample, tenured men are more likely than tenured women to sexually harass, and among harassers, female harassers are less likely than male harassers to be tenured (see Table 19). I checked the relationship between age and tenure to see if a difference in age corresponded with the difference in behavior, but no significant difference appeared between the ages of tenured male and female harassers.

**Table 18**  
**Tenure Distribution of Harassers and Non-Harassers**  
**by Gender**

Sample Grouping	Tenure Status		
	Tenured**	Un-Tenured	Non-Tenure
<b>NON-HARASSERS**</b>			
Men	63	22	15
Women	50	21	28
<b>HARASSERS**</b>			
Men	81	8	11
Women	48	27	25

Note:

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

The difference in behavior between men and women with positional power suggests that power amplifies men's likelihood of harassing, while having little effect on women's likelihood of harassing. Therefore, the theory that positional power is related to sexual harassment is true only for men.

#### *Age*

There was a significant difference in both harassers and non-harassers with respect to the ages of men and women (harassers:  $t = 2.84$ ,  $df = 182$ ,  $p < .005$ ; non-harassers:  $t = 2.84$ ,  $df = 463$ ,  $p < .005$ ). Women faculty, regardless of harasser

status, were younger than male faculty, evidence of their more recent entrance into the academic workforce.

No other demographic differences emerged between male and female harassers. The only demographic differences between the two was that tenure was not relevant for female harassers and that male harassers were older than female harassers. These differences reflect larger demographic differences between men and women in academia rather than differences unique to harassers.

#### *Attitudes and perceptions*

I conducted four t-tests to compare the mean scores on the attitudinal items between male and female harassers and found no significant differences in (a) their gender role attitudes; (b) their belief that harassing behavior should be confronted; (c) their perception of how tolerant the campus is toward sexual harassment; and (d) their belief that sexual harassment is normal. Table 19 shows the mean scores on these variables by gender.

**Table 19**  
**Attitudes and Perceptions of Harassers and Non-Harassers**  
**by Gender**

ATTITUDE	HARASSERS		NON-HARASSERS	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	(mean scores)		(mean scores)	
Sexual harassment is normal <sup>1,2,4</sup>	12.93	12.10	12.12	10.94
Traditional sex role attitude <sup>4</sup>	16.69	16.15	10.82	15.91
Exploiting relationships is appropriate <sup>1,2,4</sup>	3.47	3.35	3.22	3.02
Belief that victims provoke harassment <sup>2,3,4</sup>	10.06	8.75	9.11	8.26
<b>PERCEPTION</b>				
Personal awareness	18.76	18.84	19.15	19.36
Campus tolerance <sup>4</sup>	10.45	10.07	10.82	9.77

Note:

<sup>1</sup> Indicates that the relationship between female harassers and non-harassers is significant

<sup>2</sup> Indicates that the relationship between male harassers and non-harassers is significant

<sup>3</sup> Indicates that the relationship between male and female harassers is significant

<sup>4</sup> Indicates that the relationship between male and female non-harassers is significant

One interesting finding related to the lack of significant relationships listed above is that there was a significant difference between male and female non-harassers' gender role attitudes, but not between male and female harassers'. The usual difference between male and female gender role attitudes has been attributed to

differences in socialization processes, and differences in the messages men and women have internalized.

I did find a significant difference in their belief about whether victims invite sexual harassment ( $t = -3.25$ ,  $df = 167$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Male harassers were more likely than female harassers to believe that the victim invites the harassment. In fact, the largest spread between scores occurred between female and male harassers. Of the four groupings, female non-harassers were the least supportive of this item and male non-harassers were the most supportive. Harassers, male and female, fell in between. Male harassers are less supportive than male non-harassers, while female harassers are more supportive than female non-harassers. Both sexes of harassers are "renegades"; they "go against the grain" of their gender group with respect to this attitude -- albeit in different directions. This particular finding may be due to the wording of the questions used. They specifically asked if women, not generic "victims," invite sexual harassment.

Finally, as discussed earlier, male and female harassers differ in their understanding of their behavior. Female harassers are less likely than male harassers to say that they have sexually harassed someone. I can conjecture that this is due to women being less likely than men to identify themselves as controlling and consequently exploiting positions of power.

#### *Differences among the three tenure status designations*

To see if harassers differed in any of the attitudinal variables on the basis of tenure status, I compared the mean scores on each of the variables used above for three groups of harassers: those with tenure, those in tenure-track positions but not

yet tenured, and those not in tenure track positions (lecturers and teaching assistants). The mean scores appear in Table 20. Other than the gender difference already noted, for which more male harassers are also tenured compared to female harassers, and an age difference, those harassers who are tenured are older than those who are not ( $t = -6.34$ ,  $df = 156$ ,  $p < .000$ ), no other differences appeared for any of the demographic, attitudinal or perception characteristics. Faculty who harass closely resemble the tenure patterns of their non-harassing colleagues and there appears to be no difference in perception based on tenure status.

**Table 20**  
**Characteristics of Harassers by Tenure Status**

	Tenure Status		
	Tenured n = 132	Un-Tenured n = 27	Non-Tenure track n = 33
<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>(mean scores)</b>		
<b>Demographics::</b>			
Gender <sup>1,3</sup>	1.75	1.33	1.43
Size of Dept. <sup>2,3</sup>	3.75	3.63	2.47
Academic Discipline	3.08	3.48	3.76
Type of Institution	2.72	2.48	2.33
Decade Born <sup>1,3</sup>	2.58	3.74	3.56
<b>Attitude:</b>			
Sexual harassment is normal	12.76	11.71	12.43
Gender role belief	16.39	17.03	16.58
Exploiting relationships is appropriate	3.44	3.30	3.52
Belief that victims provoke harassment	1.53	1.48	1.55
<b>Perception:</b>			
Personal awareness	18.87	18.46	18.97
Campus tolerance	10.32	10.88	9.58

Note:

<sup>1</sup>Significant relationship between tenured and un-tenured harassers.

<sup>2</sup>Significant relationship between un-tenured and non-tenure track harassers.

<sup>3</sup>Significant relationship between tenured and non-tenure track harassers.

## **Comparisons of Demographic Characteristics and Attitudes across Different Sexually Harassing Behaviors**

Table 21 explores the demographic characteristics of harassers by type of harassment. For example, the dominant characteristics of those faculty who had sex with a student or employee (third item in the first column) were: (a) born between 1941-50 (38 percent of this group were); (b) male; (c) faculty in the social sciences; (d) heterosexual; and (e) tenured. This group of harassers was equally represented among all of the institutional types.

Harassers are strikingly homogenous, with most harassers being tenured and working in large schools. There were no significant differences overall in harassers' academic rank, academic discipline, gender, age, tenure status or size of department. A few small differences merit discussion.

First, although a much smaller percentage of women than men participated in these behaviors, a greater percentage of women than men engaged in making sexual comments, sharing sexually explicit materials, and offering a reward for sexual behavior (see Table 21). Coupled with this finding is that the only variation in sexual orientation occurred between the group who offered a reward for sex and the rest of the harassers. Those who offered a reward for sex were also more likely than their harasser peers to identify strongly with any orientation except heterosexual (either bisexual or lesbian), however this difference in self-identification was present among male and female non-harassers as well. This lack of a strong sense of sexual identity

is probably more an indication of a gender difference, and a function of being female and perceiving sexual identity in a different context than males. This finding is discussed in greater detail in the regression analyses.

However, a few gay, lesbian and bisexual respondents indicated that they had sexually harassed someone. Just as there is evidence in the literature on battering of lesbian couples caught up in cycles of violence and patterns of oppression similar to heterosexual couples, we have no reason to believe that lesbian or bisexual faculty would not sexually harass. The motivation would be different, as in lesbian couple battering, but could still involve issues of gender roles and power.

Second, those who shared sexually explicit materials, in addition to being female ( $t = -2.49$ ,  $df = 183$ ,  $p < .014$ ), were younger than those who did not (born from 1941 on compared to those born from 1931 on) ( $t = 2.49$ ,  $df = 188$ ,  $p < .014$ ). Further, they were less likely to be tenured ( $t = 2.29$ ,  $df = 190$ ,  $p < .023$ ) -- not surprising, given that most of them were women. This group also differed from the rest of the harassers, overall, in their view that sexually harassing behavior is normal ( $t = 2.33$ ,  $df = 171$ ,  $p < .021$ ); they were more likely to believe that it was normal than harassers overall. Finally, they were less aware of sexual harassment occurring on their campuses than other harassers ( $t = -2.25$ ,  $df = 173$ ,  $p < .025$ ).

**Table 21**  
**Demographics (Mode) of Harassers by Type of Behavior**

<b>Behavior</b>	<b>Decade Born</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Academic Discipline</b>	<b>Sexual Orientation</b>	<b>Tenure Status</b>	<b>Type of Institution</b>
<b>Persuade</b>	<b>1941-50</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Mix</b>
	(33%)	(42%)	(21%)	(50%)	(46%)	
<b>Date</b>	<b>1941-50</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Social Sci.</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Public</b>
	(45%)	(71%)	(26%)	(73%)	(82%)	(73%)
<b>Had sex</b>	<b>1941-50</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Social Sci.</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Mix</b>
	(38%)	(66%)	(21%)	(74%)	(80%)	
<b>Offered reward</b>	<b>1941-50</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Social Sci.</b>	<b>Not hetero</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>State</b>
	(31%)	(54%)	(23%)	(85%)	(46%)	(69%)
<b>Made sexual comments</b>	<b>1941-50</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Large</b>
	(47%)	(52%)	(27%)	(83%)	(68%)	(91%)
<b>Shared materials with class</b>	<b>1951-60</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Humanities</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Large</b>
	(28%)	(52%)	(24%)	(44%)	(48%)	(92%)
<b>Shared materials with one</b>	<b>1951-60</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Heterosexual</b>	<b>Tenured</b>	<b>Large</b>
	(34%)	(50%)	(27%)	(72%)	(55%)	(90%)

**Note: Table is read from left to right. Example: of those harassers who dated an employee or student, the largest group, 45% was born between 1941-50.**

My interpretation of these findings is that women appear to have a preferred type of sexually harassing behavior, whereas men are more diversified. Furthermore, female harassers also appear less attuned to the campus climate than male harassers in that female harassers are less likely to report that harassment occurs on their campuses. In conclusion, while female harassers' gender role attitudes resemble those of male harassers, their perceptions of their campuses' responsiveness to sexual harassment do not.

#### *Attitudinal and perception differences*

To test the possibility that those who engaged in sexually harassing behavior share a common set of beliefs about gender roles and sexual harassment, I used an ANOVA to compare mean scores on the attitudinal factors for each of the three behavior subgroups described in the dependent variable section above (comments, dating and sharing materials). I found no significant difference between the mean scores of the three groups on any of the attitudinal factors. Thus far, harassers appear to have a great deal in common independent of the type or form of sexually harassing behavior in which they engage. The one pattern that is interesting to follow appears in Table 22 which describes responses by gender and age to the belief that sexual harassment is normal. Older female harassers support this belief to a greater extent; older male harassers to a lesser extent. Their positions reverse as the harassers get younger: young female harassers are less supportive of this belief than young male harassers. Earlier I observed that harassers support "renegade" attitudes with respect to non-harassing members of the same gender. This new pattern suggests that there is also a generational cohort effect influencing harassers'

"renegadeness." The difference in their beliefs from non-harassers is relative both to gender and generational cohort. I performed the same analysis comparing scores for each individual behavior group. There were no significant differences other than those reported above.

**Table 22**  
**Belief that Sexual Harassment is Normal by Decade of Birth,**  
**Gender and Behavior Type**

Sample	Decade of Birth				
	1920-31*	1931-40	1941-50	1951-60*	1961+
<b>ALL**</b>	<b>13.31</b>	<b>12.19</b>	<b>11.46</b>	<b>11.61</b>	<b>11.17</b>
Men	13.34	12.16	12.22	12.58	12.11
Women**	13.33	12.29	10.62	10.93	10.50
<b>HARASSERS*</b>	<b>14.88</b>	<b>12.76</b>	<b>11.95</b>	<b>12.78</b>	<b>11.75</b>
Men	13.75	12.43	12.75	13.47	14.00
Women**	19.00	14.11	10.35	12.06	11.33
<b>NON-</b>					
<b>HARASSERS</b>	<b>12.36</b>	<b>12.01</b>	<b>11.20</b>	<b>11.29</b>	<b>10.88</b>
Men	13.06	12.05	11.79	12.25	11.88
Women	11.27	11.94	10.70	10.69	9.88

\* Indicates that the relationship is significant at the  $p < .05$  level.

\*\*Indicates that the relationship is significant at the  $p < .01$  level.

Belief they have harassed

I compared individual behavior groups' scores on the belief that one had harassed to see if some groups were more oblivious, without regard to gender, than others. The significant chi-square result ( $X^2 = 22.57$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .001$ ) comes from those who made sexual comments, as discussed earlier. However, people who dated

their students/employees were also unlikely to identify themselves as having sexually harassed anyone. As mentioned earlier, these harassers are merely reflecting the ethical debate being carried on in academia regarding the appropriateness of dating one's students.

### *Chapter Summary*

Several generalizations can be made about faculty who engage in sexually harassing behavior. They do not cluster in particular academic fields nor at particular types of institutions in any significant pattern. They appear no different from their colleagues with respect to sexual orientation. However, compared to their "non-harassing" colleagues, these faculty are more likely to be male and tenured. Harassers are also more likely than non-harassers to believe that sexually harassing behavior is normal and that women who complain about being sexually harassed have brought the harassment on themselves by their behavior or dress. Finally, harassers initiated more social contacts with students and employees than other faculty -- these contacts perhaps provide the opportunity to sexually harass.

Within this sample of faculty "harassers," distinctions emerged. Male harassers were more likely than female harassers to be tenured and heterosexual, to recognize their behavior as sexually harassing, to believe that sexual harassment occurs on their campus, to be older and to have engaged in a variety of sexually harassing behaviors. Men were more likely to engage in a variety of sexually harassing behaviors, while women usually reported engaging in one type, although the type was not the same for each woman.

Differences also emerged between older and younger harassers. Older harassers tended to engage in all types of harassing behaviors, while younger harassers tended to limit their behavior to sharing sexual materials and making sexual comments.

No differences appeared in the attitudes of those who engaged in a particular type of behavior compared to those who engaged in another. For example, those who had sex with a student or employee were not significantly different in attitude from those who shared sexual materials with their class. This finding suggests that "type of behavior" is not as useful a means of grouping harassers for purposes of comparison as is either "gender" or "age."

## CHAPTER SIX

### PREDICTORS OF SEXUALLY HARASSING BEHAVIOR

To further develop the relationship between sexually harassing behavior, gender, tenure status, age and the other variables discussed so far, I ran five regression analyses: one for the total sample; one for men; one for women; one for older faculty (born between 1920 and 1940); and one for younger faculty (born after 1941).

#### *The Dependent and Independent Variables*

As described in Chapter Four ("Identifying the Harassers"), respondents were divided into two categories, harassers and non-harassers, on the basis of their responses to the self-reported behavior section on the questionnaire (items 69 through 75). To each of these items a respondent could give one of the following responses: (1) No; (2) Yes, someone who works for me; (3) Yes, a student while enrolled in my class or while my advisee; or (4) Yes, both a student and someone who works for me. If a respondent selected 2, 3 or 4 as a response to items 69 - 75, she or he was placed in the "harasser" category. Selecting "1" for each of items 69 - 75 placed the respondent in the "non-harasser" category.

I set behavior as the dependent variable and entered the following independent variables in the five stepwise regression analyses listed below:

#### Beliefs and attitudes of the Respondent

"Harassment is normal": the belief that sexual harassment is a normal behavior (items 21, 26, 27, 28 and 32 )

"Gender role attitudes": support for traditional gender role attitudes (items 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19 and 20 )

"Exploitation is appropriate": the belief that it is appropriate to use a sexual relationship for personal gain (items 25 and 29)

"Personal tolerance": respondent's tolerance of incidents of sexual harassment on his or her campus (items 35, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 53 and 56)

"Campus tolerance": respondent's perception of the degree of campus tolerance toward sexual harassment (items 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54 and 57)

"Social contact": the amount of social contact the respondent reported with students and employees (items 61 - 66)

"Victims provoke it": support for the belief that victims provoke sexual harassment (items 23, 24, 30, 31 and 33)

"Sexual libertariansim": support for the belief that homosexual behavior should not be a crime (item 22)

"Harassed in the past": respondent's belief that she or he has engaged in sexual harassment in the past (item 79)

"Mountain/molehill": respondent's belief that society is making a "mountain out of a molehill" with respect to its concern about sexual harassment (item 78)

"Satisfaction": respondent's level of satisfaction with his or her campus' response to incidents of sexual harassment (item 77)

### Demographic characteristics

"Male": gender of respondent (male = 2) (item 1)

"Strength of sexual identification": strength of respondent's identification with being heterosexual (heterosexual = 2) (items 80 - 83)

"Age": decade in which respondent was born (item 4)

"Tenure": whether respondent has tenure status or not (item #; tenure = 2, non-tenure and un-tenured=0) (item 3)

Respondent's academic discipline (coded yes or no to each of the following disciplines: humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, arts, professional schools) (item 6)

### Institutional characteristics

"Size of department" (item 5)

Type of institution (coded "yes" or "no" to each of the following types: liberal arts, research, two year) (an unnumbered item)

"Control of institution" (coded "yes" or "no" to "state" or "private" institutional designation) (an unnumbered item)

### *Predicting Sexually Harassing Behavior for the Total Sample*

The first variable to enter the equation (see Table 24) for the overall sample was gender, specifically, being male. This result demonstrates that males are more prone to engage in sexually harassing behavior than females.

The appearance of the amount of social involvement with students or employees as the second variable reinforces Pryor's notion of the "opportunistic"

harasser. The more social contact a respondent has had with students and employees, the more likely that person was to also have engaged in sexually harassing behavior. My interpretation of this finding is that contrary to some stereotypes, those most likely to harass may not be loners or asocial individuals. They may be more often faculty who surround themselves with students and employees, consider themselves mentors, and frequently socialize outside of the classroom with students or employees.

The third variable, the belief that sexual harassment is provoked, suggests that people who harass abdicate responsibility for their role in the harassment interaction. For some this may reflect an inability to accept responsibility for any wrong doing, not just for sexual harassment. However, were this true, we would not expect this group to state that they had ever sexually harassed anyone, in contrast to the present findings. Instead, the appearance of this factor may indicate that those who harass believe the "natural model." The "natural model," discussed earlier, explains sexual harassment as the harasser's normal response to the "provocative" behavior of the victim. "[According to the natural model] ...male sexual behavior is not socially constructed but is based purely on hormones that erupt uncontrollably into the realm of culture," (Sanday, 1992, p. 61). Thus, harassers may rationalize that what others call "harassment" is a natural response to a stimulus, usually women's behavior. They may further believe that women and men who conform to traditional gender roles do not provide that stimulus and are therefore rarely "harassed."

**Table 23**  
**Regression of Self-Reported Behavior on Faculty and Institutional Characteristics**  
**(N=667)**

Variable	Standardized regression coefficients (Betas) at Each Step							
	Mult. R	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Faculty Characteristics</i>								
Male	.16	.16**	.15**	.12*	.12*	.11*	.12*	.12*
Social Contact	.21	.14**	.14**	.15**	.14**	.13**	.13**	.14**
Victims cause it	.25	.12**	.14**	.14**	.19**	.19**	.19**	.16**
Sexual libertarianism	.28	.08*	.06	.14**	.14**	.12*	.14**	.13*
Harassed in past	.30	.13**	.12*	.12*	.12*	.12*	.12*	.11*
Strength of sexual identification	.31	-.08*	-.08*	-.08*	-.09*	-.08*	-.08*	-.08*
Exploitation is appropriate	.32	.12*	.13**	.09*	.08*	.09*	.08*	.08*
<i>Variables not in equation</i>								
Harassment is normal		.11**	.12**	.06	.05	.04	.04	-.04

Note:

\*\* p < .01 at this step.

\* p < .05 at this step.

There is anecdotal support in the literature on men who rape which supports this hypothesis. For example, Griffin (1986) notes, "When a 15-year -old boy raped a girl in a stairwell at West High School, Judge Archie Simonson ruled he was reacting 'normally' to prevalent sexual permissiveness and women's provocative clothing," (p. 113). Additional support for this explanation can be found in the harasser's belief that his or her behavior is normal.

Support for sexually libertarian beliefs correlated positively with sexually harassing behavior, and entered fourth in the regression equation. Agreement with the statement that homosexual behavior should not be a crime is most likely agreement with the idea that no sexual behavior should be a crime, and not an expression of support for homosexuality. Harassers may believe that no institution, like a university, has the right to regulate the sexual conduct between two people. As harassers also believe that sexual harassment is provoked or invited, they probably consider their victim to be a consenting partner. Therefore, their harassing relationship would also be a relationship which should not be considered a "crime." Support for this item, then, is probably more of a reflection of self-interest than a reflection of any support for homosexuality.

The fifth factor to enter, "the belief that one has sexually harassed someone in the past," is interesting because of the direction of the relationship: people who sexually harass are more likely to say that they have harassed someone than people who have not. If the finding accurately reflects the views of those who have sexually harassed, then this group knows that what they are doing is in violation of institutional policies. Perhaps they recognized that their behavior was harassing and

continued to engage in it; perhaps they recognized that it was harassing and then stopped; or perhaps they recently learned that past behavior was harassing. I examined whether this belief was positively related to the belief that women cause harassment, because if it were, respondents might feel comfortable indicating that they had harassed because they believed the behavior had been provoked, and therefore was not their fault. A Chi-Square analysis revealed no significant relationship between these two variables. Without more information, it is difficult to offer further interpretation of this finding.

Having a strong sense of sexual identification entered the regression equation negatively, a reflection of a gender difference between men and women. Males consistently self-identified as being heterosexual. Females had no consistent sexual identification. Any interpretation of this finding beyond this observation is unreliable as sexual identification relies on a contextual interpretation of behavior -- sometimes political, sometimes sexual. Because sexual identity has little consistent meaning across or even within genders, we can only point to a gender difference being illuminated by the appearance of this factor.

For example, it is erroneous to conclude from this finding that people who self-identify as gay, lesbian or bisexual are more likely to sexually harass than those who identify with being heterosexual. I examined a Chi-Square analysis comparing behavior with strength of sexual identification and found that 38 percent of those who did not strongly identify as being heterosexual reported having engaged in sexually harassing behavior, compared to 28 percent of those who did strongly identify as heterosexual. However, by raw numbers, heterosexual harassers quickly outnumber other harassers (by 5:1) because so many heterosexual men engaged in

harassment.

Finally, one's belief that exploiting relationships is appropriate entered as predicted. Harassers were more likely than non-harassers to believe that people normally have sex with an instructor or employer as a means of gaining an advantage. This relationship has been discussed earlier, but the factor's presence in the regression equation adds support to my notion that harassers have a different, transactional, view of relationships than non-harassers. More about this notion will be discussed in the final chapter.

The belief that sexually harassing behavior is normal figured prominently in the earlier descriptive analyses, yet failed to contribute to the regression equation. As Table 24 demonstrates, the factor began at the  $p < .001$  level and at the third step lost all significance. The belief that women provoke harassment was so strong an indicator that once it entered, it accounted for any variance that the belief that sexually harassing behavior is normal was contributing. I suspect that this is a reflection of the divergence of the female sub-sample from the male: the belief that sexual harassment is normal was a predictor of women faculty's behavior, but not of male faculty. (See the analysis that follows.)

This analysis, as well as the subsequent ones, accounted for only a rather small amount of the variance -- 10 percent at best. Thus the significance that one can attach to these findings should be kept in that perspective. The fact that a good deal of the variance remains unexplained highlights the complexity of the forces behind the decision to engage in sexually harassing behavior.

### *Predicting Sexually Harassing Behavior By Gender*

The equations for men and women are different, reflecting the difference in scores on the attitudinal factors. Table 24 describes the regression equation for women; Table 25 for men. As each of these equations has variables in common with the equation for the total sample, only the unique findings will be discussed here.

**Table 23**  
**Regression of Self-Reported Behavior on Faculty and Institutional Characteristics**  
(N=667)

Variable	Standardized regression coefficients (Betas) at Each Step								
	Step	R	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Faculty Characteristics</i>									
Male	.16	.16**	.15**	.12*	.12*	.11*	.12*	.12*	.12*
Social Contact	.21	.14**	.14**	.15**	.14**	.13**	.13**	.13**	.14**
Victims cause it	.25	.12**	.14**	.14**	.19**	.19**	.19**	.19**	.16**
Sexual libertarianism	.28	.08*	.06	.14**	.14**	.12*	.14**	.14**	.13*
Harassed in past	.30	.13**	.12*	.12*	.12*	.12*	.12*	.12*	.11*
Strength of sexual identification	.31	-.08*	-.08*	-.08*	-.09*	-.08*	-.08*	-.08*	-.08*
Willing to exploit	.32	.12*	.13**	.09*	.09*	.08*	.09*	.08*	.08*
<i>Variables not in equation</i>									
Harassment is normal		.11**	.12**	.06	.05	.04	.04	.04	-.04

Note:

\*\* p < .01 at this step.

\* p < .05 at this step.

**Table 25**  
**Regression of Self-Reported Behavior on Faculty and Institutional Characteristics**  
**for Male Faculty (n = 328)**

Variable	Step	Mult. R	Standardized regression coefficients (Betas) at each step						
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Harassed in past	1	.18	.67**	.64**	.61**	.59**	.56**	.53**	.48*
Victims cause it	2	.24	.15**	.06**	.07**	.07**	.07**	.08**	.09**
Social Contact	3	.29	.15**	.16**	.05**	.05**	.05**	.05**	.05**
Professional School	4	.33	-.13*	-.14**	-.15**	-.16**	-.17**	-.17**	-.16**
Tenure	5	.35	.15**	.15**	.13*	.13*	.20*	.19*	.20*
Sexual Libertarianism	6	.37	.08	.15**	.14*	.14*	.13*	.16*	.15*
Campus response	7	.39	.10	.12*	.11*	.10	.11*	.11*	.15*
<b>Variables not in equation</b>									
Private school			-.12*	-.10*	-.12*	-.10	-.09	-.10*	-.10
Gender role belief			-.02	-.15*	-.14*	-.13*	-.13*	-.09	-.09

Note:

\* Indicates variable was significant at the  $p < .05$  level at this step.

\*\* Indicates variable was significant at the  $p < .01$  level at this step.

For women, the variables with the most predictive ability were (1) the belief that sexually harassing behavior is normal; and (2) the amount of student/employee contact one has. Note, however, that only 4% of the total variance was explained by these two variables.

In contrast, many of the same variables which entered the equation for the total sample entered the men's equation: (1) believing that you have sexually harassed someone; (2) believing that people provoke sexual harassment; (3) the amount of social contact one has with students and employees; and (4) support for sexually libertarian beliefs.

Notice the lack of an appearance in the males' regression equation of the factor, "belief that sexual harassment is normal." Its absence here helps explain why this factor failed to enter the equation for the total sample.

Not working in a professional school, being tenured, and believing that one's campus deals well with sexual harassment entered the equation. Those working in professional schools (medicine and business, predominantly), because they have a greater opportunity than those in other disciplines to work both in academics and as practitioners, may be exposed to more work place discussion of, training about and litigation involving sexual harassment. If they are, then they may be less inclined to participate in those behaviors than those in predominantly academic settings.

It was expected that tenure would enter the equation as a predictor of sexually harassing behavior. While it did not enter in either the general sample's or the women's equation, it did enter in this analysis. One interpretation of this finding is that male faculty may use their occupational status in exploitive ways.

Finally, one's perception that the campus deals well with sexual harassment as a predictor is interesting, given the earlier discussion which reported no significant difference in satisfaction level between those who had harassed and those who had not. Harassers are more likely than non-harassers to express satisfaction with their campus' response. Most likely harassers' campuses do not respond strongly to sexual harassment complaints, thereby enabling harassers' to engage in their behavior unchallenged. These seven variables accounted for 15 percent of the variance.

While the descriptive analyses demonstrate that male and female harassers share some of the same attitudes toward sexual harassment and gender roles, at least as far as this questionnaire could measure, the regression equations demonstrate that male and female harassers differ in their conformance with the predictive model. Little predictive information is supplied by the variables entered in the women's equation. Of the numerous factors and variables that were entered, only two added anything to our ability to predict whether female faculty will harass, indicating that the variables known to be associated with male sexually harassing behavior are not necessarily the same for women. Not only are the variables not the same, but we also do not know as yet what some of the predictive variables would be for women. This finding points out a primary weakness in research on harassers to date; that our understanding of why people sexually harass has been based on models derived from predominantly male samples, and male and female harassers are not interchangeable "subjects." We know very little about female harassers, in contrast to what we have been able to uncover regarding male harassers. The types of variables that we might pursue in future research will be discussed in the final chapter.

### *Predicting Behavior by Generation*

Earlier analyses demonstrated an interesting shift in beliefs about sexual harassment between those born before 1940 and those born later. Thus I ran a regression analysis for each of those sub-samples and compared the variables and the order in which they entered. Tables 26 and 27 provide those figures.

Having social contact with students and employees, a support for sexual libertarian beliefs, being male and being tenured all entered the equation for the older group, those born between 1920 and 1940.

The equation for those born after 1940 most resembles the equation for the entire sample, perhaps because 68 percent of the respondents were born during that time period. Being male, believing that women cause harassment, believing that one has harassed in the past, supporting sexually libertarian beliefs, and being older all entered this equation. The one variable unique to this group compared to the total sample was age, in that younger respondents were less likely to have harassed than older respondents. This finding makes sense if we also suppose that older respondents are more likely than younger respondents to be tenured, a characteristic of harassers.

The four variables for the older group closely follow those reported in the literature, whereas the variables for the younger group, particularly with respect to one's beliefs about having harassed someone and sexually libertarian beliefs, diverge from the literature. Both variables were discussed earlier when the findings of the analysis of the total sample were presented.

**Table 26**  
**Regression of Self-Reported Behavior on Faculty and Institutional Characteristics**  
**for Faculty Born 1920-1940**

Variable	Step	Mult. R	Standardized regression coefficients (Betas) at each step			
			1	2	3	4
Social Contact	1	.25	.07**	.07**	.07**	.06**
Exploitation is appropriate	2	.34	.23**	.21**	.20**	.19**
Male	3	.37	.15*	.15*	.14*	.13*
Tenure	4	.40	.16*	.14*	.14*	.20*
<b>Variables not in equation</b>						
Harassment is normal			.17*	.00	.00	.00
Know has harassed			.14*	.14*	.14*	.13

Note:

\* p < .05 level at this step.

\*\* p < .01 level at this step.

**Table 27**  
**Regression of Self-Reported Behavior on Faculty and Institutional Characteristics**  
**for Faculty Born after 1940**

Variable	Step	Standardized regression coefficients					
		R	1	2	3	4	5
Male	1	.18	.16**	.13**	.12**	.12**	.11*
Victims cause it	2	.22	.14**	.05**	.05**	.07**	.07**
Harassed in past	3	.25	.13**	.13**	.53**	.51**	.50**
Sexual libertarianism	4	.28	.06	.13**	.12*	.15*	.15*
Age	5	.30	-.11*	-.10*	-.10*	-.09*	-.15*
<b>Variables not in equation</b>							
Professional School			-.09*	-.07	-.07	-.06	-.06
Social Contact			.11*	.09*	.09	.08	.07

Note:

\* p < .05 level at this step.

\*\* p < .01 level at this step.

Just as the regression analyses was better able to explain the variance for men than for women, these analyses are better able to explain the variance for older faculty than for younger faculty, even though the majority of the respondents were younger faculty. In addition, the variables which help explain the variance are different for older faculty than for younger faculty, with the exception of the variable, "being male." This difference may be due to generational differences in perceptions of sexual harassment, and/or due to differences in the type of harassing behavior most frequently engaged in by these two groups. The earlier descriptive analyses demonstrated that younger faculty were more likely to share sexually explicit materials while older faculty were more likely to engage in "relationship-oriented" (for example, having sex with a supervisee) behaviors.

### **Chapter Summary**

Based on these regression analyses we observe that the factors and their predictive strength varied with the subpopulation being examined. For example, analyses predicting behavior for men and women had only one factor in common, social contact. Further, despite a long list of variables, I was least able to predict the behavior of female faculty.

This finding provides support for the position that the models of sexual harassment discussed earlier were either developed on a single sub-population (men only), and then spuriously generalized to both men and women, or were developed on samples that included a few women and were mistakenly assumed to apply to both men and women.

The regression equation for men only provides support for the "positional power" model of sexual harassment. This model posits that those with greater occupational status are more likely to sexually harass. In this case tenure played a significant role in predicting behavior. However, the analysis of the total sample which involved an almost equal number of women and men provides support for the "social power" model. This model suggests that members of the group with greater social power, men in our society, are more likely to sexually harass. For that equation, traditional gender role attitudes contributed significantly to our ability to predict sexually harassing behavior, and positional power did not enter at all. If there had not been a large female sample against which to test the assumptions about the male population, this research would have perpetuated the mistaken belief that what predicts male harassing behavior will predict female harassing behavior.

Finally, not having a large enough sample of gay, lesbian and bisexual faculty, it is premature to draw any conclusions about the usefulness of the variables employed in this study for predicting the behavior of faculty who are not heterosexual. Future research should attempt to correct this, rather than assume that the variables produced by the equation for the larger population apply to this sub-population as well.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RETURNING TO THE HYPOTHESES

Based on the preceding analyses and discussion, I can conclude the following about the proposed hypotheses.

#### *Hypothesis I:*

Those who self-report having engaged in sexually harassing behavior will differ from other faculty in the following ways:

- a) they will report adhering to more traditional gender role attitudes than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior;
- b) they will be more supportive of homophobic attitudes than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior;
- c) they will be more likely to believe that it is appropriate to exploit relationships than those who do not report engaging in harassing behavior.

#### Conclusion:

The first two segments of this hypothesis (a and b) were not supported by this study. Harassers were not significantly more traditional in their beliefs about gender roles than non-harassers, nor did they appear more homophobic (however, a more thorough measure of homophobia needs to be included in future studies). However, the third segment of this hypothesis was supported by the data. Harassers are more likely than non-harassers to believe in the appropriateness of exploiting sexual relationships, and this belief was critical to predicting whether or not one will engage in sexual harassment.

*Hypothesis II:*

Occupational status will be less important in predicting whether one will sexually harass than will gender role attitudes or sexually libertarian beliefs.

**Conclusion:**

This hypothesis was supported by this research. For the total sample, the sub-sample of female faculty and the sub-sample of older faculty, occupational status did not even enter the regression equation, while various types of gender role attitudes did. For male faculty and younger faculty, occupational status entered the regression equations but at a later step than the gender role attitudes.

*Hypothesis III:*

Gender differences in self-reported behavior will emerge:

- a) Women will self-report having engaged in fewer incidents of sexually harassing behavior than men;
- b) These differences will appear regardless of occupational status.

**Conclusion:**

Both components of this hypothesis were supported by the data. Women were less likely than men to have engaged in sexual harassment, regardless of their occupational status. Occupational status is associated with men's sexually harassing behavior; tenured men were more likely than non- or un-tenured men to engage in sexual harassment.

*Hypothesis IV:*

Sexual orientation differences will not emerge. Instead, attitudes about homophobia will correlate more positively with harassing behavior than will sexual orientation.

**Conclusion:**

While it is true that sexual orientation differences did not emerge as significant, sexually libertarian, not homophobic attitudes, were more positively correlated with harassing behavior than sexual orientation. This finding has been discussed in earlier chapters.

*Hypothesis V:*

People who report having engaged in harassing behavior will not recognize that their behavior is a problem. Specifically:

- a) they will not identify themselves as harassers;
- b) they will not perceive their behavior as socially aberrant;
- c) they will report that their behavior was invited by the person they harassed.

**Conclusion:**

Two segments of this hypothesis were supported (b and c). Harassers do not perceive their behavior as aberrant, and they do believe that their behavior was invited by the person harassed. However, they are more likely than non-harassers to believe that they have harassed someone in the past, a finding that will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

*Hypothesis VI:*

Instructors who believe that sexual harassment is tolerated by their campus community will be more likely to report having engaged in sexually harassing

behaviors than those who believe that sexual harassment is not tolerated by their community.

**Conclusion:**

The data were inconclusive in that harassers were generally satisfied with their campus response to sexual harassment, and there was no relationship between that satisfaction and the frequency with which incidents of harassment were confronted at those institutions. As discussed earlier, we do not know if harassers are satisfied because their institutions do or do not respond to allegations.

*Chapter Summary*

Most of the hypotheses were supported by the data, and those that were not provide interesting insight into the differences between harassers and non-harassers and suggest directions for future research to be presented next, together with implications of the findings for theory and practice.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

This study set out to explore the relationships between sexually harassing behavior and each of the following: gender, gender role attitudes, sexual orientation, homophobic beliefs, occupational status and institutional characteristics. Based on the major findings and conclusions presented in the previous chapters, we can conclude that faculty who engaged in sexually harassing behavior tend to be, but not exclusively, male tenured professors. They participate in multiple types of sexually harassing behavior, the most common forms being making sexual comments about a student or employee or sharing sexual material with a student or employee. They also tend to be older faculty, usually born before 1950, although because of the lack of information about when these behaviors occurred, this finding, as discussed earlier, may be misleading.

Faculty who engage in sexual harassment differ from their colleagues in their attitudes about gender roles, the causes of sexual harassment and their perception of the campus environment. Specifically, people who engage in sexually harassing behavior believe that sexual harassment is provoked by a woman's dress or behavior; they believe that the behaviors which are commonly labeled, "sexual harassment," are

normal social interactions; and they believe that their campus does a good job of handling sexual harassment complaints.

Most of these faculty have read their campus policy on sexual harassment and state that they understand it. Indeed, unlike other faculty, members of this group believe that they probably have sexually harassed someone, although they believe that this behavior is acceptable. In fact, those who sexually harassed believe that it is appropriate for people in general to take advantage of relationships-- exploit them -- when ever possible.

Finally, the group of faculty who engage in these behaviors appears overall to be more socially involved with their students and their employees, more likely than other faculty to join them in "harmless" as well as sexually harassing activities.

Despite the significant gender differences between all men and women in the sample, male and female "harassers" are more like one another than they are like members of their same gender. Both believe that victims provoke harassment, believe that sexually harassing behavior need not be confronted, hold traditional gender role attitudes, and see their campuses as intolerant of sexual harassment. However, there are some differences as well. Tenure status is associated more strongly with men's sexually harassing behavior than women's, although both tenured men and women engaged in sexual harassment. Male harassers are more likely than female harassers to identify their behavior as sexual harassment and to define sexually harassing behavior as normal. Finally, male harassers were more likely than female harassers to identify with being heterosexual. This study demonstrates that we cannot assume that findings based on a general sample of harassers can be generalized to different subpopulations -- in particular, women.

Unfortunately, most research prior to this has either ignored the presence of female harassers, or made the assumption that female harassers will be like male harassers. We find that they are similar in some variables but also different in important ways.

There also appear to be some generational differences among harassers, with those born before 1940 being more likely to support traditional gender role attitudes and to have engaged in more of the different types of the sexually harassing behaviors than did younger colleagues. While this difference may simply be a research artifact, the result of a time lag between when behavior took place and when respondents completed the questionnaire, it could also be an indication of either the psychological effect aging has on one's sense of virility and power, and/or an effect of a unique generational cohort on attitudes and behavior.

The difference between these interpretations is important. Perhaps the older faculty engage in the "dating" types of behavior in addition to the other types as a way of bolstering their sense of failing virility -- a perception which could develop with age. We might conceptualize sexual harassing behavior as an intersection of positional power and sexual self-esteem, which changes as the harasser ages.

On the other hand, if the difference in behavior patterns between older and younger harassers is due to generational cohorts, younger faculty, because of recent, well publicized investigations, may have abandoned the more overt forms of sexual harassment (quid pro quo) for the more subtle, those one could more easily camouflage -- behaviors that create a hostile environment. In addition, their attitudes may be different not because they have not yet "matured" but because these self-serving attitudes parallel a self-serving change in behavior.

### **Implications for Theory, Research and Practice**

This study suggests areas of further research and some practical applications of these findings.

#### *Future research:*

We know more about the male harasser, and in particular we know that occupational status plays an important role in influencing some men to harass. This finding leads to additional questions, however. For example, (a) why do some men respond to a position of power in an exploitive way, and others do not; and (b) why do positions of power not appear to have the same effect on women? Women still harass, and from these findings, they appear to engage more often than men in the most obvious type of sexual harassment, quid pro quo propositions. What variables contribute to a female faculty member's decision to sexually harass, if not occupational status?

Even more important, we need to know what will prevent a person from engaging in sexual harassment. If appealing to one's sense of fair play will not work (and we should not expect it to, given this group's belief in the appropriateness of exploiting relationships for personal gain), perhaps threats of or the actual imposition of serious sanctions, including monetary judgments will effectively reinforce campus standards.

To address some of these questions, we need to know more about specific instances of harassment: The target of the harassment; the circumstances under which it occurs, what the harasser thought about the incident at the time, etc.

Questionnaires have a limited usefulness; they cannot provide the flexibility we will need to explore these more subtle questions. Interviewing people who have

sexually harassed someone could give us both the flexibility and the depth needed for these questions. That strategy was not possible for this study because of the difficulty in identifying harassers. However, interviews with faculty could be conducted using initial questions similar to those in this study's questionnaire, followed by these more specific questions once a person self-disclosed that they had participated in one of the requisite behaviors. This process would provide us with in-depth responses from both harassers and non-harassers. The problem of hostility toward the subject matter, as the hand-written comments on my returned questionnaires indicated, will make it difficult to secure participants, however, eventhough interviews hold the most promise as a next step.

Future inquiries should also attempt to sort out the relationship of aging and generational cohort to sexual harassment to uncover specifically: (a) the relationship between engaging in sexual harassment and the harasser's age; (b) the relationship between one's generational gender role attitudes, one's age, and one's willingness to engage in sexual harassment; (c) how the sexually harassing behaviors in which one engages change over one's life time, if at all; and (d) how occupational status interacts with age to influence sexually harassing behavior. If these behaviors are the product of an older generation, then perhaps our current educational efforts will suffice. If, instead, sexually harassing behavior becomes more complex as one ages, then our educational efforts need to target young professionals before they begin harassing.

A second type of temporal relationship that needs further analysis is the relationship between the belief that one has sexually harassed someone and one's willingness to engage in sexually harassing behavior. Do the people who engage in

sexual harassment know either prior to or as they harass that this is how their behavior is perceived by the academic community, or does this realization come afterwards? If most harassers modify their behavior once they realize its "unlawfulness" if not also its unethical nature, our educational programs are succeeding. However, if most harassers know that their behavior is prohibited yet continue to engage in it, our campuses need an entirely different approach.

*Practical Implications:*

Our educational interventions and policy responses to sexual harassment are predicated on untested assumptions about who the harasser is and why sexual harassment occurs. Knowing more about the person's beliefs, motivations and attitudes can help undo certain myths, such as "sexual harassment is a natural phenomenon whenever men and women meet." It also can help us find mechanisms to prevent sexual harassment from occurring on campus.

For example, the findings that most harassers (a) are male; (b) hold more traditional gender role attitudes (a pattern but not a statistically significant finding), (c) support the notion of adversarial relationships between men and women, (d) hold tenured positions and (e) believe that sexual harassment is not as serious a problem as most women do, provide some immediate guidance for our adjudication bodies, which are composed primarily of male, tenured faculty. These findings suggest that either the composition of campus adjudication bodies needs to be altered to better reflect the differences in perception, or that adjudication bodies need to be trained to compensate for these differences in perception.

In addition, since those who engage in this behavior may be deliberately disregarding campus policies, campuses need to rethink their prevention programs. Merely calling it to the faculty's attention that its behavior violates campus policies will do little to prevent sexual harassment from occurring. The campus community needs to be made aware generally of investigations into allegations of sexual harassment and the consequences being imposed for those found responsible, assuming that those consequences are serious. This suggests a call for emphasis on "top-down" enforcement of policies rather than passive dissemination of information as a prevention strategy.

Finally, the findings suggest that even if we were to create a single educational approach that was modelled on our new understandings of harassers, that single approach would lack the depth and flexibility needed to reach the diverse population of harassers. Our intervention strategies must be multi-dimensional in that they must target female harasser, about whom little is still known; and among the larger male population, they must take into account the effect of age and occupational status on differences in attitudes about sexual harassment. These findings also suggest a new level of educational efforts: the administrators and faculty who informally hear about complaints but are not institutionally responsible for responding. This group needs information about harassers' motivations, in particular that male harassers appear very aware that their behavior violates policy, so that they do not attempt to excuse or explain away a colleague's conduct but instead hold him accountable. Emphasis needs to be placed on understanding sexual harassment as an act of aggression, not as one of ignorant sexuality. In our attempt

to centralize training efforts, we cannot afford to continue dispersing "generic" sexual harassment education.

### **Limitations**

One of the respondents to my summary of the pilot study suggested that there may be a difference between women who enter academic professions and women who enter other occupations -- that academic women may be more professionally motivated and less likely to risk their careers by engaging in harassing behavior than other women. This person suggested that discussion of sex differences be limited to the academic environment. This observation points out the primary limitation, and strength, of this study: it examines only those engaged in teaching in post secondary institutions and may not be generalizable to the general working environment.

It is because the academic environment creates additional opportunities for sexual harassment that I chose to study it. While it is difficult to find an analogous work relationship for the faculty/student relationship, that academic relationship can have such a powerful impact on a student's subsequent career success that it merits attention.

Additionally, this study is limited by its reliance on self-reported information. Given the topic, potential respondents who have harassed may have chosen not to respond, thus biasing the results. Further, those who did respond may have succumbed to the "socially desirable" answer on some of the items. However, the results from this and the pilot study suggest that any reluctance to respond honestly has not impacted the significance of the findings except to the extent that people

underreported engaging in sexually harassing behavior. If under reporting has occurred, then the relationships I have explored are even more statistically and practically significant.

Further, the study is limited by its use of a questionnaire as the means of collecting the data. Interviewing respondents would permit further exploration of some of the questions raised by the analyses. However, I anticipated that soliciting participants for interviews would be difficult, based on the pilot experience which produced few willing participants. Respondents to the pilot study who were willing to be interviewed indicated that they were more interested in arguing the wording of the questionnaire than in discussing the issues it raised. The topic is a very charged one and few respondents trust the research process enough to engage in an open discussion of the problem of harassment.

Finally, the questionnaire, itself, was limiting in that it did not include some variables that could improve our understanding of sexual harassment. For example, we can draw no cross-cultural comparisons because there the questionnaire did not gather that information. Nor do we know whether a particular person engaged in harassing behaviors more than once or with more than one person. There may be a difference between those who had a one-time "exploratory" experience compared with those who have established a history of harassing behavior. At the same time, we do not know when the harassment occurred, so we are unable to track the development of attitudes of tolerance versus the initiation of harassing behavior. It may be that the attitudes developed after the instance of harassment as a means of justifying the behavior. A longitudinal study of faculty as they move through their

careers, beginning with Teaching Assistants, would help address this question, although such a study would be difficult to conduct successfully.

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## APPENDIX A

### Understanding the Sexual Harasser:

#### Summary of the 1992 Pilot Study

##### **Purpose of the Project**

Despite the significant attention researchers have focused on uncovering the problem of sexual harassment on campus, little is known about the person who engages in sexually harassing behavior, other than that in the vast majority of cases he is male. Knowing more about what harassers believe and how they explain their behavior may assist policy makers and educators to structure institutional prevention programs and response strategies. The goal of this pilot project was to test a composite questionnaire designed to assess the attitudes that accompany sexually harassing behavior.

##### **Sample**

A random sample of 180 male and 180 female faculty were asked to complete a newly developed questionnaire that represented a "hybrid" of four existing questionnaires. Faculty were identified from a state university's telephone directory which listed employment titles. Excluded from the sample were faculty listed as being on sabbatical for the 1992 spring term, emeriti faculty and those who do not regularly teach during the spring term.

## **The Questionnaire**

Four questionnaires were utilized in structuring the pilot questionnaire: one assessed attitudes about power and the roles of men and women (Burt, 1980); a second posed hypothetical opportunities to sexually harass someone (Pryor, 1987, based on Malamuth's 1981 "Likelihood of rape" measure); a third measured knowledge about and experience with sexual harassment; and a fourth measured frequency of self reported sexually harassing behavior (Fitzgerald et al, 1988).

## **Data Analysis**

By the initial deadline -- two weeks after the questionnaire was mailed -- 94 respondents (26 percent) had returned their questionnaires, 42 women, 45 men and 7 who did not indicate their gender. Of these respondents, 45 percent were tenured faculty members; 19 percent were untenured but in tenure-track positions; and 36 percent were teaching assistants or lecturers. The original sample contained 50 percent men, 50 percent women, 48 percent tenured, 12 percent untenured, and 40 percent teaching assistants or lecturers.

## **Results**

### *Attitudes*

- a) There was a significant relationship between gender and attitudes about general sex roles ( $F = 4.67$ ,  $df=1$ ;  $p < .034$ ), in that women were more likely to hold less traditional attitudes about sex roles than men.

b) There was a significant relationship between one's tolerance of sexually harassing behavior and general sex role attitudes (Chi-square = 44.47,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .0000$ ). Those who held less traditional sex role attitudes were less tolerant of sexually harassing behavior than those who held traditional sex role attitudes.

### *Behavior*

c) 10 percent of the women and 20 percent of the men said that they had had a sexual relationship with either one of their students, one of the people who worked with or for them, or both. The primary flaw with the question is that it did not allow respondents to differentiate between co-workers or students with whom they established a long term relationship (i.e., married), and those relationships that were short term.

d) **5 percent of the women and 20 percent of the men said that they had offered a student or co-worker a reward for sexual behavior.** The difference in response between the two sexes was significant (Chi-square = 3.14,  $p < .046$ ). The majority of respondents indicated that they had offered a reward to a co-worker or person who worked for them, not to a student.

e) There was no correlation between hypothetical behavior and self-reported behavior; however, there was a gender difference in self-reported behavior ( $F = 6.58$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .012$ ). Women were less likely than men to report having engaged in sexually harassing behavior.

f) There was a significant relationship between attitudes about general sex roles and self-reported behavior ( $F = 1.79$ ,  $df = 21$ ,  $p < .04$ ). Those who reported less traditional sex role attitudes were less likely to report having engaged in behaviors like offering a reward for sexual conduct.

g) As expected, the relationship between attitudes about sexual harassment and self-reported behavior was also significant (Chi-square = 31.08,  $df = 14$ ,  $p < .005$ ). Those who were less tolerant of sexually harassing behaviors were also less likely to report having engaged in those behaviors.

h) When behavior was divided into two types, "environmental" (e.g., comments, jokes, sharing a cartoon) and "quid pro quo" (offering a reward or having sex with a student/co-worker), a significant sex difference appeared but only for quid pro quo behavior ( $F = 4.27$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .043$ ). Men were more likely than women to report having offered a reward for sexual behavior to a student or co-worker.

i) When only those who had engaged in either environmental or quid pro quo harassment were isolated from the rest of the sample, there was a significant difference in the way those respondents perceived the campus climate (tolerance of sexual harassment, effectiveness of policies, etc.) ( $F = 4.65$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .035$ ). Those who engaged in quid pro quo behavior were more likely than those who engaged in environmental harassment to state that

people concerned with sexual harassment were making a mountain out of a molehill.

j) There was no difference between these two groups in their sex role attitudes.

*Behavior, Attitudes and Status*

k) Instructor status was significantly related to gender (Chi-square = 41.43,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .0000$ ) meaning that women were more likely to hold teaching assistant/lecturer positions and men were more likely to hold tenured positions.

l) The relationship between instructor status and behavior was significant for men but not women (Chi-square = 9.68,  $df = 4$ ,  $p < .046$ ), and the direction of the relationship for men was not what the literature predicted. Sexually harassing behavior was reported more often by men holding teaching assistant/ lecturer positions than by men holding tenured positions.

m) When just the scores of teaching assistants and lecturers were examined, there was a significant sex difference in self-reported behavior and both types of sex role attitudes that was not evident in the other two levels of status (tenured and non-tenured) (for behavior by sex,  $F = 6.97$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0146$ ; for general attitude by sex,  $F = 9.99$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0042$ ; for faculty/student sex roles  $F = 9.05$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .0065$ ). Thus there appears to be less attitudinal or behavioral difference between tenured men and women than there is between

non-tenure track men and women, or between tenured and non-tenure track men.

### *Sexual Orientation, Attitudes and Behavior*

n) There was no significant relationship between sexual orientation and either of these areas.

o) There was a significant relationship between one's response to the statement, "Homosexual behavior should not be a crime," and one's sex role beliefs ( $F = 11.53$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p < .0000$ ). Those who held less traditional sex role beliefs were also more adamant in their agreement with the statement that homosexual behavior should not be a crime.

### **Discussion**

This study confirms, extends and refutes the literature on sexual harassers. It suggests that sex role beliefs are intimately connected with behavior and attitudes related to sexual harassment. By including an equal number of women and men in the sample, the study also demonstrates a strong sex difference in sex role beliefs, sexually harassing behavior and tolerance of sexual harassment. The lack of significant findings regarding sexual orientation, sex role attitudes and behavior may have been the result of so few people identifying themselves as gay or lesbian (approximately 3 percent).

Further, the study demonstrates that there appears to be a difference between people who engage in quid pro quo and environmental harassment, particularly with respect to their attitudes about the severity of the problem. Very few women acknowledged having offered a reward for sex so it is difficult to conclude how they would interpret their behavior.

The study refutes earlier findings that organizational status is a proxy for power: the higher one is in the organization, the more power one has and the more likely one is to abuse the power. Harassment may have less to do with absolute organizational position and more to do with relative position. Teaching assistants may be closer in age to students, may have more ambiguous roles and therefore be better able to camouflage their behavior than a tenured faculty member. An alternative explanation is that faculty with tenure believe they have more to lose should they violate a university norm and therefore are less likely to engage in risky behavior.

In addition, this study suggests that if status is an issue in sexual harassment, men and women use it differently. Within the group most likely to harass -- the non-tenured faculty -- there was a significant sex difference in both attitude and behavior. The observed sex difference may be an indicator of the tremendous effect of socialization carried into the academic setting.

### **The Next Step**

With a larger sample and revisions to the questionnaire, I will be able to reexamine the role of occupational status across institutions. Specifically, I can examine whether harassing behavior is more likely to be found in non-tenured faculty across institutions, or whether the pilot institution was an aberration. I will be able

to sort responses by general academic division to see if there are differences between those in the natural sciences and those in the humanities and social sciences. With a larger sample I may be able to learn more about (a) women who engage in sexually harassing behavior, and (b) the relationship between sexual orientation and sexually harassing behavior.

## Appendix B

### Faculty Questionnaire

#### Introduction:

You have been selected from a random sample of University faculty to participate in a survey of faculty's attitudes and behaviors with respect to relationships with colleagues, staff and students. The questionnaire should take you no more than 20 minutes to complete, and as a substantial return rate is critical to the success of this study, we would appreciate your participation.

**ALL RESPONSES ARE CONFIDENTIAL.** There are no code numbers on this questionnaire, and no way to trace it to you as a respondent.

Enclosed you will find this questionnaire, a postage-paid return envelope, and a postcard. Please mark your responses on the questionnaire and put it in the envelope in the mail by February 28, 1993. To prevent a reminder mailing from being sent to you, please also return the postcard (separately). Be assured that your responses will remain anonymous. Do not, therefore, put your name or anyone else's on the questionnaire.

If you would like a copy of the results of this study, please indicate that on the postcard prior to returning it. Thank you very much.

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#### Section I.

1. Sex (1 = female; 2 = male) 1 2
2. Please indicate the decades which include the year you began your current employment at this campus. 1 2 3 4 5  
1 (1930 -1945) 2 (1946 - 1960) 3 (1961 - 1970) 4 (1971 - 1980)  
5 (1981 - present)
3. What is your academic status at this campus? 1 2 3  
(1 = Tenured; 2 = Untenured; 3 = Non-tenure track)
4. Please indicate the decades which include the year in which you were born. 1 2 3 4 5  
1 (1920 - 1930) 2 (1931 - 1940) 3 (1941- 1950) 4(1951 - 1960)  
5 (1961 - present)
5. Please indicate the approximate number of undergraduate majors and graduate students in your department. 1 2 3 4 5  
1 (1 - 25) 2 (26 - 50) 3 (50 - 100) 4 (101 - 400) 5 (401+)
6. Please indicate your general area of instruction: 1 2 3 4 5  
1 (Humanities) 2 (Social Sciences) 3 (Physical Sciences)  
4 (Arts) 5 (Professional Schools) 6 (Other)
7. Please indicate your academic rank at this institution: 1 2 3 4  
1 (Professor/Associate Professor/Assistant Professor)  
2 (Teaching Assistant/Associate)  
3 (Lecturer) 4 (Other)

Section 2.

We're interested in faculty's attitudes about relationships among men and women, faculty and students. For the following statements, please circle a number from 1 to 4 to the right of each statement using the following scale. Some of these statements may seem inflammatory; please indicate only your level of agreement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	1	2	3	4	
8.	I would be uncomfortable if students addressed me by my first name without asking for permission first.	1	2	3	4
9.	It is perfectly normal for a woman not to want to have children.	1	2	3	4
10.	I would be very uncomfortable in a situation where my spouse/partner worked and I stayed home and took care of the house and/or children.	1	2	3	4
11.	There are some jobs that men simply shouldn't have.	1	2	3	4
12.	I would not want to be part of a couple in which I was considerably shorter than my spouse/partner.	1	2	3	4
13.	In general, it is more important for a man to be successful in his career than it is for a woman.	1	2	3	4
14.	It is perfectly normal for a man not to want to have children.	1	2	3	4
15.	A wife who becomes a mother has no more reason to give up her career than a husband who becomes a father.	1	2	3	4
16.	There are some jobs that a woman simply shouldn't have.	1	2	3	4
17.	I would be more comfortable with a male boss than with a female boss.	1	2	3	4
18.	Men feel uncomfortable around women who are more intelligent than they are.	1	2	3	4
19.	It is all right for a woman to work, but the primary responsibility for a (heterosexual) couple's income is the man's.	1	2	3	4
20.	A competitive woman is harder to get along with than a competitive man.	1	2	3	4
21.	An attractive female student has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them.	1	2	3	4
22.	Homosexual behavior between two men should not be a crime.	1	2	3	4
23.	Most female students who are sexually insulted by a man provoke his behavior by the way they talk, act or dress.	1	2	3	4
24.	A man must learn to understand that a woman's "no" to his sexual advances really means "no."	1	2	3	4
25.	It is only natural for a student to use sexuality as a way of getting ahead in class or at work.	1	2	3	4
26.	An attractive male student has to expect sexual advances and should learn how to handle them.	1	2	3	4
27.	It is only natural for a professor to make sexual advances to a student whom s/he finds attractive.	1	2	3	4
28.	The notion that what a professor does in class may be sexual harassment is taking the idea of sexual harassment too far.	1	2	3	4
29.	Encouraging a professor's or supervisor's sexual interest is frequently used by men to get better grades or improve their work situation.	1	2	3	4
30.	Students who wear provocative clothing are inviting a sexual response.	1	2	3	4
31.	Many charges of sexual harassment are frivolous and vindictive.	1	2	3	4
32.	A lot of what people call sexual harassment is just normal flirtation between men and women.	1	2	3	4
33.	Students who complain about "sexist" treatment need to learn how to cope with the real world.	1	2	3	4

Section 3.

The following questions ask you about your beliefs about the frequency of certain behaviors. For each behavior given, please indicate three things: a) the frequency with which you believe the behavior to have occurred on this campus; b) to what extent you think that behavior, if it did occur, should be confronted; and c) how often you believe that behavior actually is confronted on your campus. Please use the following scale:

Rarely 1	Sometimes 2	Often 3
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A.	Faculty make jokes or remarks that put down women as a group.			
	34. Frequency with which you believe this occurs	1	2	3
	35. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	36. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
B.	Faculty make sexually suggestive comments to students in the classroom.			
	37. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	38. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	39. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
C.	Faculty tell sexually explicit jokes or personal sexual anecdotes that are unrelated to the content or objectives of the course.			
	40. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	41. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	42. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
D.	Faculty make jokes that put down homosexuals as a group.			
	43. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	44. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	45. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
E.	Students receive unwanted pressure for social contact, e.g., coffee, dates from faculty.			
	46. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	47. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	48. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
F.	Faculty receive unwanted attempts to kiss or fondle them by colleagues.			
	49. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	50. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	51. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
G.	Faculty are approached by colleagues who imply that there would be negative consequences (e.g. rumors about one's professional reputation, a negative recommendation) if they do not participate in sexual activities.			
	52. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	53. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	54. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
H.	Students are approached by faculty who imply that participating in sexual activities would bring a reward (e.g. special assistance with an assignment, an improved grade, a positive recommendation).			
	55. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	56. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	57. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3
I.	Students choose to participate in sexual activities with faculty.			
	58. Frequency with which you believe this occurs.	1	2	3
	59. How often should it be confronted?	1	2	3
	60. How often do you believe it is confronted?	1	2	3

Section 4.

Please answer the following questions about your relationships with students and staff since you began working at this campus, using the following scale:

(Please omit anyone with whom you developed a live-in relationship that continues today.)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes, someone who works for me.
- 3 Yes, a student while enrolled in my class or while my advisee.
- 4 Yes, both a student and someone who works for me.

Remember that your replies are anonymous and individual responses will be held in confidence.

- 61. Would you say that you have ever been a "mentor" to a student/worker (i.e., provided support, tutelage and encouragement beyond the normal interaction)? 1 2 3 4
- 62. Have you ever made your personal professional library available to students/workers for personal use? 1 2 3 4
- 63. Has a student/worker ever called on you for advice or support concerning their personal life (e.g. family or financial matters)? 1 2 3 4
- 64. Have you ever drawn a student/worker into a discussion of personal matters? 1 2 3 4
- 65. Have you ever been able to establish what you considered to be a friendly relationship with a student/worker? 1 2 3 4
- 66. Have you ever had a student/worker to your home for dinner? 1 2 3 4
- 67. Have you ever initiated a personal relationship with a student/worker (e.g. asked for a date, suggested you get together for a drink, etc.)? 1 2 3 4
- 68. Has a student/worker ever attempted to initiate a personal relationship with you (e.g. asked for a date, suggested that you get together for a drink, etc.)? 1 2 3 4
- 69. Have you ever persuaded a student/worker to go out to lunch, or for drinks, or on a date with you after that person initially expressed disinterest? 1 2 3 4
- 70. Have you ever dated one of your students/workers? 1 2 3 4
- 71. Have you ever made sexual comments about a student's/worker's physical attributes or attractiveness? 1 2 3 4
- 72. Have you ever shared sexually explicit material (e.g. a calendar with nude models, a pin-up of a nude model, a cartoon, a "dirty" joke, etc.) with a student/worker? 1 2 3 4
- 73. Have you ever shared sexually explicit material (e.g. a calendar with nude models, a pin-up of a nude model, a cartoon, a "dirty" joke, etc.) with your class? 1 2 3 4
- 74. Have you ever had a sexual relationship with one of your students/workers? 1 2 3 4
- 75. Have you ever suggested a reward (e.g. a grade, assistantship or recommendation) to a student/worker in return for sexual behavior? 1 2 3 4

Section 5

- 76. Does your campus have a formal policy regarding sexual harassment? 1 2 3 4 5  
 1. Yes, I have read it and understand it. 2. Yes, I have read it and don't understand it.  
 3. Yes, I have heard about it but haven't read it. 4. I'm not sure. 5. No.
- 77. How well do you think your campus deals with complaints about sexual harassment? 1 2 3 4  
 1. It handles most complaints appropriately. 2. It generally handles complaints appropriately.  
 3. It generally fails to handle complaints effectively. 4. It handles few complaints appropriately.
- 78. When it comes to sexual harassment, people are: 1 2  
 1. Seeing the tip of the iceberg. 2. Making a mountain out of a molehill.
- 79. Do you believe that you have ever sexually harassed a student or someone who works for you? 1 2  
 1. No 2. Yes

For the final four questions, please use the following scale:

- Not at All 1
- Minimally 2
- Somewhat 3
- Very Much So 4

- 30. To what extent do you identify yourself as being heterosexual? 1 2 3 4
- 31. To what extent do you identify yourself as being bisexual? 1 2 3 4
- 32. To what extent do you identify yourself as being gay? 1 2 3 4
- 33. To what extent do you identify yourself as being lesbian? 1 2 3 4

Thank you very much for your participation.